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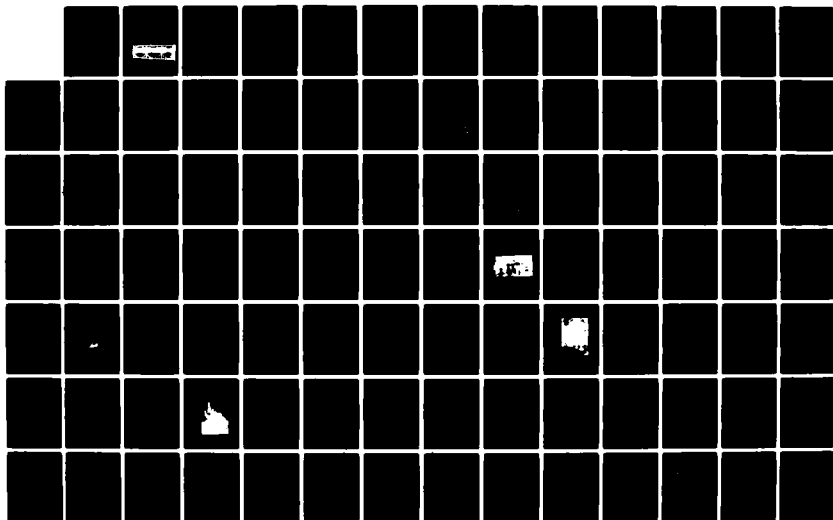
HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE RICHARD B RUSSELL
MULTIPLE RESOURCE AREA(U) HISTORY GROUP INC ATLANTA GA
D R ROTH ET AL. NOV 81 C-55078(79)

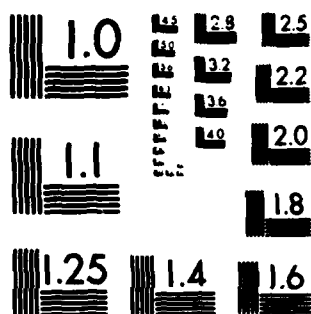
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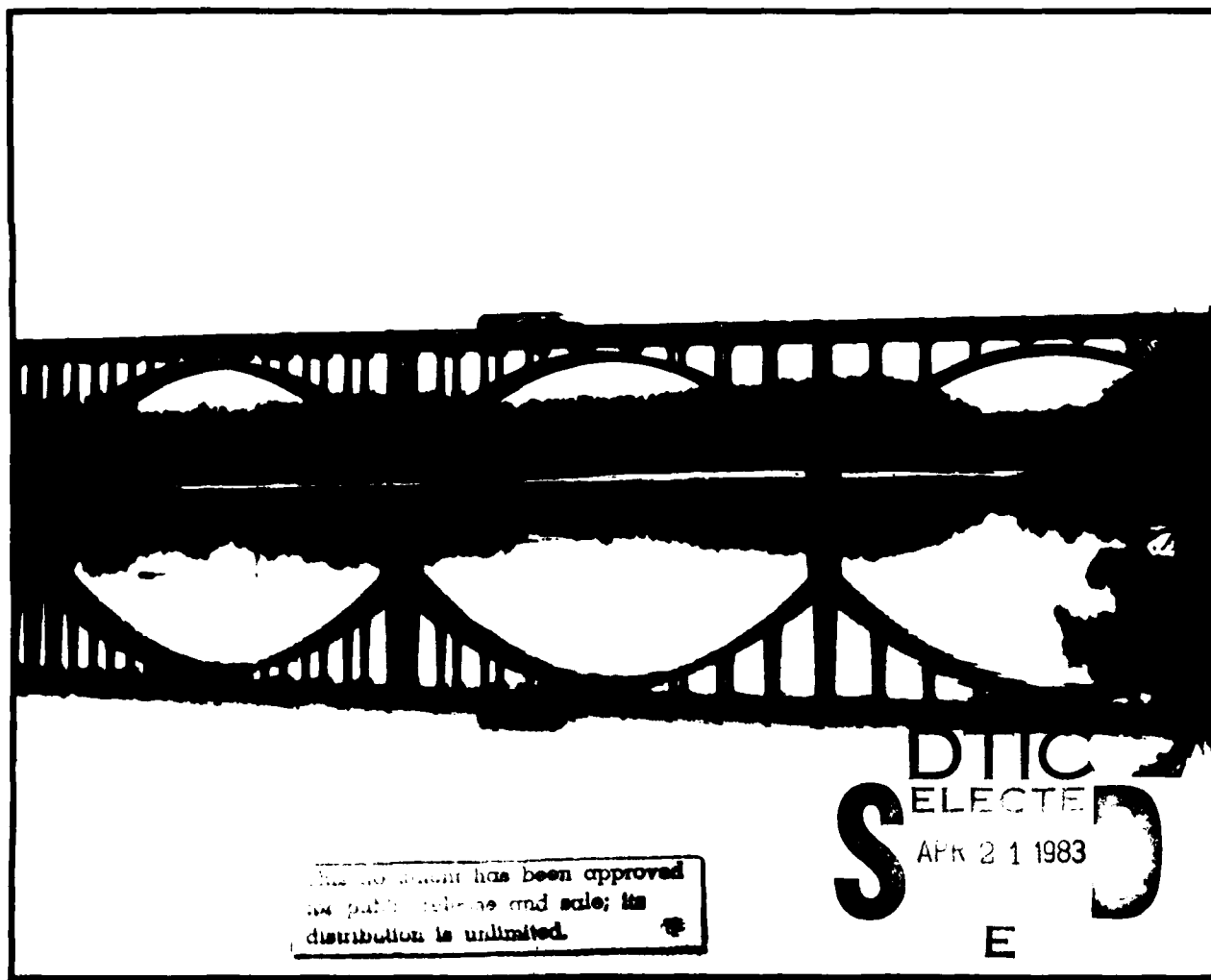
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To

the residents, past and present, of the Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area and the future visitors to the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake.

Some of the old things that will remain [after the dam is built]:

Savannah River in a new form as a useful and enjoyable lake instead of a treacherous and unnatural part-time river; some of the hills as islands; miles of streams as they were; old churches which have served the people of this area . . . and the cemeteries of these churches; [and] families and members of families, nearby and in distant places

Members of the Elbert County Historical Society

PROJECT PERSONNEL

Darlene R. Roth, Ph.D. The History Group	Project Director
Stephen W. Grable, M.A. The History Group	Historian
Roy S. Dickens, Jr., Ph.D. The History Group	Archeologist
Dana F. White, Ph.D. The History Group	Historian
John Burrison, Ph.D. Georgia State University	Folklorist
Louis De Vorsey, Ph.D. University of Georgia	Cultural Geographer
Hubert Ross, Ph.D. Atlanta University	Anthropologist
Frank Drago, Ph.D. Georgia State University	Cartographer
Vincent Fort, M.A.	Interviewer
Martin Petersilia, M.A. Washington, D. C.	Field Researcher
Virginia Shadron, M.A.	Researcher, Interviewer
Kim Brown	Clerk
Elizabeth Gibson	Clerk
Pat Imperatore	Word Processor

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D. R. R.

EDITORIAL NOTE

We have tried to make this report as useful as possible, not only in terms of its coverage, but also its format and organization as well. The contents are divided into several sections, reflecting the several approaches we took to these investigations. After the introduction, the first set of chapters, Part II, contain broad, thematic analyses pertinent to the Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area as the study area, but not limited to it, as they give regional, state, and county level background. The second set of chapters, Part III, focus on the study area itself, covering its history in chronological narrative. The third portion, Parts IV and V, contain case studies on a variety of topics - individual sites within the study area, folklore, oral history, and genealogy. In essence, the report takes the reader from the southern region into the study area, and then from the study area to some of its individual parts.

The materials presented as appendices are statistical versions of information summarized in the narrative and have particular relevance to the chapters on demography and agriculture. They add to the report by offering a base of information on the study area from which additional statistical correlations than those presented here may yet be made.

Quotes from historical sources are repeated verbatim from the original, with amendments, explanations, and other editorial comments given in brackets. Where original spellings or punctuation might be confusing to the modern reader, [sic] has been used.

The authorship of these investigations reflects efforts of the whole History Group team. Contributors are listed at the end of each section of prose by their initials, which are keyed to the list of personnel given at the front of the report. The entire manuscript was condensed and edited by the Project Director.

The bibliography is organized by type of document so that maps, journal articles, and archival materials are readily apparent to the user without searching through masses of listings. The bibliography is indexed according to broad general subjects to provide the researcher with further access to information contained in its listings. References in the special bibliographic index are to entry numbers. The general index provides references to the whole report for site specific topics, proper names and nouns. Here, references are to page numbers except for bibliographical references, which are to entry number. Bibliography entries are identified by a "b" following the number. References to tables, maps, and figures, are indicated by a "t," "m," or "f" after the page number in the index.

D. R. R.

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Rationale for the Study

"Historical Investigations of the Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area" was conceived at several levels but has one basic purpose: to serve as an overview of the Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area (MRA). The investigations were undertaken at the request of Inter-agency Archeological Services - Atlanta, (IAS), of the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, representing the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District, in conformance with requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), as amended, and the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act (Public Law 93-291) of 1974. The MRA encompasses all identified cultural resources on and under the total land surfaces to be directly impacted through the construction, development, and inundation of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake (formerly called the Trotters Shoals Dam and Reservoir), the last water power project in a sequence of three to be built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers on the upper Savannah River, authorized in Public Law 89-789, enacted by the 89th Congress of the United States, November 7, 1966. All three dam and lake projects - Clarks Hill, Hartwell, and Richard B. Russell - are part of a basic flood control plan first given Congressional authorization in 1944 for the "development and utilization of the Savannah River for the purposes of hydroelectric power, flood control, general recreation, and fish and wildlife."¹

The Richard B. Russell MRA lies in the upper Savannah River Valley between the Clarks Hill Lake to the south and the Hartwell Lake to the north. The estimated 52,112 acres of the MRA spread into four separate counties: Elbert and Hart Counties in the State of Georgia, and Abbeville and Anderson Counties in South Carolina. The area extends approximately twenty-eight miles in length along the Savannah River and three to five miles in width along its borders; in addition, lands bordering tributary creeks and branches of the Savannah are also incorporated into the MRA: twelve miles of Rocky River in South

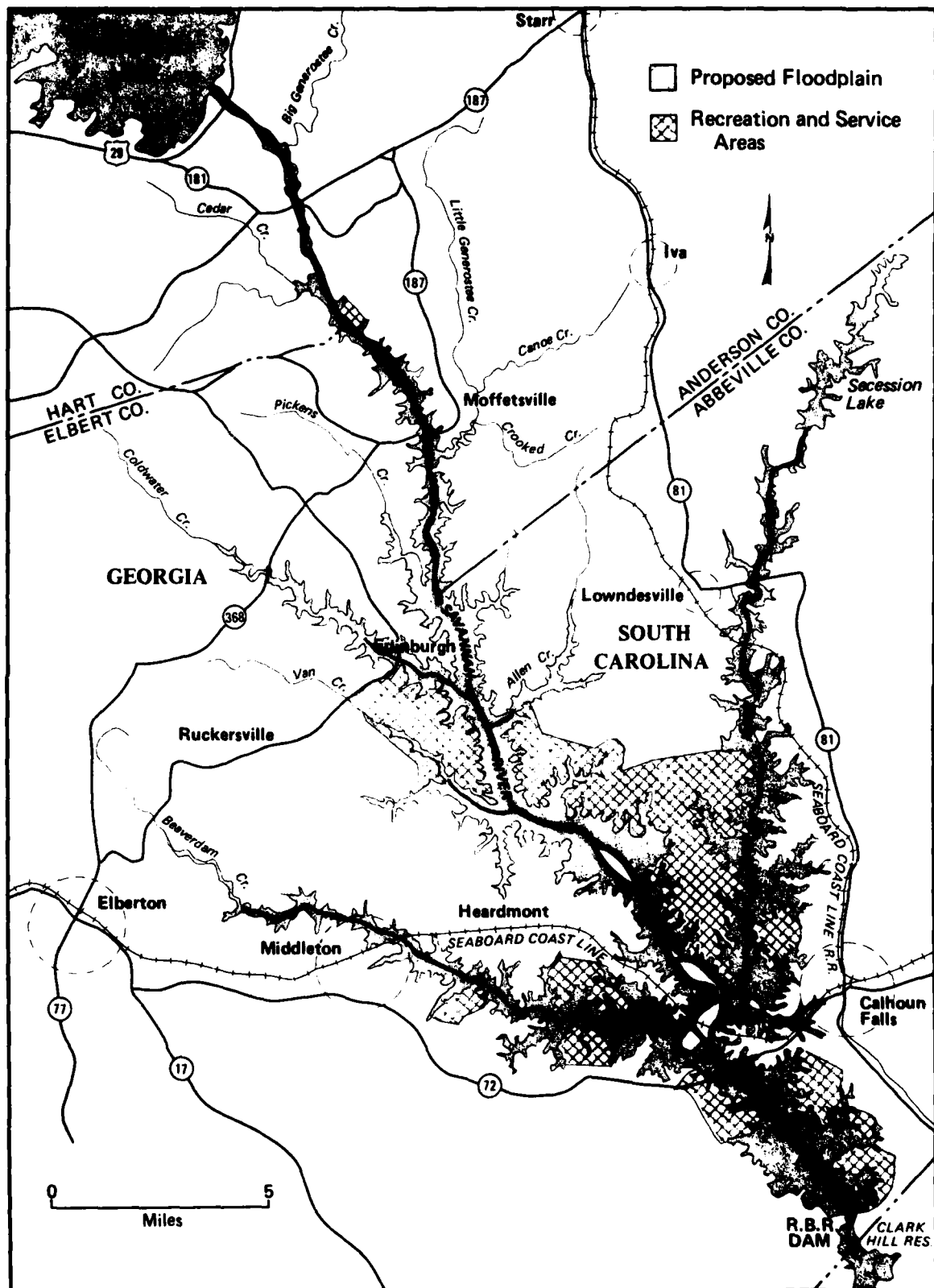
Introduction

Carolina, nine miles of Beaverdam Creek in Georgia, and smaller portions of Allen, Bond, and Crooked Creeks in South Carolina as well as Cedar, Coldwater, Pickens, and Van's Creeks in Georgia (Map 1).

During the development of the Russell Dam and Lake project, the program of archeological and historical research and mitigation of the MRA and its surrounding territories has been extensive, and several substantial historical efforts predate this study. Before the IAS program of work was established, the State Historic Preservation Offices of both South Carolina and Georgia (the South Carolina Department of Archives and History and the Georgia Historic Preservation Section of the Department of Natural Resources) had sponsored statewide cultural resource surveys to identify standing historic structures. These surveys included the counties within the MRA and identified some sites within the MRA as eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Additional work, sponsored by IAS-Atlanta, identified a great many more sites located within the MRA, and of these, more than two hundred fall within the historic period and relate culturally to the man-made environments of white and black (non-Indian) populations in the area. The first of these IAS-sponsored studies was an archeological assessment which appeared in 1978 and is generally referred to as the Taylor-Smith report.² The history sections of this report briefly chronicled historical events in the area, described a number of individual historical sites, and identified sources for further investigation. The second important set of historical studies about the area appeared serially, performed in 1979 and 1980 by teams of the Historic American Buildings Survey and the Historic American Engineering Record (now both combined under the National Architectural and Engineering Record [NAER]). These studies included a field survey of historic and engineering structures, recordings of each site, and some general research, conducted by the first team; and, by the second team, measured drawings and detailed site-specific histories of selected sites determined eligible for the National Register, which, because they were to be destroyed or impacted, required mitigation and more complete recording. In addition, NAER had the responsibility for preparing an architectural synthesis of the area's structural resources.

The present study was intended to complement NAER's efforts by providing a general overview history of the development of the entire project area with specific attention to settlement, economic, and cultural behavior as background information for the ensuing intensive archeological investigations of the specific historical sites and engineering elements already identified. This project began its work when the first NAER project was complete and ended its research as the second NAER project was beginning. The historical investigations contract was awarded to The History Group, Inc., in September 1979; the draft report was submitted in October 1980; IAS presented its reviews to The History Group in March 1981, and the manuscript was prepared for publication in October 1981.



Map 1: The Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area

Introduction

The History Group is a professional historical research firm based in Atlanta, Georgia, with a specialization in the cultural resources of the Southeast and an emphasis on the built environment (architecture and history). As indicated on the list of project personnel, many fields of study were represented by the investigatory team. There were historians as principal investigator and chief researcher (Roth and Grable), one oral historian (White), an archeologist (Dickens), a folklorist (Burris), an anthropologist (Ross), and a cultural geographer (DeVorse), plus additional researchers and interviewers. The team was not only interdisciplinary, it was interracial, features which reflected The History Group's sense that black history would be important in the MRA (a projection borne out by the study) and its familiarity with the contemporary developments in American social history, historiography, and oral history techniques. The approaches to the study mirror the fields which were involved in the investigations and required in the scope of work.

Scope and Hypotheses

Since the cultural resources had already been identified through the archeological survey and the NAER field work, this project was required to research the Russell MRA through the historical record, identifying primary and secondary materials pertinent to the area's history. The comprehensive literature search was to pay particular attention to the effects of settlement, economic, and cultural systems on land uses. To carry out the objectives of the project and to formulate a conceptual framework within which to place and test collected data, The History Group constructed a series of hypotheses against which to work. These are given here in their entirety as an introduction to our findings.

It was hypothesized:

- that the Richard B. Russell MRA, while politically marginal during the historical period, was geographically significant, in that it was a bellwether of major economic and cultural changes in the rural Southeastern United States from the last quarter of the 18th century to the present;

- that the primary historical significance of the area lay in its revelation of the dramatic and revolutionary (as opposed to gradual and evolutionary) changes which occurred through the rural Southeast during the historical period;

- that there were three major revolutionary changes in a little over a century of time;

- that all three affected the landscapes, building placements, and other elements of the man-made environment in the area; and

Introduction

- that all three eventually impacted the agricultural South;

- that the first shift, a socio-economic development, occurred with the transition to a cotton economy between 1820 and 1860;

- that the cotton economy disrupted earlier frontier socio-economic patterns;

- that intensive, centralized land use patterns replaced loose land usage;

- that new economies of scale, marked by large land accumulations and increased slave populations, dominated agricultural and trade patterns formerly based on subsistence and subsistence-plus levels of farming, but

- that a mixed pattern of landownership prevailed, with widely varying holdings;

- that the second major landholding revolution began to occur with the legal abolition of slavery, necessitating a region-wide adaptation in land use arrangements;

- that the key to this system was the relationship between landowner and tenant, and that black peonage was one element of this relationship;

- that peonage was fully developed by 1900; and

- that large landholdings were fragmented, but not necessarily broken, by this system, and small landholdings increased;

- that the third phase of land usage occurred with large-scale land abandonment beginning in the Great Depression;

- that landholdings again increased, but that the absolute numbers of people in the MRA decreased;

- that a rural population dependent on a cotton economy switched to a rural, non-agricultural population dependent on extractive industries and non-cotton economies;

further,

- that the entire area under the cotton economy was river-dependent;

Introduction

- that river dependency centered primarily in Augusta, and secondarily in a hierarchy of towns linked to Augusta by rail, road, and water (i.e., Aiken, Savannah, Charleston, and Atlanta);

- that mature urbanization and industrialization in the study area were minimal; and finally,

- that a clear picture of the MRA would be seen through diachronic and synchronic studies, examining linkages established through landholding patterns, population characteristics, transportation systems, and community developments, traced through the tripartite periodization outlined above; and

- that the periodization might be clocked, and the socio-economic changes measured, at forty year intervals beginning in 1810 to cover the following characteristic developments:

- 1810, frontier economies;
- 1850, the cotton economy;
- 1890, the "New South;"
- 1930, the Great Depression; and
- 1970, the contemporary period.

Methods

The literature search proceeded in three interrelated stages: 1) the identification of historical sources relevant to the Russell MRA; 2) the collection of data from these sources; and 3) the analysis of the data collected. All phases required field trips, on-site research in the project area and at major libraries and repositories.

The initial phase included searches through state and regional bibliographies; indices to government documents, archives and manuscript collections; and the collection and identification of historical maps of the area. As another step in this phase we prepared a preliminary archival checklist to identify all the subjects and names to be searched through the literature. Included in the checklist were all the known historic sites by name or location; family names from the area; streams, rivers, and creeks; towns, settlements, churches and schools; cemeteries, railroads, counties, ferries, dams, mills, and other landmarks in the MRA, and such subject areas as "transportation," "agriculture," and "social institutions."

Introduction

On-site research was conducted at the county courthouses; local historical societies; the libraries at the University of South Carolina and the University of Georgia; the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, Columbia, South Carolina; both state archives; libraries at Emory University and Atlanta University; the National Archives; the Southern Historical Collections at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston; and the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah. Four field trips were taken to the project area: the full team visited in October 1979 for preliminary observations; oral history investigations were conducted in March and April 1980; and a final, full-team trip was taken to complete field work in June 1980.

The full roster of consultants met as a team four additional times during the project: September 21, 1979, in an introductory session; December 6-7, 1979, with Eleanor Ramsey of the Institute for Social Change, University of California at Berkeley, concerning oral history; and March 28 and April 25, 1980, for evaluations and debriefings. Throughout the project Roth and Grable also held individual meetings with consultants, as needed. Since The History Group is located in Atlanta, convenient to the offices of IAS, monthly review meetings were held throughout the project to discuss progress, problems, and findings. Other meetings took place between The History Group and with related project personnel: four with the staff of the Historic American Buildings Survey; one with a folklife inventory team; special briefing sessions with the State Historic Preservation Office in South Carolina; and meetings with historians and others working on the site-specific archeological projects.

For purposes of these investigations, everything inside the impact area, that is, the MRA itself, formed the nucleus for study. Occasionally, the study area was more broadly defined in order to determine the economic and social relationships between the MRA and its immediate vicinity, as well as between it and more distant centers of market and culture. The four counties served as the major sources for aggregate data and analysis. On the sub-county level, all local cities, towns, and unincorporated communities were included (whether or not still extant): Abbeville, Calhoun Falls, Hester, Iva, Starr, Anderson, Latimer, Lowndesville, and Moffetsville in South Carolina; and Elberton, Edinburg, Beverly, Heardmont, Middleton, Pearle, Rock Branch, Rose Hill, Ruckersville, and Hartwell, in Georgia. As the topics of the investigations ranged, the study area ranged beyond the bounds of the immediate geographic zone to include, for example, Augusta, Athens, Savannah, Charleston, and Atlanta, as important market destinations and centers of transportation. In other words, the study area was determined by individual sites, local, state, natural, regional, or national contexts, as the questions to be addressed in the study required.

Findings

The hypotheses drawn up at the beginning of our research held up very well, except for two major deviations, discussed below - one concerning river transportation and the other concerning landholding patterns. Throughout the research, efforts were thwarted by difficulties with data and by constraints of time. To summarize from the hypotheses, the Russell MRA history may be reiterated as follows:

- The Richard B. Russell MRA was politically marginal during the historical period. It was not our specific task to measure its political importance, but it is significant that the area emerged as a political force only during its earliest decades, when Petersburg was alive and flourishing as a center of trade just south of the Russell MRA. The MRA experienced some action during the Revolutionary War, but no major battles. Otherwise, the area lay in the hinterland of military and political power structures. Geographically, however, it did express the major changes which occurred in the rural Southeast during the historical period.

- The first major change, the shift from a frontier to a cotton economy in the early nineteenth century, was well demonstrated in the MRA. The cotton economy disrupted earlier socio-economic patterns, including a brief experimental period with tobacco as a cash crop, by intensifying land use and introducing new economies of scale. Two patterns of evidence for this change lay in the rapid, large increase in slave populations and the expansion of landholdings - i.e., aggregations of small units into large units, such as was represented by Millwood plantation. This new economy never entirely replaced subsistence farming, which has remained a part of the entire agricultural system to the present. Local milling operations indicated that mechanized self-sufficiency existed in the area, but they did not constitute full antebellum industrialization, at least not in terms of their size or functional markets.

- The second revolution occurred with the legal abolition of slavery and is most obvious in the complex patterns of race relations which developed after the Civil War. New systems of landholdings appeared, with renters and sharecroppers a major part of the land-labor system, but not in control of it. A small but important correlative development was the appearance of black landownership which occurred at this point. Generalizations about the break-up or maintenance of plantations were extremely hard to make in the absence of parcel-by-parcel records or site-specific reports which were not available during the research phase of our project. However, there is nothing to suggest from the records we analyzed that the MRA is in any way an exception to state, county, and Piedmont region patterns dominating the agricultural systems at the time. In fact, the MRA offers an unusually good case of the development of black landowning.

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•The third pattern of revolutionary change was the abandonment of land on a large scale in the twentieth century. This pattern emerged with the appearance of the boll weevil in the area in 1919 and with the depression in cotton prices after World War I. Widespread abandonment of the area began to occur in the 1920s and accelerated during the Great Depression. During this phase of change there were actually different development patterns in the area: one, reflected by Anderson County, which survived the Depression very well, was based on successful industrialization in the early twentieth century; and the other, represented by the other counties to a greater or lesser degree, was based on just the opposite, the absence or lag in successful industrialization in the early twentieth century.

•The findings of this report deviate from the hypotheses in one major point: the degree of river dependency presumed to exist in the MRA. The river was used, but far from dominating market transportations, it provided only one of many alternatives in a system heavily dependent on roads. The subordination of waterway transportation might be read in the demise of Petersburg and the underdevelopment of Edinburg, both of which were established on an earlier riparian model for settlement. As soon as cotton markets were keyed into other, non-river, overland destinations, Petersburg declined, and Edinburg, even further upriver, never developed at all. The commercial transportation network turned away from the river altogether when the railroad came to the MRA in the late nineteenth century. Perhaps - but it is impossible to prove - the greatest traffic on the Savannah in the MRA for almost any period of time under investigation was across the river and not up or down it. The transportation network remained underdeveloped in the area, for reasons stated in our report, and urbanization and industrialization, again with the exception of Anderson County, were minimal.

•The periodization which was proposed as a set of chronological benchmarks for marking off the development in the area worked out very well as a device for organizing the historical information. The selected checkpoint years - 1810, 1850, 1890, 1930, and 1970 - neatly revealed the chronology of the area's development and allowed the report to trace major shifts in social and economic patterns, at times statistically, at times descriptively; the dates helped not only to demarcate the changing patterns but to measure, in effect, their size and significance.

•A clear historical picture has been traced of the project area, drawn from aggregate data, primary research, and oral history, but what cannot be so clearly seen, because of problems discussed below, is a continuous line of specific land-holding patterns and how they have changed over time. The land records were too elusive, and the collecting process too cumbersome on such a large scale.

Data Collection and Methodological Considerations

The findings of this report should be evaluated against certain research problems which were encountered during the study. Given the mandate to pursue a systematic search and analysis of collected documentary source materials relative to the MRA, we met with the classical historiographical dilemma - "pas de documents; pas d'histoire," as the French put it - "no documents; no history."

The limitations in the amount of data available were severe, as some examples will show. There are no land deeds for Abbeville County prior to 1880 due to a courthouse fire there. Unfortunately, since Abbeville was the first part of the MRA to be settled, this loss represents a very serious gap in the records. There are, in fact, few extant public records to speak of for most of the towns in the MRA. For instance, Edinburg shows up on early maps of Elbert County, but no other public record of its existence was found. Data from both county and state levels were abundant, but were not usually consistent with each other or readily comparable. Frequently, the research team had to translate raw data from different county or state sources into some analyzable form, a time-consuming, frustrating, and sometimes impossible (as with early Abbeville County records) process. The incomparability of data across county lines, except from U. S. Censuses, resulted inevitably in an unevenness in data analysis. In addition, there is a paucity of direct qualitative evidence for the Russell MRA; that is, few contemporary descriptions exist which depicted the area or interpreted changes in it as they were happening. This holds true for both residents in the area and travelers to it. Although our archival search was systematic and thorough, it could not compensate for this great lack of earlier recorded observation. Moreover, the propensities of local and regional histories to concentrate on events and people exclusive of their environmental settings exacerbated the other problems: even the secondary literature was not much help. As the section on agriculture shows, there has not been much previous historical interest in the particular environs in which the MRA sits, and what interest there has been has been conflicting and confusing in its coverage. Finally, the project area has seen such a great outmigration of its inhabitants that the present area is only sparsely settled, a bare remnant of the physical, cultural, and human world which once existed. The lack of a high concentration of some material culture forms affected the folklife investigations we performed, and the lack of residents affected the amount of oral history testimony we could collect.

The result of problems arising from the presence or absence of data was that it was almost impossible to "people" the Russell MRA at any point in time with any amount of exactitude. It was difficult, if not impossible, to say who lived there and to describe in human rather than in merely statistical terms, what they did. Without records, it was hard to get to the land itself and even harder to get to the people on it. Methodologically, we made efforts to reconstruct the continuous but

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changing line of landholding - by case study and by sampling - in the MRA, in order to predict such elements as size and variability of holdings and as much of their physical characteristics as possible. The case studies were relatively successful; the sampling efforts were not. Yet, even the case studies had problems in data collection, as Millwood Plantation - with probably the richest set of documentary sources of any single site in the MRA - clearly demonstrates.

One of the first things the team tried to do was to identify the original landholders and the extent of their holdings in the MRA, in order to trace patterns of migration and settlement among the early families, an investigative tack which was carried out differently in South Carolina and in Georgia, because of the different ways the information is organized in the two state archives. For comparative purposes, the settlements along Beaverdam Creek and Rocky River were selected as appropriate and comparable research targets for sampling - both were among the earliest areas in the MRA to be settled; both are similar geographically.

In South Carolina land conveyance records from the 1770s to 1830 are computerized and on microfilm, organized by key words corresponding to major landform features such as rivers, creeks, and streams. We pulled seventy names from the "COMINDEX" for Rocky River, which names were further checked for references in indexes to wills, deeds, and genealogies. At this point fewer than ten references emerged, and checking the references further was confounded by informational problems: there was no way to tell where the original landholders were located on the Rocky River to be sure they were within the boundaries of the MRA, and searches through genealogical and legal data were so void of environmental connections and so replete with same and similar names, that there was no way to be sure the person named in the original deed was the same as the one who showed up in a genealogy or other legal document.

A more promising set of discoveries seemed to be offered on the Georgia side by a similar kind of search, but a more thorough one, conducted outside the actual purview of this project, but in a manner so that this project had access to both its procedures and findings. A University of Georgia geography class under the direction of consultant Louis De Vorsey attempted to reconstruct the original landholdings along Beaverdam Creek for the late eighteenth century. Their efforts were finely detailed but only partially successful. The parts of Beaverdam Creek they were able to reconstruct - in jigsaw puzzle fashion, fitting together plats and surveyor markings - lay entirely outside the Russell MRA and represented territory which was settled from ten to twenty years after the initial settlement of the MRA. It turned out to be impossible - probably from the irregularities in land grants and surveying during the frontier period - to reconstruct the landholdings actually within the MRA boundaries. Nonetheless, the names of plat holders on Beaverdam Creek which the class had used and laboriously tabulated from the plats in the Georgia archives were passed on to the The History Group, who in

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turn checked them against a specially compiled census for Elbert County for 1790. Probably because of the amount of land speculation in Elbert County in the late 1700s, there was little correlation between the names of the plat holders and the enumerated residents in the area, but the results of this comparison appear in the narrative here in Part III Section 2. Unfortunately, again, it was not possible to get information on size, shape, and other characteristics of the landholdings, and the smallest identifiable geographic unit where the names appeared turned out to be the militia district - an unstable geographic boundary definition at best. Additional research on these same names through other genealogical and legal sources netted the same meager results as on the South Carolina side, with the exception of the Heard family, as reported in the oral history section.

As a result of these problems, the searches for settlement, migration, and landholding patterns through time were substantially reduced. The family studies which emanated from these efforts were confined to the two reported in the oral history section, and are used to illustrate two quite different topical interests: the migration patterns suggested by the genealogies of one of the largest family-kin groups in the area, the Heards; and the reconstruction of a "lost" family in Elbert County, the black Dyes.

In addition to working chronologically forward from original settlement records, the team worked chronologically back in time from contemporary information, trying to piece together settlement patterns which had possible nineteenth century origins. In this case, we checked names in the Agricultural Census for 1850 for as many contemporary family names from the area as we could. Again, specific locational property references were lacking; comparisons of agricultural census records with local tax records only further confused matters, as the local tax rolls included all properties owned by one person in the county as a single unit of assessment; the individual pieces of those holdings could not be separated out.

Even individual cases posed problems for the detailed kind of checking we required: Millwood was a successful re-creation of landholdings. Although the plats were lost, the collection of parcels of land could be traced through literary sources penned by the owner, James Edward Colhoun, himself. In another instance, however, the original holdings for Stephen Heard were partially available from extant plats but could not be followed in any literary or other legal sources. There are only a few collected Heard family papers, and no will for Stephen Heard seems to exist. In the one case, Millwood, we could follow the land transactions but not the family; in the other, the Heards, we could follow the family, but not find the land transactions.

As for the story of post-Civil War fragmentation, the documentation was most problematical of all. First, the 1870 Census, generally regarded as the most unreliable of the nineteenth century,

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could not be used for accurate agricultural information, and it matched up very poorly with names identified in the 1850 Census. Through a sampling of names alone, the breakup or retention of large property holdings could not be identified. It was all too likely, in addition, that the census evidence was biased in favor of plantation "breakup" patterns, since the relationships between tenants and owners were not spelled out until the 1910 Census. That is, owners and tenants were listed prior to that time, but no indication was given as to which tenants went with which owners. Thus, the comparisons of early and late landholdings were obstructed by the incomparability of the data officially collected. Again, some helpful lines might have been drawn through family names and kin relationships, but the problems there have already been discussed.

Without many original plantation records - Millwood again stands out as a striking exception - there were few ways to reconstruct plantation and farm life and land tenure within the MRA from internal evidence. Records for the Heard's, Ruckers, Mattox's, McCallas, and other major families in the MRA simply are nonexistent or so sketchy that they elucidate nothing of the environmental changes, structures, or land acquisition processes around the families.

It is the opinion of The History Group concerning these efforts that the combination of searches through tax, county, deed, wills, censuses, and genealogies could still net useful information. However, the amount of time involved for the searches, even on a sampling basis, is too extensive for the amount of information that could be retrieved for a project of this scope. It might work with a half dozen samples, but no more: it is truly a matter of diminishing returns. It follows therefore that the possibilities for predictive modelling from aggregate historical sources, for the Russell MRA as a natural or historical area, are extremely slim. Beyond establishing certain broad cultural patterns, beyond introducing certain relevant aggregate statistical profiles, and beyond giving some individual case examples, prediction is an inexact possibility to say the least.

A Word About Black History

The study team was fortunate to have two scholars among its members who were not only sensitive to the questions about black history but, as longtime professors in black studies and related subjects, they were experienced in the nature of source material for black history. If the documents were few for the general history of the MRA, they were almost non-existent for its black populations. However, the team examined as many potential sources as possible: theses at Atlanta University, which has been the major investigatory institution of black life in Georgia since its founding in the 1860s; the records of the Freedmen's Bureau; the slave narratives collected by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s; special indexes to black sources; bibliographies;

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standard black histories and other identified secondary sources, and, of course, oral testimonies of local residents. It will be apparent to the readers of this document that while we have hardly exhausted the subject of the black experience in the Russell MRA, we have raised some questions, examined available resources, and established a firm base upon which additional, more specialized research might be founded.

The History of the Russell MRA, Reconsidered

Although the landholding research for this project was less productive than we had hoped, other aspects of the findings were comprehensive enough to establish a reliable picture of the settlement, development, agriculture, and economy of the project area. The picture of that history, as drawn here in area-specific terms from the literature of, by, and about the area, differs at several points from the historical backgrounds given by IAS in the Scope of Work and General Research Design for this project. It is in the nature of investigation that new findings alter old assumptions and hypotheses, and attention is drawn here to these differences simply to point to the advances which have been made as these investigations continue.

Earlier statements about the town settlements in the area imply that these concentrations of population were all of a kind. It would be more accurate to say that the earliest towns were established in the MRA in the late eighteenth century - some (such as Elberton) which related to overland routes and some (such as Petersburg) which related to the river. However, other towns continued to be formed, developed, and reshaped, either through growth or decline during the entire historic period of the MRA. While the origins of some of the MRA's towns may lie in the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century development of most of them is more of a key to their true significance than are their earliest years of settlement.

A perceptual problem may persist in interpretations of sites along the Savannah River, if the model for their interpretation rests with dependence on the river as opposed to what we discovered to be more truly the case: since Euro-American settlement, this area has been dependent upon as many available transportation means as it could be, none of which were particularly good until the twentieth century. Also, the assumption of area decline during the latter half of the nineteenth century could affect the interpretation of archeological findings and site restorations. The temporary dislocations after the Civil War and the poor international market for cotton were short-lived, and they were replaced by a general agricultural expansion in the entire South, but especially in area of which the Russell MRA is a part. If there is in fact a heyday for the project area, this would be it.

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In sum, while there were limits to the scope of this project and to the materials we found to investigate, what emerges is a picture of a complex, engrossing, hardy, and frugal culture. Whatever attributes of this culture survive in museums and artifact collections upon the completion of the Russell Dam will obtain the respect and fascination of future observers far into the twenty-first century, if not beyond.

D. R. R.

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FOOTNOTES

¹"Richard B. Russell Archeological District, Richard B. Russell Multiple Resource Area, Programmatic Mitigation Plan," Interagency Archeological Services, Atlanta, undated memorandum.

²Richard L. Taylor and Marion F. Smith, comp., The Report of the Intensive Survey of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake, Savannah River, Georgia and South Carolina (Columbia, SC: Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, 1978).

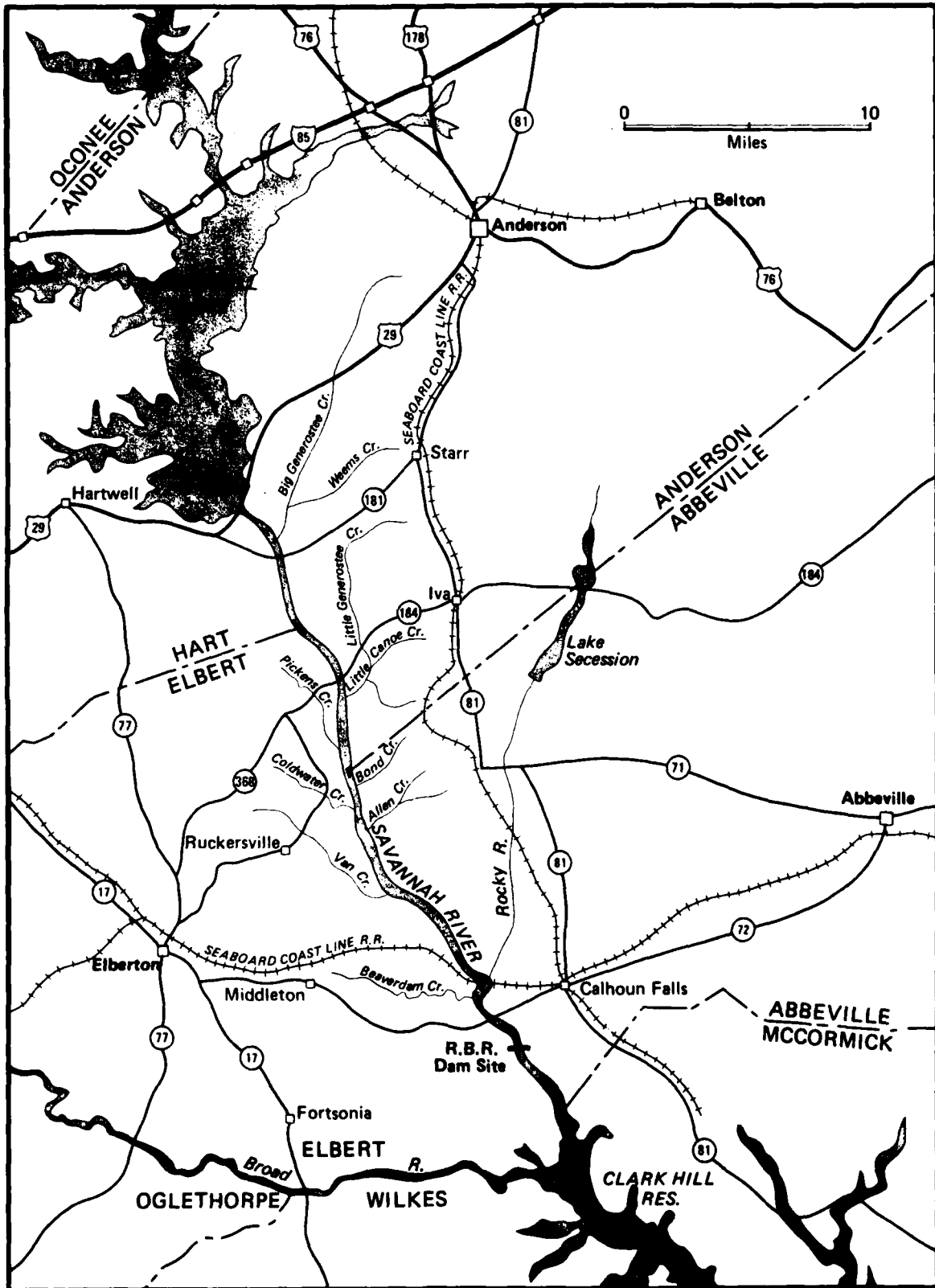
PART II: DEVELOPMENTAL PATTERNS
IN THE RICHARD B. RUSSELL MULTIPLE RESOURCE AREA

SECTION 1: AGRICULTURE

No other geographical region of the United States has so involved the historical imagination as has the American South. Among historians, in fact, "regional history" often means "southern history", and the topic that has been most and best studied within that regional history is the plantation South. It is the purpose here to place the Richard B. Russell MRA within this regional context and to describe the agricultural economy of the area as it reflects or represents the plantation South.

The plantation culture of the South has been approached from a variety of historical perspectives: as a cultural unity,¹ as a focus for the artistic imagination,² and as a political-economic reality.³ So unified, in fact, is the agricultural inheritance of the region, it has been proposed that "the basic pattern of [southern] rural life remained relatively unchanged for 321 years - from John Rolfe to Franklin Roosevelt," and further, "that no major changes occurred in the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of the staples - tobacco, cotton, corn, rice, and sugarcane - between 1612 and 1933."⁴ What unified staple agriculture in the South according to one historian, was the annual work pattern.⁵ Using generalized descriptions from plantation record books, another historian, Julia Floyd Smith, reconstructed that general work pattern for the annual "routine of growing cotton", which might easily describe much of the yearly round of activity in the MRA:

During January and February, any cotton remaining on the plants was picked, sunned, ginned, and packed for shipment; fields were cleaned, plowed, and prepared for spring planting. Planters who used fertilizer had it spread at this time. Wood was cut, hauled, and split for fence rails; logs were burned, fences repaired, and new ones built; buildings and tools were repaired; vegetables were planted.



Map 2: The Russell MRA and Environs

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During March and April, light furrows were made in corn and cotton fields, and seeds were planted and covered by hand with a harrow; vegetables were cultivated and cornfields plowed. In May, cotton was 'barred.' Barring off cotton or siding cotton was done by running single furrows with a one-horse turn-plow close alongside the rows of young cotton plants, throwing the earth to the 'middles.' This lessened the labor of the first 'chopping.' Chopping was followed by 'splitting the middles,' throwing the earth back again to the ridges on which the cotton plants stood. As cotton plants grew, cultivation was done with shallow plows, or 'sweeps.' Between May and August cotton and corn were cultivated until ready to be picked. The first picking of cotton began in August.

From September to January cotton was picked, ginned, pressed, and shipped to market. Teams of mules or oxen were used to haul the wagons of baled cotton to market. 'Goading six or eight yoke of oxen all day and camping by night' while hauling cotton to the market was 'the winter routine' of many plantation slaves. During the fall, peas were gathered, sweet potatoes were dug and stored in straw-lined mounds of earth called 'banks,' corn was gathered and shucked, fodder was stored, ditches cleaned and repaired, wood cut and hauled, and new ground cleared. Thus, one growing cycle overlapped the next, though there was some variation from this general schedule, the work of cotton growers was essentially the same everywhere.⁶

The uniformity inherent in staple-crop agriculture - whether cotton, corn, tobacco, or rice - suggests that the wealth of secondary literature on the plantation South may be applicable, in outline certainly, to any individual portion of it. Therefore, the secondary works collected into the bibliography appended here would describe in basic generalities at least the agricultural life of the Russell MRA. However, subtle distinctions must be made. "My own rural experience, my later studies, and years of research in southern history have convinced me," to quote the long-time secretary-treasurer of the Southern Historical Association, "that there never has been the 'one' South described by many historians. This background also has led to the firm belief that there never has been a simple way to accurately describe . . . the plantation system."⁷ The challenge, then, here as elsewhere, is to maintain the regional universe of the plantation South while testing its viability at the local level, and for our purpose to find - conceptually and then factually - what is the South in the MRA and what is the MRA in the South.

Within the context of the southern region as a whole, it is necessary to define the sub-region into which the Russell MRA falls. Any number of indices can and have been employed to divide the American South

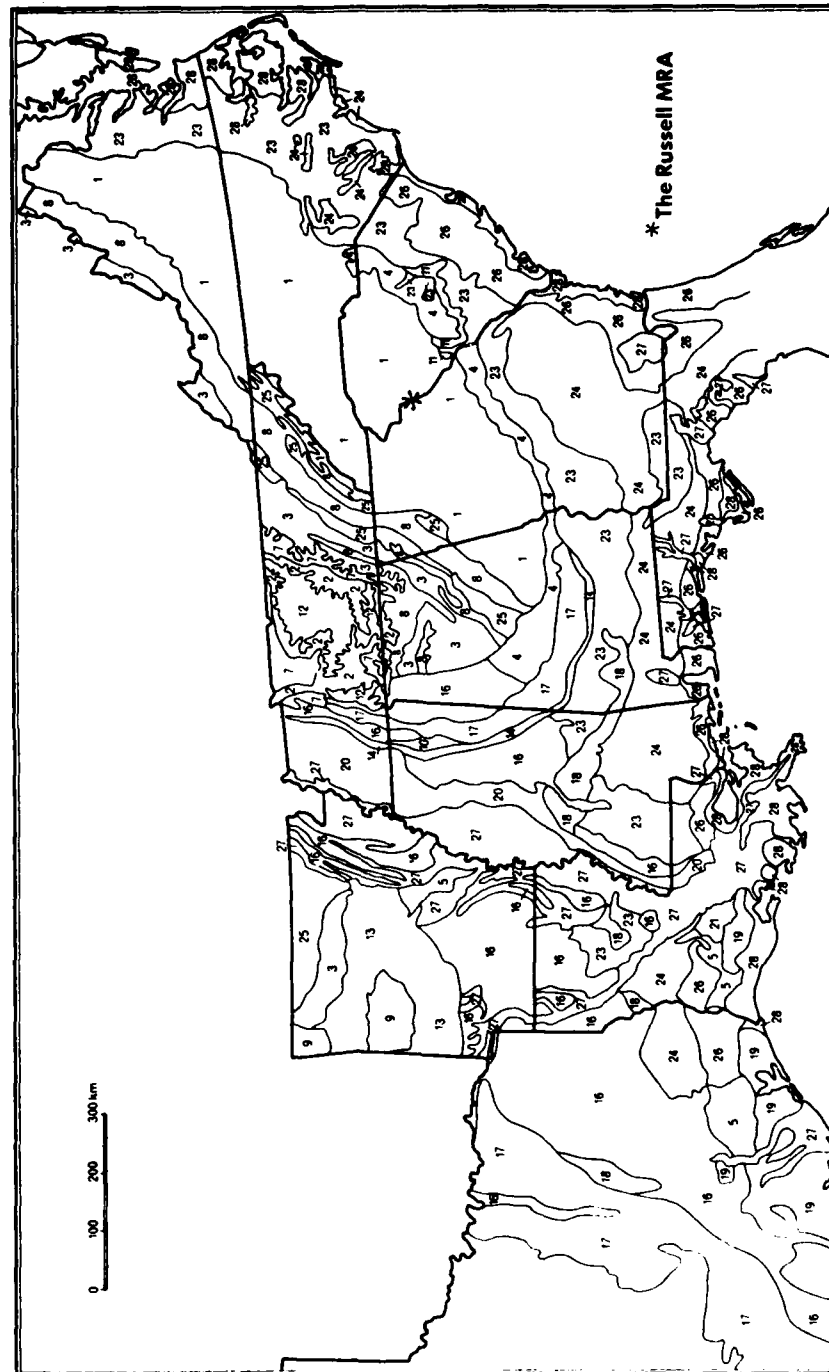
into comprehensible sub-areas. In a recent econometric study of the region, for example, Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch used information from the Tenth Census (1880) to determine twenty-eight soil categories, sixty-three different economic sub-regions, and specific areas of comparability between the ante-bellum and post-bellum southern agricultural characteristics.⁸ According to them, the Russell MRA falls within the largest single soil-type area in the South, "granite and metamorphic gray and red lands of the Piedmont" and the largest single economic region in the South "the Southern Piedmont plateau." It should be noted that the southern Piedmont plateau includes eighty-one counties within the region, by far the largest economic sub-region delineated, and furthermore, a large part of the Cotton South. The accompanying table suggests the persistence of the cotton economy, forty-three and five-tenths percent of the region producing seventy-two and seven-tenths percent of the region's cotton in the post-bellum (1880) economy. (See Table 1.)

More than forty years before the Ransom and Sutch study, Howard W. Odum first placed "social research within a regional framework" to create a framework for "social planning and social action," and utilized nearly seven hundred indices to define the South. Earlier still, Odum's colleague, Rupert Vance, provided in his monumental Human Geography of the South delineations of both national agricultural regions and cotton belt soil regions.¹⁰ In all three works - the two classic compendia and the recent econometric analysis - the sub-region, as defined especially by agriculture, but by other indices as well, in which the Richard B. Russell MRA falls is classified as the "Piedmont," or preferably, the "Cotton Piedmont."

At the sub-regional level there are studies of a more localized nature that focus on the Cotton Piedmont, such as Anthony M. Tang's Economic Development in the Southern Piedmont, 1860-1950: Its Impact on Agriculture. Tang concentrated upon the South Carolina-Georgia Piedmont, examining the manner in which urbanization, industrialization, and agricultural status have impacted the sub-region. As part of a series organized by the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Vanderbilt University, which included parallel studies of the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Upper East Tennessee Valley, Tang's work is especially valuable for its comparative perspective. However, to move closer to the MRA, even finer levels of analysis must be drawn upon.

At the state level within the sub-region, the history of Georgia agriculture is especially rich, as is evident in Milton S. Heath's Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in the Economic Development of Georgia to 1860, which, like Tang's Economic Development, has a larger significance than is generally accorded state and local history. It is informed by a sophisticated methodology and is part of a major effort at comparative study. One of only four seminal state studies in the "new economic history" undertaken at Harvard during the postwar era (the others were Illinois, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania) Constructive Liberalism provides a perspective, that is, at once, wide-ranging and

Figure 1: Southern Soil Regions



Category 1: Granite and metamorphic gray and red lands of the Piedmont
 (Source: Ransom and Sutch, One Kind of Freedom (1977))

Table 1:
Cotton Economy Persistence:
Major Characteristics, Confederate South and 1880s South

	Confederate South (in thousands) ¹	Cotton South (thousands)	Cotton South as % of Confederate South
Population	12,733.6	5,514.6	43.3
Black ²	5,333.1	2,998.7	56.2
White	7,400.5	2,515.9	34.0
Number of farms	1,230.9	546.3	44.4
Tilled acres	57,191.2	26,627.0	46.6
Total acres	187,819.2	81,606.0	43.5
Production of			
Cotton (bales)	5,697.0	4,141.0	72.7
Corn (bushels)	265,333.8	95,740.0	36.1

¹Includes all eleven of the Confederate States, but excludes those areas of FL and TX only sparsely settled in 1880. ²Includes small numbers of Indians, Chinese and Japanese.

Source: Ransom & Sutch, One Kind of Freedom (1977)

sharply focused: it is essential for an understanding of the interplay of Georgia agriculture with other political, social, and economic forces at work within the state, and its analyses have been utilized in the work at hand. The historiography for South Carolina agriculture seems much less extensive, though for our purposes this is somewhat offset by the availability of two valuable summaries of agricultural statistics for the twentieth century: The Agriculture of Abbeville County, South Carolina and The Agriculture of Anderson County, South Carolina which describe the two MRA counties in some detail. Even though Georgia agriculture seems to have drawn more scholarly attention than has South Carolina agriculture, much of the historical literature focuses upon more prosperous areas in each state, thereby reinforcing a pattern found throughout this project: the Russell MRA is more often than not presented in marginal and borderline terms - that is, on the borders of the "important" history of the region, not "important" history in and of itself.

Nonetheless, a reliable overview of the agricultural history of the Piedmont may be gained from Tang's previously mentioned Economic Development in the Southern Piedmont. The work adopts an "urban-industrial matrix approach" in an "attempt to relate community differences in farm incomes to the highly uneven pattern of economic development" in twenty-one contiguous counties (eleven in Georgia and ten in South Carolina), three of which, Elbert, Hart, and Anderson, are in the Russell project area.¹¹ According to Tang, the agricultural history of the sample counties may be divided into three major periods: 1) before 1900, 2) 1900-1940, and 3) after 1940. While the breaks in Tang's periodization differ slightly from the benchmark years, The History Group proposed - measured in even forty-year intervals - the patterns of agricultural development and change which he describes concur in their essential details with our findings for the MRA.

Tang's first period, before 1900, is broken down, in turn, into three stages: 1) 1750-1820; 1820-1860; and 1860-1900. At the opening of its frontier stage during the mid-1700s, the settled portions of the Piedmont consisted mainly of widely scattered subsistence farms. "Isolation and self-sufficiency were," Tang explains, "... the early characteristics of our study area. . . . As our area grew in population and more land was cleared, the disposal of surplus local farm products soon became a problem. . . . To minimize the difficulties and expenses arising from a primitive transportation system, the farmers of the area experimented with several lightweight, easily marketable staples - among them, tobacco, hemp, and flax."¹² Following the disruptions of the American Revolution, tobacco became the main staple crop of the area, reaching an export highpoint in 1799; however, due to its inferior grade, it was quickly abandoned during the opening years of the new century, when Cotton became King. Still, the high cost of transportation remained a problem. "While cotton prices were sufficiently high for the growers to hurdle the enormous cost of shipping this staple," Tang notes, "Few could afford to bring in bulky grains - which would have been necessary if they were to specialize in cotton. As a result, our area continued generally to

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practice diversified agriculture . . . , "13 distinguishing it, thereby, from the single-crop monopoly that is part of the plantation model.

The dominance of cotton in the Piedmont was delayed by the various embargoes preceding the War of 1812, by the War itself, and by the international dislocations of the Napoleonic period; however, during the 1820s, the cotton culture bloomed. Its progress may be traced in the accompanying maps for Georgia which reflect the process for the entire Piedmont, showing black (predominantly slave) population movement from 1790 to 1820 to 1840 and cotton production in 1850, the highpoint for King Cotton during the ante-bellum period. Throughout the 1850s, the cotton frontier of the Southwest began to siphon off the resources - masters, slaves, and capital - of the old Southeast, and the Piedmont experienced a decline which in time became a crash, when, in 1865, the "Southern way" and its "peculiar institution" were toppled.¹⁴

The transition from the second stage of this early period, (1820-1860) to the third (1860-1900) was a notable one. "During Reconstruction," Tang proposes, "agriculture in the Southern Piedmont was characterized by three major developments of far-reaching consequences:

1) the introduction and popularization of commercial fertilizers, 2) the solution of labor problems in the form of a crop-share arrangement, and 3) the solution of credit problems in the form of a crop-lien system. These three developments together with high cotton prices in the immediate postwar years accounted for the resurgence of "King Cotton" in the post-bellum era to a degree never attained before.¹⁵

As a result of these forces at work in the Piedmont between the Civil War and the turn of the century, Tang suggests, "the counties of the study area were becoming more alike during that period, so that by 1900 the area had achieved a fair degree of homogeneity."¹⁶ This conclusion is reached on the basis of a number of socio-economic indices:

By 1900, the Southern Piedmont study area had recaptured much of its earlier homogeneity, which was lost during the ante-bellum period following the invention of the cotton gin. At the turn of the present century, the area was remarkably homogeneous in terms of its type of farming, rate of tenancy, farm organization, crop yields, banking resources, transportation facilities, and population characteristics (e.g., illiteracy rate and age composition).¹⁷

Whereas homogeneity characterized the era from the opening of the Civil War to the start of the new century, heterogeneity better described the years from 1900 to 1940, the second of Tang's periods. Then, "there was a noticeable, but highly uneven, industrial development in the study area and . . . coincidental with this development, there was a general

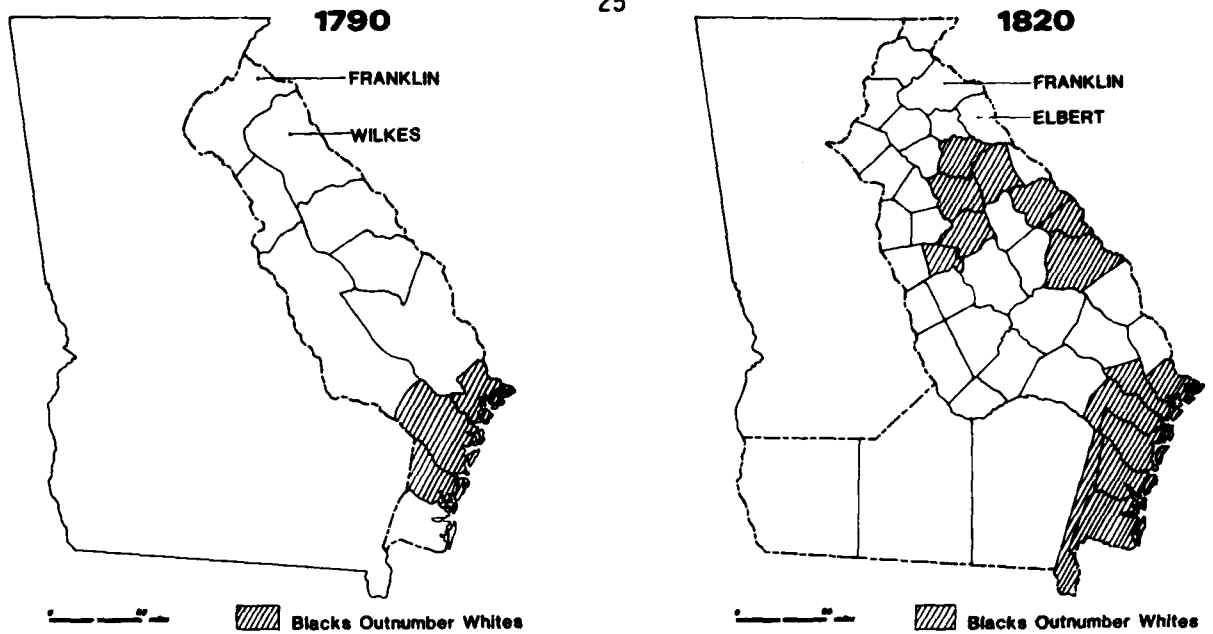
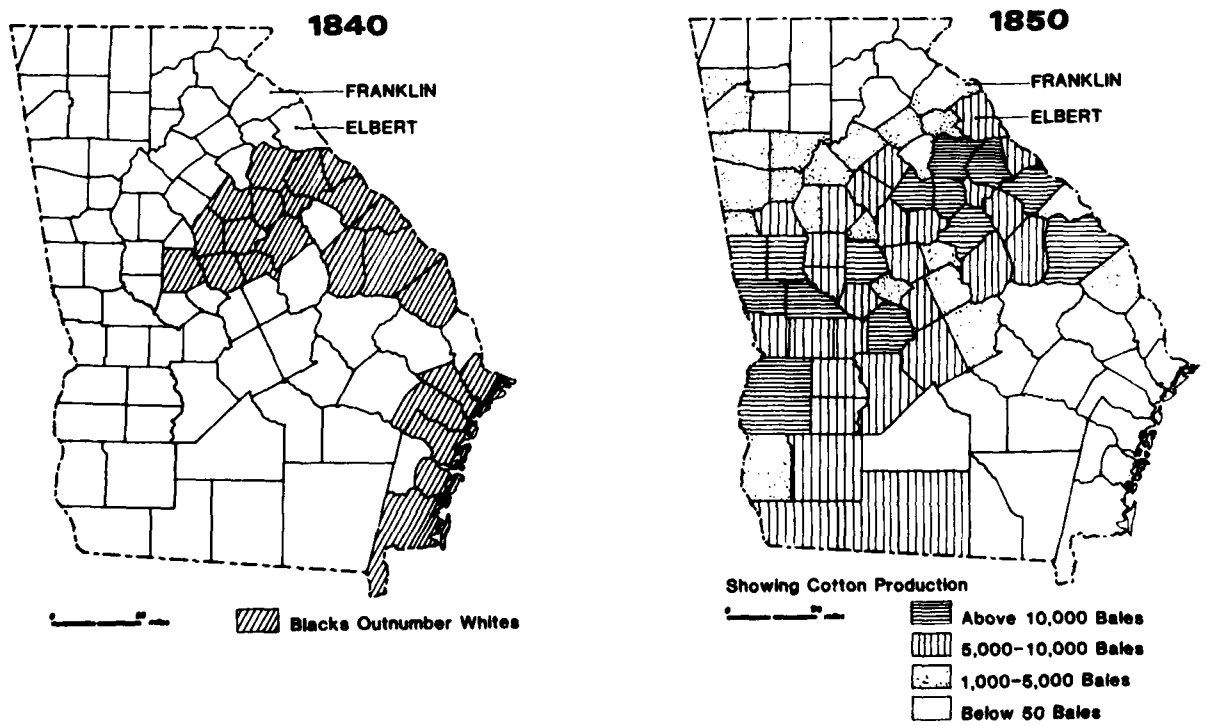


Figure 2:

Cotton and Blacks in Georgia: 1790, 1820, 1840, and 1850



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departure from a state of relative equilibrium in 1900, resulting in not only persistent but increasingly greater differences in farm incomes between the area counties."¹⁸ Thus, for the Russell area counties, Tang calculates the total dollars for manufactures as follows: \$1,699,000 in Anderson in 1900 and \$11,740,000 in 1940; \$191,000 in Elbert in 1910 and \$1,698,000 in 1940; and, \$104,000 in Hart in 1910 and \$117,000 in 1940. On a per capita basis, these same figures break down into a rise in Anderson from \$31 to \$132, \$10 to \$87 in Elbert, and \$7 to \$8 in Hart.¹⁹ For gross farm income per worker for the same years, the figures read: from \$204 to \$405 for Anderson County; from \$186 to \$275 for Elbert; and from \$187 to \$364 for Hart.²⁰

The central thesis of the major segment of Tang's study is that early twentieth century industrialization and urbanization transformed the Southern Piedmont into "have" and "have not" counties, which he designates as "developed," (Anderson); "underdeveloped" (Hart); and "intermediate," (Elbert).²¹ The bulk of Tang's analysis consists of a contrast between the extremes to demonstrate the sharp divisions between developed and underdeveloped counties which were introduced with this industrial-urban transformation. He uses a wide variety of socio-economic indices to make his case: employment patterns in agriculture and in industry, investment records and capabilities, shifts in population density, development of transportation resources, levels of literacy, patterns of tenancy and outmigration, and much more. The overall pattern is apparent in the accompanying table, which shows that "during 1860-1900, the two groups of counties were steadily moving together in per-worker farm income, finally reaching equality in 1900. . . . After 1900, the two groups began to move apart again with the developed group more than recovering its earlier superior income position."²²

TABLE 2

Gross Farm Income per Worker

Expressed as relative percentage of the 21 county study area used by Tang in Economic Development in the Southern Piedmont (1958); 21-county average = 100%:

	1860	1880	1900	1930	1940
ANDERSON	95%	110%	112%	110%	121%
Average, developed counties	99%	107%	102%	109%	113%
HART	80%	92%	102%	96%	98%
Average, undeveloped counties	71%	99%	102%	94%	89%

After 1900, farming in the Southern Piedmont was revolutionized: small landholdings gave way to large ones; tenancy was all but ended in the sub-region; crop diversification replaced the previous hegemony of a cotton economy; new land uses, increasingly dairy-related and eventually lumber-related, were introduced; and part-time farming, often as a transition to industrial labor, become more widespread. The pattern of change was neither universal nor homogeneous: the distances between developed and underdeveloped counties, in fact, widened.

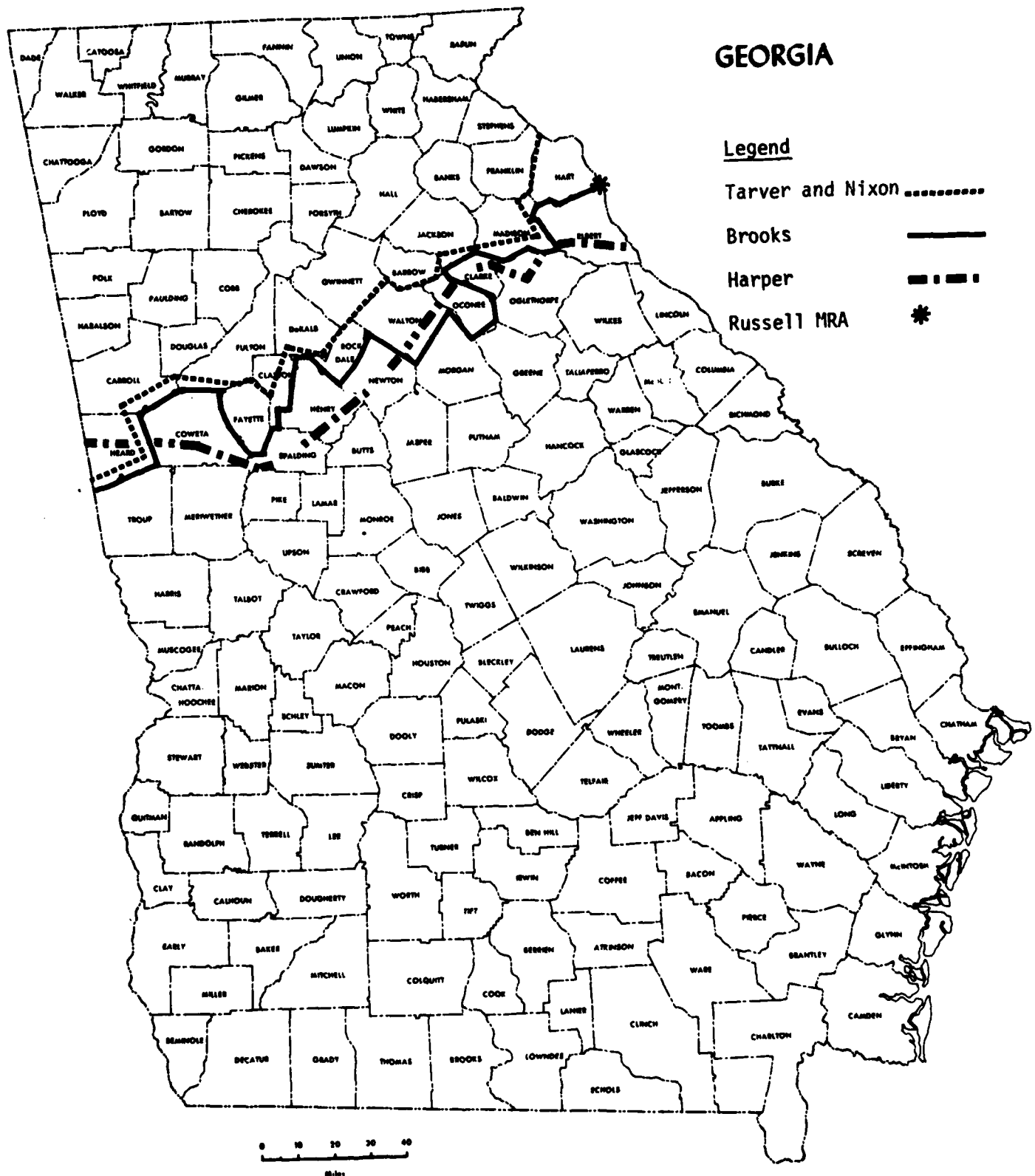
The third and final period, after 1940, may be dealt with summarily. It began in "a decade of unprecedented general economic prosperity and high war-induced resource mobility" and "witnessed a trend toward increasing income disparity between the developed and underdeveloped counties" in the years following.²³ In a very real sense this period evidenced a reinforcement and escalation of the patterns set during the previous forty years.

Tang's case history of the Southern Piedmont provides the best overview available on the agricultural evolution of the sub-region that contains the Russell MRA; still, it is not applicable in its entirety. For one thing, his model excludes Abbeville County. What is more, and of greater significance, it underplays the truly marginal character of the MRA.

The Russell project area lies in the Cotton Piedmont, but the boundary lines for the Piedmont are various and inexact; furthermore, the borderlines between the Piedmont and other sub-regions are equally inexact. Most of all, the Piedmont itself is a diverse area, and these border differences are important. For instance, the agricultural study of Georgia by Robert Preston Brooks subdivides the state into five separate farming sections, placing Elbert County in one section and Hart in another.²⁴ In an important series of articles on the development of agriculture in upper Georgia by Roland Harper, the regional map shows a boundary between the Upper Piedmont and the Lower Piedmont running directly through Elbert County, bisecting the Georgia side of the Russell MRA and treating Elbert County as an especially transitional area.²⁵ And, another example, a population study by James Tarver and John Nixon designating economic areas in Georgia shows both Elbert and Hart Counties in the Lower Piedmont, but lying on the border of the Upper Piedmont.²⁶ As long as the Cotton Piedmont has been under serious scholarly investigation, the two Russell area counties in Georgia have been treated, literally, marginally, as borderline or poorly defined transitional entities.

On the South Carolina side, a similar contrast has been in evidence, most clearly seen in the distinct demographic patterns for Abbeville and Anderson Counties discussed in the next section. In brief, their stories were dictated by the changing agricultural conditions of the Piedmont outlined by Tang: Abbeville's as a Cotton Belt plantation society; Anderson's as an Upper Piedmont farmstead-manufacturing community.

Figure 3: Upper and Lower Piedmont Boundaries



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Even when the focus is narrowed to a single site within the Russell MRA the borderline/transitional nature of the sub-region manifests itself. The raw data available on the Millwood Plantation in South Carolina, as a case study, practically defy inclusion into the general patterns of development as summarized by Tang. While Tang's study area was witnessing significant out-migrations during the 1850s, the owner of Millwood was tripling his improved land while at the same time he was reducing his overall acreage. Another exceptional example comes from Georgia, in the Alexander-Cleveland farm. When William Cleveland bought this property in 1857, he was in the process of accumulating not only sizeable agricultural territory, but commercial properties as well - a store, a mill, and a blacksmith shop. This financial expansion in a time of financial decline is significant enough, but what is even more important here, this particular tract of land stayed wholly intact after the Civil War; it was not divided, in fact, until 1944.²⁷ Clearly, these actions ran counter to the trends of the times, a not unusual occurrence in such a borderline region.

The challenge, as suggested earlier is to give due regard to the predictive patterns from the cultural model of the Plantation South while adjusting them for the particulars of the study area. The secondary literature is abundant on a variety of analytical levels - for the South as a region, for sub-areas within and bordering on the Piedmont, which is applicable to the Russell area, as delineated in this essay. However, without parcel-by-parcel case studies, it is not possible to measure the transitional/marginal/borderline character of this region with more exactness. Such fact-gathering and analyses were well beyond the scope of this study, but the primary conclusion to draw is that the Russell area fits into the basic Cotton Piedmont model for economic and agricultural development and decline. How well or how poorly it reflects that model can only be accurately or mathematically measured with much more, much finer analysis, some of which should emerge from the site-specific archeological studies of the project area.

D. F. W. &
D. R. R.

FOOTNOTES

¹See especially, Plantation Societies, Race Relations, and The South: The Regimentation of Populations; Selected Papers of Edgar T. Thompson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1975).

²See, for instance, Francis Pendleton Gaines, The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and the Accuracy of a Tradition (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1924).

³See, for instance, Gavin Wright, The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1978).

⁴Bennett H. Wall, "An Epitaph for Slavery," Louisiana History, 16 (Summer 1975), p. 232.

⁵Ibid., p. 238.

⁶Julia Floyd Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth in Ante-bellum Florida, 1821-1860 (Gainesville, FL: University Press, 1973), pp. 66-67.

⁷Wall, "Epitaph," p. 233.

⁸Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 274-83.

⁹Howard W. Odum, Southern Regions of the United States (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press, 1936), esp. pp. 152-63.

¹⁰Rupert B. Vance, Human Geography of the South: A Study in Regional Resources and Human Adequacy (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press, 1932), esp. Chaps. VIII and XII.

¹¹Anthony M. Tang, Economic Development in the Southern Piedmont, 1860-1950: Its Impact on Agriculture (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press, 1958), pp. 11, 20. The study includes these counties in Georgia: Gwinnett, Walton, Hall, Barrow, Banks, Jackson, Madison, Stephens, Franklin, Hart, and Elbert; and in South Carolina: Oconee, Pickens, Anderson, Greenville, Spartanburg, Cherokee, Union, York, Chester, and Lancaster. The study does not, unfortunately, include Abbeville County.

¹²Ibid., p. 27.

¹³Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 32-33.

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¹⁵Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 150.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 213.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 67.

²⁰Ibid., p. 71.

²¹Ibid., pp. 72-73.

²²Ibid., p. 86.

²³Ibid., pp. 192-220.

²⁴Robert Preston Brooks, The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912 (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1914), esp. the maps, pp. 127-29.

²⁵Roland Harper, "Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia from 1850 to 1880," Ga. Hist. Q., 6 (March 1922), pp. 3-27, esp. p. 6; "Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia from 1890 to 1920," Ga. Hist. Q., 6 (September 1922), pp. 211-32.

²⁶James D. Tarver and John W. Nixon, Population Trends of Georgia Cities and Towns: A Half Century of Population Growth (Athens, GA: College of Agriculture Experiment Station, Research Report 145, October 1972), Fig. 7, p. 34.

²⁷Historic American Buildings Survey [NAER], "Alexander-Cleveland Farm," draft report, 1980.



Figure 4:
Unidentified Family, ca. 1910, from the Project Area
(Photo: Corps of Engineers).

SECTION 2: DEMOGRAPHY

The history of population movement into, within, and out of the MRA may be simply stated: during the expansion years of the Cotton Kingdom, the MRA witnessed a boom phase; in the years of Reconstruction and Redemption the MRA evidenced a certain precarious stability; and during this century, the MRA has followed a pattern of massive out-migration. The remaining population has shifted, increasing at the extreme ends of the age scale - among the oldest and the youngest - which has in turn modified patterns of settlement and development. The demography of the region has shaped the historical record.

Both the written and the oral record reflect the demography of the area. During the frontier phase through the Civil War, recordkeeping was carried out on a more hit-and-miss basis than in more settled communities. In the era of reclaiming the plantation system - although historical sources improved, particularly the census record - documentary evidence remained "spotty." For this century, federal and state records continued to improve, but the private record suffered. As the population declined in numbers and changed in character, its written legacy - papers, diaries, letters - diminished; so, too, did the oral testimony, for many of the best potential informants left the immediate area, taking their memories with them. Material cultural evidence has followed suit: decay and disuse of remaining artifacts have left but a small reminder above ground of the populations of the area. In sum, paucity best describes the condition of the written, oral, and even material record of the MRA; it offers but a poor test of our hypotheses.

Overview

It was assumed at the outset that the changes occurring in the MRA were dramatic and revolutionary and that they would be revealed through demographic analysis measured at even intervals, for the years 1810, 1850, 1890, 1930, and 1970. The subsequent testing of our hypotheses against the population record suggests some general lessons to be

derived from the original research design. First, analysis of the population statistics from the MRA counties demonstrated five major points: 1) concentration upon any one historic period or combination of even two or three, however, "typical" or "significant" they might be supposed to be, would give a grossly inadequate picture of the area's history; 2) simplistic descriptions of "progress and decline" patterns, "boom and bust" cycles, "developed and underdeveloped" conditions disintegrated under close analysis; 3) these localized statistics would have to be measured against state and national figures in order for their significance to be judged; 4) there were long term variations within the region which would suggest further historical research; and 5) a large amount of the demographic information needed for projects of this kind was readily available to the knowledgeable investigator, but not always in the form needed.

Second, the population figures suggest at least one highly significant aspect of the area's development: that is, that there are two distinct demographic patterns at work. Anderson County diverges markedly from the other three counties in the MRA in its historical development and represents the first pattern, Hart, Elbert, and Abbeville represent the second. Anderson has evidenced steady growth over the past two centuries, while the other three counties have - according to one's perspective - either achieved stability or experienced decline. The basis for this essential difference appears to lie in the changes that took place during the very first "revolutionary" phase in the area's history, namely, the creation of the Cotton Kingdom. The exact conditions of this agricultural revolution are best seen on a county-by-county basis.

Abbeville County

In 1790, Abbeville's population approximated that of Anderson (then Pendleton District), surpassed that of Hart (then part of Franklin County), but was below that of Elbert (then in Wilkes County). By 1810, a significant change took place: Abbeville grew at a faster pace than either of the two Georgia counties all the time maintaining parity, in gross statistics, with Anderson. [Refer to Tables 4-16 in the Appendix.] Nevertheless, a dramatic shift had occurred: the black population in Abbeville rose from 18.1 percent (1790) to 31.5 percent (1810). By 1850 the black population reached 60 percent and by 1890 a high of almost 68 percent. While the other three counties also evidenced significant increases in the black population during these years, Abbeville's was the most dramatic. Along with Elbert County it achieved a black majority; Anderson and Hart never approached such parity. What is more, Abbeville approximates a "Black Belt" disproportion between the races in 1850 and 1890, signifying its demographic investment in the slave system.

Abbeville was on the forward edge of the first cotton frontier. As the illustration, "Cotton Production in the South," demonstrates, the region along the borders of Georgia and South Carolina was the heart of the cotton frontier in 1821; by 1860, the plantation culture had spread westward into eastern Texas. It may be said that the social and cultural patterns established in the MRA during the early nineteenth century were transported, at least in part, to the Cotton Kingdom developing to the west.

Steady, if unspectacular growth was in evidence from 1790 through 1890; subsequently, the decline was remarkable. Between 1890 and 1930 the population was cut in half, from 46,854 to 23,331; most remarkable was the out-migration of the black population. It declined from sixty-seven percent in 1890 to forty-seven percent in 1930 to thirty-one percent in 1970. The numbers are even more startling than the percentages. The black population of 1890, which stood at 31,712 was reduced to 11,055 by 1930 and to 6,557 by 1970. What happened in Abbeville, then, was revolutionary - nothing less than the de-ruralization of a peasant population, contributing to the Great Migration of the early twentieth century and the start of urban migration northward.

Elbert County

Elbert County approximated most closely the population patterns in Abbeville County; it was the only other county in the MRA to achieve a black majority in the mid-nineteenth century. What differentiated it from Abbeville County was a matter of scale: Abbeville developed more rapidly, both in general and in slave population. The out-migration patterns that developed in Abbeville after 1890, while they existed in Elbert, were less pronounced there. The figures suggest Elbert "topped out" in the early twentieth century, its stability was deceptive for Elbert has failed to match up to state, let alone national growth patterns.

Elbert may be described as a slower developing Abbeville; it, too, became a part of the Cotton Kingdom, but, very likely, a later entry and a lesser constituent thereof.

Hart County

Hart County's development is the least spectacular of the four counties. In the ante-bellum period, its population - slave and free - was the slowest to grow. Its situation to the north and west of the major line of development in the Cotton South may account, for this, in part, as does the delay in its opening for white settlement from Indian land cessions.

Like Elbert, the highpoint of Hart's development, as determined from population figures, was in the early twentieth century. It, too, has experienced an absolute decline in its black population, but not as dramatic a decline as in the other three counties.

Anderson County

This is clearly the most distinctive of the four counties, easily separated out from the others on the basis of long-term growth trends alone: it is the only county in the MRA to have demonstrated sustained, steady growth from 1790 to 1970. Anderson took off, in population terms, after the Civil War, as did Abbeville, but Anderson maintained that growth pattern into the late twentieth century, which Abbeville failed to do. The populations of the two counties approximated each other in 1810, but Anderson's numbered over 100,000 in 1970, Abbeville's barely over 20,000.

One significant variable in Anderson's population - especially in contrast with Abbeville's - was race. By and large, the black population in Anderson has maintained itself in the twentieth century. Again, Abbeville's black population declined, but Anderson's black population, by contrast, stayed fairly constant, at least numerically. This suggests a stability in the Anderson County black community not possible in Abbeville County, and also reflects the fact that growth in Anderson has depended more on white increase than on black decline.

National Growth Patterns

A comparison of the MRA to national patterns of growth shows that not one of the four counties in the area approximated population patterns at the national level for the past 180 years. Their divergence and convergence with national trends may be best demonstrated by isolating the two MRA counties that differ most.

Abbeville, which increased by about one-half between 1810 and 1850, matched the same growth rate from 1850 to 1890, but experienced a loss of one-half its population between 1890 and 1930. Comparable percentages for the county as a whole show increases for the same period of 220.3 percent (1810 - 1850), 171.6 percent (1850 - 1890), and eighty percent (1890 - 1930). Anderson, by comparison, experienced growth rates approaching one hundred percent for the second two periods. Between 1810 and 1850, Anderson was created out of the old Pendleton District, so statistical comparisons for that period are problematic. It appears, however, that Anderson County lagged behind the national growth average between 1810 and 1890, but grew eighty-six percent between 1890 and 1930, slightly exceeding the national rate of eighty percent. Beginning in 1890, Anderson County became a growth area, and it has to be regarded as having entered a new and different economic stage from that of the other three counties.

State Patterns

Both South Carolina and Georgia have experienced significant population growth in the twentieth century, but Georgia has consistently outstripped South Carolina in population gains. A closer look at the population expansion in Georgia, however, demonstrated that Elbert and Hart counties followed rates of population change considerably different from those statewide.

Georgia, a frontier settlement in 1790, was less than one-third the size of South Carolina at the time of the first census in 1790. By 1850, it boasted approximately one-third more residents than South Carolina, a proportion that rose steadily throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, until, according to the Census of 1970, the population of Georgia practically doubled that of South Carolina. Georgia's population growth has been noteworthy, both in and of itself and in comparative terms.

Throughout the same period, the racial composition of both states manifested important changes as well. By 1850, South Carolina achieved a black majority,¹ a proportion between the races which prevailed throughout the nineteenth century. The black majority began giving way early in this century, and according to the Census of 1930, a white majority was in evidence. Since 1930, there has been an absolute decline in the number of blacks living in South Carolina, while the white population has almost doubled.

Georgia has never had a black majority; however, the Censuses of 1850 and 1890 indicate increases for both races. By 1930, white population gains were clearly exceeding black, and by 1970, while the white population almost doubled, the black population barely maintained itself in absolute numbers, signifying a population group actually on the decline.

These comparative statistics suggest that for South Carolina, the black population has been in decline for the entire twentieth century and that for Georgia, its decline has been most marked since the first quarter of this century. It may be concluded that for both states the most vigorous manifestations of rural black culture would appear in the years before decline. Subsequent manifestations of that culture would most likely be "survival" in character, that is, the overall cultural vitality of the area was tending outward, as the youth of the area were leaving and only the older citizens were holding on.

The case of rural blacks, as most of the out-migrants from the MRA counties certainly were, is more immediately evident in the statistical summaries, but similar socio-economic forces--were affecting rural whites as well: the famed "yeomanry" of the region were also on the edge of survival.

The Agricultural Revolution

A revolution in farming over the past three decades has changed the face of rural America. According to the 1974 Census of Agriculture "330 million acres of land in farms - almost forty percent of all private farm land - was owned by non-farmers." Between 1960 and 1977, "more than forty-six percent of all American farms disappeared," and "with the massive use of new technologies, between 1940 and 1970 crop output increased nearly seventy percent, with a corresponding drop in farm labor input."² In short, an increasing amount of "rural" land has become nonagricultural, the size of landholdings has increased significantly, and fewer farm laborers (both owners and hired workers) are now part of the agricultural work force. Both the strictly economic and more widely cultural residues of the agricultural revolution are manifest in the MRA, and are touched upon in other sections of this report.³

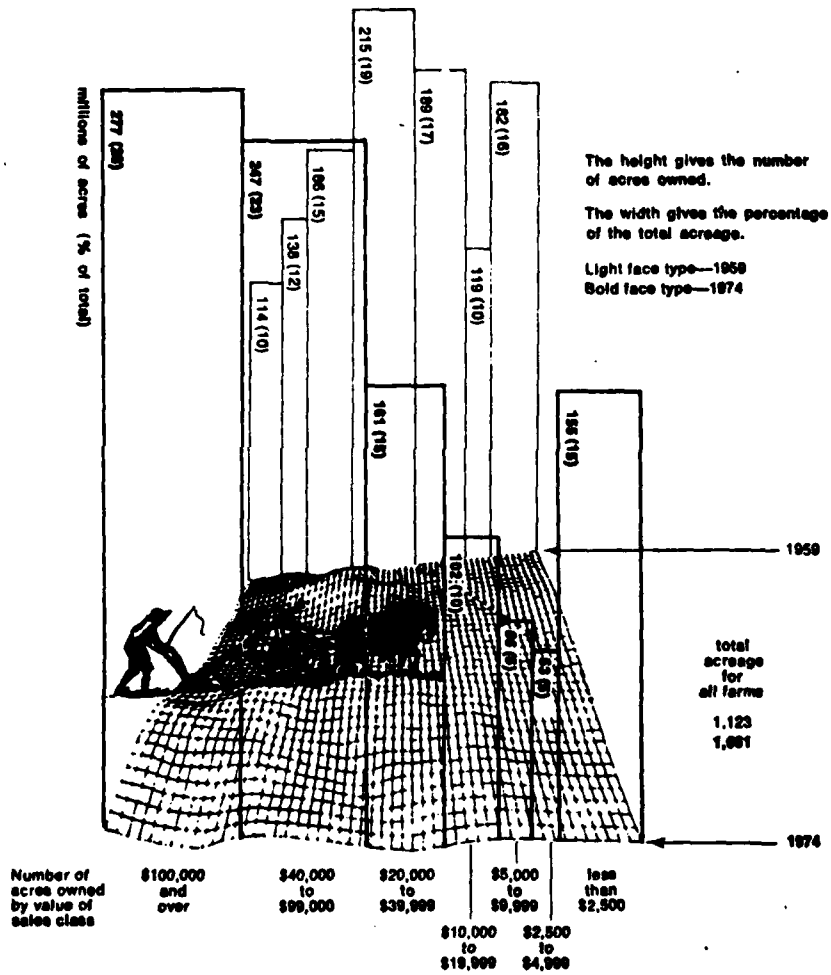
The loss of some 9,000,000 acres of black-owned farm land in the South since 1910 - at the average rate of nearly 333,000 acres per year since 1930 - has given rise to many regional studies examining the problem.⁴ Georgia's participation in this revolution has been suggested by Everett S. Lee, who advanced the hypothesis that the State of Georgia is shifting rapidly to a rural non-farm condition. He cited, for example: the change from farm to commuting patterns; the creation of "factories in the field"; the decline in "real farms" - i.e., those that gross better than \$2,500 per annum - to only 50,000 in the mid-1970s, a total expected to decline further at an accelerating rate; the drop in cotton production from a high of 2,000,000 bales a year to 150,000 to 1975; the appropriate state for comparison, Lee proposed, was not another southern state, but California!⁵

Cities and Towns, Villages and Hamlets - Georgia

The study of urban trends in Georgia by James Tarver and John Nixon indicates that patterns of development in Elbert and Hart Counties diverged sharply from those set statewide.⁶ While the overall population of Georgia increased by fifty-eight percent between 1930 and 1970 - from 2,908,506 to 4,589,575 - and while "relative population gains in towns and cities of Georgia exceeded total state gains in each respective decade except for the 1960-70 period,"⁷ the towns and cities in the MRA experienced, for the most part, actual losses in population. The major population changes in Georgia occurred at opposite ends of the size scale - in places with populations under one thousand people and in metropolitan concentrations. At the low end of the scale, among villages and hamlets, 110 urban places permanently disappeared from Georgia between 1920 and 1970.⁸ Most of these occurred with the disappearance of villages and hamlets: accordingly, Beverly in Elbert County, which had numbered 132 people, disappeared by the Census of 1940.⁹ Significantly, the bulk of the population losses in Hart and Elbert County were at the low end of the population scale, in places like Beverly.

Figure 5:
Recent National Changes in Farm Acreage

ACRES OF FARMLAND OWNED



(figures may not add because of rounding)

Source: Bureau of Census, 1950 Census of Agriculture and 1974 Census of Agriculture

Source: Peter Meyer, "Land Rush: A Survey of America's Land . . .," Harper's, January 1979, p. 51.

At the highest end of the scale in metropolitan areas, significant population growth occurred, much of it due to annexation. Although the MRA is not within a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), the city of Elberton did participate in the annexation process between 1960 and 1970: however, since Elberton gained only eleven residents through annexation, it can hardly be regarded as a major change agent.¹⁰

Metropolitan gains statewide exceeded non-metropolitan growth in each of the five decades of the Tarver and Nixon study.¹¹ "Among the metropolitan areas," they point out, "only in the Augusta SMSA was population growth of places relatively low in comparison with places in all metropolitan areas of the state, and the proportionate number of all town and city residents of Georgia living in the Augusta area declining from 5.2 percent in 1920 to only 2.6 percent in 1970."¹² Since the Augusta SMSA is the closest to the Russell MRA, its overall pattern is significant in the MRA's context as one more piece of evidence of the distinctive character of the development of the MRA when compared to statewide population patterns.

By dividing Georgia into seventeen State Economic Areas (SEA's), eight metropolitan and nine non-metropolitan, which "roughly correspond to Georgia's eighteen area planning and development districts,"¹³ Tarver and Nixon again isolate the distinctiveness of the territory containing the MRA: the Georgia Lower Piedmont Area declined steadily in population for the entire period from 1920 to 1970, while the state overall, did not.

Migration Patterns - South Carolina

It has already been pointed out that there have been two distinct demographic patterns at work in the MRA. It was also noted that the divergence of Anderson from the three other counties was owing to the first revolutionary stage of change in the project area namely, the creation between 1820 and 1860 of the Cotton Kingdom." The key demographic factor in the two divergent patterns was, in a word, race.

To begin with, Abbeville's development was tied to the cotton (slave) economy. Between 1790 and 1810, its population more than doubled; it increased again by a third between 1810 and 1850, and it approximated the same growth rate in 1890, when its total population reached 46,854. From that point on, its population declined, in 1930 it was 23,331, less than half that of 1890. It leveled off in 1970, at 21,112 people. Abbeville's black population mirrored this growth-and-decline pattern: growing from 1,692 in 1790, to 6,760 in 1810, to 19,619 in 1850, to a high of 31,712 in 1890, and then declining drastically in 1930 to 11,055, down to 6,557 in 1970. Between 1890 and 1970, Abbeville County evidenced a classic rural black exodus.¹⁴

Anderson reflected a different pattern. Between 1790 and 1890, it grew steadily; From that point on, in sharp contrast with Abbeville, it grew spectacularly. Anderson's black population, always less, proportionately, than Abbeville's, also showed this pattern; it grew steadily until after 1920, when its percentage of the total population began to fall. After 1930, there was a further decline in absolute and relative numbers to 1970. Black out-migration from Anderson, in general, was on a lesser scale and at least a generation behind that from Abbeville.

Migration Patterns in Abbeville and Anderson Counties, 1930 - 1950

A closer analysis of the population changes in Abbeville and Anderson counties comes from two recent documents by Edward L. McLean, Stephen C. Lilley, and Paul Lovingood, Jr.¹⁵ The sharpest differences between the two, as highlighted by the forty-year intervals dictated in our research design, occurred between the 1890 and 1930 benchmark years. In 1890, the two counties were about the same size; in 1930, however, Abbeville's population had been cut in half; Anderson's, nearly doubled. In both, the racial composition had changed dramatically: in Abbeville the black population declined drastically in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total population; in Anderson, it increased slightly in absolute numbers, but decreased sharply as a percentage of the population. A major demographic change was underway in the two counties during the early twentieth century, which, as will be seen, remained a constant throughout the decades to 1970.

South Carolina experienced a statewide population decline between 1930 and 1950, with the greatest loss showing up among the early work-age groups (persons between fifteen and thirty-five). The general pattern was one of steady but unspectacular out-migration, it was predominantly black and markedly young. Abbeville County represented an exaggerated approximation of the statewide pattern, with heavy out-migration for both blacks and whites - also young - but more heavily black than white. Out-migration from Abbeville exceeded that of Anderson. The absolute numbers in Anderson were greater, but then Anderson was almost four times larger than Abbeville. Out-migration from Anderson between 1940 and 1950 among young whites was great, but World War II would account for most of that; at the same time, however, Abbeville was gaining population in the same age groups. Each county experienced a higher rate of loss among older blacks - those over seventy-five - than of whites. (Such a trend is not easy to read, but it does suggest that additional research might be conducted on the conditions for the elderly over the past fifty years.) Briefly, Abbeville and Anderson reiterated the state pattern, but where black populations were concerned, Anderson was a latent Abbeville, with population losses appearing first in Abbeville before they showed up in Anderson.¹⁶

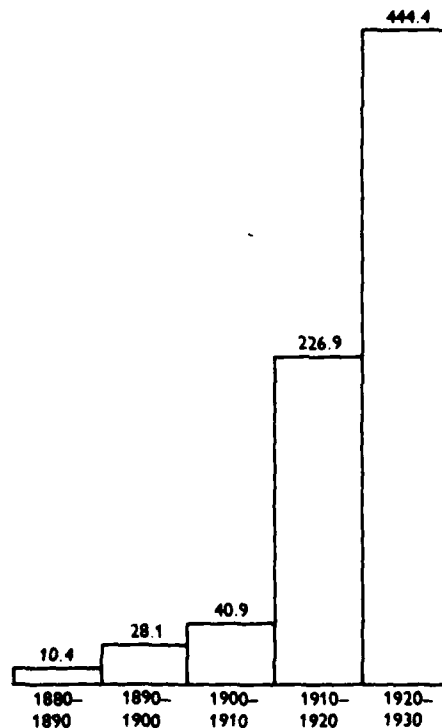
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Migration Patterns in Abbeville and Anderson Counties, 1950 - 1970

Statewide patterns in South Carolina for 1950 to 1970 continued the trends set in 1930 - 1950, but with some differences: out-migration continued among the young populations, but to a lesser extent; black out-migration also continued but to a lesser extent, and the population of whites between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five actually increased. The two MRA counties, however, while they tended to converge with each other, diverged from some of the state patterns. In Abbeville County, there was a steady but slower decline in the population; black migration also continued, but at a slower pace; significantly, young white out-migration actually increased, in direct contrast to the state pattern.

Figure 6:

Black Outmigration from the South, 1880-1930
(Figures given in 1000s)



Source: Ransom and Sutch, One Kind of Freedom

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Anderson also showed variation with the state: there was less migration for all age groups, but out-migration among young blacks continued at the same rate as in the earlier decades. Anderson was becoming, like the state, increasingly white, but unlike the state, it was also becoming increasingly older.¹⁷

In summary, Abbeville history has shown significant nineteenth century gains followed by serious twentieth century decline, most notably marked by the out-migration of what had been its majority population - the black. Anderson's history has shown steady nineteenth century growth followed by a period of spectacular growth and then steady growth again. Its out-migration of blacks occurred at mid-twentieth century, much later and much slower than Abbeville's.

The demographic observations made here deserve some summary comment, especially in four major connections: 1) The figures indicate that Elbert and Abbeville Counties are most like each other and that Anderson County is most unlike the other three project area counties. Since most of the territory within the Russell MRA lies in Abbeville and Elbert Counties, it might be said that the character of the MRA can best be read in the character of Elbert and Abbeville and in their differences with Anderson. 2) The significance of the demographic patterns based on race should not be understated; the most dramatic alterations in the populace of the area have been racial. First a massive increase in the black population occurred, and then a massive decline, which racial pattern must be assumed in all of the generalizations made about the project area's history. 3) The demographic information corroborates the agricultural revolution phases discussed in the preceding section; and the periodization which begins to emerge from the forty-year measurements may be continued and compared with economic developments in the area, especially those relative to transportation improvements in and around the upper Savannah, the topic of the next section. Finally, 4) the depopulation of the area has much to say of its own. What has remained in the MRA is a culture of survival - rurally based, poorly documented, with small, aging, and for the most part, now declining communities. The drastic depopulation and the dramatic agricultural changes have left the land and its man-made environment largely abandoned. What remains is barely a hint of what once was there.

D. F. W.

FOOTNOTES

¹Peter H. Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion (New York: Knopf, 1974), esp. Table IV, p. 152.

²Peter Meyer, "Land Rush: A Survey of America's Land; Who Owns It - Who Controls It; How Much Is Left," Harper's, CCLVIII, No. 1544 (January 1979), pp. 45-60; quotations here, pp. 49-50.

³For "cultural residues" in national terms, Russell B. Nye's "Changes in Twentieth-Century Rural Society," Midcontinent American Studies Journal, X (Spring 1969), pp. 25-40, provides a good beginning point.

⁴Anthony Griggs, "How Blacks Lost 9,000,000 Acres of Land," Ebony, October 1974, pp. 97-104.

⁵"Georgia's Population - Its Historical Development," Lecture at the Symposium on Georgia Studies, Atlanta, February 6, 1976.

⁶Population Trends of Georgia Cities and Towns: A Half Century of Population Growth (Athens, GA: College of Agriculture Experiment Stations, University of Georgia, Research Report 145, October 1972).

⁷Ibid., p. 9.

⁸Ibid., Appendix II, p. 69.

⁹Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁰Ibid., Appendix Table IV, p. 73.

¹¹Ibid., p. 32.

¹²Ibid., p. 35.

¹³Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁴George A. Davis and O. Fred Donaldson, Blacks in the United States A Geographic Perspective (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), esp. Chaps. 3 - 5.

¹⁵Migration of the Population: South Carolina Counties: 1930 - 1950; 1950 - 1970 (Clemson University, South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, AE 407, July 1979; AE 402, July 1978).

¹⁶Ibid., 1930 - 1950, p. 3; for full explication, pp. 3-8.

¹⁷Ibid., 1950 - 1970, passim.

SECTION 3: TRANSPORTATION

The historical analyses of the Russell MRA were approached with several assumptions about the development of transportation in the area. For one, it was assumed that the area was entirely river dependent, and that its dependence lay centered in Augusta. For another, it was assumed that the transportation network remained underdeveloped due to the local terrain and geology as well as to the prevailing trade and settlement patterns. However, an examination of the transportation patterns which existed in the project area have led to the re-examination of some of those assumptions.

First, it appears questionable that the Russell MRA was ever entirely dependent on the river for transportation of goods and people to and from market ports. While the Savannah River did indeed constitute a major commercial artery for the study area, its utility above the fall line (at Augusta) was hindered by both natural and man-made obstacles which blocked the navigable channels. Competition also came from wagoners who used an extensive but primitive road network to transport goods to far away from commercial centers. This absence of river dependency constitutes one of the major differences between the Eastern and Western Cotton Belts. The Western Belt extended from Alabama to Texas and as far north along the Mississippi as the southern edge of Kentucky,¹ and the extensive river network there provided it with a relatively cheap and efficient means for moving goods to the seaports. By contrast, the older Eastern Belt, which encompassed the Russell MRA, did not have a unified transportation system until the railway lines were built.

Next, while Augusta was a primary center of commerce for the study area, the existence of competing roads and rail lines indicates that upcountry planters also sent their products directly to other cities, specifically Hamburg, Columbia, and Charleston - all located in South Carolina.

As expected, however, the transportation network in the Russell MRA did remain underdeveloped until roughly the middle of the twentieth

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century when the establishment of a modern highway system strengthened its ties to the surrounding region. In addition to the problems caused by the difficult terrain, it is clear that a lack of consistent financial support from state and local governments also contributed to the slow progress made during most of the historic period.

Three major periods of transportation development have been identified for the Russell MRA, which area discussed, in turn, in the pages to follow.

River and Road Travel, 1750 - 1880

The early settlers living in the Russell MRA after 1750, migrated to the area from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, making the trek by wagon over passable interior roads which connected this section to northern villages, towns, and ports. Presumably, these new residents maintained primary trade routes with Virginia and Pennsylvania, especially since they were separated from the populous South Carolina lowlands by an expanse of swamps and rivers which had no ferries and few fords. No readily accessible statistics exist to analyze the extent of the frontier commerce carried on, but some trade descriptions are available. In his "History and Present Condition of Transportation in South Carolina," for example, W. L. Trenholm recounted that early in the nineteenth century wagon loads of cotton and indigo as well as "large numbers of cattle" were sent from various sections in the upcountry to both Virginia and Pennsylvania.²

While it is difficult to identify a precise date, it is certainly evident - based upon travelers' accounts, state guidebooks, and other published works - that in the Russell MRA, the direction of trade shifted to the south following the initiation of large-scale cultivation, first of tobacco and then of cotton. One reason for the changes is that Augusta, which by the 1820s was steamboating marketable goods to both Savannah and Charleston, was only sixty or seventy miles downstream. The journey to Augusta could be made in pole boats, which hauled about ten tons of goods (approximately eighty bales of cotton), although the trip was often quite dangerous because of numerous shoals and rapids.³ An 1828 survey of the Savannah River concluded that the "keel boats," as they were also called, descended the waterway from as far north as "Panther's Creek" on the Tugaloo River, located about "38 miles above Andersonville" a point even further north on the Savannah than the Russell MRA.⁴

Sufficient evidence exists to suggest that road travel competed against river passages, not only to Augusta, but to other points as well. While the Savannah River and two of its tributaries, the Broad and Rocky Rivers, provided convenient water courses, numerous difficulties hampered their navigation even by the shallow, specially designed pole boats. Two late nineteenth century surveys of the Savannah River



Figure 7:
River Drive, Millwood Plantation, ca. 1875
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

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undertaken by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers identified the difficulties: "obstacles found to be numerous, extensive, and not unfrequently [sic] quite dangerous."⁵ There is no reason to believe that these conditions were better than those which had prevailed during the early years of settlement. The 1879 report gave special attention to "rocky ledges running across the channels, isolated bowlders [sic] of varying sizes, and shoals of gravel as waterway hazards," obstructions considered to be so significant that a survey completed only ten years later concluded that the Savannah was "navigable by pole boats only, and by them during only a portion of the year." The report further noted that from Andersonville to Petersburg, the stretch of the Savannah River that bisects the present Russell MRA, the waterway was a "torrential stream, the total fall between these points being 288 feet, or an average of 5.25 feet per mile." The document also revealed that at Trotters Shoals there was a drop of nearly seventy-five feet in seven miles. For pole boats to pass safely over the rapids, a channel would have to be blasted out of the rock in the middle of the river. Obstructions along this fifty-five mile portion of the river were considered to be so dangerous that for all practical purposes the "actual head of navigation [was] Petersburg, Ga., although occasional trips [were] made further up the stream."⁶

Attempts to improve the upper Savannah River began as early as the 1780s, partly because Georgia and South Carolina legislators realized that better trade relations with the upcountry were essential to maintaining the economic health of their seacoast markets. These efforts were also made at the insistence of the frontier settlers themselves who needed cheaper, more efficient transportation. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, residents in Abbeville and Anderson Districts sent numerous petitions to the General Assembly for the removal of obstructions in the waterway. One such instrument, submitted to the South Carolina Legislature in the 1780s or 1790s, requested the "opening and making navigable [of] that part of the Savannah River from the city of Augusta, in Georgia, to the mouth of the Broad River at Vienna," an improvement, it was pointed out, which would "not only . . . benefit the owners of the soil contiguous to [the stream] but would soon draw a considerable trade from the Western county down its channel, to the exporting towns upon our sea-shore."⁷ Although both Georgia and South Carolina provided some assistance for river improvements between 1780 and 1810, it was not until after the War of 1812 that sustained efforts were made to improve navigation above Augusta. Beginning in 1818, the South Carolina Legislature, prompted by Charleston merchants who feared that upcountry cotton would be sold to markets elsewhere, initiated an ambitious program for "internal improvements" that included \$1,000,000 for the improvements of roads and streams; the construction of new turnpikes, and the creation of canals.⁸ Part of this scheme attended to the removal of hazards from the Savannah River.

One year earlier, in 1817, Georgia legislators initiated a comprehensive plan for internal improvements in which they appropriated \$66,000 to clear major streams and \$250,000 to create a permanent public

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works fund.⁹ In seven years, the Georgia Board of Commissioners, appointed to supervise projects in the upper Savannah River Valley, reported that the channels between Petersburg and Andersonville had been cleared; enough obstructions had been removed to permit navigation by boats carrying as much as nine tons of goods.¹⁰ The success of this and other efforts, however, was limited, since they did not obtain permanent removal of the dangerous debris clogging the waterway. Both states abandoned their commitment to up-river improvements in the late 1820s after becoming discouraged over the difficulty of completing those improvements. Besides, they had decided that the solution to a deficient internal transportation system rested with the development of steam railroads.

Another obstruction to using the Savannah River and its tributaries above Augusta lay in the presence of private dams and fish traps. From 1802 to 1816, the Georgia Legislature passed laws to fine individuals who blocked significant portions of the river, and it appointed commissioners to survey the river and force compliance with its directives.¹¹ While a few fines were levied, the majority of the dams and fish traps seem to have remained in place.

Road travel in the upcountry was also difficult: the dirt thoroughfares turned to mud during rainy seasons and were otherwise poorly constructed and poorly maintained by the local authorities. Two descriptions of the Georgia and South Carolina sides of the river - one printed in 1849 and the other in 1858 - reveal the urgency for prompt highway improvements to increase internal trade and circulation. The roads were found to be in "bad condition," also "too narrow" and "more numerous than [could] be kept in good repair." The "few bridges" in the area were "not very durable;" they were "all constructed of wood" even though there were "large quantities of stone in the vicinity."¹²

The local roads in the upcountry supplied a necessary feeder system from the hinterlands to river landings and nearby market towns such as Petersburg, and distant markets such as Augusta, and Hamburg.¹³ Aside from local roads, it appears that at least one major overland route tied the upper Savannah region directly to the South Carolina sea-coast.¹⁴ In 1802, a traveler to the area reported that "the commercial intercourse of the Upper Carolinas and Georgia" was "carried on, in a great measure, with Charleston, which [was] not much farther than Wilmington and Savannah." More important the "carriage of these goods [was] made in large waggons with four wheels, drawn by four or six horses, that [traveled] about twenty-four miles a day, and [encamped] every evening in the woods."¹⁵ He did not identify the exact route that the wagoners followed, but it probably connected with the road network that ran parallel to the Broad River, south to Columbia and then to Charleston. The state improved this particular overland course in 1829 by building a state road along the path just described. While it, like the other roads, was poorly maintained, it did carry "considerable traffic" before the advent of the railroads.¹⁶

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Within the vicinity of the Russell MRA, there was at least one "principal market road" which ran "from the Districts of Abbeville, Pendleton, and Greenville to Hamburg and Augusta" providing nineteenth century settlers on the South Carolina side of the river with an important alternative to river travel.¹⁷ The thoroughfare's exact course has not been traced, but it may have been the road known as the General's Highway, believed to have been named for General Andrew Pickens.¹⁸ This route followed the present course of Highway 28, which runs south from above Anderson to Abbeville and then continues on to Edgefield County where it crosses to the west side of the Savannah River just above Augusta. Maps of Georgia prepared during the nineteenth century also identify a road located parallel to the Savannah River, probably the present Highway 81, which extended through the Russell MRA almost all of the way to Augusta.¹⁹

The existence of ferries quite early in the nineteenth century provide tangible evidence of considerable traffic moving across the Savannah River. While the waterway provided one means of transporting goods down river, it also was a barrier to commerce because it was difficult for settlers on one side of the river to reach the principal roads on the other. The importance of ferries in establishing linkages between the major roads is clearly evident from the number of General Assembly petitions filed by South Carolina residents requesting permits to operate public crossings.²⁰

Since the transportation network included roads as well as rivers, upcountry planters had a choice between wagon and boat travel when it came time to move their goods and produce to market. It is difficult to say precisely why one mode was chosen over the other at a particular moment, especially since both were far from ideal. However, from manuscript sources, it is possible to suggest three factors which influenced that decision: 1) the proximity of the plantation to a navigable river that could provide passage to the desired market; 2) the water level of the particular stream, which not only determined whether boats would be able to clear dangerous shoals, but was also instrumental in setting the rates charged by the boat owners; and, 3) the availability of water craft when the planters needed them most.

In 1833, J. A. Townes, a resident of Greenville, located north and slightly east of Abbeville County, wrote to a relative, telling him he had just sent a load of cotton to Augusta by wagon.²¹ The significance of the trip lay in his choice of destination, since he could have used the Saluda River to carry his crop to Columbia. His decision to ship it to Augusta instead, required that he transport it by wagon; he lived too far from the Savannah River to take advantage of its water passage. There were other considerations: sending the crop overland also provided Townes with an opportunity to make a stop at his "Uncle Hugh's plantation" to pick up more bales.

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Planters who owned their own river landings or who lived close enough to a navigable stream to haul their cotton to its banks regularly used pole boats. This was true at Millwood, one of the project area's largest plantations, which relied heavily on water transport.²² Although the brokerage firm which managed its accounts was in Charleston, its crops were initially sent either to Augusta or Hamburg, and then, from one of these points by steamboat or, after 1833, by rail to Charleston.

Periods of low water affected the regular use of the area's streams. The decision to utilize water passage was never automatic; rather it was a calculated choice which often depended on the rate a planter could get from a boat owner. During the Fall of 1830, for example, one planter recorded that "Stanton [had agreed] to carry [his] cotton for one dollar the bale while the river [was] too low for a full load, but for 87 1/2 [cents] when the river [became] sufficiently full."²³ Furthermore, he had been guaranteed that for "every forty bales" that he sent down the stream he would be allowed to "bring up 1,000 wt. free of charge" on the craft's return trip. Rates were not constant but subject to negotiation between planter and carrier.²⁴

The same planter also used an overland route to transport his crop to market, reporting in 1832 that he had "started for Augusta with two wagons of cotton" that had "sold [for] . . . 10 1/2" cents a pound.²⁵ Only a few days later he engaged a boater to transport his "crop to Augusta for 75 cts. the bale and to bring free of freightage all articles," which suggests that sometimes both road and river travel were used during the same marketing season.²⁶ In years with constant low water, road transport was of necessity preferred.²⁷ Another problem affecting planters who lived far up the river, was the difficulty of getting boaters to pick up loads when they were needed.²⁸

Despite their limitations, both river and road passage were the only forms of transportation available until the advent of the railroads. The Russell MRA did not have direct rail connections until the mid-1880s, even though before the Civil War there were two lines within proximity to the Russell MRA which no doubt were used by some planters and small farmers living in the vicinity. To the west, residents could reach the Georgia Railroad, which ran to Augusta, by traveling to the branch line built at Athens in 1841.²⁹ To the east, the Greenville and Columbia Railroad, finished in 1853, provided a direct link between Charleston, Columbia, and Anderson, the northern terminus.³⁰ A trunk line extended to Abbeville providing settlers in the Russell MRA with a railway connection only about twenty miles away. While the Greenville and Columbia was considered to be "flimsy" (it had been built cheaply, with insufficient capital), by 1857 it "was already rendering valuable service to its locality and had a prospect of considerable traffic."³¹

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Effects of the Railroads, ca. 1890 to 1930

In the early 1890s, a new transportation era began in the Russell MRA with the intersection, at right angles, of two rail lines at what is now the town of Calhoun Falls.³³ The first of these, completed in 1885-1886 and originally called the Savannah Valley Railroad until it was reorganized in 1896 and made the Charleston and Western Carolina Railway (C. & W. C.), extended north and south along the east side of the Savannah River from a point just above Augusta to Anderson, South Carolina. The second line, the Georgia, Carolina and Northern Railway (G. C. & N.), was finished in 1892 and later, in 1900, became part of the Seaboard Air Line system (more recently, the Seaboard Coast Line, now part of the Family Lines System), ran east and west across the Savannah River connecting Abbeville, Elberton, and smaller settlement points with Atlanta.

The completion of these two railroads had four basic effects upon modern transportation development within the study area: 1) the G. C. & N. provided the connecting link to the South's extensive regional rail network and, in so doing, initiated new trade routes; 2) since the C. & W. C. ran south almost all of the way to Augusta, it supplied an alternative means of transportation there, a development which spelled the demise of pole boating as a viable commercial activity on the Savannah River; 3) both rail lines augmented the economic significance of many small communities within the Russell MRA by establishing depots at these locations; and, 4) by using the trains to travel to Calhoun Falls, Anderson, Elberton, or Abbeville, local residents were able to move about within the region more quickly and with greater ease.

After 1900, the "major rail outlet" connecting the Russell MRA with other lines throughout the South, the G. C. & N. was a part of one of the basic routes of the Seaboard Air Line system, providing service between Birmingham, Atlanta, and various points along the northeastern coast, including Washington, D. C., and New York.³³ Both passenger and freight trains traveled this course, and residents in Elbert and Abbeville Counties had an access to towns and markets that they otherwise could not have reached. The G. C. & N. encouraged more industrialization along its tracks, providing employment for local inhabitants as members of road and station crews and as laborers at the train yards in Abbeville.

The development throughout the South first of railroads and then of modern highways made "other forms of transportation unimportant"; by the 1930s, even "waterways, other than the Mississippi, so significant in earlier periods, [were bearing] only a very small traffic."³⁴ In the Russell MRA, this process appears to have begun in the later nineteenth century following the construction of the C. & W. C. as the following comparison illustrates: An 1879 survey of the Savannah River revealed that the annual cotton receipts in Augusta for 1876-1877, amounted to 180,000 bales and that 12,000 of these were transported downstream from the head of navigation at Andersonville, South Carolina.³⁵ An investi-

gation a decade later found that with completion of the C. & W. C., annual trade along the Savannah destined for Augusta had declined to 4,477 bales.³⁶ The report further noted that "the products of the section of country tributary to the river [had] increased in amount over 30 per cent, while . . . river freights [had] decreased in amount 67.2 per cent."³⁷ Continuing, the document suggested that the dramatic decline in cotton bales shipped to Augusta by water was due to the construction of the railroads, the bad condition of the river for navigation by commercial craft, and the subsequent "general depression" of the boating business."³⁸

The railroads increased the economic significance of local communities, a development that was especially true for both Abbeville and Elberton since they became important collection points for the ginning and transporting of cotton. Statistics available for Elberton reveal that in 1900, 23,000 of 30,000 bales of cotton produced in Elbert County were shipped out on Elberton railroads while 6,000 bales were processed at local textile mills.³⁹ The remaining 1,000 bales were either held back by the planters or transported out of the county by other means. Many smaller settlement points, better described as hamlets, also profited from the establishment of rail lines, if they were selected as local stops. Several of the most important of these locations in the Russell MRA included Middleton and Heardmont on the G. C. & N. and Lowndesville and Iva on the C. & W. C.

Finally, the railroads improved travel conditions within the Russell MRA, since trains provided a "modern" alternative to the rugged means of travel that were in use. Until the construction of modern, paved highways in the late 1920s and early 1930s, wagon traffic was tedious and difficult and seasonally muddy. The following letter written by a Lowndesville resident in 1901 describes efforts to transport a load of bricks from Latimer to Lowndesville after several days of February rain; it presents a detailed (not to mention amusing) account of the difficulties that were to be encountered on the roads:

Mr. Allen had two wagons, 4 mules to one and 2 mules to the other and sent 2 darkies to drive. We went to Latimers and loaded the wagons as Mr. Allen told us, 700 bricks on one, 300 bricks on the other, and started home. We come all right til we got this side of Charles Allen place to a bad muddy place in the road. The 4 mule wagon stuck tight in the mud and could not move til we unloaded half the brick. We then drove to the top of hill, unloaded 2 mule wagon on 4 mule wagon and went back after the brick we unloaded. We came all right til we got to creek down here in Paterson Place. The 4 mule wagon stuck tight in the creek and could not move til we unloaded all the brick but about 150. Then we pulled out, and when the 2 mule wagon got about half up the first hill this side the creek the coupling tongue broke and spilled all its load in the road. Then we put its load on 4 mule

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wagon, [and] went on to house. By this time it was getting dark. We unloaded and went back to creek and got about half the brick we threwed off and went to house with them. The darkies then went and made them a coupling tongue and went on home, and I hauled the balance of the brick from creek next morning. Now after all, the chimney is up and in use.⁴⁰

Since some of the trains traveling through the Russell MRA made local stops, residents of the area could use them to journey to nearby towns to shop, simply to get away from home for a day, or to visit with relatives and friends.⁴¹ While the railroads were also used for commercial and pleasure trips to places farther away (such as Atlanta, Augusta, or Columbia), it appears that before arrival of the private automobile, few of the Russell MRA's inhabitants actually ventured further than Anderson, South Carolina.

The Development of Modern Highways

Reliance upon the railroad peaked during the 1920s, began to decline gradually, and levelled off in the early 1940s.⁴² The change was caused by competition from private automobiles, buses, and trucks for both passenger and commercial traffic, a result of the massive efforts made by Georgia and South Carolina to build a modern highway system. The most significant aspect of this development was the creation of Highway Commissions just before the 1920s, which took away from local communities the responsibility for road construction and maintenance.

Paved roads have made the Russell MRA accessible to commercial trucks, which were more flexible and less expensive to use than the railroads. During the last fifty years the railroads greatly reduced the frequency of their trips through this area and eliminated most, if not all, of their local stops.

Modern highways have increased the geographical mobility for Russell MRA residents. Soon after World War I inhabitants began buying cars, mostly Model A Fords, which they used to travel both within the Russell MRA and to points outside the area,⁴⁴ which mobility coincided with the depopulation of the small towns in the study area.

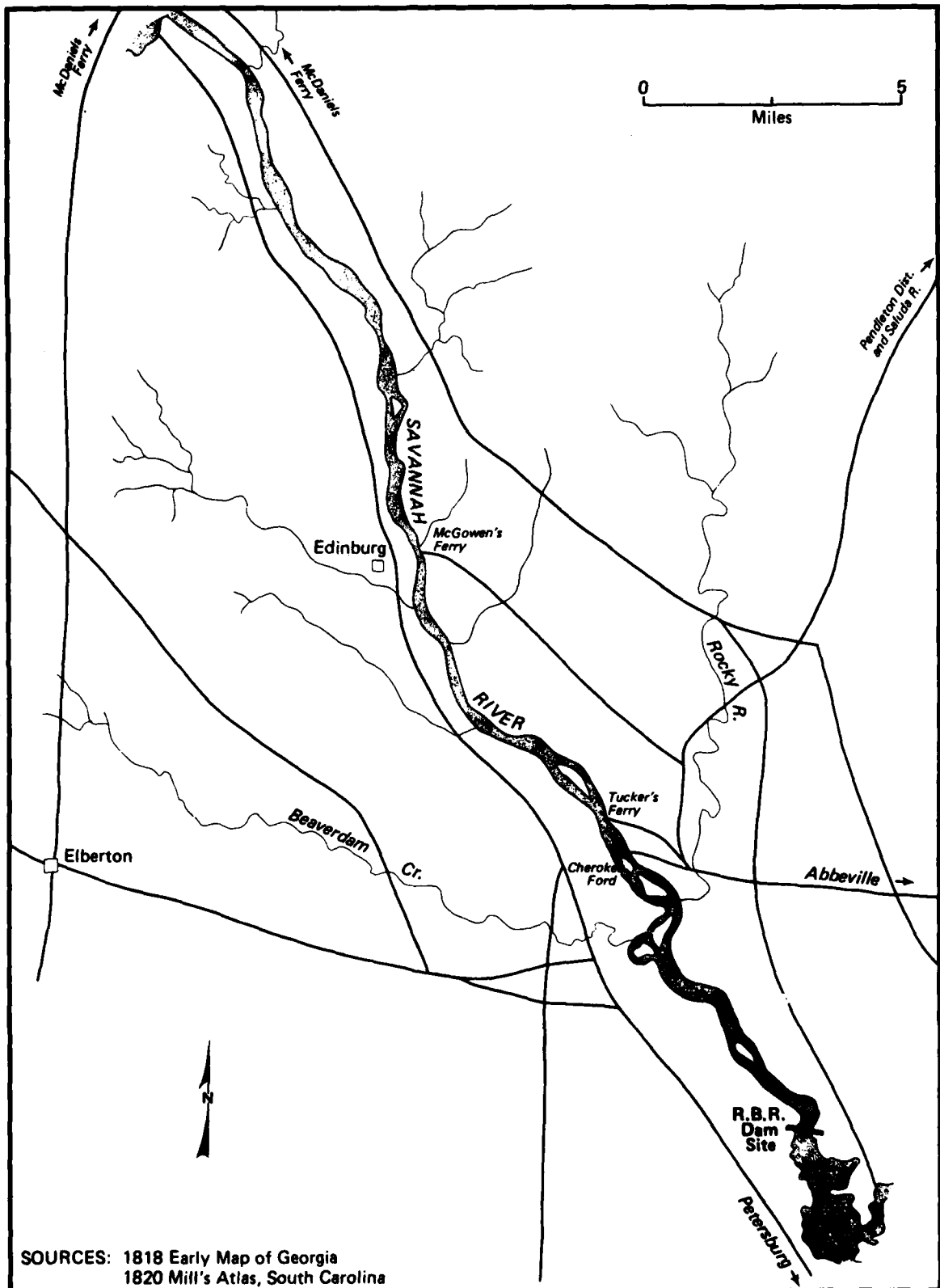
The improvement of roads also brought about the construction of modern bridges over streams and rivers, making it easier for motorized vehicles to cross waterways formerly crossed only by ferries. Probably the most significant of these overpasses was Memorial Bridge spanning the Savannah River on Highway 72, providing the first direct roadway link between Elberton, Calhoun Falls, and Abbeville. The bridge's erection made this route the major east-west avenue for through traffic and greatly reduced the significance of ferries operating nearby, especially Harper's Ferry to the north. In general, bridge construction within the Russell MRA put an end to all local ferry operations by the early 1930s.

Travel on the Savannah's waters, whether across them or downstream, was finished.

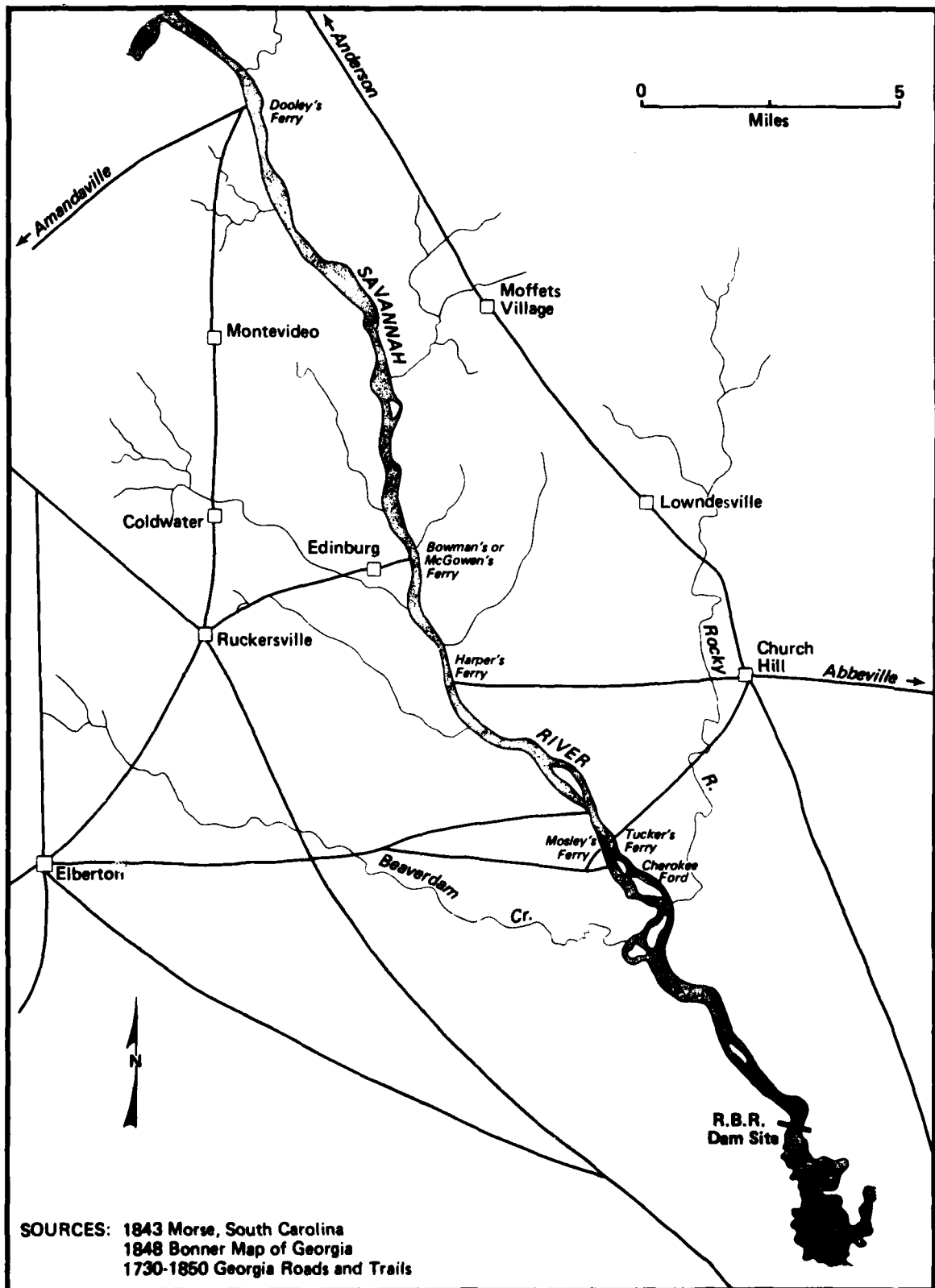
S. W. G.



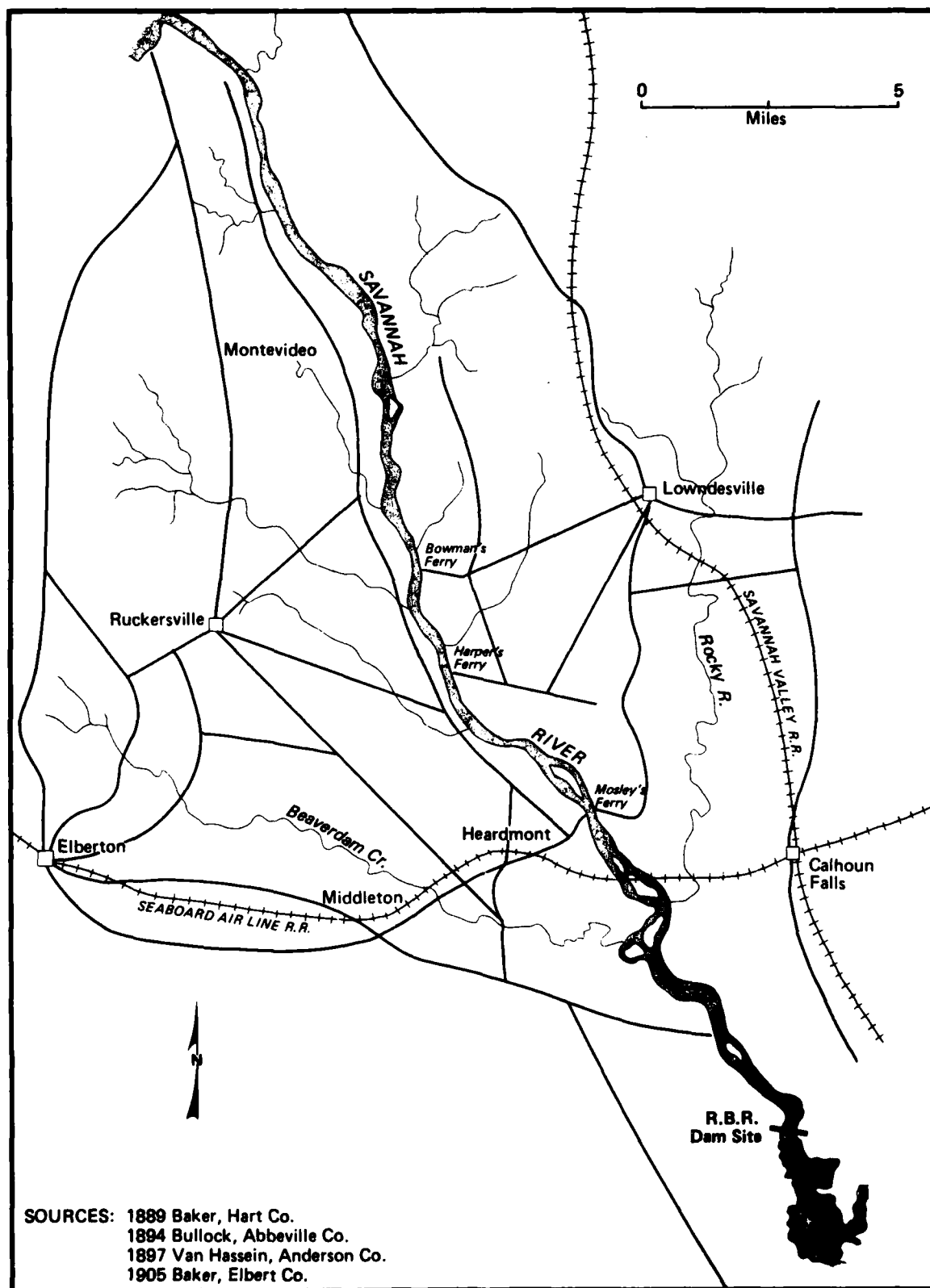
Figure 8: The Railroad Comes to the Area
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)



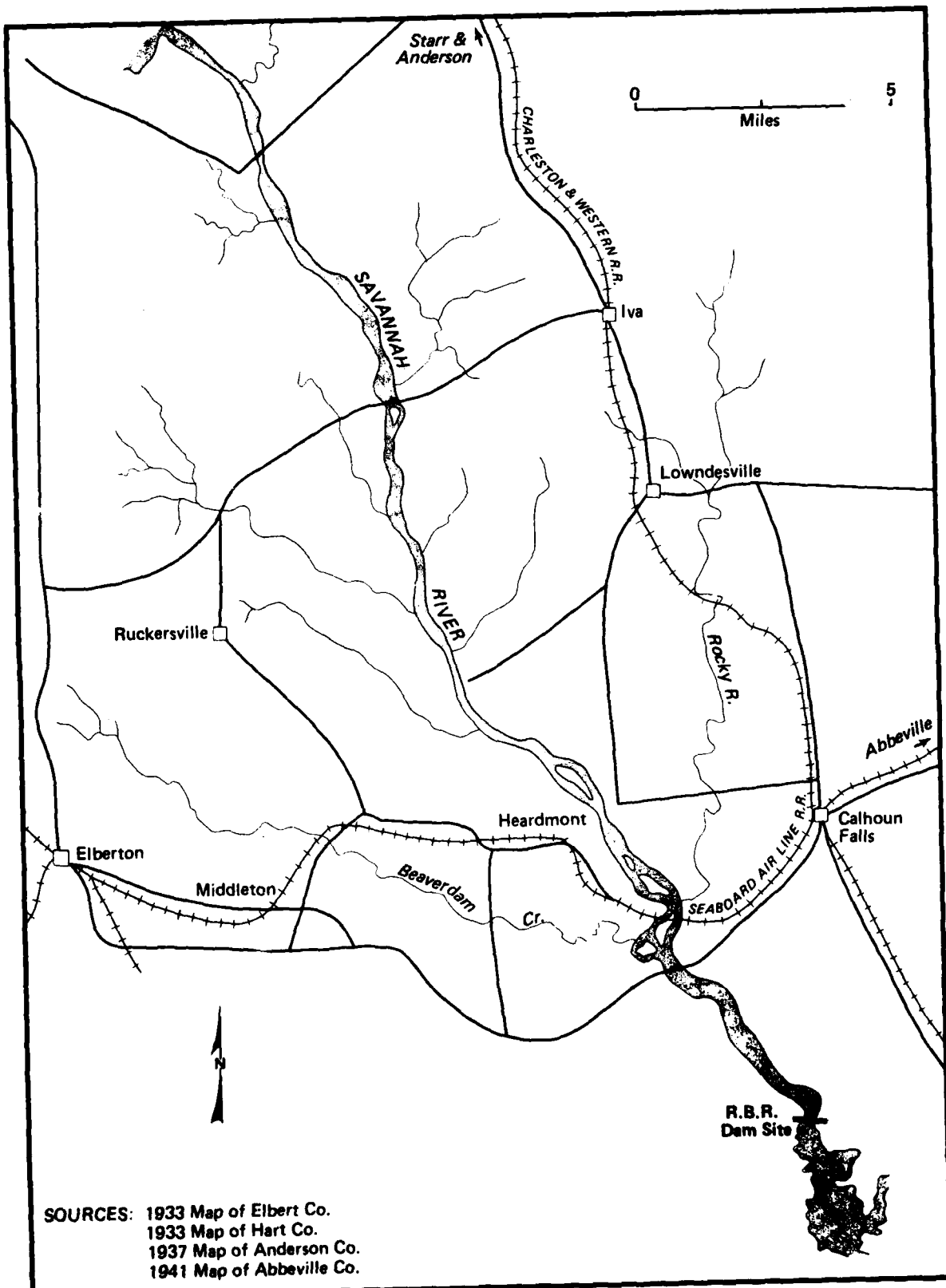
Map 3: Generalized Road and Settlement Pattern, Russell MRA, 1820s



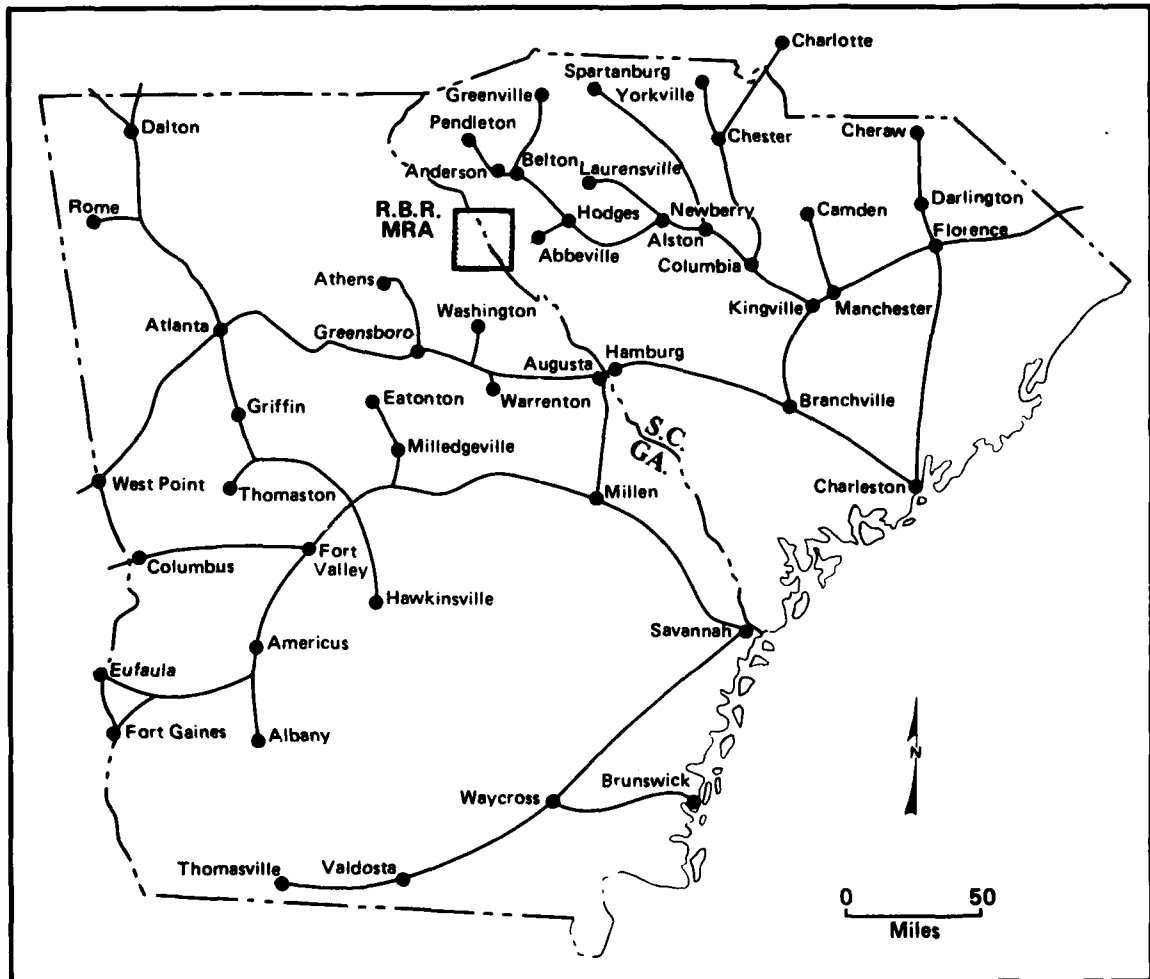
Map 4: Generalized Road and Settlement Pattern, Russell MRA, 1850s



Map 5: Generalized Road and Settlement Pattern, Russell MRA, 1890s



Map 6: Generalized Road and Settlement Pattern, Russell MRA, 1930s



Map 7: Railway Systems, Georgia and South Carolina, 1860

FOOTNOTES

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³Basic sources containing descriptions of Savannah River trade are the following: Kenneth Coleman, edited., A History of Georgia (Athens, GA: University Press, 1977); Ellis Merton Coulter, Old Petersburg and the Broad River Valley of Georgia: Their Rise and Decline (Athens, GA: University Press, 1965); Robert Mills, Statistics of South Carolina (Charleston, SC: Hurlbut & Lloyd, 1826); Phillips, A History of Transportation; George White, Statistics of the State of Georgia (Savannah, GA: W. Thorne Williams, 1849).

⁴U. S. Congress, House, Survey of the Savannah and Tennessee Rivers, Executive Documents No. 104, 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1832, p. 20.

⁵U. S. Congress, House, Savannah River, Executive Documents No. 90, 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1879, p. 2.

⁶U. S. Congress, Survey of the Savannah Above Augusta, Executive Documents No. 213, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, pp. 2-3.

⁷Petition to the General Assembly from Abbeville Residents, No. 1121, n.d., South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁸David Kohn, ed., Internal Improvement in South Carolina, 1817-1828 (David Kohn, 1938), pp. xiii-xiv; David Duncan Wallace, South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948 (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press, 1951), pp. 374-76; Louis B. Wright, South Carolina: A History (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976), p. 161.

⁹Coleman, History of Georgia, p. 109; Coulter, Old Petersburg, pp. 55-56; Fletcher M. Green, "Georgia's Board of Public Works," Ga. Hist. Q., 22 (June 1938), 125-27.

¹⁰Coulter, Old Petersburg, p. 57.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 52-54.

¹²David Ramsay, History of South Carolina, Vol. II, p. 579; White, Statistics of the State of Georgia, p. 228.

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¹³Coleman, History of Georgia, p. 109; Phillips, History of Transportation, p. 58.

¹⁴Wright, South Carolina, pp. 160-61.

¹⁵Francois Andre Michaux, Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Back to Charleston, By the Upper Carolines, 1802, Vol. III of Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., 32 vols. (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), p. 300.

¹⁶Wallace, South Carolina, pp. 375-76.

¹⁷Petition to the General Assembly from J. Paine, November 15, 1826, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

¹⁸Claude Henry Neuffer, "The General's Road," Names in South Carolina, 1 (Winter 1954), 10-11.

¹⁹Eleazer Early, Map of the State of Georgia, 1818; William G. Bonner, Map of the State of Georgia, 1848; James R. Butts, Map of the State of Georgia, 1859.

²⁰A subject and name index to petitions filed before 1830 is available at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

²¹Letter, J. A. Townes to George F. Townes, May 9, 1833, Townes Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

²²Numerous references to pole boat navigation of the Savannah River are contained in the John C. Calhoun Papers, Clemson University Library, and the 1830s plantation diary of James Edward Colhoun, the original of which is in the John Ewing Colhoun Collection at the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

²³James Edward Colhoun, 1830, plantation diary, October 1, 1830 entry.

²⁴Ibid., January 3, 1832.

²⁵Ibid., September 7, 1832.

²⁶Ibid., September 11, 1832.

²⁷Ibid., September 30, 1833.

²⁸Letter, John C. Calhoun to James Edward Colhoun, March 27, 1837, Clemson University Library.

²⁹Coleman, History of Georgia, pp. 156-59.

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³²Conrad Cheatham, Railroads in Abbeville County," in Abbeville County Family History ed. by J. Greg Carroll (J. Greg Carroll, 1979), p. 12.

³³Ernest McPherson Lander, Jr., A History of South Carolina 1865-1960 (Columbia, SC: University Press, 1970), pp. 100-01; Cheatham, "Railroads," pp. 12-13; a discussion of the regional development of the South's railway system is contained in Howard W. Odum, Southern Regions of the United States (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press, 1943), pp. 356-61.

³⁴Odum, Southern Regions, p. 365.

³⁵House, Savannah River, p.3.

³⁶House, Survey of Savannah River, p. 5.

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³⁸Ibid., p. 39.

³⁹Georgia Department of Agriculture, Georgia: Historical and Industrial (Atlanta, GA: Franklin Publishing Co., 1901), pp. 646-49.

⁴⁰Letter, J. W. Carlisle to Henry Carlisle, February 3, 1901, in the private possession of Mr. Harold Carlisle.

⁴¹Interview with Carroll Mary Hudson, April 12, 1980; also of significance here is the interview with Harold Carlisle on April 12, 1980.

⁴²Coleman, History of Georgia, p. 274; Lander, History of South Carolina, p. 101.

⁴³Interviews with the following: Harold Carlisle, April 12, 1980; Blake Crocker, March 21, 1980; Carroll Mary Hudson, April 12, 1980; Alvin Hutchison, March 20, 1980; Gaines Morrow, April 14, 1980; and Hattie Morrow, April 11 and 13, 1980.

Map 8: Indian Lands and Boundaries, Upper Savannah River, 1773

PART III: CHAPTERS IN THE AREA'S HISTORY

SECTION 1: THE ABORIGINAL LANDSCAPE, A SETTING FOR COLONIAL SETTLEMENT

Although the Russell area lies within the Piedmont physiographic province of the upland South, its dissection by the Savannah River and tributary streams makes it topographically more rolling than is the Piedmont generally, a feature which tended to exaggerate its landscape-related settlement characteristics after it was cleared for row-crop agriculture by an Anglo-American society. As a result of agriculture and other landscape modifying processes over the past two centuries, the MRA today presents a vastly different appearance than that which it held for the pioneer Georgians and Carolinians who began to occupy it in pre-Revolutionary times. To understand how these pioneers and their descendents modified this area, it is necessary to reconstruct both the landscape of their time and the unique perceptions they held as they decided which places and resources to exploit and develop in their new environment. Even a partial reconstruction of the early landscape reveals the lineaments of the original patterns of the landownership, occupance, and transportation, which formed the spatial matrix within which later land use decisions were made, as the geographic patterns etched by each succeeding generation were influenced by the remnants of those already in place. Thus, the Indian trails which formed avenues of movement for the first human inhabitants of the area more often than not became the packhorse trails and later wagon roads of the Euro-Americans. And later, railroads tended to follow similar lines along paths where the bridging of stream courses was minimized and gradients were gentle. It is only in very recent decades that mechanized man has undertaken to flatten the hills and fill the valleys, pushing straight ribbons of highway concrete across the rolling Piedmont.

The project area was settled by emigrating Europeans and immigrating colonials during the last half of the eighteenth century, in increasing numbers as the century wore on and more lands were wrested from the Indians by early continental governments. At the mid-point of the eighteenth century the land making up the MRA was unquestionably in the Indian territory beyond the frontiers of both South Carolina and Georgia. As such, the only whites who knew anything about its qualities

Aboriginal Landscape

were probably traders and packhorsemen engaged in Indian trade - not articulate observers of the landscape except as it served their trade, neither true destroyers nor describers of the landscape.

From other sources, however, the area might be reinvented for the imagination to envision: virgin forests, clear springs and rivers teeming with fish, herds of buffalo, elk, deer, bear, and other animals of great variety; woodlands and flood plains fired by the Indians; valleys full of grasses and peavines; and dense canebrakes bordering the streams. Gradually, the borders of Indian territory were pushed back, and new land uses brought forward.¹

The Euro-American settlers brought with them fresh expectations, different life-styles, and some scientific observations of what they were about to develop. Among the best observers was William Bartram, the Philadelphia-born naturalist, who was on hand at the Indian Congress of 1773, at which a large Creek and Cherokee land cession was made to Georgia, known as the "New Purchase," which included the Georgia portion of the Russell area. Bartram took the opportunity of joining the party assigned to survey the New Purchase and demarcate the boundaries set forth in the treaty just signed and ratified. Thanks to Bartram's science it is possible to form some idea of the biophysical environment of the MRA at the time he saw it.

It was mid-May when the survey party left Augusta for the Great Buffalo Lick at the western limit of the New Purchase. When the survey was finished at a point now covered by the waters of Lake Hartwell, Bartram and the others took leave of their Indian counterparts and returned to Augusta, "taking our route generally through the low lands on the banks of the Savannah." Needless to say, this took him through the whole length of the Russell MRA, and Bartram's descriptions provide an invaluable word-picture of the country at the moment of its official transfer from Indian to white control. He wrote:

This new ceded country promises plenty and felicity. The lands on the River are generally rich and those of its innumerable branches agreeable and healthy situations, especially for small farms, everywhere little mounts and hills to build on and beneath them rich level land fit for corn and any grain with delightful glittering streams of running water through cain bottoms, proper for meadows, with abundance of water brooks for mills. The hills suit extremely well for vineyards and olives as nature points out by the abundant produce of fruitful grape vine, native mulberry trees of an excellent quality for silk. Any of this land would produce indigo and no country is more proper for the culture of almost all kinds of fruits.²

The present-day reader might find Bartram's optimism for the cultivation of vineyards and olives and the production of silk a bit hard to

Aboriginal Landscape

understand, but it is not at all surprising, given the eighteenth-century mercantilist ambitions for the Georgia colony. These were important commodities within Britain's imperial system, and their cultivation in the new colonial areas was eagerly anticipated, as a letter from Governor James Habersham to Lord Hillsborough, dated 1772, indicates:

if ever the Silk culture becomes a considerable branch of commerce here it must be done in the back country where the lands from their fertility and healthy situation can be profitably cultivated by, and admit of a great number of white people without the assistance of negroes, which cannot be done for a considerable distance from the sea coast, where rice is the principal staple commodity, and the lands being flat and moist, and especially those that are proper for the cultivation of rice, on which stagnated water is sometimes necessarily kept, causes the white inhabitants in particular to be subject to severe autumnal fevers, and consequently shortens their lives.³

In Habersham's view - shared by almost all leaders of his day - Georgia should avoid an overdependence on the plantation system with its attendant large slave populations, thus the thrust in frontier Georgia was consistently directed toward settlement policies which favored the small planter who had few, if any, slaves. In neighboring South Carolina there was a competitive interest in the same kind of frontier settlement, but the plantation system was more thoroughly entrenched across the Savannah from Georgia, and neither Georgia nor South Carolina could look into the future and anticipate how the cotton culture, once established, would change not only the expectations for the new settlement areas, but the very land itself.

William Bartram was not alone in leaving a descriptive account of the environment of this portion of the Savannah watershed; Edward Barnard, Le Roy Hammond, Philip Yonge, Joseph Purcell and William Barnard, the official surveyors of the Indian boundary lines, provided the following remarks on their map of the New Purchase:

The Lands in General consist of Oak and Hickory in many Places intermixed with black walnut, Chesnut and Tupelo, especially in the Vallies - level lands and cane brakes, the Hilly Lands consisting of Oak and Hickory with some few pines; the Soil is of a Dark Chocolate colour from six to seven inches deep with gravel and a kind of red clay The soil in the Vallies is somewhat of a lighter colour, very rich being intermixed with a fat marl, gravel and clay The soil on the level lands of which there are many fine spots, appears to be equally good with the Cane Swamps on Savannah River below Augusta, on which grow large Tupelo and black walnut The Cane brakes which are

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narrow are extremely good the Soil being very deep and of a black hue . . . The Soil on the Pine lands intermixed with a few oaks is of a light Grey Sand some places red commonly called molatto The poorest Pine land is Rocky and Soil consisting of gravel and grey sand, foundation yellow and red clay The whole of the Lands appear finely watered by abundance of Streams which are very convenient places for erecting Saw and Grist Mills. Also on the River Savannah are Several convenient places for Mills where the Rocks and Islands in the River stand near the Banks.⁴

The surveyors left an enticing script for settlement: rich soils, finely watered lands fit for any grain, water enough for mills, and meadows for grazing. It was the promise of varied and abundant agriculture - an excellent area sure to attract settlers interested in subsistence and small scale farm productivity and trade. The acquisition of such farmland was the almost universal goal of the frontiersmen who came into the area. Many of them found what they desired in the MRA - or very near it - and began to fashion its landscape according to the cultural perceptions and value systems peculiar to their era.

One such settler was Edward Butler, who passed near the southern edge of the MRA in 1784, a Virginian looking for land in Georgia. He finally settled for property on Upton Creek (near what is now Thomson, Georgia) which he bought for the price of "three likely young negroes" one of them a "girl or young wench."⁵ He recorded his travel impressions in a diary in prose commentaries and poetry; his responses were mixed. He saw territory filled with promise, but also with problems. At this point at which he had purchased his land and was returned to Virginia to remove his household back to Georgia, he penned a poem, given in full here, which reveals both his emotions at the time and his insights into the future and character of the area:

New Georgia is a pleasant place
 If we could but enjoye it
 Indians & Rogues they are so great,
 They almost have destroyd it.

All You that want to purchase wit[h]
 here you may buy aplenty
 & let your purse be Ere so full
 You soon may have it Em[]ty

Their is one thing more attends this place
 Which we do call an Evil
 When we make Corn Wheat & Rice
 Its Eaten by the Weavel

Not only so we must work hard
 & Take great Care to make it

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So let us all with one accord
Conclude for to forsake it,

Altho this province is so bad
You may rais heaps of cattle
They'll rais themselves without Expense
and that is half the battle

Here you may keep five hundred head
As Easy as keep Twenty
Here you may soon fill up your dish
When that it doeth get Empty

The flies in Sumer time they are so bad
They all most kill our creatures
they can not go into the swamps
for fear of the musqueators

They are best of[f] in winter time
They have no need of feeding
& I am sure in sumertime
They have no need of bleeding

Now to new Georgia I bid farewell
Hoping times may alter
Hoping all the worst of Rogues
Soon may get the halter

Could but the Indians be subdued
& Rogues could have their portion
Their could not be a better place
Athis side of the otion

Now I conclude & finish my song
I wish I was in Virginia
If I have said anything thats wrong
I am sure I'll forfeit [illegible]

If I have sung anything that's wrong
I am shure I should be sorry
I have partly seen what I have [sung]
& I have made my Song in a Horey[.]⁶

Primitive poetry aside, the stage was set for the first permanent white settlers to occupy the land, which offered promises of plenty but which also held hard realities.

L. De V. &
D. R. R.

FOOTNOTES

¹Beth Ann Klosky, The Pendleton Legacy (Columbia, SC: The Sand-lapper Press, 1971), pp. 1ff.

²Francis Harper, ed., The Travels of William Bartram, Naturalist's Edition (1958), p. 30; William Bartram, "Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-74: A Report to Dr. John Fothergill," Trans. Am. Philos. Soc., MS XXXIII, Pt. 2 (November 1943), p. 144.

³British Public Records Office, C.O. 5/661, p. 116.

⁴Quoted from photostatic copy of the original map in the British Public Records Office, M.P.G. p. 2.

⁵Edward Butler, Diary, Special Collections, University of Georgia Library, [unnumbered pg. 15].

⁶Ibid., [p. 62].

SECTION 2: THE FRONTIER AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT TO 1810

Much of the detail of the earliest white settlement of the Richard B. Russell MRA is not recoverable; because of incomplete land records, the area's earliest history is likely to remain shrouded in local lore and mystery. yet, the early settlement history of the MRA is probably its most important because of the persistence of basic economic and social patternings which had their origins roughly between 1760 and 1810. It is the purpose of this section to illuminate what is known from the literature about that early period in light of several specific historical questions: how did the project area fit into the broad pattern of migration into the Southern Piedmont? How did the early settlements on either side of the Savannah River experience different political imprinting and to what effect? And how did the patterns of migration, transportation, and agriculture, developed by 1810, lay the groundwork for immediate and long range future developments of the area?

During the late eighteenth century, what is now the Richard B. Russell MRA lay at the end of a long arc of migration that had three distinct sources. The greatest and longest route, over 700 miles, began in Pennsylvania, crossed the Potomac into the Valley of Virginia, followed the Shenandoah to breaks in the Appalachian chain, proceeded south into the Carolina Piedmont, and spread west until it just crossed the Savannah River. The second route proceeded overland from Charleston into the South Carolina upcountry, and the third began at the port of Savannah and ran north, paralleling the Savannah River through Augusta into the interior of colonial Georgia.¹

In general, the direction of the early migrations from 1730 on, went to the Carolinas and then from the Carolinas into Georgia and Tennessee along the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road, which carried thousands of pioneers, mostly Germans and Scotch-Irish, through the colonial interiors. Once on South Carolina soil the Wagon Road ran from Catawba Valley to Camden, where it was joined by the migration route from Charleston, and where it split in two, running due west to Augusta and northwest along an Indian trail to Ninety-Six.² Ninety-Six, incorpor-

ated in 1787 as Cambridge, had begun earlier as a frontier outpost against the Indians, and was the first terminus for settlers moving into the Russell MRA.

In 1747, South Carolina leaders negotiated a cession of land from the Cherokee Indians, which carried its frontier outposts into the Long Canes Creek and Little River watersheds in what is now Southern Abbeville County. Conflicts and tensions between South Carolina and the Cherokees seriously inhibited that colony's settlement through the 1750s and early 1760s, but following the conclusion of the Cherokee War of 1760-61 the victorious Carolinians were able to force the Indians to agree to boundaries which opened the area of modern Abbeville County as far as what is now the Anderson County line. Prior to the 1761 treaty, according to one widely quoted historian, there were only twenty-four white families in the whole South Carolina upcountry, only three of whom had penetrated as far as the Savannah near Abbeville.³ In response to the newly opened territory and the introduction of a headright system of land grants in 1763, immigrants now flooded into South Carolina, many sailing directly to Charleston to avoid the long overland trek from Pennsylvania. On April 2, 1763, the South Carolina Gazette reported that over one thousand families from northern colonies had settled in the region of Long Canes Creek during 1762 and that four hundred additional families were expected shortly, both figures indicative of the rapid tide of settlement flowing southwestward down the Piedmont.

In order to regularize this frontier settlement and minimize the possibilities of warfare, British authorities entered into formal negotiations for an official Indian cession and demarcated boundary, and in 1766 the South Carolina-Cherokee Boundary Line was drawn as a straight line between the Savannah and Reedy Rivers.⁴ (The present boundary separating modern Abbeville and Anderson Counties follows the course of this original line. See Map 8.) For the project area, this line had the effect of officially barring white settlement from the Anderson County portion of the MRA until British control broke down during the Revolutionary period.

The Pennsylvania-Piedmont migration had been underway for some time before Georgia was founded as a colony, and when the territories now known as Elbert and Hart Counties were opened for settlement, the Pennsylvania Wagon Road was already well rutted and the backcountry of South Carolina nearly filled up. The opening and settlement of Greenville and Pendleton (now Anderson) Counties signaled the close of the South Carolina frontier. The act creating these two counties was passed in 1787, suggesting that henceforward "adventurous spirits eager to penetrate into wild regions and to contend with Indians must cross the mountains into Tennessee, or else push down into Georgia, where there were lands in Abundance . . ."⁵

Georgia, long a competitor with South Carolina for the lucrative Indian trade, worked hard to maintain amicable relations with neighbor-

ing tribes during the years which saw conflict in South Carolina. Georgia's smaller population and frontier remoteness often favored more orderly conditions along the Indian borders. White settlement, which had spread north and west from Augusta, was formally accepted by the Indians in a treaty ratified in 1763, but it was not long before newer settlements put pressure on the territorial limits agreed upon then. Georgia's population was burgeoning - estimated to be 11,300 in 1762 - and the greatest influx was attracted to the frontier zone. Although some of the settlement was well organized, resulting in the establishment of such communities as Quaker Wrightsboro and Irish Queensbury, much of the new settlement was by free-spirited frontiersmen who studiously avoided governmental control and regulation. As these frontiersmen spilled into former Indian lands and beyond the agreed-upon boundary, friction with the Indians threatened the whole Piedmont frontier. Only a war with their western neighbors, the Choctaws, kept the Creeks from moving more vigorously against the Georgia encroachers in the late 1760s and early 1770s.

Indian indebtedness to Georgia pelt traders finally created an opportunity for the colony to extend its territorial limits. The governor moved expeditiously to write off the debts in exchange for land, but the record makes clear that many settlers were not content to wait for official British sanction and the land purchase to take place. Large numbers of squatters took up residence on the Indian side of the existing boundary from 1768 on, and a policy of squatters' rights was implicitly defended in arguments favoring a new cession. One document, used to persuade King George III's advisors to favor cession, treated the Indians as so many obstacles to favorable settlement in the backcountry,

stating, that the lands [north of Savannah] are much more worn out and very insufficient for the increase of population in those parts, as appears by the numbers of emigrants that flock from thence to the upper parts of South Carolina and Georgia, where they are obliged to remain being unable through poverty to transport their families by water to the Floridas, and prevented journeying by land by the several Nations of Indians they have to pass through.⁷

How many of these "emigrants" actually settled within the area now designated the MRA - and exactly where they settled - it is impossible to say. As early as the 1750s Georgia had seen encroachments in what was still Indian territory, one which appears to have been located near the project area, but south of it, between the Broad River and Pistol Creek. This one contained two families, the Hugh Middletons and the John Heards, who later relocated in the Russell MRA. Other encroachments were not identified.

The Georgia portion of the MRA became an official part of the Colony of Georgia at the Indian Congress held at Augusta on June 1, 1773; the ceded land and its squatters passed into colonial rule - permanently,

but not quietly. The New Purchase tract of some 1.5 million acres was originally a part of colonial St. Paul's Parish, but in 1777 the first constitution of Georgia provided that, "The Ceded Lands north of Ogeechee shall be one county, and known by the name of Wilkes," which county was the scene of increasing Indian tensions in the period leading up to the political break with Britain and sporadic warfare after statehood was proclaimed. The period from mid-1780 through mid-1781 was one of savage guerilla warfare throughout much of the South Carolina-Georgia backcountry, including the MRA.⁸

Throughout this period, from the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth, Indians remained a concern of the two colonial and state governments, especially Georgia's. The project area - in its entirety - was cleared of Indians by the mid-1780s, but it lay near the Indian border to the north. The MRA was, in fact, part of the northernmost, westernmost section of eighteenth century Georgia. Until the second decade of the nineteenth century, settlement could officially push no further north; it could only turn and follow the direction of the Piedmont physiography itself, going south and west, to stay out of Indian possessions.

After the Indian land cession of 1773, Georgia became an aggressive promoter of migration to her frontiers, but despite liberal land grants in the 1770s, there was not much response to the invitations to settle in the New Purchase. The instabilities of the Revolution accounted for much of the reluctance, and the loss of Tory populations from frontier areas after the expulsion of the British from Augusta in 1781 was a significant factor in the low population increase in the MRA. In the 1780s land policies were liberalized to reward heroes of the Revolutionary War, though many more bounties were given to citizens for not "plundering or distressing the country" during the War than for actually fighting in it. Speculation and settlement went hand-in-hand. Many pre-Revolutionary land surveys were lost in the War; subsequent survey procedures were haphazard, giving rise to frauds and voided grants, which problems continued until well into the 1790s. There is nothing to indicate that what became Elbert County in 1790 was exempt from these speculative practices and improper land deals; in fact, there may be some evidence to the contrary.⁹

Newly arrived settlers or war veterans were issued an authorization or "warrant" for a qualified land surveyor to mark out a tract of vacant land of a specified acreage. The land was granted on the "head right" of the settler, his dependents, and slaves, if he owned any. In spite of governmental efforts to insure that the lands being granted were parceled into regular rectangular units no regular scheme of land division developed in the Russell MRA, a feature to which F. J. Marschner has drawn attention:

Although systematic land division had been proposed for Carolina and Georgia, preemption of land in the southern

colonies proceeded with no attempt at conventionalized allocation of sites. Colonists entered the higher grounds from the east by following the waters or divides upstream. Others who came from the north, followed the buffalo trails which in turn became roads. The Piedmont and Appalachian Valley received settlers in this way. Each settler selected his homesite, which was usually near a stream and far enough from his nearest neighbor, so that he would not encroach on his neighbor's claim. . . . The boundaries on these land plats represented chiefly compass lines run by inexperienced surveyors. The line description started and ended at the same point. These so called "metes and bounds" surveys . . . were not accurate. Conflicting claims resulting from this type of survey provide a continuing source of litigation.¹⁰

By the end of the eighteenth century much of the MRA resembled a patchwork quilt of small, irregularly shaped subsistence farms.

A second important pattern emanated from the system of landholdings: a low ratio of black slaves to whites. The government of Georgia, as stated, tried to encourage small, independent farmers over large plantation holders in the upcountry. To accomplish this in the New Purchase, the governor appointed Land Commissioners to oversee the distribution of land. In his "Instructions" to the Land Commissioners, Governor Wright established a range of low per-acre prices based on land quality. He also specified that "all Single Familys" be granted ample time to occupy and pay for their land purchases".¹¹ These policies appear to have succeeded since in one list of one hundred and eight families and individuals who applied to the Land Commissioners in the autumn of 1773, only four new arrivals owned any slaves. Those who came from outside Georgia were from South Carolina, North Carolina, or Virginia, with South Carolina counting for the majority and Virginia the fewest.¹²

The path of immigration across the Savannah did not cross the river within the Russell project area as a rule, but two primary migration routes have been identified, which lay just to the north and south of the area. To the south, the earlier route of the two led across the Savannah at the confluence of the Broad River. This point was considered the most strategic frontier junction in the local territory, as evident from the establishment of Fort Charlotte nearby on the Carolina side of the Savannah and by the later selection of this juncture as the site three towns - Petersburg and Lisbon in Georgia and Vienna in South Carolina. The second migration route developed later and cut through the heart of what is now Hart County at Hatton's Ford on the Savannah. The lower route was opened in the 1770s and led from the middle Carolinas through Abbeville, across the Savannah, into Wilkes County, Georgia, then west to Athens or south to Augusta. The northern route led from the upland Carolinas to Pendleton, across the Savannah to Carnesville, Georgia, and then, because of the continued presence of Indians to the north, it led southwest, intersecting all the major east-west migration routes which

ultimately pushed their way into Alabama. From Ninety-Six in South Carolina, then, one could travel north to connect with the Carnesville route or south to connect with the Petersburg route. Both routes connected on the Georgia side with the Cherokee Road, which ran from Augusta through Wilkes County through Athens and northwest into Indian territory (north Georgia and Tennessee).¹³

As the migration process continued, additional roads and routes were developed, with Abbeville becoming an early traffic center. Stage routes paralleling the Savannah River ran through the project area connecting both immigrant pathways, and gradually the Savannah River between Hatton's Ford and Petersburg Ferry filled in with more fords and ferries. Despite the presence, however, of Cherokee Ford (below Cherokee Shoals), of McGowens Ferry (at Coldwater Creek), of Tucker's Ferry (at Trotter's Shoals), of McDonald Ferry (at Cedar Creek), and of McDaniel Ferry (above Big Generostee), no major transportation route across the Savannah River developed inside the project area. The Russell area remained circumscribed by the major routes - off the main track and somewhat isolated. It is difficult to explain why; no single cause is prominent.

Some of the reasons are topographic. In the territory east of the MRA and west of the Saluda River, there are obstacles - hills and major streams. Early maps indicate, for instance, that roads circumvented the fork created by the Rocky River and the Savannah River, creating a pocket in which the project area sits. Another reason is chronological: the area was settled at an uneven pace with South Carolina developing first, and with the southeastern portions filling in before the northwestern portions were wrested away from the Indians. For a long period, relatively speaking, parts of the project area were simply not open for development. Few population concentrations and few destination points developed in the area north of Petersburg: Edinburg was laid out on the peninsula between Coldwater Creek and the Savannah River, but never fully matured as a town.¹⁴ Meanwhile, Petersburg seemed to attract all the urbanizing energies to itself as its importance to the upcountry expanded.¹⁵

Part of the problem was perceptual: settlement followed the constantly changing frontier, jumping over great parcels of land as it moved. Both settlement and speculative landholdings sought the cheapest lands available - usually those furthestmost from civilization; thus, migration leapfrogged over the countryside, taking all the connotations of "frontier" with it as it moved. It might have been so with the MRA: what was "frontier" at one moment within its confines was in the next moment far outside its borders. Generally speaking, Georgia represented the frontier more than did South Carolina during the late 18th century. Though the Georgia land which includes the Russell MRA was ceded in 1773, it was not heavily settled until after the Revolutionary War at which time more lands to the north and to the west were also opened up for settlement. By 1790, the Oconee River, rather than the Broad-Savannah

GEORGIA

by
Marion R. Hemperley
of the

**GEORGIA SURVEYOR GENERAL
DEPARTMENT**

1968

**Clevelands Ferry
From Ninety Six,
Pendleton, and
Greenville Districts**

Hattons Ford

**R.B.R.
MRA**

Lisbon or Petersburg Ferry

Barksdales Ferry

From central South
Carolina area

From Charleston and coastal
South Carolina area

**Sand Bar
Ferry**

RICHMOND

King Path

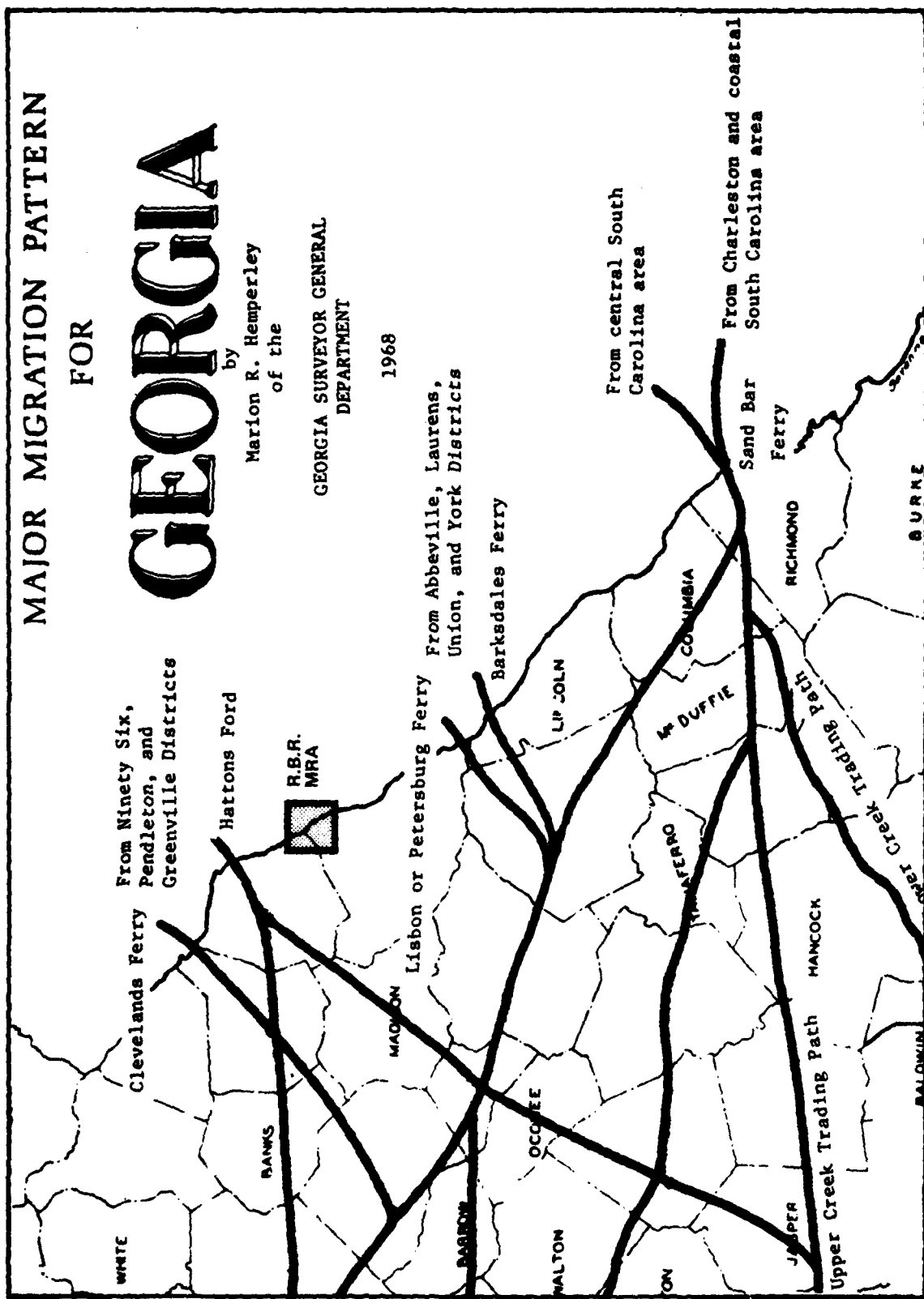
Creek Trading Path HANCOCK

ing Path

W
X
Y
Z

REMARKS:

Map 9: Major Migration Routes into Georgia



Map 9: Major Migration Routes into Georgia

River valley, represented the frontier and its lure of westward movement, "elbow room," and new opportunities.¹⁶

As the boundaries were in flux, so were the people. Undoubtedly, the character of the settlers moving into the project area lands contributed to its resistance to greater development: they moved out almost as quickly as they moved in. There are not enough statistics on this extremely important early demographic pattern, but the instances of individuals passing through the area to settle there only temporarily are well known and bear reiteration.

The rapidity with which these Piedmont areas were settled in the late eighteenth century was nothing short of "phenomenal" according to some local historians.¹⁷ The State Gazette of South Carolina, for example, boasted in 1793:

We contemplate with great pleasure, that Pendleton County [i.e., Anderson and Pickens Counties] which in year 1786, did not contain twenty families, in the beginning of the year 1793, at this time, contains thirteen thousand souls!- what an astonishing effect of population! ! !¹⁸

The settlers came in groups; they came in droves. A group of two hundred French Huguenots emigrated to Charleston in 1764 and moved upland to Abbeville District in 1765, founding New Rochelle and New Bordeaux, and lending their nomenclature to what had been part of the old Ninety-Six District, calling it "Abbeville", after Abbeville, France. Except for these Huguenots the settlers in the Russell area were predominantly of Scotch-Irish, Scottish, and English descent, with a few Germans and Dutch also appearing.¹⁹

The Europeans migrated as extended and cross-generational families, with two or three generations often traveling together. Fathers and sons, married brothers and sisters crossed the country with their children, and if they owned any slaves, the slaves were brought along as part of the household.²⁰

The tendency was to travel together and to settle together on adjoining or neighboring properties. A specially compiled 1790 census for Elbert County reveals some of the nature of the family enclaves which were founded.²¹ Persons of the same family name appeared in some areas and not in others. Between Broad River and Beaverdam Creek, for instance, the Burtons (Cogbill, Henry, Robert, and Thomas), the Colemans (John and James), the Hudsons (Cutbird, Charles, and David), and the Thompsons (Drury, Farley, John, Robert, William Jr. and William Sr.) appeared amid many other such combinations. Between Beaverdam Creek and Coldwater Creek were the Clevelands, the Colberts, the Cooks, the Thorntons, and the Whites. And above Coldwater Creek to about the present Hart County line were the Cunninghams, the Davises, the Rileys, the Teasleys, and a large coterie of Scots - McDonald, McDougal, McEwin,

McGarey, McGovern, McGuire, and McKenzie. These last may explain the provenance of the name for Edinburg, located in this militia district just above the juncture of Coldwater Creek with the Savannah River.

Examples of this family migration pattern are familiar in stories of the earliest settlers to the area. The five Calhoun brothers are a good case in point: William, John, Ezekiel, James, and Patrick, along with their mother, established a Scotch-Irish settlement at Long Canes in 1756 - probably the first true settlement in Abbeville District. A massacre in 1760 wiped out their small colony, but what survived of the family moved as a group to another location.²² The first Clinkscales, William Virgil and his half-brother, owned adjoining properties near Lowndesville, near where Clinkscales have remained for two centuries.²³ The Ruckers, who had spent three generations in Virginia, moved from Ruckersville, Virginia, to Georgia about 1785. The family members included Pressly, Willis, and William Rucker on the first move, and John, who followed them on the second move. John Rucker was the father of Joseph Rucker (Georgia's first millionaire) and one of the founders of Ruckersville - along with John White, head of one of the several White families identified in the 1790 Elbert County census as living in the same general vicinity between Beaverdam and Coldwater Creeks.²⁴

Large-scale family migrations were not the only means by which the area was settled, but they were probably the most important means. There were some ethnic differences among the earliest groups of settlers, but little hard data exist to make comparisons. Some sources suggest there were more Scotch-Irish on the South Carolina side and more English and Scots on the Georgia side, but this point is not indisputable.²⁵ Certainly there are stories of the "cosmopolitan" Virginians, who settled Petersburg and the Broad River Valley, looking down on the North Carolinians and poorer class Virginians who also settled there.²⁶ Perhaps these were Englishmen looking down at Scots and Irishmen; perhaps they were merely city dwellers looking down at backwoodsmen, herders, and farmers.

The first churches to be built in the area were established too late to reflect early ethnic differences. The first church to appear on the South Carolina side was Presbyterian, the first on the Georgia side was Baptist; at the same time, the first "missionaries" were Episcopalian, and the first revivals were Methodist. The early picture is mixed but ethnically inconclusive.²⁷ Yet, written histories attest that denominationalism and clannishness were strong among the early congregations.²⁸

As stated earlier, the settlers seemed to move out of the area almost as quickly as they moved into it. A restless flux in the Piedmont frontier was one of its more characteristic features. Some attributed it to the alleged rootlessness of the Scotch-Irish settlers, who were said to have a "psychological repugnance to making permanent homes until they had moved several times."²⁹ Such a family were the Pettigrews of

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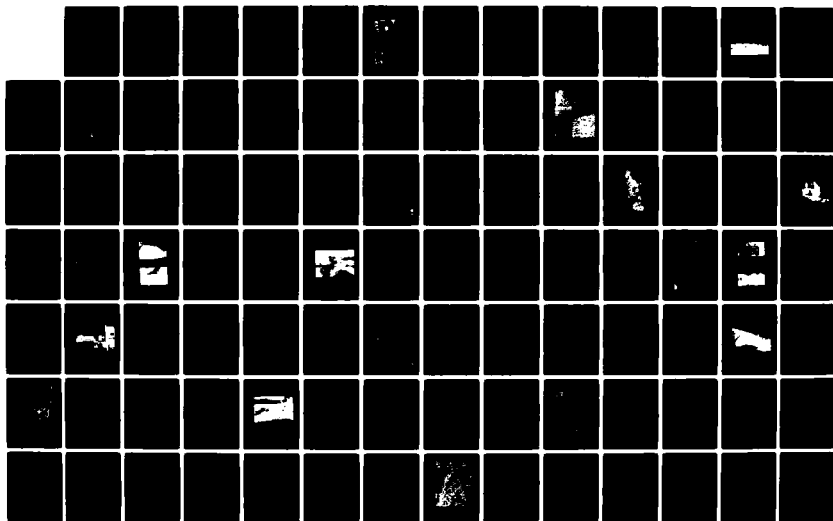
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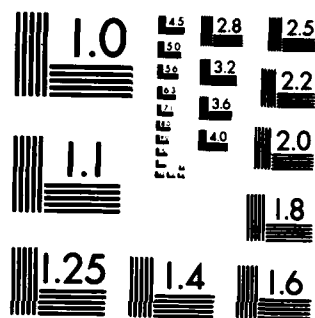
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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Abbeville, who arrived at New Castle, Delaware, in 1740, moved to Pennsylvania, moved again to the Valley of Virginia, uprooted themselves again, this time to North Carolina, settled in Long Canes in 1768, and after four years they moved again (but this time only "a mile or so down the road").³⁰ Andrew and John Pickens were similar: in 1745 they were justices of the peace in Virginia; six years later they located in Waxhaws in South Carolina, and in 1762 they received their tracts of land in the Savannah River Valley which they promptly settled.³¹ Even the staid Petersburg Virginians did not stand still long; many of the town's first generation of settlers and even more of its second generation moved on to new territories in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. In fact, enough of them moved together at one time to Alabama, about 1810, to establish a considerable political network, known as the "Georgia Machine," which had among its cogs John Williams Walker and Capt. James Tait, formerly of Elbert County.³²

There are other explanations for this mobility than a character flaw in the pioneers. One, undoubtedly, was that land-hungry immigrants would be attracted to the promise of "untouched", cheaper, and - it was always hoped - better lands further down the road in Georgia or in Alabama. Still another explanation suits the Russell MRA, for which there is scarce direct evidence: very likely the land uses among the early settlers came into conflict, forcing many to move.

The first settlers to arrive were chiefly herders and livestock owners, who practiced limited subsistence farming while depending on unclaimed lands where their cattle, hogs, and turkeys foraged. This describes, for instance, the settlers at Long Canes, the Woodleys who first staked out Elberton, and the "poet" Edward Butler, quoted earlier. As others moved in to plant cash crops, such as the Petersburgers who developed tobacco agriculture, the public lands began to disappear. Pastures were turned into plowed fields, and the herders were obliged to remove themselves or to become farmers. Some stayed while many left; in either case the results were, according to contemporary accounts, sadly predictable: herders made better migrants than farmers. Since both herding and cash crop agriculture occurred in the area in a shortened period of time, almost contemporaneously, the population flux may have been exaggerated.³³

Worst of all, however, the techniques of agriculture themselves were wasteful, erosive, and destructive, necessitating continual clearing of new fields. The land was predisposed to erosion, described as an "erosional tinderbox" by geographer Stanley W. Trimble, who wrote of the middle-Georgia Piedmont:

[Its] present valley morphology is far different from that found by the first European settlers . . . during the period from about 1780 to 1805. Most streams then had definite channels. Valley floor land, although often low and subject to overflow, was perennially dry enough in most cases to be cultivated.

81
Frontier

The middle Georgia Piedmont is, however, an area which is highly susceptible to erosion because of easily eroded soils, steep slopes, and intense rainfall. Some erosion was caused by the initial clearing of land . . .³⁴

A. R. Hall, writing of the efforts to conserve soil from the early nineteenth century on, observed the same thing:

The upland areas generally began to show effects of washing as soon as the forest litter, roots, and stumps had had time to decay, that is, the second or third year after clearing.³⁵

Hall goes on to cite F. A. Michaux, traveling the Piedmont in 1802, who noted that:

those who cultivated uplands were forced repeatedly to clear new fields, with the result that many migrated to the cheaper and supposedly more fertile lands in the West.³⁶

For the Russell MRA this bequeathed a double legacy: an endemic outmigration and a pattern of erosive land use established very early.

The farming settlements on both sides of the Savannah were topographically, agriculturally, and ethnically similar enough, but they were divided by the river itself into separate political entities, with different structures, allegiances, leadership patterns, and economic involvements. The specific effects of this political variation are not well documented for the project area, but certain patterns affecting the backcountry of both South Carolina and Georgia are suggestive of what happened there. For one thing, there was heavy competition between the two states, most evident in the presence of town loci across the river from each other, such as Hamburg across from Augusta. Competition was evident too in cutthroat trading practices, in thwarted efforts to improve river passage, and in land policies affecting the settlement of the upper valley.

As political control differed between the two states, so governmental responses to the settlers differed equally. In South Carolina the balance of power went against the upcountry, whereas in Georgia it was more in favor of the upcountry. Charleston and the sea coast dominated South Carolina affairs, while in Georgia, the population shifted to mid-state, carrying with it the seat of power, and by 1790, the backcountry was as populous as the lowcountry. In South Carolina local governmental operations were slow to develop, leaving its backcountry more truly "colonial" than Georgia's and at the mercy of vigilantes who were as often law-breaking as they were law-serving. A circuit court system was established in 1769, offering the citizens of Ninety-Six District their first voice in colonial politics.³⁷

Actually, local self-government got its greatest impetus during the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary War period as new counties and courthouses were established on both sides of the river. Post-War expansion in the Piedmont territories which include the Russell MRA was impressive; post-War stabilization less so. Factionalism between the upcountry and lowcountry populations persisted; economic problems emanating from the cut ties with England briefly affected upcountry trade, and the mushrooming populations in the Piedmont put substantial demands on new and somewhat untested state and local governments.

The Revolutionary War had importance for the Russell MRA in several ways, but more as a turning point in the area's history than as a force in its affairs. The end of the War marked the true opening of the area to denser white settlement: it was only after the War that the first institutional signs of civilization appeared - courthouses, churches and schools. The Revolution succeeded in organizing the military muscle of the region along with its political muscle, and in the process forged a group of pioneer leaders who continued to have local and state influence once the War was over - e.g., Stephen Heard in Georgia and Robert Anderson in South Carolina.

The backcountry was heavily divided over the issue of independence from Britain, and the occasion of actual military activity inside the Russell MRA should be seen more as a reflection of the civil war aspects of the Revolution than as acts of an aggressive external power. The Van's Creek skirmish on the Savannah River was the most important of several small encounters in the general area of the MRA which helped to set up the American victory at Kettle Creek, Georgia, in February 1779, but in effect, it was an encounter of local dissident "patriots" under local American command against local disaffected "loyalists" under British command - not an engagement between seasoned and trained national armies. The engagement at Van's Creek was brief and costly, in which (American) Capt. Robert Anderson's attack on the forces of the British Col. William Boyd ended in rout for the Americans and heavy losses for the loyalists. Boyd's purposes in being in the backcountry were severalfold: to collect recruits for the British troops, to stir up an "uprising," and to rejoin the regular British Army at Augusta. He was not successful: many of his "troops" never materialized, his "uprising" was a defeat, and since he was killed at Kettle Creek, he never reached Augusta. When what was left of his troops arrived there, the British Army was in retreat.³⁸

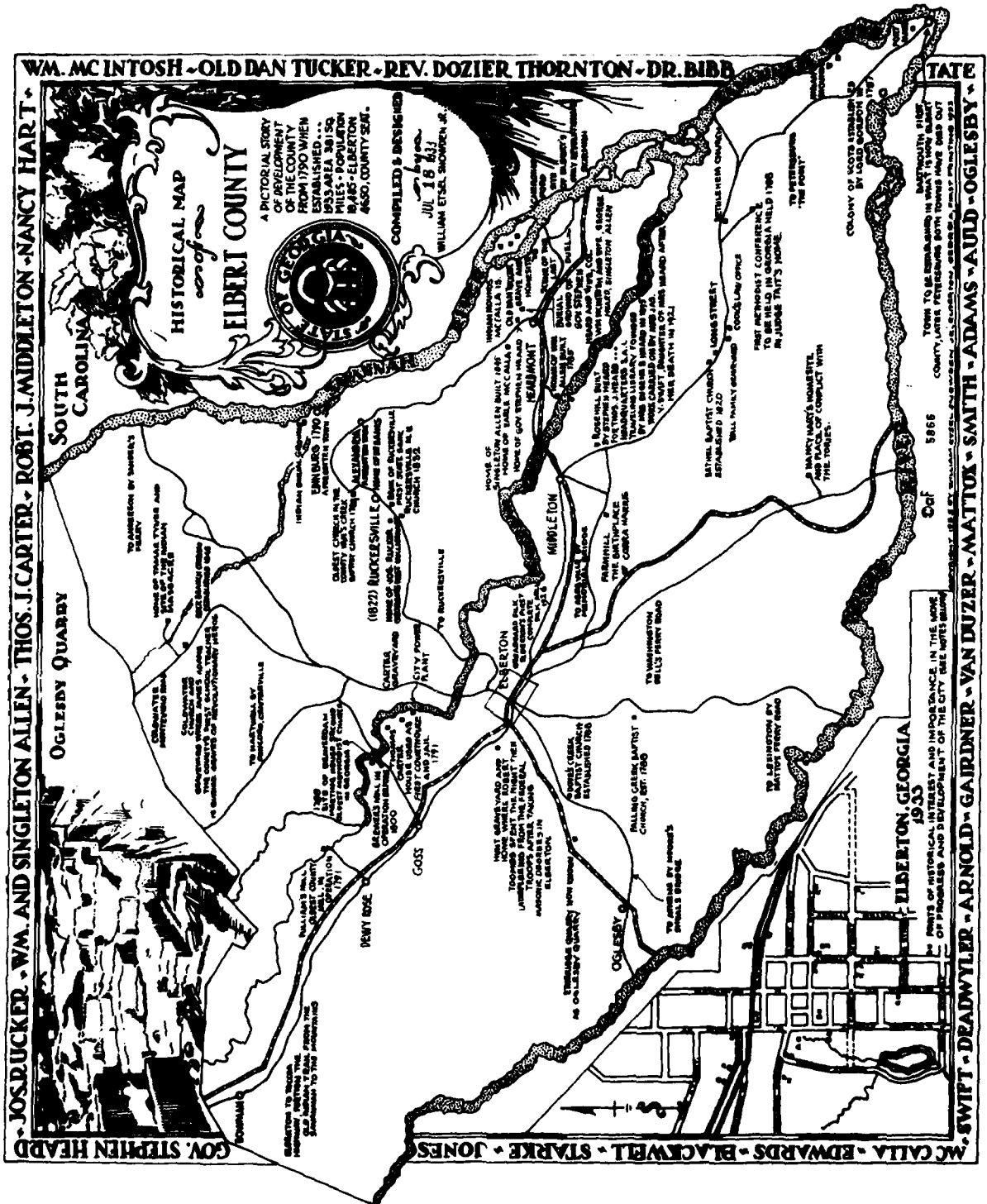
The War brought confiscation of property from local residents who supported the British and it also altered the structural defense pattern of the frontier territories. Stockades and other fortified structures, originally erected for protection against the Indians, were quickly appropriated for other military purposes. Additional fortifications were erected in anticipation of military engagement against the loyalists or the British. Fort Independence, ostensibly located within the MRA, is just such a site, and represents one piece in an entire system of local defenses in operation at the time.

Growth in the Russell MRA after the Revolution directly reflected regional settlement patterns in the Southeast; more importantly, it reflected the social and economic aspirations of the newly emerging territory. Elbert County between 1790 and 1810 is most instructive of these intentions as they affected the MRA, since - for all practical purposes - the cultural, commercial, economic, and political center of the immediate region, located at the confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers in the southern tip of Elbert County, was Petersburg.

Petersburg was originally authorized in 1785; its post office was established in 1795; and the town was finally incorporated in 1802. It seemed to be located perfectly for considerable future development and economic importance: it was on the main traffic route from the Carolinas into Georgia; it was the center of the northeast Georgia postal route; it was on one stagecoach line to Augusta and on another which ran all the way from Milledgeville to Washington, D. C. All roads, it seemed - whether "miserable" with obstructions, mud, overgrowth, or wagon ruts - led to Petersburg.³⁹

Of far greater significance, however, was Petersburg's situation on a peninsula, wrapped by two major rivers, a matter of fortuitous and careful planning, for until the mid-nineteenth century, Georgia, like many other southern states, committed itself to policies of commercial development which were directly tied to its waterways. Columbus, Macon, Augusta and Savannah were located on major waterways, and in this setting, Petersburg and Edinburg were simply two new additions. Georgia's "destiny," in fact, was often viewed in terms of water transportation, a destiny in the upper Savannah River valley system, where the waters were not navigable, which was fraught with difficulties.⁴⁰ If transportation in the MRA was considered an official matter at this time, it was a question of river improvements, not just of roads, bridges, ferries, railroads, or canals, a policy in which South Carolina and Georgia both concurred. An 1813 petition to the South Carolina General Assembly requested a "publick ferry" on the "Savannah River about one mile above the Cherokee Ford and on the road leading from Abbeville courthouse to Elberton in the state of Georgia." The reason given: there were at that time no public ferries within nine or ten miles up or down the Savannah River.⁴¹ Until 1815, public waterway improvements on the upper Savannah ran from nonexistent to ineffective. A proposed channelization between Augusta and Petersburg was approved and funded but never accomplished, largely because the earliest efforts to improve the inland waterways in and around the Savannah River required the cooperation of two separate political entities, Georgia and South Carolina, neither of which was particularly interested.⁴²

South Carolina was considerably settled by 1810, but Georgia was still very much a frontier state, interested in settling its lands and committed to a fiscal policy based on land sales. As for the MRA, it was located in territory requiring internal improvements to assure its development - improvements, which in Georgia, where transportation pol-



Map 10: Some Early Historic Sites in Elbert County

icy lagged behind land policy, were not possible; and which in South Carolina, because of the dominance of coastal interests over backcountry interests, were not politically urgent. The MRA straddled difficult terrain and erratic streams which needed public monies to be tamed. As long as transportation improvements were left in local hands, the project area was confined to limited development and left to struggle as best it could.

Petersburg again tells the story. It was successful for a while. First the scene of mixed agricultural efforts, its settlers grew experimental crops of flax, wheat, corn, and sweet potatoes; they tended livestock and fowl and kept kitchen gardens. Encouraged by legislation in the 1770s to augment tobacco cultivation in the upcountry, they grew tobacco as well. Tobacco became the first exportable product from this part of the Georgia-Carolina border and made Petersburg a thriving commercial center. At its height, just after the turn of the nineteenth century, Petersburg was the third largest city in Georgia and the only one specializing in the tobacco trade. But it could not last: tobacco could not be as bountifully or successfully cultivated in this area as it could be in the Carolinas, while, after the 1810's, cotton could be and was, but cotton was a crop Petersburg could not efficiently handle. Inaccessible by land except on one road down the peninsula, and accessible by water only on flat-bottomed "Petersburg" boats, Petersburg had only inefficient and expensive transportation systems. The traffic it needed to survive as a transportation center it did not have. Meanwhile, cotton cultivation spread out over a large territory in South Carolina and Georgia, created its own specialized market, and developed side-by-side with the new nineteenth century railroad interests in both states. By 1855 Petersburg, untouched by the railroad, too far from the roads, and tied to a fickle and treacherous river, was no longer a thriving tobacco town; it was not even a post office. It was a remnant, though, of an entire phase of development in the South, foreshortened by the quick rise of cotton, and forgotten, too easily, as an important step in the adaptation of a people to a land.

D. R. R. &
L. de V.

FOOTNOTES

¹Discussions concerning settlement in the South Carolina upcountry in this section draw upon John H. Logan, A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina (Charleston, SC: S. G. Courtenay & Co., 1859); Robert Meriwether, The Expansion of South Carolina 1729-1865 (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishing, 1940); Louis B. Wright, South Carolina: A History (New York, NY and Nashville, TN: Norton Co. and AASLH, 1976), pp. 49-99; Carol Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 1952), Chapter III, "The Back Settlements"; and D. Huger Bacot, "The South Carolina Upcountry at the End of the Eighteenth Century," American Historical Review, 28 (July 23), pp. 682-98.

²James G. Leyburn, The Scotch-Irish: A Social History (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1962), pp. 21-35, 254-55, and maps, pp. 195, 202, and 212.

³William Gilmore Simms, The History of South Carolina (New York, NY, 1860), p. 120, quoted in Leyburn and others.

⁴Louis de Vorse, The Indian Boundary (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1966).

⁵D. H. Bacot, "The South Carolina Upcountry," p. 691.

⁶Alex M. Hitz, "The Earliest Settlements in Wilkes County," Ga. Hist. Q., p. 40 (Sept. 1956), pp. 260-80.

⁷British Public Record Office, C. O. 5/661, p. 216.

⁸Louis de Vorse, The Indian Boundary, *passim*.

⁹James C. Bonner, A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860 (Athens, GA: UGA Press, 1964), pp. 8-11; E. Merton Coulter, Old Petersburg and the Broad River Valley of Georgia (Athens, GA: UGA Press, 1965), pp. 2-4, 7; Alex M. Hitz, "Georgia Bounty Land Grants," Ga. Hist. Q., 38 (Dec. 1954), 337-48. Robert J. Dannacher, "Original Georgia Headright Survey Plats: A Source for Occupant Mapping Problems, Techniques, Conclusion," unpublished paper, UGA, June 1980 (in possession of Geography Department).

¹⁰Land Use and Its Patterns in the United States, U.S.D.A., Agriculture Handbook No. 153 (1959), pp. 10-11.

¹¹Grace G. Davidson, Early Records of Georgia-Wilkes (1968), pp. 4-5.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 7-13

¹³Information derived from early maps and the compilation by Marion Hemperly of migration routes in Georgia; Olin D. Johnston, Anderson County Economic and Social (Columbia, SC: USC Press, 1923), pp. 8-10; Georgia Historical Commission, "the Point," historical marker, 052-8, 1957; settlers also occasionally described the route: see Edward Butler Diary, Special Collection, University of Georgia Library.

¹⁴No extant public records of Edinburg were found; except for maps, no documentary evidence for its existence remains.

¹⁵James C. Bonner, "What Is Not on the Georgia Map," Ga. Hist. Q., 51 (September, 1967), 251-63, esp. 257; Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Isochronic Map of Georgia Settlement, 1750-1850," Ga. Hist. Q., 35 (September, 1951), 191-95; Kenneth Coleman, ed., A History of Georgia (Athens, GA: UGA Press, 1977), map, p. 101; Beth Ann Klosky, The Pendleton Legacy (Columbia, SC: Sandlapper Press, 1971), p. 30.

¹⁶Zelinsky, "An Isochronic Map," pp. 194-95; Wright, South Carolina, p. 70.

¹⁷Wright, South Carolina, p. 94.

¹⁸Bacot, "The South Carolina Upcountry," p. 690.

¹⁹Abbeville County Bicentennial 1758-1958, historical souvenir program, 1958, pp. 14-15; J. Greg Carroll, ed. Abbeville County Family History (privately printed, 1979), pp. 2-4; Klosky, Pendleton Legacy, p. 32; Lewis P. Jones, South Carolina: A Synoptic History for Laymen (Columbia, SC: Sandlapper Press, 1971), pp. 59-63; John H. McIntosh, The Official History of Elbert County (Atlanta, GA: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 10-12.

²⁰Frank Lawrence Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South (Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books, 1965 [1949]), pp. 61-62.

²¹Frank Parker Hudson, "A 1790 Census of Elbert County, Georgia . . . from original Wilkes County tax digests for Col. Cunningham's Battalion consisting of 11 Militia Districts made into Elbert County by Act of Legislature 10 December 1790," 1967, typescript, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

²²Abbeville County Bicentennial, p. 15; Carroll, ed., Abbeville County Family History, pp. 3-4.

²³Abbeville County Family History, pp. 107-08.

²⁴Clarinda Pendleton Lamar, The Life of Joseph Rucker Lamar (n.p., n.d.), pp. 1-2; John H. Logan, The Upper Country, pp. 9-10; McIntosh, Elbert County, pp. 96-98.

²⁵Cf. Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, p. 254; Owsley, Plain Folk, p. 59; McIntosh, Elbert County, pp. 11-14, and Coulter, Petersburg, pp. 5, 9.

²⁶Coulter, Petersburg, pp. 9-10; McIntosh, Elbert County, pp. 11-12.

²⁷Early churches founded near the Russell area included Upper Long Canes Presbyterian (1763) and Hopewell Presbyterian (1785) in South Carolina, Van's Creek Baptist (1785) in Georgia, and Ebenezer Methodist (1789) in South Carolina: See Carroll, ed., Abbeville Family History, pp. 34-35; "Anderson County Tricentennial Celebration, August 30-September 5, 1970," program, p. 8; Klosky, Pendleton, pp. 23-28; "Elbert County, An Architectural, Historical, and Civic View" (n.p., n.d.), p. 8; McIntosh, Elbert County, pp. 51-68; Jones, South Carolina, pp. 61-62 on Rev. Charles Woodmason, Anglican missionary, and Wright, pp. 96-97 also on Woodmason.

²⁸Jones, South Carolina, pp. 59-60, Wright, South Carolina, pp. 86-87; and Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, p. 131.

²⁹Leyburn, Scotch-Irish, p. 222.

³⁰Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities, p. 132.

³¹Hugh C. Bailey, "The Petersburg Youth of John Williams Walker," Ga. Hist. Q., 43 (June, 1959), 123-37; Coulter, Petersburg, p. 19; Owsley, Plain Folk, pp. 64-65.

³²Owsley, Plain Folk, pp. 27-31; Bacot, "South Carolina Upcountry," p. 685; Logan, Upper Carolina, pp. 149-66.

³³Owsley, Plain Folk, pp. 23-77.

³⁴"Culturally accelerated Sedimentation on the Middle Georgia Piedmont," unpublished master's thesis, UGA, 1969 [reprinted by U.S.-D.A., Soil Conservation Service, Fort Worth, TX, 1970], p. 2.

³⁵Arthur R. Hall, The Soil Conservation in the South Carolina Piedmont, 1800-1860, U.S.D.A., Misc. pub. no. 407, 1940, p. 2.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Discussions derived from Coleman, History of Georgia; Jones, South Carolina; Klosky, Pendleton; Wright, South Carolina; and McIntosh, Elbert County; see also, Thomas L. Stokes, the Savannah (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1951).

³⁸McIntosh, Elbert County, pp. 13-23.

³⁹Coulter, Old Petersburg, p. 65-66.

⁴⁰Milton S. Heath, Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 30, 41-80, 106, 115.

⁴¹John Speer, et al., to the General Assembly of South Carolina, November 16, 1813, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁴²This and following discussions owe much to Heath, Constructive Liberalism; Coulter, Old Petersburg; See also, Anthony Tang, Economic Development in the Southern Piedmont, 1860-1950 (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press, 1958), pp. 27-28.



Figure 9: Overview of Millwood Plantation
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

SECTION 3: THE RISE OF KING COTTON, 1810 - 1865

In 1802, French traveler Andre Francois Michaux journeyed through the upper Carolinas through the territory along the headwaters of the Savannah River, probably just skirting the northern boundary of the Russell MRA. He noted that "through the whole of the country the nature of the soil [was] adapted for the growth of wheat, rye, and Indian corn." The better land, in fact, produced "upward of twenty bushels of Indian wheat per acre, which [was] commonly worth about half a dollar per bushel." Despite the region's apparent fertility, these crops were not cultivated for export. "The growth of corn," Michaux reported, was "very circumscribed," mostly raised for local consumption and for animal feed, and only a "small quantity of flour" milled from the wheat crop was sent to Charleston and Savannah. Moreover, the low price of tobacco had prompted many farmers to "give up the culture of it in this part of the country," he observed, and taking its place, was "green-seed cotton . . . to the great advantage of the inhabitants, many of whom [have] since made their fortunes by it."¹

Although the "green-seed cotton," or short staple or upland cotton as it was known, had been introduced to the region as early as the 1780s, it did not begin to rival tobacco as a cash crop until the following decade.² The fibre was short and "clung very closely to the seeds" and was not cleanly processed by the roller gins then in use. In the early 1790s, however, innovators like Eli Whitney in nearby Augusta improved the gins by inserting wire teeth into one roller and a brush into the other, which improvement finally made the upland variety profitable to grow. Throughout the 1790s and into the first years of the nineteenth century, cotton cultivation began to increase in the backcountry of Georgia and South Carolina.

Although some farmers did indeed make early fortunes by raising cotton, in general, cotton cultivation did not expand rapidly or extensively until after the War of 1812. Throughout the Embargo (1808-1809) and then the war with England, the price of cotton remained low, since its export to European markets was curtailed. But beginning in the

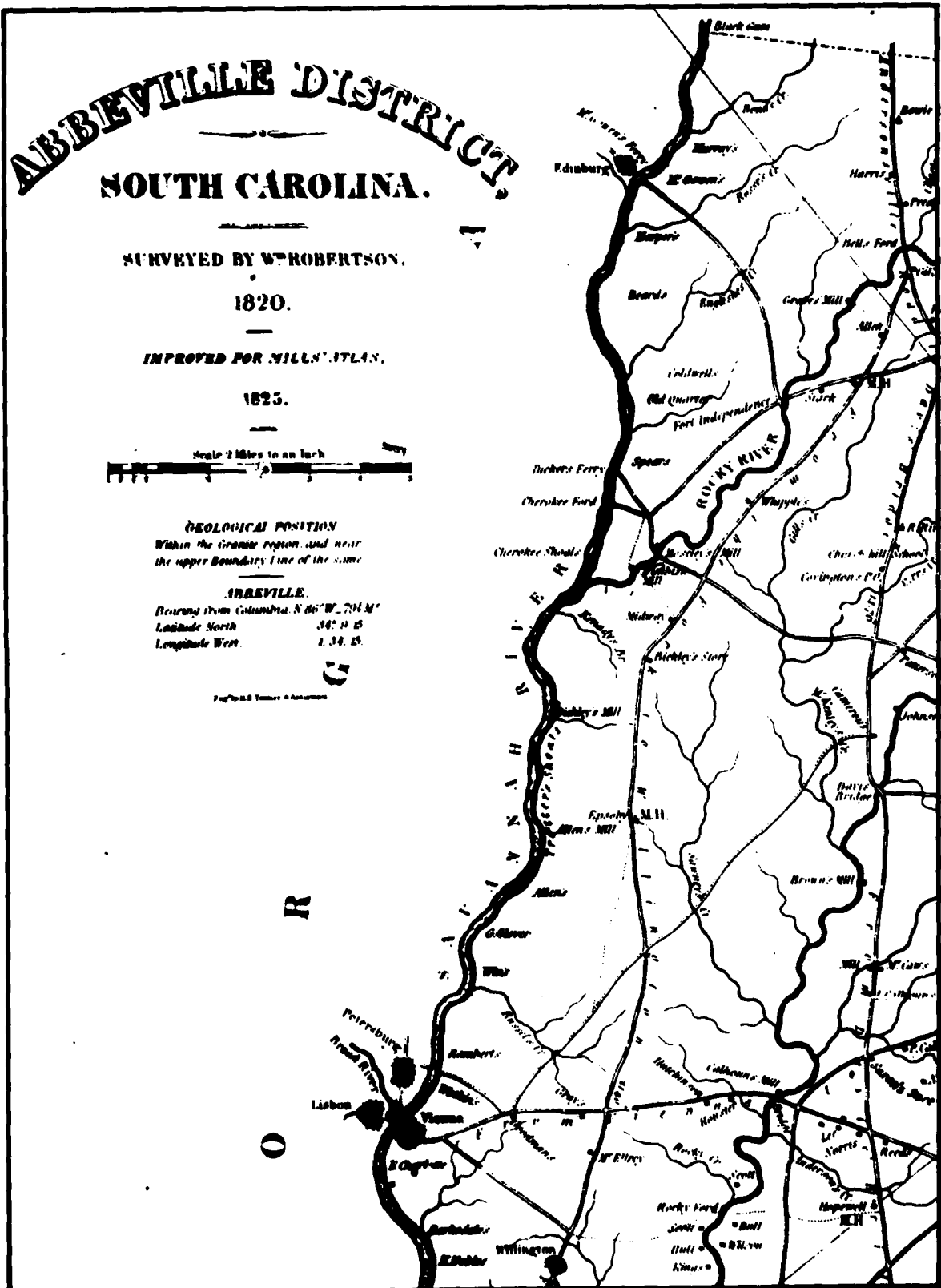
fall of 1814, prospects for peace sparked a rise in the cotton market. At a low of eight to ten cents per pound in 1808-1809, the price of cotton reached nineteen cents in the summer of 1815. By the next fall the price had risen again, to twenty-one and one-half cents in Augusta and twenty-six cents in New York. The high point was reached in 1817 when cotton brought thirty-one and one-quarter cents per pound. After that year the price dropped, but by then the product was firmly established as a staple crop: King Cotton had commenced his reign.³

The dominance of cotton from 1810 to 1850 led to several significant developments in the Russell MRA, the single most important one being the dramatic increase in the slave population for the surrounding four counties during those forty years. In 1850 the slave populations in all four counties had risen in both absolute numbers and in percentages of total populations. Abbeville and Elbert registered the largest percentage of black bondsmen, sixty percent and forty-eight percent, respectively; Anderson and Hart had slave populations of thirty-five percent and twenty percent, respectively. These figures correlate positively with cotton cultivation, as is revealed by the 1850 Agricultural Census. The four counties produced decreasing amounts of cotton in exactly the same order as their percentage of slaves. Abbeville produced 27,192 bales of ginned cotton; Elbert produced 8,562 bales; Anderson 6,670 bales; and Hart, 2,653 bales.

Although subsistence farming continued, the production of cotton led to the formation of large plantations with large slave populations. A representative figure for the period and probably one of the largest of the landholders within the Russell MRA was James Edward Colhoun.⁴ Over a period of years Colhoun assembled individual parcels of land into a single holding as capital from one year's harvest allowed him to purchase more slaves and clear more land for cultivation.

Large plantations were basically self-sufficient units which could produce food for both their human and animal populations and rough clothing for the slaves. Smaller estates and single farms, however, were more dependent upon local towns and their stores for staple goods, and within the Russell MRA during this period, several towns were established to serve the immediate hinterland - Ruckersville on the Georgia side of the Savannah River and Lowndesville and Moffetsville in South Carolina.

Despite the localized industries that thrived in the Russell MRA - milling and ginning, in particular - no large scale industrial development occurred. In large part, this was due to the investment of capital almost exclusively in cotton and slaves. Even when the exhaustion of the soil became so significant in the 1850s, local cultivation began to decline, planters maintained their faith in King Cotton. They moved on to Southwest Georgia, to Alabama, and to Texas, where fresh fertile land still existed, rather than learn to practice better methods of cultivation. As the fields within the Russell MRA were abandoned, the pattern



Map 11: Abbeville District, South Carolina, 1820

noted by Michaux in the upper Carolinas in 1802 was repeated:

The Alleghanies give birth to a great number of creeks or small rivers, the junction of which forms the rivers Pidea, Santea, Savannah, and Altamaha . . . The most fertile lands are situated upon the borders of these creeks. Those that occupy the intermediate spaces are much less so. The latter are not much cultivated; and even those who occupy them are obligated to be perpetually clearing them, in order to obtain more abundant harvests; in consequence of which a great number of the inhabitants emigrate into the western country, where they are attracted by the extreme fertility of the soil and low price of land.⁵

The Growth of Plantations

The area's outmigration continued while at the same time the area's population increased in absolute numbers. In 1810, the four counties of the project area had 67,024 residents; by 1850 the population had risen to 78,325, an increase of 17%. Obviously, a great many farmers and planters passed through the Russell MRA who do not appear in historical records, except for census enumerations and extant county records. Nevertheless, families which remained in the area have left other legacies in the form of surviving homesteads, names on roads and ferries, and small, dead towns. It is not possible to construct a composite biography of all of these pioneer planters, who they were, where they came from, and how they managed their estates, but some individuals stand out, and it is important to mention them here.

James Edward Colhoun may have been the best known planter in the Russell MRA, certainly for the territory on the South Carolina side of the river, but he was not the only significant grower of cotton. Robert Hutchison, who owned land in the vicinity of Lowndesville before and after the Civil War, matched Colhoun's accomplishments. When Hutchison died in 1882, he left 1,172 acres of property, \$13,450 in cash to his wife and children, buildings, and other property.⁶ He was grandson of William Hutchison, one of the frontier residents in the Long Canes area; born in 1805, he began acquiring his landholdings before or during the 1820s. He married his first wife, Elizabeth Mecklin, in 1828, who bore him six children; a second wife, Catharine Radcliff, whom he married in 1843, enlarged his family by bearing six additional children between 1845 and 1867. According to family oral tradition and local lore, Robert Hutchison was "everybody's banker," a prominent man who nearly a century after his death was still remembered as the person who "sort of run the community up there."

One of his sons, Robert Barney Hutchison (b. 1837) fought in the Civil War and lost his right leg at the Battle of Sharpsburg. Once out of the hospital, he moved with his wife to Anderson County and then returned

to the Lowndesville area in the 1870s, when he bought land near Harper's Ferry on which stood the farm house still occupied by his descendants. This structure, which has been placed on the National Register of Historic Places, is believed to have been built by James Caldwell between 1795 and 1812 on farm land originally owned by the Steel family.⁷

Another family with extensive property holdings inside and adjacent to the Russell MRA were the Clinkscapes.⁸ William Virgil Clinkscapes (b. 1834) owned a total of 1,568 acres of land in the vicinity of Diamond Hill in Abbeville County. Adjoining this property was a plantation operated by his half-brother Albert. Another estate held by the family members was Broadway, located between Johnson's Creek and the Little River on one side and Penny's Creek on the other side, also in Abbeville District.⁹ This plantation "stretched for a mile along Martin's millpond on Little River" with 1,200 acres and 110 slaves.

Another locally prominent family on the South Carolina side of the river between 1810 and 1850 were the Moseleys.¹⁰ Richard Hughes Moseley immigrated to Abbeville from Chesterfield County, Virginia, in 1800, and settled on land along the lower portion of the Rocky River. His son, Richard, Jr., married in 1809 and was a father of nine children. One or more members of the Moseley family operated the ferry on the Savannah River which bore their name.

On the Georgia side of the Russell MRA lived the Ruckers and the Heards. One of the most prominent members of the Ruckers, especially for the period 1810 to 1850, was Joseph (Squire) Rucker, who was born in 1788 to John and Elizabeth Tinsley Rucker, and who built a large plantation near Ruckersville and in 1839 founded the Ruckersville Banking Company.¹¹ The most famous member of the Heard family was Stephen Heard, Governor of Georgia in 1781 and founder of a plantation in Elbert County known as Heardmont (also the name of a hamlet that developed nearby after 1865).¹² There were other Heards on the Georgia side of the project area who contributed as much to the area as did their more famous namesake.

Finally, the brothers William and Beverly Allen, who came to the Russell MRA from Virginia in the late eighteenth century, are also noteworthy.¹³ Together they operated a mercantile business in Elbert County and established plantations. Beverly Allen's will, dated 1846, identified the several parcels of land he owned at his death, including property on the north side of Beaverdam Creek and the "tract of land on Savannah River commonly called the Banks and Crystler places," but unfortunately it does not tell how many acres they contained. Nevertheless, it is obvious that Beverly Allen was a major planter, since he bequeathed ninety-nine slaves to various members of his family.¹⁴

The increase in the number and size of the plantation holdings, which development these prominent families and individuals represent, may also be seen in increased size of slaveholdings, apparent from tax digests for Elbert County for 1809 and 1851. Data from the two digests

show that both the percentage of slave owners and the size of slaveholdings increased. In 1809, fifty-seven percent of the landowners in Elbert County were taxed on their slave properties; of this number, forty-three percent had five or fewer slaves and thirty-four percent had between six and nineteen. In 1851, seventy-seven percent of the landowners held slaves, an increase of twenty percent over 1809. A smaller proportion of them - thirty-one percent, as opposed to forty-three percent in 1809 - owned five slaves or fewer, while a larger proportion - forty-five percent as compared with the thirty-four percent for 1809 - owned between six and nineteen slaves. In addition, by 1851 the percentage of large slave ownerships in the county was higher than the figures for both Georgia and the Cotton South as a whole. Twenty-five percent of the slaveholders in Elbert had twenty or more slaves while for Georgia the percentage was only five percent and for the southern region it was twelve percent.¹⁵

In summary, between 1810 and 1850 the formation of large plantations occurred while small farming continued to exist. These new large estates were not only a new land use for the region, but were also responsible for the dramatic increase in both the slave population and the size of slaveholdings.

The Other Side of Plantation Life: The Slaves' Perspective

An important source of information about slave life in the Russell MRA is the testimony of ex-slaves. Fortunately, five narratives - that is, typewritten transcript accounts of interview sessions conducted by the Federal Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration in Georgia between 1936 and 1938 - were identified for Elbert and Hart Counties.¹⁶ Although not infallible sources, the Georgia narratives are generally considered among the best in the entire WPA project. Four of the five narratives give information about the inland slave trade from Richmond, Virginia, one of the routes for which came close to the project area.¹⁷ From Richmond, slaves were taken in wagons down through the Carolinas and into northeastern Georgia, skirting the southern boundary of the Russell MRA. From there the route went to Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Carrie Hudson, one of the interviewees, was seventy-five when she was interviewed, born in about 1863 on Joseph (Squire) Rucker's plantation in Elbert County. In particular, she remembered her parents telling her how "slave traders fotched my Pa, he was Phil Rucker, f'um Richmond, Virginny, and sold him to Marse Joe Squire Rucker. Ma, she was Frances Rucker, was borned on Marse Joe's place nigh Ruckersville, up in Elbert County, and all 10 of us chilluns was born on dat plantation too."¹⁸ Following Squire Rucker's death in 1864, the plantation was taken over by his son Elbert Rucker. Part of her testimony describes the dwellings the slaves lived in:

Us lived in log cabins scattered 'round de plantation. De biggest of 'em had two rooms and evvy cabin had a chimby made out of sticks and red mud. Most of de chillun slept on pallets on de floor, but I slept wid my Pa and Ma 'cause I was so pettish. Most of de beds were made out of poles, dis a-way: dey bored two holes in da wall, wide apart as dey wanted de bed, and in dese holdes dey stuck one end of de poles what was de side pieces. Dey sharpened de ends of two more poles and driv' 'em in de floor for da foot pieces and fastened de side pieces to 'em. Planks was put across dis frame to hold a coarse cloth tick filled wid wheat straw. Ma had a ruffle, what was called a foot bouncer, 'round de foot of her bed.

[In contrast, the] "beds up at de big house was a sight to see. Dey had high posties and curtains over de top and 'round de bottom of deir beds. Dem beds at de big house was so high dey had steps to walk up so dey could git in 'em. Oh, dey was pretty, all kivered over wid bob' net to keep flies and skeeter off de white folkses whilst dey slept!"

Hudson could not remember how large the plantation was or how many slaves worked the fields, but she did recollect that "niggers was scattered over dat great big place lak flies. When dey come f'um de fields at night, dem slaves was glad to just go to sleep and rest." Also prominent in her memory were the special days and celebrations they engaged in:

Saddy nights de young folkses picked de banjo, danced and cut de buck 'till long after midnight, but Christmas times was when chilluns had deir bestes' good times. Marse Elbert 'ranged to have hog killin' close enough to Christmas so dere would be plenty of fresh meat, and dere was heaps of good chickens, tukkeys, cake, candies, and just evvything good. Endurin' de Christmas, slaves visited 'roun' f'um house to house, but New Year's Day was wuk time again, and dere was allus plenty to do on dat plantation. Most all de Niggers loved to go to dem cornshuckin's, 'cause atter de corn was all shucked dey give 'em big suppers and let 'em dance. De cotton picken's was on nights when de moon was extra bright 'cause dey couldn't do much lightin' up a big cotton field wid torches lak dey did de places where dey had de cornshuckin's. Atter cornshuckin's, dey mought be dancin' by de light of torches, but us danced in de moonlight when de cotton was picked and de prize done been give out to de slave what picked de most. Logrollin's was de most fun of all. De men and 'omans would roll dem logs and sing and dey give 'em plenty of good eats, and whiskey by de kegs, at logrollin's. De Marsters, dey planned de cornshuckin's, and cotton pickin's, and log-rollin's and pervided de eats and liquor, but de quiltin' parties b'longed to de slaves. Dey

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'ranged 'em deir own eats, but most of de Marster would let 'em have a little somepin' extra lak brown sugar or 'lasses and some liquor. De quiltin's was in de cabins, and dey allus had 'em in winter when dere warn't no field wuk. Dey would quilt a while and stop to eat apple pies, peach pies, and other good things and drink a little liquor.

Carrie Hudson's second husband, Charlie Hudson, was also interviewed; he was eighty at the time, "born March 27, 1858 in Elbert County."¹⁹

Ma lived on de Bell plantation and Marse Matt Hudson owned my Pa and kept him on de Hudson place. Dere was seban of us chillun. Will, Bynam, John and me was de boys, and de gals was Amanda, Liza Ann, and Gussie. "Till us was big enough to wuk, us played 'round de house 'bout lak chillun does dese days.

He remembered that the "slave quarters was laid out lak streets," and like Carrie Hudson his families "lived in log cabins" with "makeshift beds." Charlie Hudson's mother cooked for the whites on the plantation, which might account for his feelings that "us et good, not much different f'um what us does now":

Most times it was meat and bread wid turnip greens, lye hominy, milk, and butter. All our cookin' was done on open fireplaces. Oh! I was fond of 'possums, sprinkled wid butter and pepper, and baked down 'till de gravy was good and brown. You was lucky if you got to eat 'possum and gnaw de bones atter my Ma done cooked it.

Charlie Hudson also remembered seeking "dem traders com thoo' f'um Virginny wid two wagon loads of slaves at one time, gwin down on Broad River to a place called Lisbon whar dey already had orders for 'em. I ain't never seed no slaves bein' sold or auctioned off on de block."

Benny Dillard, who was also at least eighty years old when he was interviewed, was born in either 1858 or 1859. He knew that his "mammy and daddy . . . warn't from dis part of de country":²⁰

My mammy said dat not long atter she got to America from a trip on de water dat took nigh 6 months to make, dey brung her from Virginny and sold her down here in Georgy when she was jus' 'bout 16 years old. De onliest name she had when she got to Georgy was Nancy. I don't know whar my Daddy come from. Him and mammy was both sold to Marse Isaac Dillard and he tuk 'em to live on his place in Elbert County, close to de place dey calls Goose Pond.

According to his memory, the "log cabins" that the slaves lived in "had red mud daubed in de cracks 'twixt de logs. De roofs was made out of

boards what had so many cracks 'twixt 'em, atter a few rains made 'em swink (shrink), dat us could lay in bed and see de stars through dem big holes." He also remembered that the plantation was practically self-sufficient, producing almost all the things the slaves needed: "dat plantation was jus' lak a little town, it was so big and it had evvything us wanted and needed." The master, for example, "seed to it dat us had all de cloths us needed. De 'omans made all de cloth used on de place; dey cyarded, spun, and den wove it. Mammy was de weaver; dat was all she done, jus' move cloth. Dey dyed it wid red mud and ink balls, and sich lak." Other tasks that were taken care of on the plantation included cleaning and pressing the cotton, making syrup from sugar cane, and milling of wheat and corn:

Marster's gin was turned by a mule. Dat big old gin wheel had wooden cogs what made de gin wuk when de old mule went 'round and 'round hitched to dat wheel. Dat old cotton press was a sight. Fust dey cut down a big old tree and trimmed off de limbs and made grooves in it for planks to fit in. It was stood up wid a big weight on top of it, over de cotton what was to be pressed. It was wukked by a wheel what was turned by a mule, jus' lak de one what turned de gin. A old mule pulled de pole what turned de syrup mill too. Missy, dem old mules done deir part "long side de Niggers dem days, and Marster seed dat his mules had good keer too. When dem mules had done turned de mill 'till de juice was squz out of de sugarcane stalks, dey strained dat juice and biled it down 'til it was jus' de finest tastin' syrup you ever did see. Marster's mill whar he ground his wheat and corn was down on de crick, so de water could turn de big old wheel.

Elisha Doc Garey, seventy-six years old when he was interviewed, was born in the northern section of Hart County, near Shoal Creek, in about 1862. He too remembered that slaves lived in "log huts" which had an "entry in de middle, and a mud chimby at each end. Us slep' in beds what was 'tached to de side of de hut, and dey was boxed up lak wagon bodies to hold de corn shucks and de babies in."²¹ "While 'dere warn't no slave, man or 'oman, livin' on dat plantation what knowed how many acres was in it," to the best of Garey's recollection he "'spects dere was many as 500 slaves in all. Marster 'pinted a cullud boy to git de slaves up 'fore day, and dey wukked f'um sunup to sundown." He also reported that he "never seed no Niggers sold, but I did see 'em in wagons gwine to Mississippi to be sold. I never seed no slave in chains."

The last narrative comes from Bill Heard, who was seventy-three at the time of his interview. Born in 1865, he 'don't know nothin' bout slavery times 'cept what my mammy and daddy told me".²²

Daddy, he belonged to Marse Tom Heard down in Elbert County, about 10 miles from Rucker place, nigh Ruckersville. Daddy said Marse Tom had about a hunnerd and twenty-five slaves on his place. Daddy was mighty little when Marse Tom got him,

and he never bought none of Daddy's other kinfolks, so it was right hard for de little boy all by hisself, 'cause de other slaves on de plantation was awful mean to him. Dey wouldn't let him sleep in deir quarters, so he stayed up at de big house, any place to keep warm. After he got big enough to wuk, dey treated him better.

According to Heard, the "slaves lived in one-room log cabins dat had rock chimblies, and each cabin had one little window wid a wooden shutter dey fastened at night and in bad weather." He also emphasized the self-sufficiency of the plantation. The slaves made chairs from "oak splits, and cane and rye plait was used for de cheer bottoms." They also "raised all sorts of vegetables sich as corn, 'taters, wheat, rye, and oats, and what's more, dey raised de cotton and wool to make de cloth for deir clothes. Cows, hogs, goats, sheep, chickens, geese, and turkeys was runnin' all over dem pastures, and dere warn't no lack of good victuals and home-made clothes." "Special men on de plantation" were given skills for craft work: "one carpenter man done all de fixin' of things lak wagons and plows, helped wid all de buildin' wuk, and made all de coffins."

Other Eyewitness Accounts

Other eyewitness accounts of plantation life in the Russell MRA are difficult to find, mainly because travelers customarily followed routes that bypassed the project area. One exception was Frederick Law Olmsted, who in 1853 and 1854 skirted the upper reaches of the MRA.²³ Unfortunately, we were unable to locate direct references to the project area in his published journals. Other travelers avoided this section of the Georgia and South Carolina border, mainly because of the primitive state of the thoroughfares. During the antebellum period, a typical route for an English visitor included a steamboat ride from Charleston to Savannah to Augusta followed by a stagecoach ride to Milledgeville, Macon, and Columbus.²⁴ As the rail system began to expand through the two states, it determined the routes travelers would use who wanted to avoid horseback rides. A Yankee woman on her way to Alabama during the 1850s took the train from Charleston to Hamburg and then crossed the Savannah River to Augusta; there she wrote a letter to her father describing the typical scenes that she encountered on her journey:

I would not give any one of the New England states, or the state of New York, for all the southern states put together. As soon as you leave southern cities all signs of cultivation cease; at intervals of miles you see an old black one-story, or at most, a story-and-a-half house, with half a dozen log houses round it, without windows or chimney - this is a southern plantation - hundreds of acres of miserable stunted corn stocks, about a yard high, and cotton about half that height, all you see. They merely girdle the trees

Map 12: Principal Stage Routes Through South Carolina

and there being no underbrush, plant corn or cotton without any other preparation of the land. I pitied the poor negroes much when I came here but I pity their white owners more now.²⁵

An entirely different view of plantation life is provided by Mary E. Moragne, resident of the "Calhoun community" in Abbeville District, in her journal, The Neglected Thread.²⁶ An entry for February, 1838, records a trip to Augusta by horseback she made, accompanied part of the way by her cousin who was taking several wagon loads of cotton to market. Her words testify to the heavy use primary roads and ferries got, despite their primitive conditions:

As soon as we came in view of the creek we were forced to halt, as the road was block'd up with horses, and waggons, in all the confusion of a newly struck camp. A dozen or so of nearly savage men were lounging idly around, either eating or smoking, and one in a red flannel shirt, who seems to be the buffoon of the company, afforded entertainment for them by his grotesque antics in rubbing the horses . . . Cousin D. was resolutely bent on trying the stream at all hazards. The current is so strong, that at the lowest water they are compelled to support the flat by means of a rope stretched across the water, and fastened securely to trees, on either side; but now the additional force of the stream seemed to render this unavailing, for the men which Cousin D. had persuaded with him into the flat were so frightened on seeing it begin to dip water before they reached the middle of the current that they turned immediately for the bank . . . I thought the fool in the red shirt would have died in a fit of laughter when his feet touched terra-firma again . . . But Cousin was not to be "scared at trifles" - and being fortunate enough to find one sober-minded rational man who was willing to oblige him, they ventured out again, this time placing the head of the flat to the current and with very violent exertions they succeeded in going and returning safely.²⁷

After crossing the stream herself, Moragne continued her journey to Augusta on roads which were "almost impassable - interminable hills of mud, and flooded vallies." At one location, she saw "a waggon overturned, with its whole baggage very disagreeably heaved from its mooring."

The Growth of Roads and Settlements

Throughout this period, 1810 to 1850, both wagons and pole boats were used to haul cotton to market. Both conveyances were difficult, but boats were especially dangerous because of the swiftness of the upper Savannah River at certain times of the year and the numerous shoals that had to be avoided.

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As has been discussed earlier, between 1810 and 1850 the basic road system and settlement pattern within the project area were established, and additional ferries facilitated movement across the Savannah River. Maps for the 1850s show Ruckersville amid an extensive road system, and in South Carolina, similar changes are evident, especially the appearance of new settlement points - Lowndesville and Moffet's Village (or Moffetsville) the two principal ones.

Ruckersville, described by a local journalist as "Elbert County's chief business center" once "cotton became king," was basically the commercial heart for the area which was settled by the Rucker family during the 1770s.²⁸ Although the village was incorporated, no boundaries were fixed, so the name stood for "the district rather than the town itself." The first commissioners were appointed in 1822, and in his Statistics of the State of Georgia, George White reported a "healthy and thriving place" in 1849 with a population of 200 inhabitants who were "noted for their hospitality."²⁹

The site of Moffet's Village lies in the southern portion of Anderson County near the Savannah River just off Highway 184. The town originated in 1818 when it designated Moffet's Mills Post Office, after an early settler who operated a mill there.³⁰ Very little is known about the former village, which declined sometime during the late nineteenth century. At one point, according to local historian Harold Carlisle, it possessed a church, a gin, a store, and a doctor's office.³¹

Lowndesville, which is still an active small town, appeared between 1810 and 1850. It began in 1823 as Pressley's Post Office, changed its name in 1831 to Rocky River Post Office, and changed it again in 1836 to Lowndesville, in honor of U.S. Congressman William Lowndes.³² Chartered in 1839, Lowndesville grew up around a store operated by Matthew Young, who was also the postmaster after 1831. By the 1850s, the town was successfully servicing the residents along the Rocky River and had at least two general stores, a masonic hall, a bank, and a hotel. The hotel was built in the early 1840s as part of Matthew Young's attempt to attract low-country tourists to this region during the summer. At the same time, he invested heavily in the resort lodge built at Diamond Springs, located west of Lowndesville. When Diamond Springs went bankrupt about 1842, Young sold the downtown hotel to the Moseley family and moved to Mississippi. Throughout this period Lowndesville remained quite small. In 1840, its population included 109 whites and 45 slaves, and its incorporated limits extended out one mile in every direction.

Many other towns are identifiable on maps for the period 1810 to 1850, yet little historical information is available for any of them. Probably, these towns existed in name only - small outposts with a single store or gin and no more than a handful of local residents. "Map towns" is what Frederick Law Olmsted called such settlements when he was traveling through Alabama:

I found that many a high-sounding name (figuring on the same maps in which towns of five thousand inhabitants in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, are omitted), indicated the locality of merely a grocery or two, a blacksmith shop, and two or three log cabins. I passed through two of these map towns without knowing that I had reached them, and afterwards ascertained that one of them consisted of a deserted blacksmith shop, and a cabin in which the post-master lived, and the other, of a single grocery.³³

The appearance and growth of these small villages in the Russell MRA, while important, should not obscure the main aspect of the project area's history during these years: the plantation and the small cotton farm were the dominant features of the man-made landscape.

Industrialization had a minimal impact on the local environment, since only a few small factories operated within the vicinity of the project area in the first half of the nineteenth century. Most local mills, tanneries, and other processing plants were features of the plantations, such as the mill erected at Millwood. A few independent operations may have existed, such as Gray's Grist Mill, and the water-powered mill on the site of Edinburg known as White's mill, but the likelihood is that these too were commercial ventures of local planters.³⁴ Chronic deterrents to larger manufacturing operations lay in the nature of capital investments - i.e., money was invested in slaves and cotton and not in machinery - and in the absence of highly skilled labor.³⁵ In 1849 Elbert County claimed two industries: the Elbert Factory, located on Beaverdam Creek six miles from Ruckersville, and a "proposed" cotton factory on the Broad River.³⁶ The latter was built, apparently, in 1852.³⁷ The first local textile mill was built in 1821 in Anderson County by Levi Garrison and Thomas Hutchings.³⁸ Eight years later, John Ewing Colhoun, James Edward's brother, built a factory at Millwood, which he operated for eleven years before leasing it to John Kershaw, a local mechanic. A third mill, the Pendleton Manufacturing Company, was established in 1836 near Pendleton. After this, however, no new factories were built in the vicinity of the Russell MRA until after the Civil War. In fact, the entire "movement" toward manufacturing "slowed perceptively after 1839" due to "depression, fire, insufficient capital, and poor management" at the existing facilities.³⁹

King Cotton's Zenith

The high point in cotton production in the Russell MRA before the Civil War was reached in 1850. But high prices, cheap land, and slave labor resulted in wasteful cultivation that depleted the fields and increased soil erosion.⁴⁰ Rather than replenish and recycle their fields, planters abandoned the land and emigrated to the west, primarily to Texas,⁴¹ in pursuit of a still expanding cotton frontier. Their departure turned the Russell MRA, as it did similar

regions in the up-country, into a slave exporting area. The same female traveler quoted above witnessed such a group of slaves in Augusta awaiting resale and shipment elsewhere:

A long row of neatly dressed young women and girls, the oldest apparently not more than 24, were seated on the piazza of the house nearest to the bridge that crosses over the Augusta and as many boys from 10 to 18 years of age on benches on the ground in front, all dressed as neat and handsome as our waiters or laundresses. I asked if that was a colored school, or had they begun to keep Christmas early - "Oh, they are all for sale - they are brought from up-country so in droves by the negro drivers and that is one of the markets for them."⁴²

Cotton production declined in the later 1850s, accelerated by the coming of the Civil War. The war itself had little direct impact on the Russell MRA; no battles, no troop movements, no skirmishes took place there, but it slowed agricultural and manufacturing endeavors even more. A significant chapter in the history of the Russell MRA closed with the end of the war, but the story itself was far from finished. After the war, the "King" revived, regained his economic position, and flourished once again in the region.

S. W. G.

FOOTNOTES

¹Francois Andre Michaux, Travels of the West of the Allegheny Mountains, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Back to Charleston, By the Upper Carolines, 1802, in Vol. III of Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites, 32 Volumes (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), pp. 297-298.

²Ellis Merton Coulter, Old Petersburg and the Broad River Valley of Georgia: Their Rise and Decline (Athens, GA: UGA Press, 1965), pp. 109-111.

³Ibid., p. 120.

⁴Although the spelling of James Edward Colhoun's name is often printed as "Calhoun," the correct spelling is with an initial "o," according to the editors of the papers of James Edwards' very famous cousin, John C. Calhoun. See Clyde N. Wilson, ed., The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Vol. XI (Columbus, SC: USC Press, 1978), xxxi.

⁵Michaux, Travels, pp. 296-97.

⁶The following information regarding Robert Hutchison and his family was taken from several sources: J. Greg Carroll, ed., Abbeville County Family History (J. Greg Carroll, 1979), pp. 135-36; interview with Harold Carlisle, March 21, 1980; interview with B. B. Hutchison, March 19, 1980; Last Will and Testament of Robert Hutchison, 1882, Abbeville Court House; fragment from Robert Hutchison Family Bible, in the private possession of B. B. Hutchison.

⁷Interview with Harold Carlisle, March 21, 1980.

⁸Carroll, Abbeville County Family History, p. 107.

⁹J. G. Clinkscales, On the Old Plantation (Spartanburg, SC: Band and White, 1916), pp. 8-9, 26.

¹⁰Carroll, Abbeville County Family History, p. 158.

¹¹Elbert County: An Architectural, Historical, and Civic View (Beta Sigma Phi International, Xi Alpha Rho Chapter, 1978), Sketch No. 17; Clarinda Pendleton Lamar, The Life of Joseph Rucker Lamar, n.p., n.d.

¹²Georgia Historical Markers (Valdosta, GA: Bay Tree Grove Press, 1973), p. 190.

¹³Elbert County: An Architectural . . . View, Sketch No. 9; George White, Statistics of the State of Georgia (Savannah: W. Thorne Williams, 1849), p. 231.

¹⁴Last Will and Testament of Beverly Allen, 1846, Elbert County Court House.

¹⁵"Agricultural Development in the Project Area," prepared by the Historic American Buildings Survey, 1979, p. 1.

¹⁶Paul D. Escott, Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1979), pp. 3-17.

¹⁷George A. Davis and O. Fred Donaldson, Blacks in the United States: A Geographic Perspective (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), p. 14.

¹⁸"Plantation Life as Viewed by Carrie Hudson," in Vol. 12, Part 2, of The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, ed. by George P. Rawick (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 211-219. Slave dialect as written here is verbatim from the reprinted typescripts from the original interview and is not an attempt to edit or comment on black language.

¹⁹"Plantation Life as Viewed by Ex-Slave Charlie Hudson," in Vol. 12, Part 2, of The American Slave, pp. 220-31.

²⁰"Plantation Life--Benny Dillard," in Vol. 12, Part 1, of The American Slave, pp. 285-99.

²¹"Plantation Life as Viewed by Ex-Slave Elisha Doc Garey," in Vol. 12, Part 2, of The American Slave, pp. 1-10.

²²"Ex-Slave Interview--Bill Heard," in Vol. 12, Part 2, of The American Slave, pp. 136-46.

²³Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey in the Back Country, 1853-1854 (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1970 [1860]), contains a summary account of his impressions. The most recent and accurate mapping of his journeys will be found in Dana F. White's "A Connecticut Yankee in Cotton's Kingdom," pp. 11-49 in Olmsted South: Old South Critic/New South Planner, Dana F. White and Victor A. Kramer, eds. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), esp. pp. 14-16.

²⁴Jack K. Williams, "Travel in Ante-Bellum Georgia as Recorded by English Visitors," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXXIII (September, 1949), 191-205; Jack K. Williams, "An Evaluation of Seventeen British Travelers to Ante-Bellum Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXXV (December, 1951), pp. 307-18.

²⁵Letter, "Lucretia" to "Father," December 7 [1850s], MS 1206, University of Georgia Special Collections.

²⁶Mary E. Moragne, The Neglected Thread: A Journal from the Calhoun Community, 1836-1842 (Columbia, SC: USC Press, 1951).

²⁷Ibid., pp. 53-54

²⁸Herbert Wilcox, Georgia Scribe (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1974), p. 106; Kenneth Krakow, Georgia Place-Names (Macon, GA: Winship Press, 1975), p. 197.

²⁹George White, Statistics of the State of Georgia (Savannah: W. Thorne Williams, 1849), p. 227.

³⁰Anderson County Historical Marker.

³¹Taped interview with H. A. Carlisle, April 12, 1980.

³²Taped interview with H. A. Carlisle, April 14, 1980.

³³Olmsted, A Journey in the Back Country, pp. 159-60.

³⁴Robert Newman, "Archeological Investigations at Seven Mill Sites, Richard B. Russell Reservoir," interim report (Nashville, TN: Building Conservation Technology, n.d.). The historical generalizations in this report await further investigation.

³⁵J. G. Johnson, "Notes on Manufacturing in Ante-Bellum Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XVI (September, 1932), pp. 214-31.

³⁶White, Statistics of Georgia, p. 228.

³⁷Patricia Irwin Cooper, "Hopewell Factory: A Picturesque Ruin," Georgia Life (Summer, 1975), pp. 32-33.

³⁸Ernest McPherson Lander, Jr., The Textile Industry in Ante-bellum South Carolina (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 1969), pp. 22-23

³⁹Ibid., p. 13

⁴⁰Arthur R. Hall, The Story of Soil Conservation in the South Carolina Piedmont, 1800-1860, Miscellaneous Publication No. 407 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1940), p. 1; Stanley W. Trimble, Man-Induced Soil Erosion on the Southern Piedmont, 1700-1970 (Ankeny, IA: Soil Conservation Society of America, 1974), pp. 61-63.

⁴¹R. Marsh Smith, "Migration of Georgians to Texas, 1821-1870," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XX (December, 1936), pp. 307-08.

⁴²Letter, "Lucretia" to "Father," December 7 [1850s], MS 1206, University of Georgia Special Collections.

SECTION 4: THE RESURGENCE OF THE COTTON ECONOMY, 1865-1890

The Civil War ended the system of slave labor that characterized the ante-bellum South, and a period of turbulence, marked by racial violence, ensued. By 1890, a new labor system had been fashioned which allowed the South to resume staple-crop cotton production and establish a new racial order, which, nevertheless, strongly resembled the old. The reconstructed economy was a mixture of two basic ingredients: tenant farming and sharecropping. Together these constituted a form of land tenure which allowed planters to maintain control over their property holdings while providing them with sufficient field hands for their cultivation. The new system operated at its most efficient level for the owners, and tenants and sharecroppers, especially those who were black, discovered that it amounted to but another type of servitude.

That a radically different form of land tenure took shape in the South during the 1870s and survived until after 1920 is beyond dispute; more difficult to ascertain, however, is precisely why and in what sequence that revolution occurred. In the words of Pete Daniel, the "new labor system in the South" was a "patchwork quilt", "varied and complex, an unpatterned blend of illiteracy, law contracts, and violence, confusing, if not incomprehensible, even to those closest to it."¹

A lack of primary material at the local level and the impracticality, because of time constraints, of assembling statistical data on a parcel-by-parcel basis limited the conclusions that can be offered here about the development of the new land-labor system in the Russell MRA. Nevertheless, certain irreducible elements of the system can be identified from information about both states and the region as a whole. Briefly, the local pattern can be ascertained through the following phenomena: 1) the fragmentation of the old plantations into smaller production units; 2) the cultivation of the separate parcels by owners, sharecroppers, and tenants - an arrangement which allowed some farmers a limited degree of geographical mobility and others only an entangled web of debt; 3) the increased amount of land erosion which resulted from unenlightened farming practices spread over a larger number of agricul-

tural units; 4) a general paucity of black landownership during this period; and 5) the creation of crossroad towns and hamlets which offered stores, cotton gins, and other services to the surrounding farms.

The Postwar Climate of Violence and Change

In the first years after the Civil War, race relations between white southerners and black freedmen were conditioned by two unavoidable realities.² The former Confederates, though defeated in war, were unvanquished in spirit, and determined to re-enslave the black population as soon as the victorious northern soldiers left. At the same time, federal military authorities insisted that landowners and freedmen sign contracts stipulating the terms and wages of their employment, an order that was easier to issue than to enforce. Many planters resisted the intent and the regulation by trying to get their former slaves to work under essentially the same conditions as before the war, i.e., for a guarantee of basic material welfare alone. Such an offer was drafted by an Elbert County landowner, Joseph R. Deadwyler, during the summer of 1865:

This agreement made and entered into the ____ day of August, 1865 between Joseph R. Deadwyler of the ____ above State and County of the one part and his former servants of the other part, witnesseth that the said Joseph R. Deadwyler agrees to furnish them clothing and food and humane treatment as heretofore and in addition to their own patches I will give to each ten bushels of corn and five gallons syrup and meat, and they agree to labor as heretofore on my farm and as I may direct until 25th day of December next and to behave themselves.³

For their part, a great number of the freedmen were wary of signing anything, regardless of the stipulations; they were determined to guard their liberty and obtain property of their own if at all possible.⁴ They distrusted the conditions under which they might have to work, and they were afraid to commit themselves for too long a time - even a year, the usual term-of-labor agreement - in the event the federal government embarked on a program of land redistribution from which they might benefit. Hostile resistance to the new order on the part of the whites and suspicions on the part of the blacks created an environment conducive to racial conflict and violence.

To supervise the transition from slave to free labor, the Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (the Freedmen's Bureau) in March 1865. In June 1865, Brevet Major General Rufus B. Saxton, began functioning as the chief military officer for the territory comprising Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina.⁵ Concentrating his resources in South Carolina, where he had been military governor, he established six separate districts with field agents in Anderson,

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Beaufort, Charleston, Columbia, Georgetown, and Orangeburg. Despite this focused effort, he was still ill-equipped to oversee the black population's welfare. Historian Martin Abbott, for example, determined that "six months after assuming office, Saxton had only twenty-four assistants and twenty doctors to look after the interests of the four hundred thousand freedmen."⁶

Saxton's shortage of personnel is significant for the present study because the upcountry regions of Georgia and South Carolina received little attention or close supervision. It is therefore difficult to determine exactly the nature of race relations in the Russell MRA immediately following the Civil War, but several reports from the Anderson office reveal widespread violence directed against blacks in both Anderson and Abbeville counties. In late October of 1865, the field agent concluded that the situation was indeed bad, according to him, "colored people in this section of the state [were] not freedmen and women," at all:

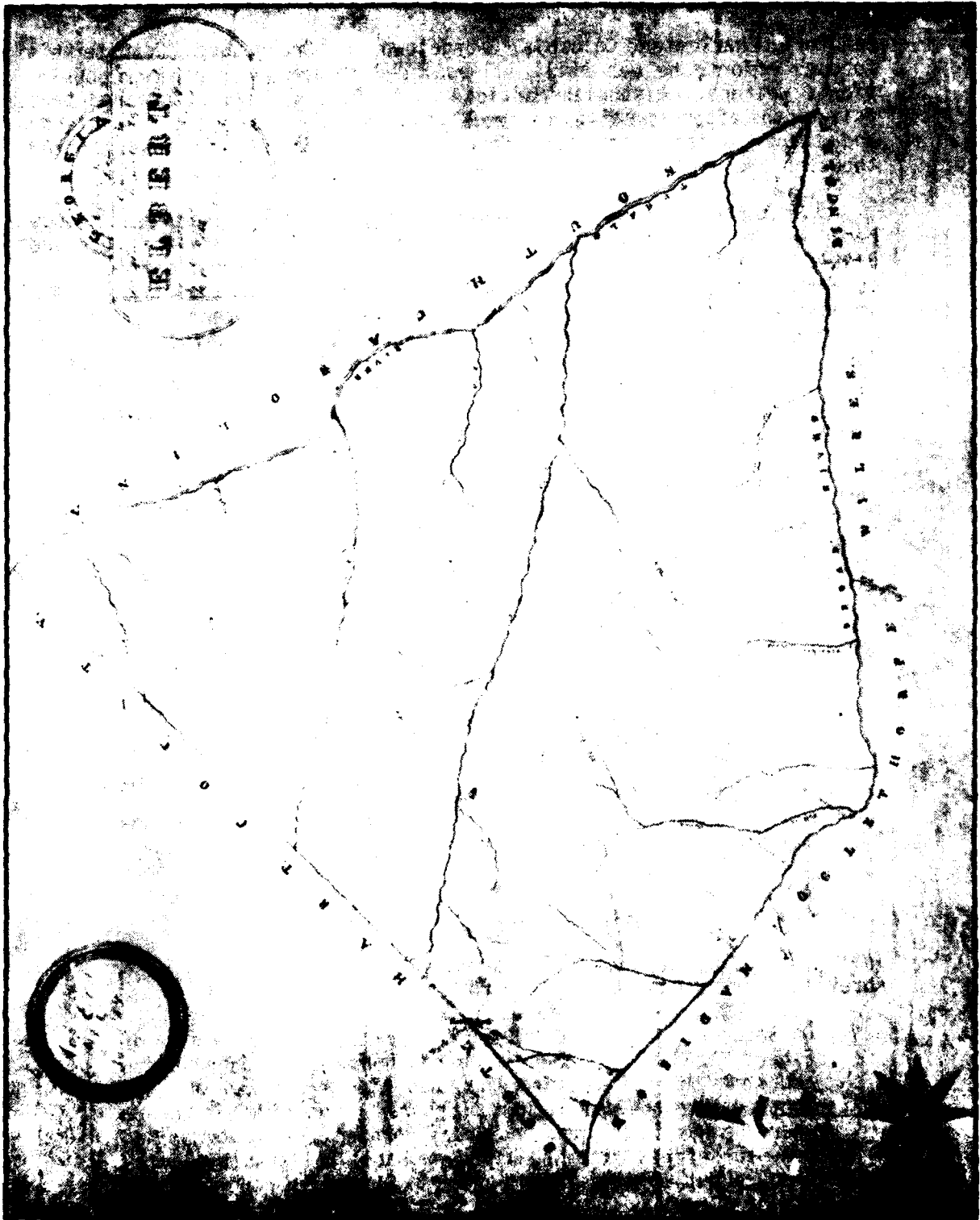
they are nominally such, but their condition indeed is worse than bondage itself and ever will be unless this sub-district is flooded with . . . cavalry, or a civil protective law is enacted at once - and the latter, I fear, will be no preventative of assassination, robbery, burglary, assault and battery with intent to kill."⁷

Continuing, the agent tried to explain the reasons for the disorder:

The U. S. soldiers and the freedmen are alike threatened and despised, and a very little respected. The military authorities are seldom obeyed except when necessity compels - and the garrison is limited, hence a majority of the guilty go unpunished. [The main problem was a] determination among a certain class . . . to get rid of the freedmen and women now [that] their crops are gathered, hence the immediate necessity of increasing the force in this sub-district. There are those who delight in killing Negroes and they cherish the same old desire to butcher U.S. soldiers.⁸

In May of 1866, Captain C. R. Beesley sent the following report from Abbeville, recounting the grisly murder of a black man:

On Saturday, May 12, about ten o'clock a freedman by name of Elbert MacAdams was taken from his house by an unknown man and shot three times and then had his throat cut and was dragged into the woods about a hundred yards from his house, where he was found dead on Sunday morning. The freedman had come to see his wife who lived on Basil Callahan's plantation, about 16 miles from here . . . Freedmen report to the office every day that they are being driven off, and my time is entirely taken up looking into the reasons and seeing that they get their rights.⁹



Map 13: Elbert County, 1868

Reports filed several years later show racial tensions had stayed the same, or even gotten worse.¹⁰ A memorandum dated June 30, 1868, gives an account of thirteen separate incidents where former slaves were attacked by whites, the majority of them beatings of black women. In August and September, five freedmen were physically abused, and one man was shot for joining the Republican Party. During November, when elections were being held, field agent William F. DeKnight reported nine cases of brutality by the Ku Klux Klan, said to be operating in the "neighborhoods of Childs Bone" and "other regions" of Abbeville County, including the Long Canes settlement, Calhoun's Mill, and the Moseley Farm. Once an entire community was terrorized to keep its residents from voting for black candidates on the ballot: "innumerable persons," the report said, "have been lying out in the woods since sometime before the election to save being murdered in their beds, their houses having in the mean time been frequently visited at night for that purpose." One black man who attempted to vote at Calhoun's Mill was wounded by a pistol. In every grim respect, a social revolution was underway.

The Evolution of a New Land Pattern

During this period of racial strife a new system of land tenure emerged from several disparate farming practices.¹¹ The two main alternatives open to freedmen - few of whom were able to purchase property of their own outright - involved wage labor or land rental. Renting was more popular among blacks because it enabled them to work a tract of land on their own, cultivate their own crops, and set their own pace of work. In short, it offered them a sense of independence and control. By the early 1870s, the period of experimentation was over, and one dominant land-labor system became institutionalized, composed of three related forms of tenancy: sharecropping, share renting, and cash renting. Under each, the property owner or manager furnished the land, a house or cabin, and fuel, while the tenant supplied his labor.¹² The three systems diverged, however, in the amount of investment the tenant made in tools, stock, feed, seed, and fertilizer, and in the concomitant return he received from the owner: from one-half the crop to sharecroppers, to two-thirds or three-quarters to share-renters, to the full crop (less expenses) to the cash renter. For purposes of simplicity this narrative refers only to sharecroppers and tenant farmers with the understanding that "tenant farmer" encompasses both share and cash renters.

Two reasons account for the institutionalization of the new land-labor system into the forms it took: the desire of freedmen to work their own land, and the discovery by planters that sharecropping and farm tenantry required less supervision than wage-labor farming. Originally, following Emancipation, black field hands were still organized into large work groups managed by an overseer or foreman.¹³ These resembled the ante-bellum slave gangs, a resemblance which was repugnant to the blacks, once they understood the full ramifications of their liberty. Their refusals to accept forced labor gradually led to the formation of smaller

and smaller work groups, and finally, the field hands succeeded in being assigned their own separate tracts to work.

Merle Prunty has described this broken land use as a "fragmented . . . occupance type" of settlement, since, unlike the earlier "nucleated plantation village," it did not possess a compact center.¹⁴ Large fields, once worked by equally large slave crews, were now divided into much smaller units, and as the freedmen began working their own parcels, they moved away from the central residential quarters, building cabins, sometimes stables, closer to their own tracts of land. Despite the fact that the farm service buildings remained in proximity to the owner's or manager's house, the old plantation settlement had, in effect, exploded into dozens of tiny pieces. Since Prunty drew some of his examples from plantations in nearby Oglethorpe County, Georgia, his model undoubtedly bears pertinence to the project area and begs comparison with test cases from the Russell MRA. Unfortunately, because of the lack of detailed contiguous plantation records in the MRA for periods before and after the Civil War, and because of the loss of Abbeville County records for the bulk of the nineteenth century, any reconstructions of plantation resettlements as meaningful tests of Prunty's discussions are close to impossible to produce from documentary evidence.

Experimentations with wage labor ultimately all gave way to sharecropping and tenantry. On small farms, owners found it profitable enough to hire a few field hands to work alongside themselves, but on large estates the efficiency of using large crews was offset by the time and effort required to supervise the work crews. In addition, field hands working for cash wages were free to leave whenever they chose to, whereas sharecroppers and tenant farmers were rewarded only for their crop yields and had to stay until after the cotton had been harvested and sold. Owners obviously preferred a more reliable, less mobile labor force requiring less supervision.

One important effect of the fragmentation of the plantation system was a sudden increase in the number of small farms. Actually, the vast majority of these were parts of larger landholdings controlled by a single owner or manager. The following capsule descriptions summarize this development: in 1850, the average farm in the South held 360 total acres with 104 acres of improved land; forty years later, in 1890, the average farm had just 143 acres, of which only 57 were cleared and considered usable for crop cultivation.¹⁶ Figures compiled for the State of Georgia for the decade between 1860 and 1870 show exactly this trend - and explain precisely where the changes were occurring: farms containing 500 acres or more declined in number by nearly one-half (from 3,594 to 1,925); farms with only 20 to 100 acres grew in numbers from 28,134 to 40,342, an increase of 12,208 or forty-three percent. The increase in farms of the 20-100 acre category appears to have been at the expense of those with 500 acres or more. Meanwhile, middle-sized farms with 100-500 acres remained approximately the same in number (17,000 in 1860 and 18,000 in 1870).¹⁷

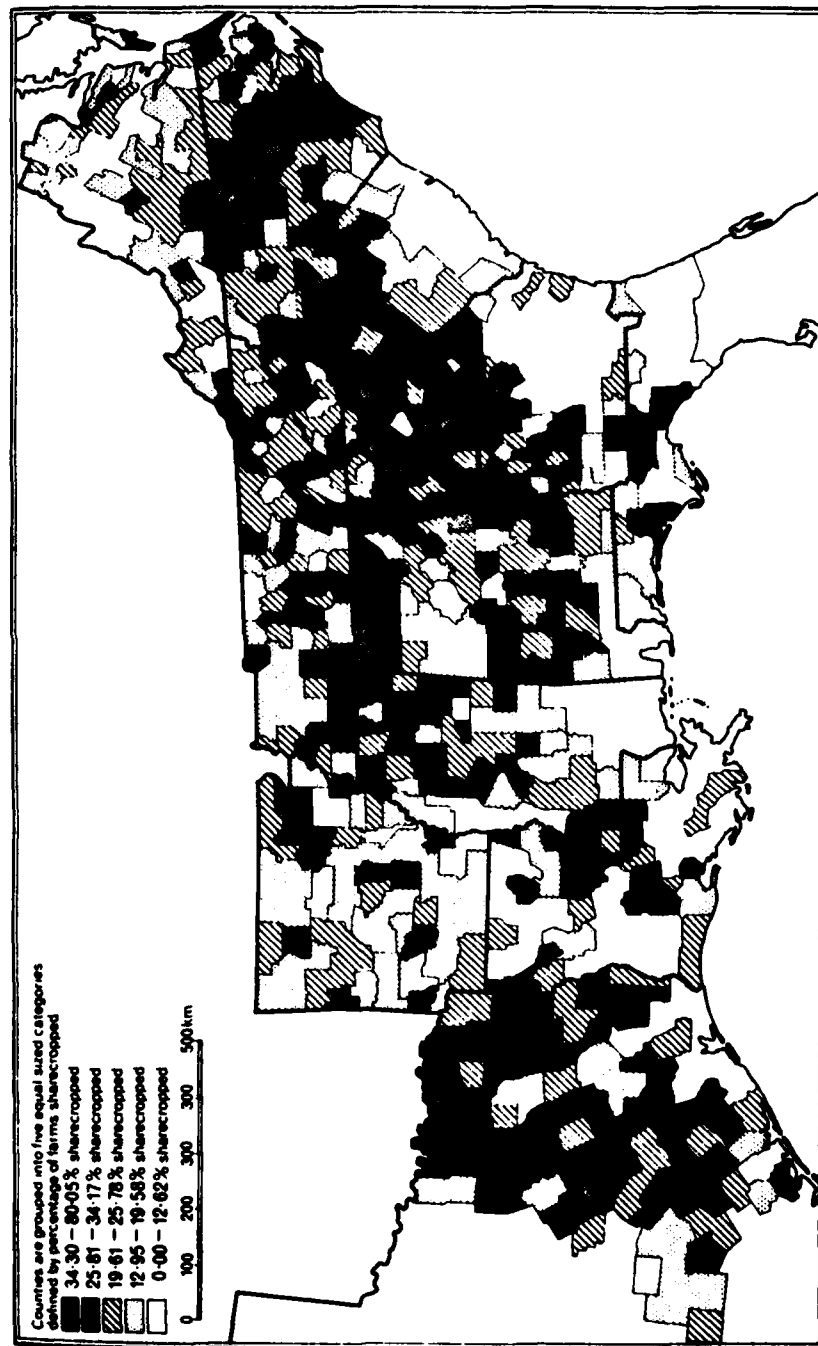
It is impossible to distinguish the tenants from the owners in these statistics, that is, the farms which were independent from those which were actually parts of other property holdings. The Bureau of the Census did not begin designating sharecropper and tenant farms as parts of larger units until 1910. Figures for the years between 1865 and 1900, then, are not available, but for 1910, it is possible to see with some accuracy the extent to which the new land-labor system had taken hold in the South. At that time, 39,073 southern farms were tallied, containing 15,836,363 acres of improved land. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers cultivated more than three-fourths of these acres, while the remaining fourth were reserved for the owners. The average size of the farms was quite small; a tenant tract usually contained about thirty-one acres and an owner's tract about eighty-seven acres.¹⁸

Figures for Georgia and South Carolina in 1910 show roughly the same relationship.¹⁹ Georgia sharecroppers and tenants worked eighty-two percent of the large plantations on parcels averaging forty-one acres; owner's parcels averaged seventy-six acres. South Carolina farmers either "worked on halves" or rented seventy-seven percent of the total plantation property, but lived on parcels averaging only twenty-nine acres, while their landlords kept an average of seventy-three acres. These figures underscore a basic fact of life: the new system was organized for the benefit of the owner, who not only collected crops or rent from his tenants, but who also worked for himself a much larger section of the available land.

This system should be seen against the backdrop of a cotton boom which occurred in the late nineteenth century. What was happening took place during an era of agricultural expansion when farm income was on the increase. Between 1860 and 1900, the Cotton Piedmont, as an agricultural region, came back into its own, and at least two of the counties containing the MRA, Anderson and Hart, were within the average range of prosperity for the entire Piedmont. Furthermore, if population is any guide, then this part of the Cotton Piedmont, especially between 1850 and 1890 (from the height of the Cotton Kingdom to the restructuring of its renaissance), was growing, not declining in either size or productivity, a trend reflected especially in Abbeville and Elbert counties. It can be said with certainty that the economic decline of the kind apparent today in the MRA was a twentieth, not a nineteenth century phenomenon. Yet it is important to reiterate: the kind of agricultural equilibrium which was regained after the Civil War and which was recreated according to a system of white hegemony was conducive to a predictable set of social-economic inequalities: typically, the rich got richer, and the poor got poorer.

The inequities were based in a feature of the new land-labor system often referred to as "debt peonage," which historian Pete Daniel has characterized as the "metamorphosis of slavery."²⁰ Sharecroppers and tenants, whether white or black, were legally free to move about at will and to sell their labor; but, in practice, only as long as they were able

Figure 10:
The Prevalence of Sharecropping in the South, 1880



The prevalence of sharecropping in the South, 1880. (Source: U.S. Census Office, Tenth Census [1880], Report of the Production of Agriculture [Washington: GPO, 1883], Table 5.)

to pay their bills at the end of each harvest were they "free." Once they were in debt to their landlord for food, seed, fertilizer, animals, or other supplies, they were forced to remain on the estate until they had earned enough (grown enough) to pay what they owed. It was not uncommon for owners to juggle the account books in their own favor, to keep their laborers in debt to insure the steady presence of a work force. Although both blacks and whites were victimized by this system, built-in racial biases and high illiteracy rates among blacks made them especially vulnerable to questionable account keeping. The exploitative relationship between landlord and sharecropper has been poignantly revealed by Ed Brown, a Georgia sharecropper, who told of the owner's changing anticipation as harvest time drew near:

Your two worstest enemies if you was a sharecropper was the boll weevil and the landlord. Many a time the sharecropper's family would live stingy and do all the work in the crop themselves. Then the boss would tell the tenant he wasn't goin to get nothin else. 'You done eat up your half.'

After the crop is laid by, when you have nothin to do but gather your crop, some men will make you leave. I've been taken for every dime in my part of the crop and wiped out with nothin. And it could be a boss who calls hisself the best man in the world . . .

Beginnin in January I'd be on my feet by sunup and me and my mule would be goin day after until the land was broke up and turned.

At first Mr. Addison say, 'How is your crop, and how is you gettin along turning your land? Take care of the mules. Don't rush because I want them to last . . .'

In February to my mind it was usually too cold to fish. But we went on breakin and turnin land and pulverizin it. And we went rabbit and coon and possum huntin.

I'm going regular to the boss about once a month for furnish money. 'Ed, when you goin to start plantin your crop?'

'I'm waitin till the moon quarter, about the fifteenth of March.'

In March with a four-inch scooter on my hayman stock I'd streak off my rows to plant cotton. About the fifteenth I'd put in some soft corn to give me early feed for my hogs and cows. Then I'd have almost two weeks in March and all of April to plant cotton

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Along about April the bossman would say, 'Ed, is your cotton gettin ready to chop?'

. . . If I have good weather the cotton will come right up, about a half a leg high, I don't plow deep the first time I cultivate it in May.

. . . Mr. Addison ain't come out yet. He still settin to the office leavin it in my hands.

'Well, it look good,' I tell him. 'It's loaded down with squares and I seen a bloom this week.' In about a month he ask again. . . .

Now the boss ask, 'Is our cotton doin pretty good?'

In July when the furnish money has give out my meat is about give out too. . .

I see the boss again and he say, 'Do you know where we can get you a job?'

'Maybe I can get one to the sawmill but I got the mules to take care of and that would mean I got to leave the crop.' . . .

'Put the mules in the pasture. You can notice them and work at the sawmill and make your own way.'

. . . Pickin time . . .

Now [Mr. Addison] goes out to the crop. . . . 'My crop is lookin pretty,' [he] say to my wife. . . .

By the latter part of September it's all picked. I gather my peanuts or whatever I've raised and take the rest of my cotton to the warehouse and get it ginned and baled. Now Mr. Addison can handle it and just as sure as you're livin he'll call it his'n. 'My cotton, my corn, my crop.'²¹

It is ironic that sharecropping and tenant farming created the conditions in which debt peonage flourished, since in its early stages sharecropping was looked upon by the freedmen as an avenue to upward mobility and eventual independence. The stark reality of the system was that it kept the vast majority of blacks as landless as they had been as slaves. In a study of agrarian conditions in Georgia between 1865 and 1912, for example, Robert Preston Brooks discovered that by the turn of the century blacks had made only minimal progress in acquiring property.²² While their ownership rose between 1874 and 1903, at what seems a phenomenal rate - 529% - from 2,974 owners to 18,715 owners, this rate



Figure 11: Washerwomen at Millwood, ca. 1875
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

constitutes a "very poor showing" when compared to white land ownership: in 1903 blacks composed almost half of Georgia's population, yet they held only four percent of its lands.

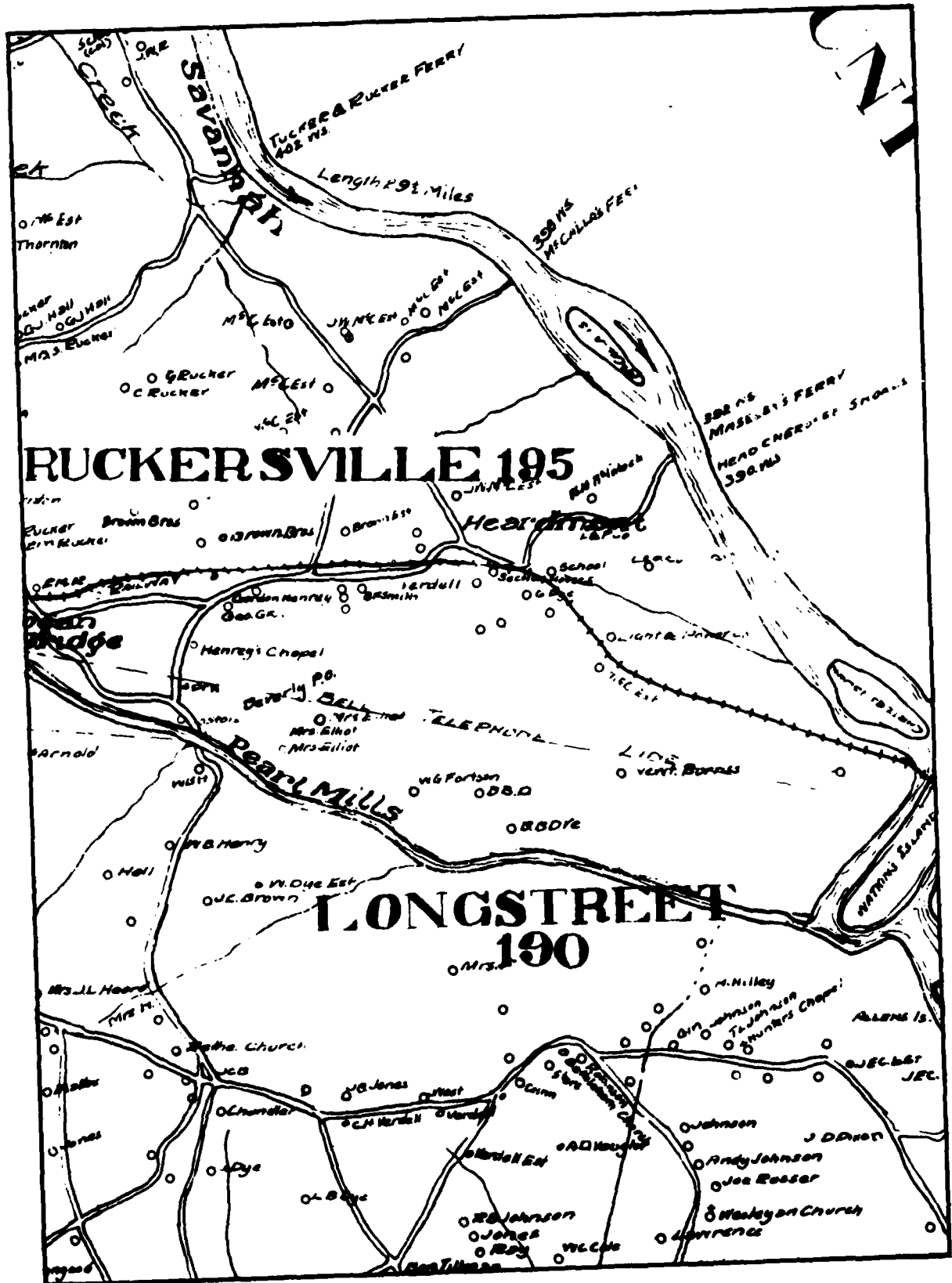
Doubtless this pattern held true for blacks in and near the Russell MRA between 1865 and 1890. The number of blacks increased during the second half of the nineteenth century in this area, but there is as yet no evidence to suggest that they and their descendents held more than a minimal part of the land.

Heardmont: The Locus for Black Community

Within this general framework, the development of Heardmont after the Civil War takes on special significance in that it contained a cluster of black property owners. Heardmont, the hamlet, grew up in Elbert County in the vicinity of Heardmont, the plantation, owned by Stephen Heard and his descendents. The village was a neighborhood center with stores, gins, churches, and other service facilities for the local farmers. Heardmont retained its vitality until about 1920, when an outmigrating population diminished its size and functions.

No written documentation was found for Heardmont, but interviews with local black residents revealed its oral tradition.²³ The hamlet grew up after the Civil War, but its main cultural landmark, Bethel Grove Baptist Church, was actually founded in pre-Civil War days as a place of worship for plantation owners and their slaves. Sometime "in slavery times" what was then called Beaverdam Baptist Church expelled its black worshippers; to accommodate their religious needs, the Reverend Malloway Thornton set aside an acre of land where the slaves could build their own "log church" and have their own cemetery. Later the structure was moved to its present site overlooking the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad tracks. Meanwhile, the white church also moved and became Bethel "E" (for Elbert) Baptist Church now located on Highway 72 east of Elberton.

Soon after the war, the fragmentation of large plantations in this area created a need for communal stores and cotton gins. In effect, the plantation "village" with its own mills, smithy, and stores, was replaced by a true "village" or hamlet with a commercial center providing the same services. Heardmont was just one such center in the MRA, resembling in its physical appearance many other post-war crossroad villages of the southern Piedmont described by J. B. Jackson: "a huddle of cabins irregularly grouped around a general store, one or two churches, and perhaps a cotton gin. Seldom very appealing in appearance and never prosperous, these nevertheless represented a new way of life . . ."²⁴ Heardmont had all of these features. Bethel Grove Baptist Church appears to have served as both a physical and cultural center for Heardmont's black population. In addition to its religious function, it provided a school for the children of all the nearby farms and communities for "laid by times," (July to August) and just after harvest (November to March).



Map 14: Heardmont and Vicinity



Figure 12: The Community Canning Factory st Heardmont
(Photo: THG)



Figure 13: The Black School at Heardmont
(Photo: THG)

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Within close proximity to the school were three stores owned and operated by white men: G. W. Gray, T. B. Tucker, and the partnership of Frierson and Orr. At least two of these establishments (the last two) also operated cotton gins. In addition, Heardmont had a blacksmith shop, a cooperative cannery, and a building where the two largest white land-owners (William Maddox and John McCalla) kept their offices.

In 1883 the South Carolina State Board of Agriculture commented on the importance of hamlets like Heardmont to the organization of local agriculture:

All along the lines of railways, and everywhere in the rural districts, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of establishments engaged in trade. The cross-road store has become an important factor in the organization of labor and in the distribution of wealth The thirty-three thousand plantations of 1860 are divided out among ninety-three thousand small farmers in 1880. Wholly occupied by their struggle with the soil and the seasons, these small farmers, of necessity, intrust their trading interests to the care of the country storekeeper. And thus the crossroads store stands again, as stood formerly the Indian trading post, a pioneer in a new industrial departure.²⁵

While Heardmont resembled these other settlements in its physical form, it probably deviated from many of them in its pattern of black landownership. The origin of this nucleus inside the white community was, ironically, a white man himself, a planter named George Washington Dye, who owned about three thousand acres of land near Heardmont itself and, reportedly, even more property further to the southwest. Before the Civil War, the oral tradition holds, he was refused matrimony by the family of his intended, so he chose - instead of the white woman - a slave named Lucinda to be his mistress. Subsequently, he had nine children by her. Dye lived openly with Lucinda and was ostracized by local whites, including his own family. At his death, sometime after 1865, he gave all of his land to Lucinda and the children. Property of his lying within the area now known as Heardmont was bequeathed to Jarret, Bynum, and Laura Dye, who inherited between eight and nine hundred acres apiece.

It is difficult to trace what happened to their lands, but over the years, Dye's descendents gradually lost control of much of what he had bequeathed. Part of the property was divided into smaller portions and sold off. A large portion of the property, it is said - including most of the land willed to Laura Dye - was transferred to white control by extralegal, if not illegal, means. After 1900, especially during prosperous times when the cotton brought a good price, other blacks living in the area were able to buy small tracts of land, but, according to local informants, this only happened on a very small scale. One historic site

within the area gains significance by this connection: the White Sisters' farm near Heardmont. Bought by their father in 1926 from Dye family heirs, it is one example of the later pattern of land purchase by other blacks in Heardmont. In addition, their mother was a "Heard," and the implications for the continuity of family and place are many.²⁶

Another distinctive characteristic of Heardmont is that it never incorporated, as did other crossroad settlements in the MRA (e.g., Ruckersville, Lowndesville, Middleton, and Iva). The community's boundaries were never legally determined, but the residents of the area maintained a general notion of its approximate size: as a geographical unit Heardmont extended from Beaverdam Creek to Bethel Grove Baptist Church north of the railroad tracks and west to Pearle Mill. Before the mill was built even that territory was conceptually a part of Heardmont.

Destructive Land Use Practices

The resurgence of the cotton economy had greater consequences for the land than the resectioning of its agricultural and community uses. Abusive farming practices, those which took even less care of the soil than of its tillers, have been documented from the first settlement of the Piedmont, and bad farming practices persisted into the late decades of the nineteenth century. In his examination of this subject, Stanley Trimble decided that the "period of greatest erosive land use" in the Piedmont South occurred between 1860 and 1920, the same years which witnessed the establishment of land tenancy and sharecropping. According to Trimble, the two phenomena are related: the "distribution of tenancy" correlated exactly with those areas where the greatest loss of topsoil and increase in gullies occurred. Trimble observed that "tenants, both black and white, were much more prone to poor land use practices than landowners," presumably because they focused their efforts (understandably) on obtaining high crop yields rather than on long-term conservation of their fields.²⁷ It could also be true, however, that they were offered the worst lands to work in the first place.

In an address before the Savannah River Valley Association in 1888, Harry Hammond revealed another effect of soil erosion, especially important for the Russell MRA.²⁸ "Successive floods" in the Savannah "during recent years" had "destroyed millions of acres of property," in effect, precluding further development of the countryside. A disastrous cycle of land use was created through the "denudation" of the "upper country": great gullies were eroded into the hillsides through which the rains washed the topsoil down to the river, filling it with mud. "So-called improvements" in the river, "clearing out the channel and confining the current with wing dams" attached to the river banks, had only increased the velocity of an already rapid stream, accelerating its power to transport the detritus of the decaying hills in a "deluge of mud." Filled with mud, the river was prone to flood, wiping out even more cultivated land; and adding more acres to those already under erosive



Figure 14: Soil Erosion in the MRA as Late as 1940
(Malley Hutchison on the Hutchison Farm)
(Photo: Corps of Engineers/USFSA)

cultivation only made the entire system worse. In less dramatic language the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers reached a similar conclusion in 1890 after completing a survey of the Savannah River:

The valley through which the Savannah River flows between Andersonville and Augusta has an average width of from one-third to one-half of a mile, beyond which the country is rolling and hilly . . . The banks of the river are, in general, higher than the rest of the valley, and at short intervals ditches have been cut leading from the low grounds of the valley through these banks into the river. The rainfall is thus conducted rapidly into the river and sudden high freshets are of frequent occurrence. . . . The river bottoms from Lockhart's Creek to Trotter's Shoals and from Craft's Ferry to Andersonville are quite fertile, although the crops are often damaged and sometimes almost entirely destroyed by river floods which continually increase both in frequency and magnitude.²⁹

Conclusion

Soil erosion in the later nineteen century was but one of the varied patterns in the post-war economic system. Other patterns included the fragmentation of the pre-war plantations into smaller units which were worked by sharecroppers, tenants, and landowners alike; the rise of debt peonage to keep the labor force in place; the growth of hamlets such as Heardmont; and, in the MRA, Heardmont itself, with its small cluster of black landowners. The new land and labor system did not end in 1890; indeed, the project area and the entire Piedmont South remained relatively stable and homogeneous in basic outline: the lands were held together in an economically tight and relatively prosperous system of interlocked parts. Basically, it was successful for the landed, unsuccessful for the landless, a pattern which continued for several decades into the twentieth century before new disasters struck.

S. W. G.
with
D. F. W. &
D. R. R.

FOOTNOTES

¹Pete Daniel, "The Metamorphosis of Slavery, 1865-1900," The Journal of American History, LXVI (June, 1979), p. 88

²Ibid.

³University of Georgia Archives, Special Collections, Elbert County Documents, MS 343-1.

⁴Joel Williamson, After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877 (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1967), pp. 88-91.

⁵Ibid., pp. 62-63; Laura Josephine Webster, The Operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina (New York, NY: Russell and Russell, 1970), pp. 20-21.

⁶Martin Abbott, The Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, 1865-1872 (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1967), p. 13.

⁷Letter, Lieutenant Colonel C. S. Brown to Brigadier General O. H. Howard, October 23, 1865, Freedmen's Bureau Records, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Letter, Captain C. R. Beesley to Lieutenant Colonel Devieux, May 20, 1866, Freedmen's Bureau Records.

¹⁰The following references are all contained in the monthly reports kept in the file entitled Reports of Murders and Outrages, October 1865 to November 1868, Freedmen's Bureau Records.

¹¹A detailed discussion of the evolution of the post-war labor system in South Carolina appears in Williamson's chapter, "New Patterns in Economics," in After Slavery, pp. 127-63.

¹²T. J. Woofter, et al., Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation (Washington: Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, 1936), p. 10.

¹³Robert Preston Brooks, The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912 (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), pp. 45-46.

¹⁴Merle Prunty, Jr., "The Renaissance of the Southern Plantation," The Geographical Review, XLV (1955), pp. 463-66.

¹⁵Robert Higgs, "Patterns of Farm Rental in the Georgia Cotton Belt, 1880-1900," Journal of Economic History, XXXIV (June 1974), pp. 473-74.

¹⁶Plantation Farming in the United States (Washington, DC: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1916), p. 8.

¹⁷Brooks, The Agrarian Revolution, p. 42.

¹⁸Plantation Farming in the United States, p. 16.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 22-23.

²⁰Daniel, "Metomorphosis of Slavery", pp. 88-89.

²¹Jane Maguire, On Shares: Ed Brown's Story (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1975), pp. 55-59.

²²Brooks, The Agrarian Revolution, pp. 43-44

²³This section draws a great deal from Vincent Fort, "Report on Heardmont," a memorandum to The History Group, July 12, 1980.

²⁴John Brinckerhoff Jackson, American Space: The Centennial Years, 1865-1976 (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1977), p. 151.

²⁵South Carolina State Board of Agriculture, South Carolina: Resources and Population Institutions and Industries (Charleston, SC, 1883), pp. 659-60.

²⁶Untaped interview with the White sisters in October 1979.

²⁷Stanley W. Trimble, Man-Induced Soil Erosion on the Southern Piedmont (Ankeny, IA: Soil Conservation Society of America, 1974), p. 69.

²⁸Harry Hammond, "The Improvement of the Savannah River, An Address before the Savannah River Valley Association, November 14, 1888," n.p., n.d., on file at the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina.

²⁹U. S. Congress, House, Survey of the Savannah River About Augusta, Executive Documents No. 213, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, p. 2.

SECTION 5: KING COTTON'S DECLINE, 1890 - 1930

The forty years between 1890 and 1930 divide into two distinct periods of cotton production, 1890-1920 and 1920-1930. During the first period, growing cotton remained the dominant mode of agriculture, and its cultivation was significantly assisted by improvements in transportation also made at this time. Specifically, the completion of railway lines through the MRA brought it more firmly into the orbit of important interior transportation centers, most especially Atlanta, while the construction of local depots accelerated the growth of settlements which were already located along the two main railway routes. These crossroad towns were now connected up as points along an extensive regional rail network serving the entire South.

In the second period, 1920-1930, a drop in cotton prices followed reduced demand for the product after World War I; this along with the arrival of the boll weevil in the area precipitated a period of serious economic decline in which farmers received less money per pound for harvests which were now also much smaller in quantity. Many went bankrupt; others migrated to nearby textile towns, to the Northeast, and to Florida, in search of employment and better opportunities. The decline in cotton production decimated the small farming communities in the Russell MRA and diminished their importance as economic and social centers for the rural neighborhoods, reversing the promise of the earlier decades.

The period between 1890 and 1920 also saw the beginnings of another important development for the MRA - an increase in manufacturing and processing operations, as the area participated in the general industrial textile boom sweeping the Southeast. Activities expanded at some of the older mills, and new textile mills were established beginning in the middle and late 1880s. Mattox Mill, Pearle Mill, Price's Mill, the Heardmont Mills, and the Swift Mills are all local examples of this development. Several local planters invested heavily in the new textile facilities, and a few local industrialists - such as Thomas Swift of Elberton, who had interests in textiles, ginning, and granite as well -

had a widespread economic impact on the area. Growth in the Russell MRA, however, was mixed, since a combination of natural disasters (the flood of 1908, for example), fires (natural and other), undercapitalization, and overextension kept many of the mills from developing into large-scale, stable industries. The developmental process, while it created a great number of factories, also created "have" and "have not" counties. Of the four counties in the Russell MRA, only Anderson can truly be said to have achieved sustained industrial "success" emanating from these early days.

The completion of the rail lines brought increased significance to the local communities where the trains stopped. Heardmont, for instance, gained community importance with the presence of its depot, probably completed during the 1890s and not torn down until 1932.¹ One resident of Heardmont, Rufus Bullard, recalled the service the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad provided Heardmont during its "peak" years. Besides transporting cotton and staples, the daily trains provided easy access to nearby towns and apparently made it possible for faraway residents to attend the local black church.

Heardmont hit its peak during World War I. I think things . . . was pretty good in them days, in World War I. Of course, after World War II come along there wasn't much to it. [But] shoot, we used to have three stores out there; we had two gins where you would gin the cotton . . . and we had a train going through four times a day. We didn't have many cars, but there weren't any then. If you wanted to go to town you just step right in and catch a train, go on in and come back out the same day for twenty-five or thirty cents . . . We had a train come early in the morning, then one come at dinner time about eleven, then another one up at five o'clock in the evening, and another one then at night. You see, about four trains a day, two going this way and two coming back . . . People were coming to church out here on this train. Our preacher used to ride it . . . and then by the time it would go back at night the service would be over with. You catch this train and go on back home. We had people getting off at Pearle and Middleton; there is two stops between here and Elberton . . . We had people who came even from Winder, Georgia, to church . . . Winder, Georgia, way up above Athens.²

In some instances the railroads affected the crossroad settlements by encouraging new commercial growth, although it should be emphasized that within the boundaries of the Russell MRA this never occurred on a large scale. One locale where such growth did occur was Lowndesville, a South Carolina town originally incorporated in 1839, which experienced a modest spurt in size as a result of the arrival of the Savannah Valley Railroad in 1886. Current resident and amateur local historian H. A. (Arnette) Carlisle was interviewed about this development and offered the following account:



Map 15: Rail Lines Through the Russell MRA



Figure 15: The Lowndesville, South Carolina, Bank
(Photo: THG)



Figure 16: Middleton, Georgia
(Photo: THG)

The railroad is about a third of a mile from where the town grew up and when it came out here to the west of the old town and built a depot down there, then the business firms gravitated toward the depot. We had what we called a "new town" and an "old town" . . . "New town" started building up shortly after the railroad came . . . the dwellings all came in after 1890, but some of the stores and warehouses began to build up as soon as the railroad came through there. There was a rivalry between the merchants all during the year, "new town" and "old town." Of course, these boys down here at the railroad had the advantage, they didn't have to hire somebody to haul their goods a mile to a half-mile away. One of them even built his store on the side track down there; he could use hand-trucks to unload right into the store . . . That's the main effect of the railroad. Of course, it also gave them the means of passenger transportation too. We had two passenger trains each way, north and south, each day.³

Important from a purely local standpoint, the accompanying table nonetheless shows that the railroad resulted in the development of only a small amount of territory: the population of both "new town" and "old town" Lowndesville never exceeded 350 people between 1890 and 1930.

Table 3
Town Population Figures, 1890-1930

State/Town	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Georgia					
Elberton	2244	4841	7800	6475	4650
Middleton	--	--	--	152	151
Ruckersville	--	99	88	111	74
South Carolina					
Abbeville	1696	3766	4459	4570	4414
Anderson	3018	5498	9654	10,570	14,383
Calhoun Falls	--	--	296	897	1759
Iva	--	--	894	962	1273
Lowndesville	268	241	350	271	210
Starr	--	--	273	347	361

Source: U. S. censuses for the years listed.

Other crossroad settlements which were incorporated after becoming rail stops include three communities in South Carolina on the C. & W. C. line - Starr, Iva, and Calhoun Falls - and one small village in Georgia on the Seaboard Coast Line - Middleton. Starr, first settled in 1875 and

known as Twiggs' Post Office, grew slowly after receiving its charter in 1889. In 1923 it contained "two manufacturing plants, a fertilizer mill, and an oil plant,"⁴ and in 1930 it boasted 361 residents, just barely exceeding Lowndesville at its height. Iva, incorporated in 1904, was earlier known as Cook's Station, and probably originated in 1884 when the C. & W. C. established a depot there.⁵ It also remained quite small, although its population in 1930 - 1273 people - suggests that it was a more significant center for the surrounding countryside than either Lowndesville or Starr. In part, its larger size may be attributed to the existence of a textile mill which, in 1923, employed 500 mill operatives.

Calhoun Falls, the third South Carolina rail town, was first settled in 1892 when it was officially designated a post office.⁶ Following the construction of a train depot, probably in the same year, a hotel was built to accommodate passengers waiting to transfer from one rail line to the other. Within a short period of time Calhoun Falls had a "few stores, a lumber mill, a livery stable," and only a few miles away in nearby Latimer, a brick yard.⁷ The town was incorporated in 1908 with a modest population of 296 people, which grew to 1759 people by 1930. Its increased size was due at least in part to the development efforts of the Calhoun Falls Investment Company, founded in 1902, and the establishment of a textile mill in 1909.

The only Georgia settlement on the Seaboard Coast Line to receive a charter was Middleton, located between Heardmont and Elberton, which incorporated in 1911. Little information is available about its history: the largest population figure recorded for Middleton was 152 in 1920, which, with the single exception of Ruckersville, makes Middleton the smallest incorporated town in the Russell MRA between 1890 and 1930.

Aside from the railroad connection, the single most important feature of the railroad town - regardless of its size - was the cotton gin, which local farmers could use to clean their bolls before baling and selling them. Even before the Civil War, planters kept gins on their plantations for their own use and that of their immediate neighbors. The invention of more efficient gins resulted in some small settlements owing their continued existence to the cotton crops in their hinterlands, an urbanizing transition which was underway as far back as the middle of the nineteenth century. Residents of the Russell MRA can still recall the existence of these earlier common farm or "community gins" and their gradual replacement by newer commercial machines in town.⁸ This process of substitution was recollected by Alvin Hutchison, who grew up on the Hutchison farm just outside Lowndesville:

My granddaddy left his sons about 100 acres each, except the oldest one who was a bachelor and got himself a drug store and was working in Lowndesville, not interested in farming. But the other three, they got about 100 acres apiece . . . On the place where we were raised there was an old gin house, but I don't remember anything about the gin. I think it was



Figure 17:
Calhoun Falls, ca. 1940, with the Original Railroad Hotel
(Photo: J. Burton)

a common thing to have those little gins to just gin what each farm and the surrounding neighbors [could raise] . . . Well, the Clinkscales . . . had one too, they had a gin there for awhile. My daddy ginned his cotton there or over at the McCallas . . . But it wasn't too long before they quit ginning and most of the ginning was done out at Lowndesville; you had to haul the cotton out there and you got the fertilizer out there at the railroad station.⁹

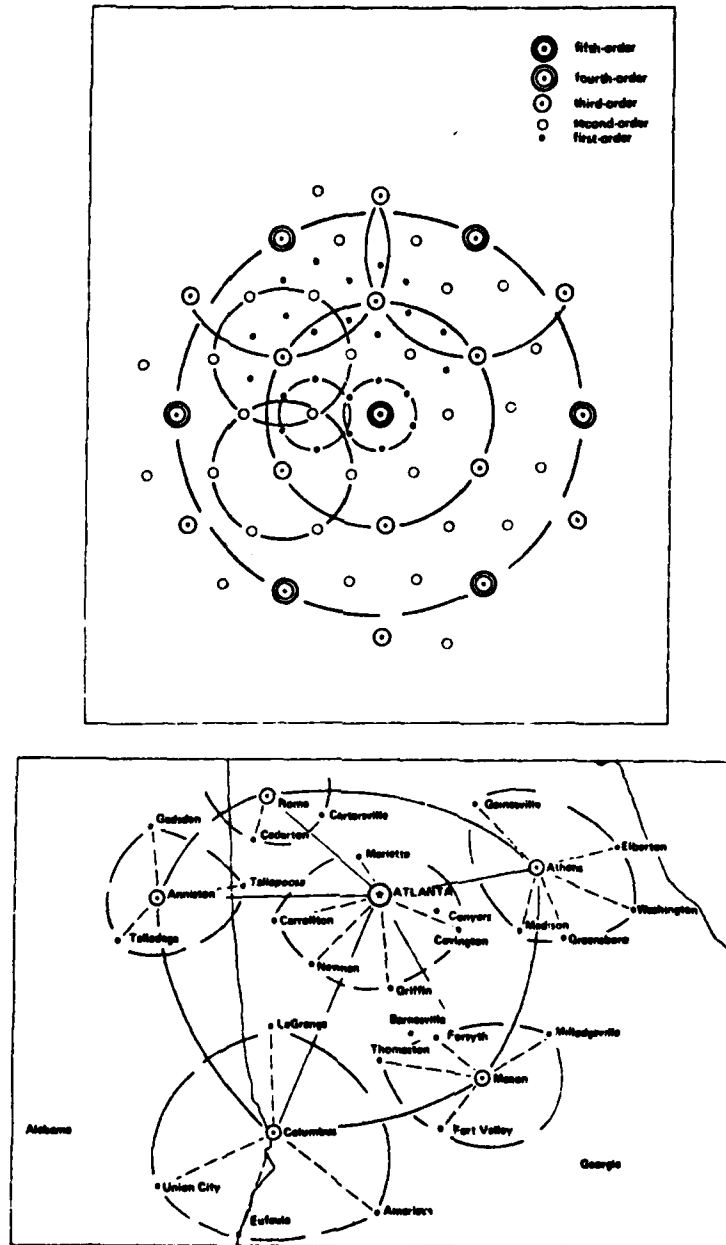
Another significant development in the late nineteenth century was the establishment of compresses and oil mills at selected towns throughout the rural South.¹⁰ The compress cut the size of the cotton bale in half, thereby doubling the loads the trains could carry; in the Russell MRA, Edward Brownlee remembers farmers living in the vicinity of Heardmont ginning their cotton at Heardmont and then "they would take it to Elberton . . . [where] they had this big warehouse where they would compress, they would take eight or ten of those bales and compress them with this powerful press into one."¹¹ The second mechanization process, oil milling, emerged after 1880 with a dramatic rise in the international price of olive oil: suddenly it was profitable to market substitute vegetable oils, including cottonseed oil, and in the MRA, both Starr and Lowndesville had cottonseed oil plants.

According to economic historian Kenneth Weiher, the compresses and oil plants helped the towns in which they were located to expand their hinterlands, and in so doing, acted as catalysts for urban growth.¹² With a higher order of technology, these towns could effectively serve a market radius of between twenty-five and fifty miles, as compared to towns with only a single cotton-gin, which served a market radius of five to ten miles. These compress/oil mill towns remained in a subsidiary position to the regional transportation centers, i.e., Atlanta in Georgia, but more important - again according to Weiher - they supplied the touchstone in a regional southern hierarchy of central places, which, once established, made it possible for the entire region to experience sustained town and city growth.

Weiher's argument reveals the close connection between agricultural organization during the late nineteenth century and southern urbanization at the same time, but his model applies only to towns experiencing significant growth between 1880 and 1930 and achieving populations between four and ten thousand people. In the Russell area this applied to only three urban concentrations, Abbeville, Anderson, and Elberton, yet only Anderson conforms to Weiher's pattern, since it alone of the three experienced steady growth throughout the years between 1890 and 1930; both Abbeville and Elberton actually lost population during those years.

If anything, urbanization within the general vicinity of the Russell MRA has been minimal. Nearby "higher order" cities, Athens and Anderson, supplied necessary services to the predominantly rural areas located along the Savannah River, including the Russell MRA, and have

Figure 18:
Weiher's Regional Hierarchy of Southern Places, and
the Atlanta Urban Network, 1890



Source: Kenneth Weiher, "The Cotton Industry and Southern Urbanization, 1880-1930," Explorations in Economic History

continued to prosper. Through Elberton and Athens, the MRA is tied to the Atlanta urban network, a relationship which, according to the accompanying illustration, already existed in 1890.

Yet despite their lack of growth between 1890 and 1930, the towns within the Russell MRA still played a vital role in the lives of the area's inhabitants. A principal figure in the towns was the storekeeper, who extended credit to sharecroppers and tenant farmers and secured his loans by attaching liens on their crops. His power and influence increased if he operated in a small railroad town, since he could ship cotton bales directly by rail and have them routed to their final destinations with the proper bills of lading. As historian Harold Woodman observed, the rise of "interior purchasing" by such local agents created a bona fide merchant class which "transformed the storekeeper from an adjunct to the seaport factors to the pivotal figure in cotton marketing and financing."¹³

Within the Russell MRA, town merchants were also significant figures, many of whom, especially those in the small villages, operated gins at their stores. However, oral testimony revealed that Russell MRA farmers sometimes dealt with outside cotton agents; there was frequent movement of goods across the Savannah River, and price and proximity traded off in determining the best "deal" to be had. It will be remembered that Edward Brownlee stated that Heardmont farmers would take their cotton to Elberton because of the compress there, but once the Georgia-South Carolina Memorial Bridge on Highway 72 was built in 1927, they apparently changed this practice:

In the last thirty years we carried all our cotton to Calhoun Falls because it was closer than Elberton. You see, we was in Heardmont and we just come through there and get to Calhoun Falls quickly. We would cross the bridge.¹⁴

In another case, residents living in the vicinity of Lowndesville frequently chose to gin their cotton and shop for supplies in Elberton rather than in their own town. As recounted in stories told by their children, Malley Hutchison and his wife regularly crossed the river into Georgia where they felt they would get better cotton prices. Their daughter Catherine remembered that her "momma and daddy used to go to Elberton to shop [and] trade [and that they would] take their cotton over there and sell it."¹⁵ Her account was corroborated by her brother Alvin:

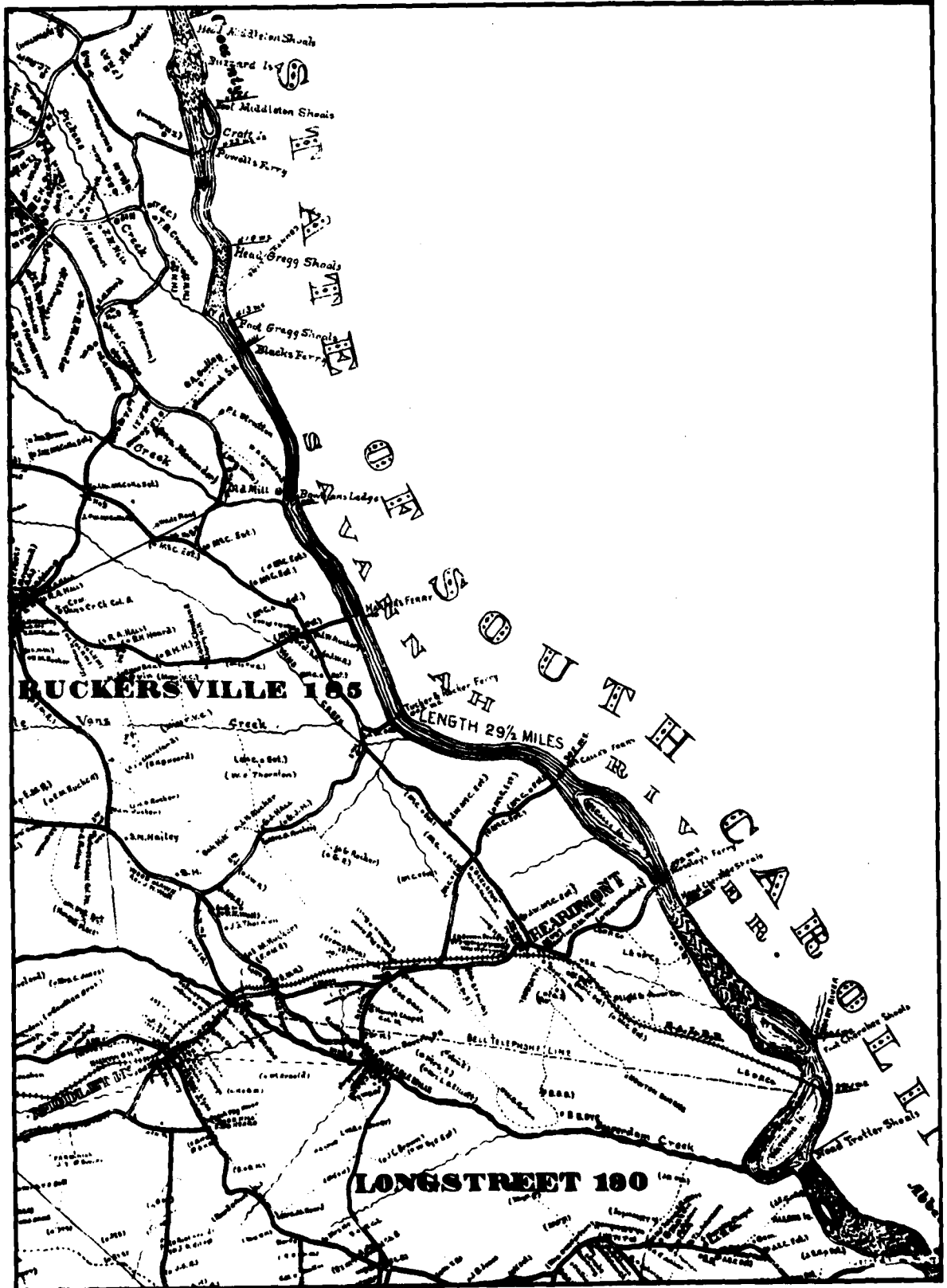
A lot of traffic went across from Lowndesville to Elberton; it is just about twelve miles from the river to Elberton . . . [which] was a right decent little city, about the size of Abbeville, about the same size. They had a little cotton mill . . . there at one time . . . My daddy used to take his cotton over there, he [would] go across the river in a flat with his wagons of cotton and sell it in Elberton, bring back his dry goods and shoes and things.¹⁶

Blake Crocker, a sharecropper who worked land belonging to Malley Hutchison before 1920, agreed that it was sometimes possible to get a higher price for cotton in Elberton:

Daddy, before he died, lived on the Hutchison's, one of the Hutchison's, Malley Hutchison's place. We lived with him on his place and worked his farm. And then when my daddy died we was living on Malley Hutchison's place. I went to Ridge Church . . . about five or six miles down the road [from Lowndesville] on the river, down near to what we used to call Harper's Ferry. They had a fellow Harper who owned a lot of land and operated a ferry where you used to cross the river . . . When we lived on this place I was talking about . . . I done most of my trading, most of the people around there did, in Elberton, Georgia. We'd cross at Tucker's Ferry. You could cross at either one, Harper or Tucker's Ferry. And we [would] go over there about once a month to buy groceries and sometimes we would haul, carry cotton over there. We would get maybe a cent a pound more for it in Elberton than we could in Lowndesville. We would take over two or three bales and they would have cotton buyers there, maybe three or four cutting and looking at your cotton, you know, and getting to bid on it. They would bid against each other so that sometimes you'd maybe get a cent, sometimes two cents, more a pound than you would in Lowndesville because they had maybe [only] one or two buyers. If they didn't have but one, he would get it as cheap as he could. So we hauled a lot of cotton over to Elberton.¹⁷

While Crocker's recollection specifically applies to marketing cotton in 1919, his remembrance evokes the timelessness of the agricultural cycle, which had remained the Russell MRA's true calendar despite other economic and industrial developments. Labor still revolved around the annual tasks necessary for the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of cotton, while external agents fixed the terms of the farmer's contract, the price of his seed, fertilizer, and food, and the profit from his harvested crop. The work was arduous and primitive, the risks were sizeable, and by no stretch of the imagination was this life romantic. Factory employment, by comparison, seemed attractive, rewarding, and simple, and some changes between 1890 and 1930, chiefly the industrial ones, set preconditions for these later economic adaptations.

Elbert County, for example, had several cotton mills by 1901, one of which was in Elberton.¹⁸ Another was Pearle Mill, built in 1895 inside the MRA, and of particular significance here, but with a history of only sporadic operations: it was flooded in 1908 and went bankrupt after having produced cotton yarn and rope for over a decade. From 1916 until 1928, it produced cotton duck cloth, but it burned in 1928 and was never again used as a textile mill. Between 1936 and 1948 part of the building was used as a corn mill, but then, the mill closed for good.¹⁹ Pearle Mill



is not only significant of the industrialization emerging at this time; it is also evidence of the difficulties surrounding that industrialization, all too often taken for granted in the other, manifold successes also dating from this period. Far more important for the industrial and economic future of Elbert County was the opening of the first commercial granite quarry in 1889 by Doctor Nathaniel Long.²⁰ It took several decades for the granite industry to develop fully, but in time it became the major source of commercial endeavors for the city of Elberton and its immediate countryside.

The portion of Abbeville County within the project area also witnessed some limited industrial growth, all of it in Calhoun Falls. In the mid-1890s an investment company formed by W. F. Cox of Anderson, sought to "erect, maintain, and operate, either by steam or electric power, industrial manufactories . . . or [to] take stock in such manufacturing industries as may be deemed desirable,"²¹ and the Calhoun Falls Investment Company, as it called itself, proceeded in 1902 to issue \$30,000 in stock for the construction of a cotton mill. Several delays slowed the project down, but by 1909 the Calhoun plant was in operation.²² The investors built a village next to the factory and further contributed to the town's growth by developing other real estate properties.

However, when contrasted with the industrialization in Anderson County, the achievements in Elbert and Abbeville counties seem minor. In the late 1880s Anderson County's principal city, Anderson, contained only one textile mill; by 1909 it claimed sixteen, which, all together, were capitalized at more than \$7,000,000. They processed 150,000 bales of cotton annually and employed 1,000 workers.²³ In addition, Anderson had several oil mills, a fertilizer plant, and "many small enterprises . . . manufacturing a wide variety of commercial products."²⁴ Although the county remained primarily rural, by the turn of the century Anderson, the town, supplied the county with a supplemental urban base which was closely tied to the surrounding agricultural production.

According to one contemporary account, the development of "cheap and abundant electric power . . . had much to do with the establishment of these manufacturing enterprises . . . [since] many of them, large and small, [used] it instead of steam."²⁵ In fact, this is probably the key to Anderson County's advanced industrialization over the other three counties of the MRA. Between 1890 and 1920 the development of hydro-electric power in this area was pioneered by South Carolina financial interests which did not sell any generated power to Georgia.²⁶ Moreover, the completed power plants were all located in Anderson County or on its boundaries. In comparison to today's plants, they supplied relatively low amounts of horsepower and since the construction of long transmission lines was expensive, little of the energy found its way even to Abbeville County.

The Anderson Water, Light, and Power Company completed two projects before the turn of the century. In 1895 it built Rocky Creek Station only

six miles from the city, which supplied a modest 150 horsepower. The following year it completed the larger Portman Shoals development on the Seneca River which could produce 1600 horsepower. A second utility, the Savannah River Power Company, was organized in 1906 to build a plant at Gregg Shoals, eighteen miles south of the confluence of the Tugaloo and Seneca Rivers in the MRA. This facility produced 2666 horsepower and utilized two transmission lines over sixty-two miles, carrying energy to Anderson, Abbeville, and Greenwood, but the station's output was insufficient, and it was discontinued in 1940. The Savannah River Company had plans to develop two additional sites which might have increased the industrial capacity around Calhoun Falls, had they ever been completed: a Cherokee Shoals plant with a maximum output of 13,300 horsepower, and a Trotter's Shoals plant that would have produced 40,000 horsepower.

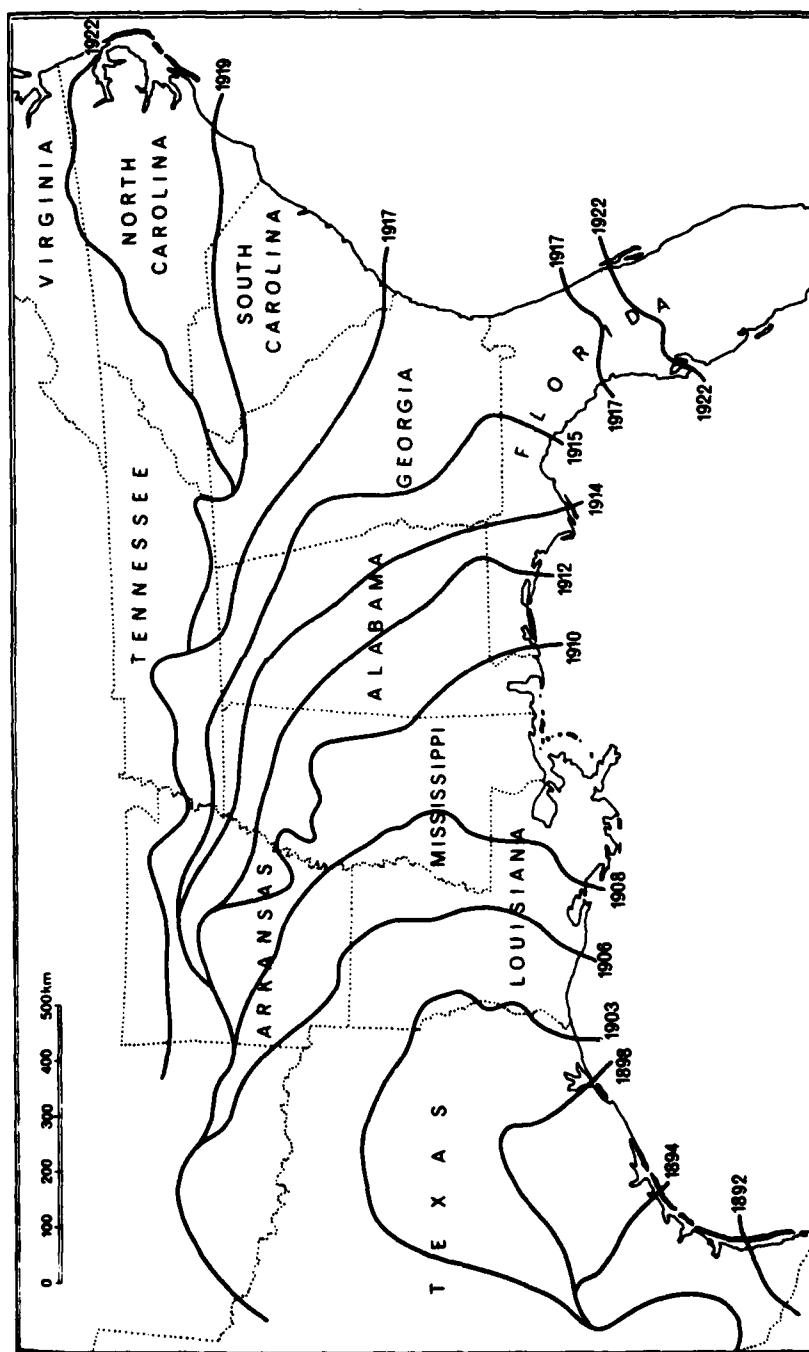
The industrial progress made by Anderson County between 1890 and 1920, though modest, nonetheless contributed to the creation of a diversified local economy with alternatives to total dependence upon cotton cultivation. During the following ten years when other communities in the project area experienced economic and demographic decline, Anderson County was well prepared for a decade of growth.

King Cotton's Decline, 1920-1930

Two factors combined during the early 1920s to bring an end to staple crop cotton production in the Russell MRA: the boll weevil and low cotton prices. In about 1919 the weevil finally arrived in this section of the southeast, and in the ensuing year the international price of cotton plummeted from a record high of thirty-five cents per pound to less than sixteen cents per pound.²⁷ Throughout the next decade a continuing surplus of cotton further depressed the market, resulting in even lower prices - barely nine and one-half cents per pound in 1930. The consequences were disastrous, especially for the small farmers and sharecroppers who were usually overextended and in debt. Weevil destruction meant smaller harvests, which translated into lower cash returns than anticipated because of the lowered cotton prices. As Edward Brownlee explained, for many unfortunate individuals the only course open was financial ruin or migration out of the area:

The boll weevils broke down the farming situation . . . When the boll weevil came, that's what run a lot of the people off the farm. That's when New York, Chicago, and all these places filled up. The people were being cheated enough [by the storeowners], and they knew they were being cheated. When the boll weevil came they couldn't make their quantities . . . and a lot of them got discouraged and they thought they'd go to some of these places where the "booms" had hit. They would go and for awhile . . . they makes lots of money. But when the boom got over they had to come back.²⁸

Figure 19:
Spread of the Boll Weevil in the South, 1892-1922



Those who either remained or returned learned to combat the boll weevil. Usually a commercially prepared powder was applied to the cotton, but Brownlee remembered other methods that were also used:

I was a child but I can remember it. I was nine years old. I can remember good. We poisoned the boll weevil . . . when they first started they used to make that molasses syrup that I was telling you about. They would get arsenic and put it in this molasses. They would take a stick and some old socks or old cloth and wrap it around to make a mop. And they would give these children these buckets of this liquid. The syrup made it sweet and the boll weevils like it. And we would go along with this mop, dip this mop in there and touch each top of the cotton. You would leave some in there and at night the boll weevils come up and eat this syrup and stuff and die. And it was really effective. My dad used to do it because he was the type that was determined that we survived . . . We mopped our cotton for years. We couldn't work as much as the other folks was working, but we made almost as much as them because we took so much care with what little we did have . . . We [also] had an old machine . . . we weren't big enough as children to carry it. It was made with these flaps and things and had these troughs . . . you take it on over to the row and you fill these things with kerosene . . . and you take it over the rows and these flaps [would] knock the boll weevils off and they would fall down into this kerosene that would kill them.²⁹

Another local black resident, Rufus Bullard, remembered the cotton decline in the Russell MRA. In 1921, his father left the forty-to-fifty acre farm he had been working and moved his family to Chicago where he found employment in a railroad shop. The older man didn't like life in the northern city, however, and decided in 1928 to return to Heardmont and try once more to support himself and his family. When the family returned, Bullard remembered, so many people had moved out the community was no longer the same:

Other people were moving out at the time we moved out and they ain't come back yet. It was a . . . "boom" right there in Florida, wasn't there? People went to Florida; I was in Illinois at the time. See, people just left the farms because there wasn't nothing to it. A lot of them was broke up from farming and a lot of them just quit, said I'm going to sell out and just quit . . . [When I returned] there was nobody here. They had all done and gone . . . There wasn't but a few people here and they was kind of like my daddy, they was meant to farm until they died.³⁰

The depressed agricultural economy affected white farmers as well as blacks, but the whites could often find other work in nearby textile

mills, which did not hire blacks. H. A. (Arnette) Carlisle, a white Lowndesville resident, remembered his search during the 1920s for another way of making a living:

I took for granted that I would leave. You see, we were raised on a small farm about a mile-and-a-half from the Savannah River. We could go outside of the house and see Georgia. You can't these days because it is so growed up in pine and timber.

We were out there on this farm and I went to a one-teacher school through the seventh grade and then they consolidated it into the Lowndesville High School; I got four years at the Lowndesville High School and finished. By that time it was 1927 and we was like these other people: we could just hardly get along. The boll weevil came in and destroyed cotton farming. That was before the Depression even . . . It just came natural that I thought I've got to find something else to do. And I was lucky enough to get an education. After I got out I taught school one year, also in Abbeville County, but that didn't satisfy me. Then I got into the Department of Agriculture, worked in various capacities here, then the county, then the state, and in Washington. It became apparent to me that there was just nothing here for us. My brother . . . had already gone from Lowndesville and went to work in a textile mill at Calhoun Falls. He worked at night, had a night job, and then during the day built up a small store building . . . right next to where his store is now. He would work at night, get off at the night shift, and go over there and work to put shelves and counters and so forth in this little building. He opened up a small grocery store there while he was still working in the mill. He saw it was going to succeed, I reckon, and gave up his job. Well now he had already gone. Not only the blacks - the Negroes - the whites were doing the same thing. [From] all of this area west of Lowndesville, out to what is now Ridge Church and Cherokee Ferry . . . the people all began to leave. They were gravitating toward the textile mills because that was the only industry in this area: Calhoun Falls, Abbeville, Ware Shoals.³¹

As residents moved out of the farming communities scattered throughout the Russell MRA, these rural enclaves declined, even disappeared. Alvin Hutchison suggested that "in spite of having the railroad," small towns like Lowndesville lost their population because of the "farming situation, which was not profitable then," in the 1920s.³² Blake Crocker made the same observation with metaphoric simplicity, saying that before 1920, if he had stood in the yard of the Ridge Church a few miles from Lowndesville and yelled out, "a dozen families . . . would have been within hollerin' distance if you had a good voice. Now it's nothing but a wilderness there. All the houses are gone."³³



Figure 20:
The Georgia-South Carolina Memorial Bridge Under Construction
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

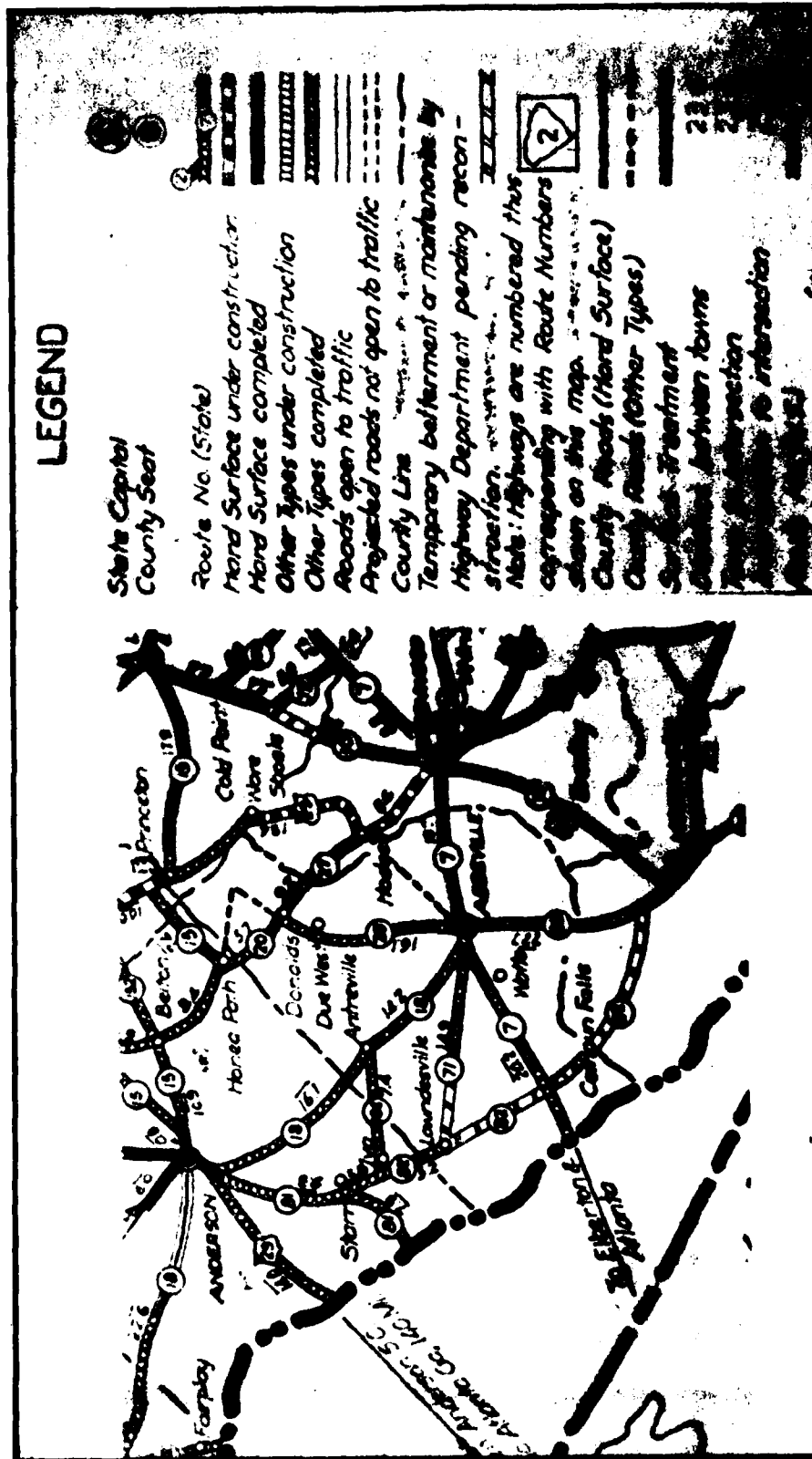
Outmigration from the MRA was accompanied by increased mobility inside it, but for different reasons. Improved state highways, surfaced in the 1920s with sand and clay, now allowed residents to get around with ease practically all year around. Yet, the very existence of these roads contributed to the decline of the local agricultural communities; the roads meant not only internal access to the area but egress from it. Before, muddy roads and wagon travel had meant relative immobility in the MRA, as one local citizen clearly described:

When we was raising a lot of cotton and things . . . and had no way to go off to bigger towns to spend money, we would spend it up there. Lowndesville was no different from most of [the towns] in the country everywhere; small towns would prosper back in those days when there wasn't . . . transportation like there is now. Everywhere you went you went by mule . . . or go in a buggy or a wagon. You didn't go very far. It was convenient if there was a small town close to you . . . And it was thick settled around those little towns. The country was growed up by now, but back in them days everything was in cultivation . . . You didn't see too much waste.³⁴

Then came the automobile; apparently, residents in the project area began purchasing cars in the early 1920s and used them to shop in larger towns farther away - Athens, Anderson, and, in some instances, Augusta. the volume of trade was reduced even more within the Russell MRA, and this in turn doubtless encouraged residents to move to other areas with greater economic activity.

In 1927, the completion of the Memorial bridge on Highway 72 may have signalled the final doom of the interior farming villages in the project area. For well over a century, trade moving across the Savannah had passed through these neighborhoods to reach one of the ferries, or had passed through with short stops on the rail line. Now, however, a road was built where none before had existed, forging a direct link between Elberton, Calhoun Falls, and Abbeville, which became the dominant route for east-west traffic, replacing all other east-west traffic lines in potential importance.

By the end of the decade changes had occurred, both within the MRA and in its surrounding territory, which were indicative of more dramatic changes to come. The decline of cotton farming and the industrialization of Anderson County resulted in an uneven base for future development. The depressed economy spelled the demise of small rural communities and the break-up of the vestigial plantations. Families moved away from the area as overdue taxes and bad debts forced the sale of many estates during the Depression. Others looked for work, anywhere they could find it. The only positive sign, according to a 1928 report of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, was the development of new markets for diversified agricultural products: highway improvements and the new bridge over the



Map 17: Local Roads, Russell MRA, Abbeville and Anderson Counties, 1939

Savannah had created a demand for local truck farming. A "curb market in Elberton" was now able to absorb "surplus garden and fruit crops" from the surrounding territory. More significantly for the future, "following the decline in the price of cotton, increased interest was aroused in beef and dairy products."³⁵ During the late 1920s and more so in the 1930s, the federal government supplied county agents who assisted in the agricultural transitions. Farmers who remained in the area began experimenting with new crops and techniques which finally ended their dependence on cotton. But as the following chapter reveals, agricultural diversification did not lead to a resurgence in the population or in the number of farms. While new crops and alternate markets certainly improved the quality of life for persons residing in and around the Russell MRA, they could do little to bring back those who had left.

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FOOTNOTES

¹Conrad Cheatham, "Railroads in Abbeville County," in Abbeville County Family History, edited by J. Greg Carroll (J. Greg Carroll, 1979), p. 12.

²Interview with Rufus Bullard, April 13, 1980.

³Interview with H. A. (Arnette) Carlisle, April 14, 1980.

⁴Olin D. Johnston, et al., Anderson County: Economic and Social, Report by the Department of Rural Social Science of the University of South Carolina, July 15, 1923, pp. 29-30.

⁵Ibid., p. 30.

⁶Interview with Harold Carlisle, April 12, 1980.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Kenneth Weiher, "The Cotton Industry and Southern Urbanization, 1880 - 1930," Explorations In Economic History, XIV (April 1977), p. 131.

⁹Interview with Alvin Hutchison, March 20, 1980.

¹⁰Weiher, "The Cotton Industry," p. 132.

¹¹Interview with Edward Brownlee, March 1, 1980.

¹²Weiher, "The Cotton Industry," pp. 129-140.

¹³Harold D. Woodman, King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crops in the South, 1800 - 1925 (Lexington, KY: University Press, 1968), p. 329.

¹⁴Interview with Edward Brownlee, March 1, 1980.

¹⁵Interview with Catherine Hutchison, March 19, 1980.

¹⁶Interview with Alvin Hutchison, March 20, 1980.

¹⁷Interview with Blake Crocker, March 21, 1980.

¹⁸Georgia: Historical and Industrial (Atlanta, GA.: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1901), p. 646.

¹⁹HAER, "Pearle Cotton Mill & Dam," draft report by historian John. P. Johnson, 1980.

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Decline

²⁰Elberton Granite Association, Elberton, Georgia, "Granite Industry Booms in Elberton," n.d., mimeographed.

²¹Declaration and Petition for Charter, December 18, 1902, on file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

²²Robert Mahon, "Burlington Industries--Calhoun Plant," in Abbeville County Family History, edited, by J. Greg Carroll (J. Greg Carroll, 1979), pp. 74-75.

²³C. W. Norryce, ed., A General Sketch of the City of Anderson (Anderson, SC.: Roper Printing Co., 1909), unpaginated.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶August Kohn, The Water Powers of South Carolina (Charleston, SC.: Walker, Evans, Cogswell Co., 1911), p. 63.

²⁷The Statistical History of the United States From Colonial Times to the Present (Stamford, CT: Fairfield Publishers, Inc., 1947), p. 301.

²⁸Interview with Edward Brownlee, June 13, 1980.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Interview with Rufus Bullard, April 13, 1980.

³¹Interview with H. A. Carlisle, April 14, 1980.

³²Interview with Alvin Hutchison, March 20, 1980.

³³Interview with Blake Crocker, March 21, 1980.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵G. L. Fuller and B. H. Hendrickson, Soil Survey of Elbert County, Georgia, Report by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Series 1928, Number 15, p. 6.



Figure 21:
Catherine and Bandon Hutchison Before Their Century-old Family Home
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

SECTION 6: THE CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE AND ITS INHABITANTS, 1930-1980

Following the 1930s, the landscape within the Russell MRA changed significantly due to the consolidation of small farms into larger land units, the successful cultivation of grains, the raising of poultry and cattle for market, and the increased importance of local industries. A visitor driving through this area today does not witness the same scene that greeted the traveler of forty years ago or more. Almost entirely gone from the scene are the ubiquitous cotton fields with their low, horizontal, bush-like rows of plants, and a decline in total farmland has allowed ground vegetation to cover formerly exposed portions of the countryside, masking the many eroded gullies which at one time scarred the rolling terrain. In one sense the land has been recovered, since, with the return of grain fields, forests, and cattle, the countryside - superficially, at least - now comes closer to resembling its appearance in the late eighteenth century than at any point in the intervening years.

But if in one sense the land has recovered, it also exhibits alterations which signify a new era. Since 1950, for instance, Elbert County's granite industry has grown steadily, a progression readily apparent in the open quarries and the many processing plants in Elberton where the stone is cut and shaped into monuments and other objects. Throughout the four counties the general growth of industry since the late 1940s has signaled a radical departure from economic dependence on agriculture. The landscape that is emerging, however, is not distinctively "urban," since the total project area does not possess any considerable, concentrated population density. Nevertheless, new development has been occurring, most noticeably along the commercial strips located near Anderson, Abbeville, and Elberton.

These changes in the landscape indicate equally important transformations that are taking place in the lives of the area's residents. The acquisition of large landholdings and the decline in cotton production has brought a slow demise to the system of tenant labor, resulting in the displacement of non-landowning farmers. Furthermore, farm mechanization has reduced the need for fieldhands, making it necessary for

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tenants and their children to find jobs elsewhere. Their search for employment, which frequently has required that they move closer to major cities, is a major reason for the depopulation of the Russell MRA during recent times. Those residents who have not found it necessary to migrate have usually taken jobs in the textile plants or in other manufacturing and commercial establishments nearby.

Changes have been occurring in the local economy, in the daily existence of the area's inhabitants, and in the landscape which reflect important regional economic and social forces at work. The present chapter relies upon statistics from a variety of sources to demonstrate the significance of these changes in both farm economy and industrial production in the four counties of the Russell MRA. In addition, oral testimony from MRA residents is utilized in order to suggest the meaning of these alterations as they are perceived by the local citizens.

Alterations in the Farm Economy

A comparison of agricultural census data collected in 1930 and 1974 reveals that during the intervening forty-four years the four counties containing the Russell MRA experienced dramatic declines in both the number of farms and total farmland, while the average farm size, measured in acres, increased equally dramatically. (Refer to Tables 16-25 in the Appendices.) In almost every instance the county percentages exceeded the rates that were reported at the state level for both South Carolina and Georgia. Abbeville and Anderson Counties, for instance, lost at least eighty-five percent of their farms, four percentage points above those recorded lost for South Carolina as a whole. They also exceeded the rate at which South Carolina lost total farmland, declining at rates of forty-seven and fifty-three percent respectively, as compared to a statewide reduction of only forty percent. At the same time both counties greatly increased their average farm size, but only Abbeville registered an increase greater than that for the entire state.

Elbert and Hart Counties nearly replicated the same pattern. Between 1930 and 1974, Elbert County exceeded the statewide decline in total number of farms by nearly five percent. Hart County lost seventy-seven percent of its farms, barely one percentage point below the state rate of seventy-eight percent. Both counties lost a greater proportion of their total farmland than the average for the state, but unlike their neighboring counties in South Carolina, they increased their average farm size at a lower rate than the rate reported for the state. It is worth noting that in 1974, both Elbert and Hart contained farms computed to be smaller than the average acreage for Abbeville and Anderson Counties. Several explanations could account for the difference: a slower development pattern for the Georgia counties, a higher percentage of traditional landholding on the west side of the Savannah River that retarded the recombination of individual tracts into larger units, or the fact that agri-business had been more successful in South Carolina. The figures

here basically reveal a common trend, the same pattern, according to the United States Department of Agriculture, which was reflected throughout the Southeast, and attributed to increasing mechanization and specialization in agriculture, which development required cultivating larger tracts of land to achieve maximum efficiency.¹ The changes occurring in the four counties containing the Russell MRA were essentially a regional development, not just a local one.

The decline in the numbers of farms and concomitant increase in average farm size resulted in a redistribution of the acreage reported for agricultural use. In 1930 the vast majority of farms being operated in both states and in all four MRA counties were comprised of small acreage: three-fourths of them (or more) held fewer than one hundred acres each. By 1974, by comparison, the majority of farms had increased their acreage and now held 10 to 179 acres each. It is also important to note that in 1930 only Abbeville County registered any farms over a thousand acres in size; while in 1974 all four counties showed a measurable percentage in farms of this magnitude. The shift to larger farms in the MRA is significant enough, but the drastic reduction in the total numbers of operative farms over the same period (e.g., from 3403 in Abbeville County in 1930 to only 503 in 1974) also increased the local importance of those few very large estates. The meaning of this changing pattern for the population of the Russell MRA can be read in the decrease in overall farm tenure during the same period. All four counties exhibited a decline in the number of owners of agricultural land between 1930 and 1974, but a more significant alteration rested with the dramatic reduction in the number of tenant farmers. This appears to have been most drastic in Anderson County which had 6195 tenants in 1930 but only 80 in 1974. It is this development which characterized the major change in human terms that has occurred during the recent history of the area.

Occurring simultaneously with the nearly total disappearance of tenant farming has been the depopulation of the Russell MRA, as laborers have been forced to move away from the area to seek non-agricultural employment. As with the trend toward "fewer but larger farms", the "exodus of southerners from the farms to the cities and factories" was happening regionally as well as locally.² Historian Charles P. Roland, for example, has noted that in the twenty-four years between 1945 and 1969 "more than a million families were displaced" from rural areas and that by the latter date there "were only 91,693 white tenant farmers and 16,863 black tenant farmers left in the [South], or approximately twelve percent of the entire body of farmers."³ These figures should not be interpreted to mean that agriculture itself was declining, for the actual value of goods produced by the region between 1940 and 1969 rose five hundred thirty-four percent! Local increases in the value of farm products during the same period were six hundred twenty-seven percent for Georgia and two hundred sixty-six percent for South Carolina.⁴ The gains made in southern agriculture during the last forty years have been attributed to the introduction of labor-saving machinery and to crop diversification, yet these advances have also occurred at the cost of a vast reduction in the

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total farm work force, which has led to a high rate of unemployment in rural areas. Between 1950 and 1978 the number of agricultural jobs in the South declined by "more than fifty percent."⁵

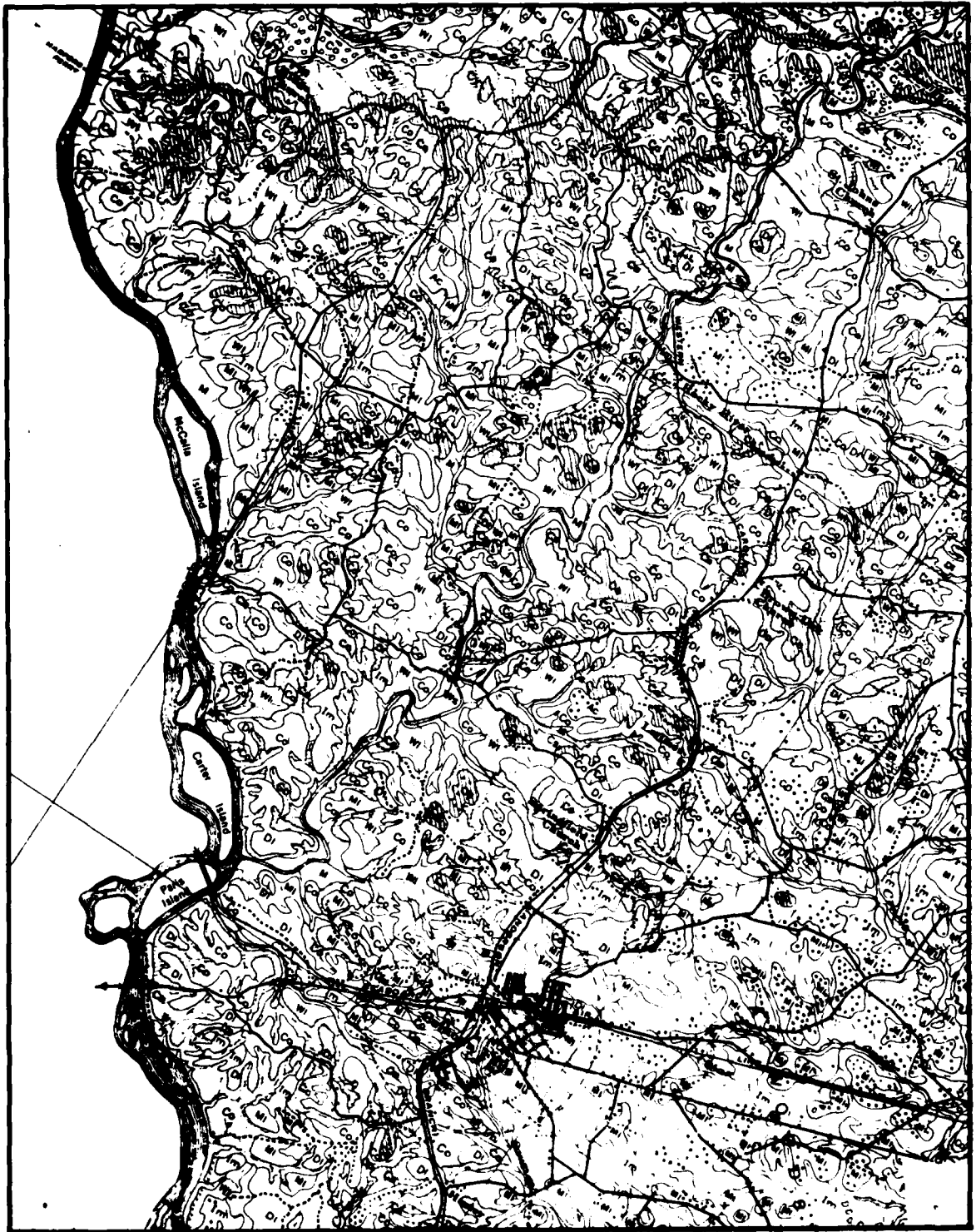
While non-property-owning whites have also suffered displacement, black tenant farmers have experienced the highest rates of removal. Traditionally they cultivated tracts of land which could not be mechanized efficiently, and when separate parcels under the control of a single owner were recombined into larger units, the majority of the tenants were released, their labor traded off for large pieces of farm equipment.⁶ A recently published study of black employment in the South reveals that in 1920 there was a "peak" of 908,351 Negro farmers in the region. By 1940, this number had fallen to 666,000, and by 1950 it had dropped even further, to 500,000. In 1964, only 184,000 blacks remained active in southern agriculture.⁷

An examination of the 1974 agricultural census data for the four MRA counties reveals the presence of a very small percentage of black farmers and an almost imperceptible incidence of black tenancy. By far the most revealing aspect of this information relates to the extremely low tenantry figures, demonstrating that black farming, as minimal as it is when compared to white farming, has been sustained almost entirely as the domain of the few black farmers who have managed either to own or share ownership of the land.

Interviews with residents revealed that the continuation after World War I of federal agricultural policies limiting cotton production had an adverse effect upon small-scale, local agriculture. Rufus Bullard remembered the changes he noticed after returning from active duty in the Pacific in 1945:

I tell you, and this comes down to the facts: farming had sort of played out, was on its way out . . . in the 1940s. It was on its way out. You know, people were quitting like they doing, and there wasn't too much farming. It was going to grass and cattle and stuff . . . Yeah, farming was on the downswing. And it ain't picked up. It's just continued going out. We've had a lot of people quit since the war, you know, in Eisenhower days. You see, I'll tell you what really happened: Mr. Eisenhower paid the landowners so much money to get out of production - cotton and such stuff - that the tenant farmer didn't have anything to go on . . . We had a lot of people who hung around in their houses [on tenant farms] for a long time. But, you know, they finally had to get out and find something.⁸

Another local farmer, Marshall Thomas, a resident of Calhoun Falls, was able to retain his family farm until the early 1960s when he finally quit in order to take a job in a local factory. According to his recollection, many of his neighbors were making the transition from



Map 18: Soils and Faunal Sites, Russell MRA, Abbeville County

agriculture to industrial employment at the same time:

Why they quit farming? Well for most of the people times were getting better back in, I say, the 1960s. People went to getting better jobs. They built the Rocky River mill and a lot of people went to work up there. And that's what slowed farming down. Then in 1963, they started hiring blacks over here in this Burlington Mill where I work. There weren't any blacks there before. I know cause I was one of the first blacks that they hired to go up in the mill . . . I've been working up there for seventeen years, since 1963 . . . My father and them quit farming by 1964, I believe. You see they bought them a house over on Anderson Street [in Calhoun Falls] . . . My brothers and sisters, they broke up farming, they just quit farming after I left. My brothers, they went working . . . I've got one brother who lays bricks.⁹

The recent history of agriculture in the Russell MRA can be summarized in the two major developments discussed here: the increase in average farm size and the decline in the tenant labor system, both of which required area residents to seek jobs in local industry or to emigrate.

Redirection of the Local Economy

Without post-World War II industrial growth, the Russell MRA would almost certainly have experienced an even greater rate of depopulation than it has to date. The percentage of the total work force employed in manufacturing throughout the four counties, however, has increased sharply since the late 1940s. Most significant are the increases for Abbeville and Hart Counties, with Abbeville rising from twenty percent to nearly sixty percent in thirty years, and Hart County rising from less than ten percent to almost fifty percent. These percentages are even more impressive when compared to state and national figures, which in no way match the rates in the four counties, although the higher amount of manufacturing employment in the area may be due to the lack of white collar and service positions there, which jobs predominate in other parts of the region and the country as a whole.

An examination of employment figures for the four counties in the late 1970s reveal that Anderson was by far the most industrialized county, with a total labor force more than twice the size of the other three counties combined. Its industrial dominance can be attributed to its early development of power plants, the increase in textile milling there in the early twentieth century, and, more recently, the diversification of textile and other manufacturing industries, which has created an even more solid economic base. Alvin Hutchison, a resident of Starr, remembered that

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Anderson County . . . was a little better off [during the Depression], having more industry, mostly textiles. Mostly textiles then, but the textiles are playing out now, we're getting a lot of other kind now: synthetics . . . Corning makes fiberglass yarn and different types of fiberglass products. Textiles are sort of in the back seat.¹⁰

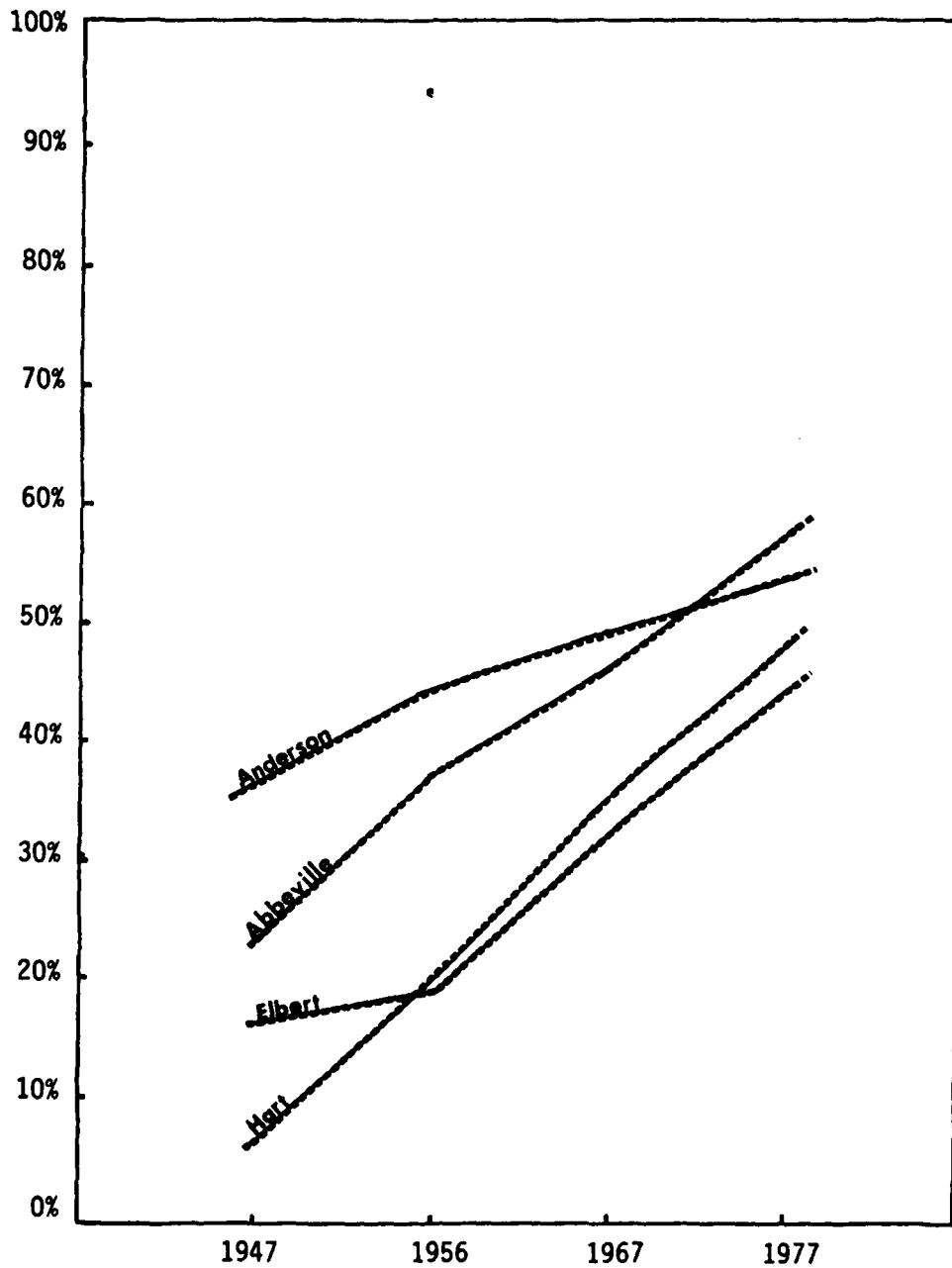
Industrial growth in the other MRA counties deserves some comment, especially in Elbert, which has developed a strong employment base in its granite industry. Granite quarrying and processing had their origins in the nineteenth century, but the boom in its production is a more recent phenomenon. Reliable figures are not available until approximately 1955, when the United States Bureau of Mines began including county statistics in its annual Minerals Yearbook, but production figures for 1955, 1965, and 1975 show extensive growth. In 1955, ten local companies produced 38,439 short tons of dimension stone with a value of \$1,401,114. Ten years later, thirteen firms operating sixteen quarries processed 63,612 tons of stone valued at \$1,869,080. Local quarrying did not increase between 1965 and 1975, but processing - including stone shipped in from elsewhere - meant the industry rose to a \$3,662,000 value.¹¹

The importance of this industry to Elbert County far exceeds the amount of stone quarried locally, in that the long term presence of granite quarrying has been conducive to the creation of many subsidiary enterprises. In 1977 the Elberton Granite Association estimated that a total of 125 companies were involved in granite-related work: processing rough stone, providing polishing, sawing, and finishing; operating supply houses, and transporting goods.¹² Moreover, about forty percent of the non-farm population in the area, some 1800 persons, earned their principal income from this source. One local inhabitant, Carroll Mary Hudson, expressed the sentiments of many when she stated that the granite industry was "really what made Elberton":

By 1920, they had three or four rock sheds in Elberton . . . The first little place where they cut granite was up on the side of the railroad, up just above the Seaboard Rail Line . . . A little place in there where they could cut stone and they would stay outside because they were afraid of the dust, you know. They wouldn't go in the shed, they would cut it in the outside out there . . . They didn't wear a mask or nothing, no way to protect themselves . . . That's really what made Elberton; we didn't have anything here. There wasn't too much cotton, since we would have bad crops some years and that put it back. Good business in general we didn't have until the granite business come here. The granite industry is just what makes this county.¹³

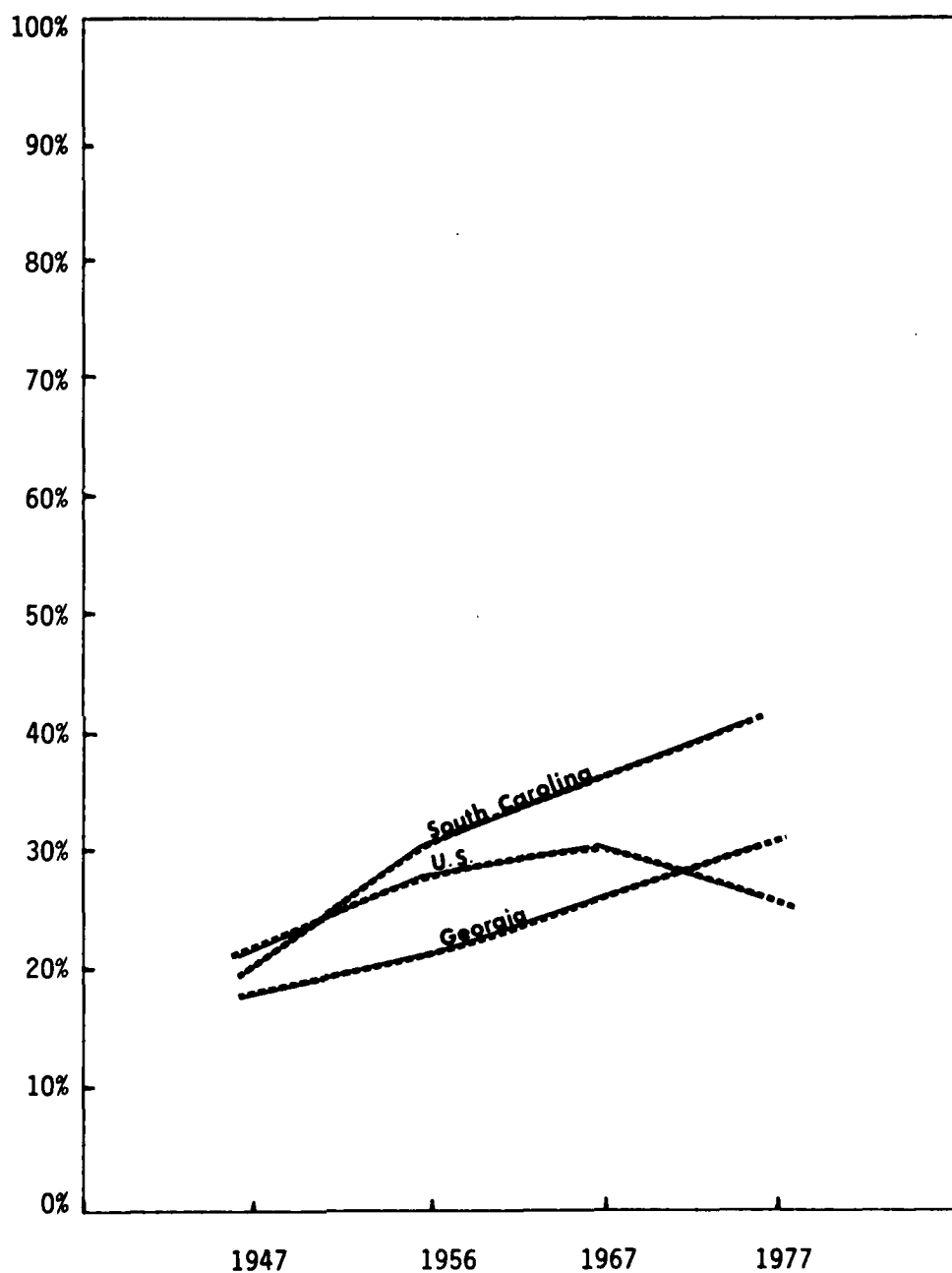
In other ways the local economy has been directed away from a dependence on cotton and tenant farming, most notably by the introduction of other agricultural crops and products - grains, livestock, and

Figure 22: Percentage of Total Work Force Employed
in Manufacturing by Counties, 1947-1977



Sources: County and City Data Books (Washington, D.C.:
U.S. Government Printing Office) for 1947,
1956, 1967, and 1977

Figure 23: Percentage of Total Work Force Employed in Manufacturing in Georgia, South Carolina, and the U.S., 1947-1977



Sources: County and City Data Books (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office) for 1947, 1956, 1967, and 1977

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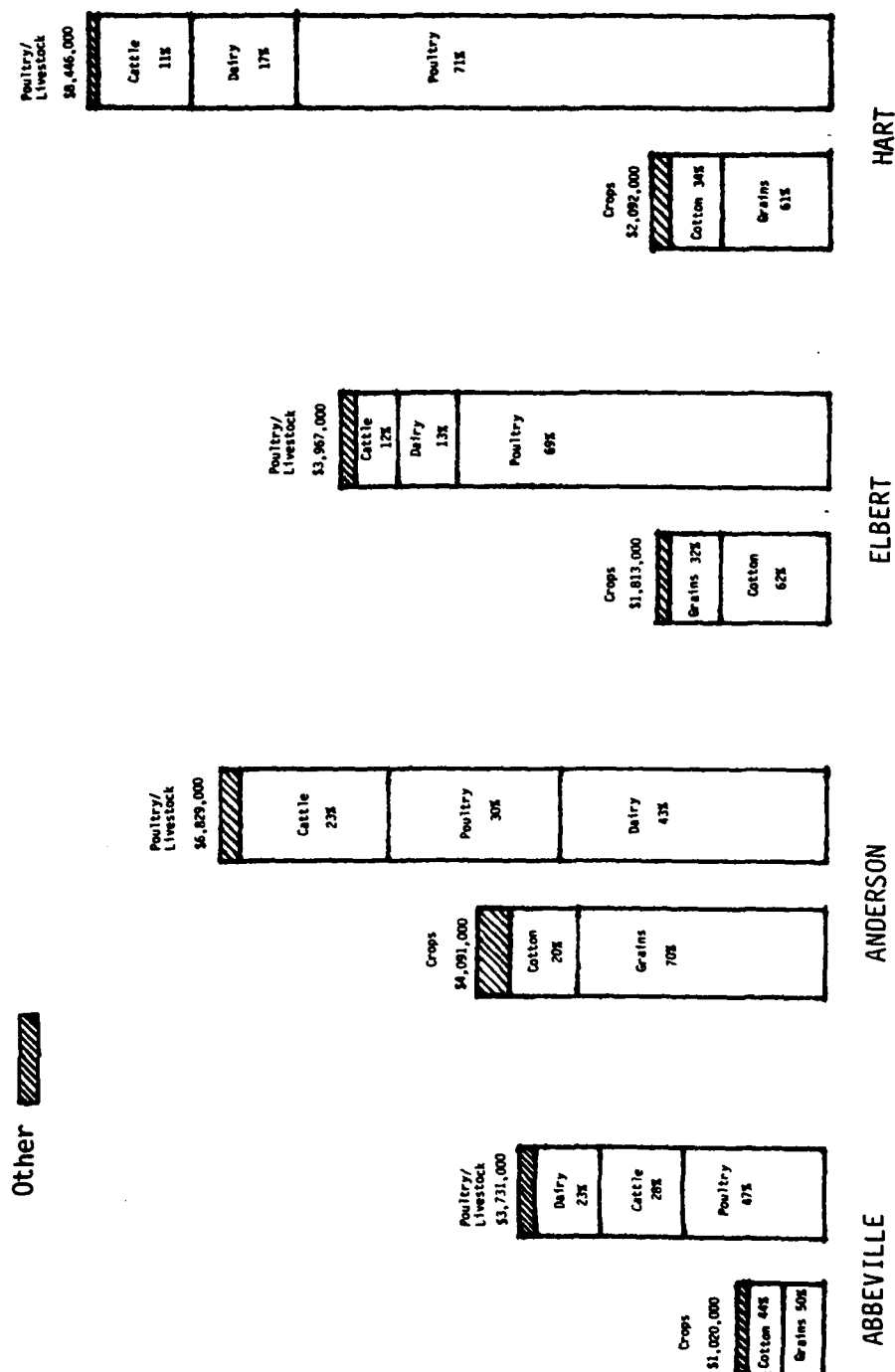
poultry. Agricultural census information for 1974, for example, reveals the extent to which a complete turn-around has occurred. In all four counties livestock and poultry products exceeded the value of all crops. Moreover, only in Elbert County was cotton produced in quantities large enough to constitute a dominant income source; in the other three counties, the cultivation of grains had assumed much greater economic importance than cotton.

Edward Brownlee recalled that "when that chicken boom came up, people were making pockets full of money. Chickens were not so high, but the climate was good, and you could raise them."¹⁴ Poultry dealers from as far away as Gainesville and Athens would truck in young chicks and feed to residents in the Russell MRA who raised the animals for slaughter. According to Brownlee, however, once it became obvious that this business was becoming highly lucrative for local black farmers, arrangements that had been worked out for them were terminated:

They put out the chickens and the feed and you fed them and then they picked them up and you got a certain portion. You see, it looked like it was hard work at first to the dealers because they hadn't been doing it. But if you're used to it, what does it mean to get up at 5:00 in the morning? We got up at 5:00 in the morning and would feed them all right, feed those chickens and the trucks would pick them up and what you was getting was clear money. But they began to see that. And they cut out coming out so far from Athens to pick them out; you see, nobody would pick them up. Then they would charge you extra for bringing the feed out. See, that was a good way [for the dealers] to get you off their line, really, because you was doing too well. And now you ain't got a chicken house below Elberton.

Although many small scale black operators were forced out of the business by large scale (white) poultry dealers, the county's overall production of chickens for slaughter increased. In 1974, poultry farming accounted for a larger percentage of the economic market than did all other forms of agriculture.

Another recent development in the Russell MRA was the introduction of pine tree cultivation in the 1950s, which has become another significant source of revenue. Pulpwood companies purchased former plantation lands, planted timber, and harvested it for paper and other cellulose products. Between 1962 and 1976, pine tree cultivation, measured in cords, nearly doubled in Abbeville, Anderson, and Elbert Counties, the largest supplier being Abbeville, with 72,915 cords in 1976. Hart County also increased its production - a hundredfold - but its total harvested amount is insignificant compared to the other three counties.

Figure 24: Value of Agricultural Products Sold,
the Four MRA Counties, 1974

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According to Arnette Carlisle, the paper firms moving into the area were careful not to attract too much public attention to their intentions:

I suspect it was the 1950s and 1960s before [pine tree farming] became very prevalent. As a tract of land became available through the death of an owner or a bankruptcy or for different reasons, these timber companies bought it up. It was a kind of behind the scenes thing for a long time, people didn't really know what was happening. Usually they would have an agent who would buy [the land]. There was really nothing wrong with it . . . And then again, there were some people who sold because they got a good price.¹⁵

One of the largest firms in the vicinity is the Mead Paper Company, which - by Carlisle's reckoning - "owns several thousand, maybe as many as fifty thousand acres in Abbeville, Elbert, and McCormick Counties;

Mead bought two or three adjoining tracts [to the McCalla property, which it also owned] and went all the way down to Swearingen's Mill, just about to where the Seaboard Railroad is at Calhoun Falls. All the way from Anderson County, all the way down the river until they joined up with the Millwood tract which Duke Power owned. Mead just picked up there where Duke left off on the north end and came on way up the river.

Apparently, at one time the firm "had plans . . . to put a paper mill right here on the Savannah River," but once the original Trotters Shoals Dam project was announced by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers in 1966 (now the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake), Mead sold to the federal government a "tremendous block of land" comprising "all of this McCalla land [which] . . . is supposed to end up as a . . . park."

Completion of the reservoir in the 1980s will certainly constitute the most recent radical alteration in land use to affect the Russell MRA. The lake itself will cover 26,650 acres of forest and crop land. Total acreage claimed by the project will exceed 52,000 acres, but 7,000 acres will be developed for recreation and public access while the remaining land, termed freeboard, will be left undeveloped as protection from wave action, erosion, or other possible adverse physical effects.

It is too early to determine the precise significance of the waterpower development for the area's economy. One possible result might be an increase in tourist revenue from the new recreational facilities to be built. Another consequence, the lowering of local power rates, could lead to an increase in industry. Should either of these occur, the significance of the completed Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake could then be viewed within the context of the overall redirection of the area's economy which has been underway since the 1940s.

The most noticeable effect of these changes in the MRA, as mentioned before, is the altered landscape. Reforestation and the decline in cotton production have created a dramatic visual contrast between the present and the past, in which more subtle transformations can also be detected. Signs of earlier modes of farming, fields, barns and dwelling places, are now covered over with ground vegetation that hides from the eye of the inexperienced visitor many tell-tale clues to the area's history:

Of course, now that people have moved off and left [the land] alone, pines and cedars have about covered over those rain gullies, healing them over again. And you've got Kudzu and stuff like that to cover those gullies pretty good too. The man over on the Harper place, that lawyer from Greenwood, he introduced Kudzu, which is something that will heal the gullies if you can keep it in there. But it has a way of getting to other places too.¹⁶

Even long-time residents of the area are occasionally fooled by the changed landscape, as a story told by Blake Crocker, looking for his old farm, illustrates:

Back in those days everywhere you looked there was cotton . . . and corn, although you didn't see as much of that as you did cotton. It was all over, but it's done grown up now, the whole thing. I went down there where I . . . farmed . . . I lived in this one place and rented this one-mule farm . . . There was an old gin-house there and I made a barn, a big barn. And I went in there, it wasn't too long ago, just looking around, you know, like you could go back to it. And I couldn't locate the place exactly where the house stood; it done grewed up with such trees and things that it just didn't look like the same country. There was wilderness on each side and I couldn't tell exactly . . . well, you could tell in the general neighborhood where it was at, but to spot the place where that house and gin and things stood I couldn't get the exact place. Of course, I didn't stop, I was just riding down the road looking and trying to figure it out. And I never did figure out exactly where the old place was at.¹⁷

Within a few years, many of Crocker's neighbors, old and young alike, will share his sense of wonder as they attempt to reconcile their memories of past events and places with an even more dramatically changed landscape. Once completed, the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake will cover a great amount of area with a vast pool of water, altering for ages to come the look, scale, and very presence of the area as it stands today.

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FOOTNOTES

¹W. C. McArthur, "The South," in Another Revolution in U.S. Farming?, edited by Lyle P. Schertz (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1979), pp. 303, 307-309.

²Charles P. Roland, The Improbable Era: The South Since World War II (Lexington, KY: University Press, 1975), p. 23.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 24.

⁵McArthur, "The South," p. 307.

⁶Ray Marshall and Virgil L. Christian, eds., Employment of Blacks in the South: A Perspective on the 1960s (Austin, TX: University Press, 1978), pp. 10, 41.

⁷Ibid., p. 39.

⁸Taped interview with Rufus Bullard, April 13, 1980.

⁹Taped interview with Marshall Thomas, April 12, 1980.

¹⁰Taped interview with Alvin Hutchison, March 20, 1980.

¹¹Minerals Yearbook, 1955, Vol. III: Area Reports (Washington, DC: U.S. G.P.O., 1967), pp. 249, 254; Minerals Yearbook, 1975, Vol. II: Area Reports: Domestic (Washington, DC: U.S. G.P.O., 1978), p. 219.

¹²Elberton Granite Association, "Granite Industry Booms in Elberton," Elberton, Georgia (mimeographed, n.d.), pp. 1-2.

¹³Taped interview with Carroll Mary Hudson, April 15, 1980.

¹⁴Taped interview with Edward Brownlee, March 19, 1980.

¹⁵Taped interview with H. A. (Annette) Carlisle, April 14, 1980.

¹⁶Taped interview with Alvin Hutchison, March 20, 1980.

¹⁷Taped interview with Blake Crocker, March 21, 1980.

PART IV: LOCAL CULTURE AND LANDMARKS

SECTION 1: FORT INDEPENDENCE

As part of its historical investigations, The History Group conducted site-specific research on an early historic site situated on a terrace above the Rocky River, believed to have been an active fort during the Revolutionary War. Some sources suggest this could have been Fort Independence; others suggest a Fort Royal was in the same general location. It is the contention of The History Group, after archival investigation, that two fortifications existed on or near the same site during the close of the colonial period and the beginning of the Revolution. The first of these was Fort Royal, possibly located on the Savannah River some eighteen miles north of Fort Charlotte. (Fort Charlotte was located on the South Carolina side of the confluence of the Savannah River and the [Georgia] Broad River). A second fortification, Fort Independence, was erected on the Rocky River, close to the juncture with Thompson's Creek, soon after the start of hostilities between the American colonies and Great Britain in 1775. The History Group further contends that the site referred to here (38AB218) may have been Fort Independence, but it is unlikely to have been Fort Royal. The evidence identifying these forts is scanty and bears close reading and interpretation; proof either way has not yet been found.

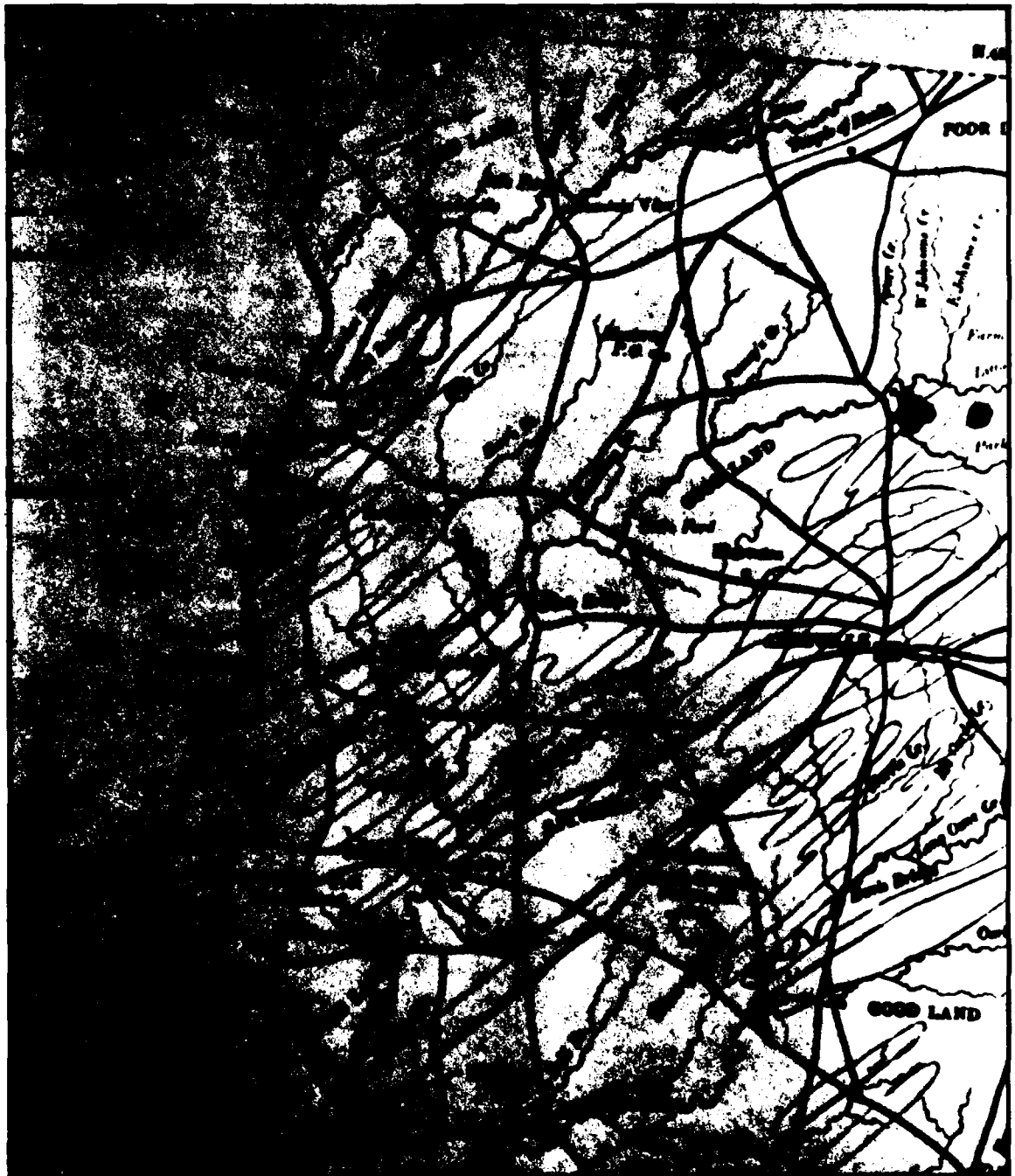
Three research objectives were defined to attempt to resolve the confusion: 1) to determine the location of both Fort Royal and Fort Independence; 2) to determine the date or dates of construction for both; and 3) to determine the construction techniques and design for one or both forts. Research sources consulted included the following: standard state and local histories; the subject and location indexes to the Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina; related material on the construction of Fort Charlotte, built in 1765-67; the computer indexes at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History for General Assembly Petitions and Land Conveyances; maps drawn during the 1770s; and histories of settlers living in this region during the Revolutionary War, notably the Pickens Family. These sources, including maps of South Carolina for 1771, 1775, and 1779 - none of which showed either fort - revealed very little primary information. In order to

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understand how The History Group reached its conclusions, it is necessary to review the evidence that was collected and the logic employed to interpret it.

The earliest (and only) located reference to Fort Royal is in a resolution issued by the Provincial Congress of South Carolina on March 26, 1776.¹ The legislative body felt concerned about the possibility of hostilities between the white settlers in the upcountry and the Cherokee Indians and desired more information concerning fortifications. Specifically, the Congress wanted to know more about "Fort Royal, [located] about eighteen miles above Fort Charlotte on Savannah-river, on the frontiers of this colony," believing that it was "Advantageously situated for the security of the inhabitants in case of an Indian war either with the Creeks or Cherokees." The Congress appointed a delegation to inspect the fort and to return with a report concerning the "state thereof, the expense of building it, and damage done to the owner of the land." Unfortunately, no record of the commissioned report could be found, but the resolution quoted above gives some crucial clues to Fort Royal: it seems to be referring to a structure which already existed and which was located on the Savannah River "eighteen miles above Fort Charlotte" (or about nine miles north of the confluence of the Savannah and the Rocky Rivers).² It would seem unlikely that the Congress would have confused the Savannah and the Rocky Rivers, especially since both bodies of water are mentioned by name elsewhere in the same document, and more especially, since the Congress's interest was in military defense - a matter requiring some geographic exactitude and logistical accuracy. However, the reference is ambiguous: the phrase "on Savannah-river" may be describing the location of Fort Charlotte and not Fort Royal at all.

The most reliable evidence for the location and construction of Fort Independence consists of a South Carolina General Assembly Petition dated March 7, 1786, and a plat of property, surveyed in 1783, upon which the stockade was erected.³ The Petition was issued on behalf of Colonel Anderson, commander of Fort Independence during the Revolutionary War, who also apparently owned the property it was built on. The Petition states that South Carolina was "indebted to Col. Anderson for a tract of land purchased of him in February or March, 1777 for two thousand one hundred pounds old currency, on which land Fort Independence was erected," and for which Anderson had not yet received the stipulated payment. The Petition implies that Fort Independence was erected in 1777, one year after the Provincial Congress proposed to investigate Fort Royal, but, again, the date given is inconclusive since it refers here to the purchase of the property, not to the construction of the fort per se. The 1783 plat of the property gives no date of construction, but describes a tract of land "late known by the name of Fort Independence," and clearly places it on the Rocky River, not on the Savannah River. This would differentiate it from the location attributed to Fort Royal, and according to this document this could be the historical site identified in the Russell MRA.



Map 19: Savannah River Valley North of Fort Charlotte, Showing Fort Independence

Fort Independence

Dating the fort exactly, however, is problematic. Here, Revolutionary War pension applications offer readily available but conflicting evidence. Andrew Pickens, filing in 1832, reports being wounded in an expedition against the Cherokees in the summer of 1776 and of being "carried to Fort Independence on a litter between two horses, where he lay under the Doctor's care for ten months."⁴ This clearly suggests the fort was in operation in 1776. A second petition, this one from William Pickens, dates the erection of the fort in 1777. He states that in the year following the battle at Ninety-Six: "the Indians committed depredations and this applicant together with many families were compelled to erect a fort for their safety and defence called Fort Independence."⁵ His sequence of events is probably correct, but his dating is wrong: he puts the Battle at Ninety-Six in 1776, when it actually occurred in 1775. If his dates are adjusted for this error, we again get 1776 as the year of construction for Fort Independence. A third conflicting date is given by William Gabriel Pickens (not to be confused with William Pickens above), who declared that the fort was constructed as one of a series of forts during the summer before he entered service against the Indians with Capt. Anderson.⁶ In one section of his petition he gives his date of entry as October 1775, and in another section he gives it as October 1776. From the rest of the context, October 1776 would seem to be the correct date, again offering fragile confirmation of 1776 for the date of construction of Fort Independence.

These depositions were made fifty-seven to fifty-eight years after the Revolutionary War events themselves took place to which they refer, a time when Andrew Pickens was twenty-two, William Pickens was twenty-six, and William Gabriel was probably only fifteen. Their memories undoubtedly failed on exact dates after nearly sixty-year lapse, but there is much contextual confirmation in their reports that Fort Independence was built in 1776, probably during the summer, when, to quote William Gabriel Pickens:

About the 2nd of July preceeding my entering the service, the inhabitants along the frontiers and back settlements of Georgia and the Carolinas, had generally fortified up, in consequence of the Cherokee Indians, who were extremely troublesome at this time; having been instigated by the British. To protect themselves from Indian warfare, and to defend the country as much as possible, the frontier inhabitants had constructed a line of forts along the Savannah River and had mustered themselves into companies, stationed principally at these forts.⁷

The military situation he describes is critical to conceptualizing the creation of Fort Independence, and, as a matter of fact, the establishment of both Fort Royal and Fort Independence should be viewed against the political context of the times. Within this political context the names of the two forts assume a symbolic importance. During 1775 internal upcountry fighting - civil war, really - between resident Whigs

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and Tories was especially bitter. A long series of attacks and retaliations occurred - such was the nature of the battle of Ninety-Six - which ended, or eased, in a fragile truce in November of that year. The truce was not fully honored until early in 1776. A fort, it might be hypothesized, given the name "Royal" fits this context, if seen as a Tory emplacement constructed prior to March 1776, itself the scene of some undescribed action (hence, the "damage" to the owner). The provincial South Carolina government, acting independently and in disaffection from Great Britain, might have been interested in appropriating all upcountry military stockades in anticipation of Indian uprising; that same government might have been especially interested in taking over a Tory stockade to use in defense against the British-allied Indians, thereby eliminating an "enemy" within the ranks, so to speak. This is purely conjecture as no documentation has been found to support it, and a second hypothesis concerning Fort Royal is also possible, given below.

Fort Independence, on the other hand, for which there is more direct evidence from both William and William Gabriel Pickens, fits best within a slightly later and different political context - i.e., the summer of 1776 when the Indians did indeed swarm over the settlers immediately upon the heels of the British attack on Charleston. It was in response to this outbreak that the series of forts, described by William Gabriel most explicitly, was erected.⁸

Conflicting testimony over the location of Fort Independence is less easily reconciled. Andrew Pickens locates it on the Rocky River; William Gabriel Pickens puts it on the Savannah River, a claim that could easily be dismissed if it were not for the existence of a letter printed in the South Carolina and American Gazette in February of 1779.⁹ This piece of correspondence summarizes the march of the Tory commander Colonel William Boyd and his troops who travelled south through the Russell MRA during the early part of the same year with the intent of continuing all the way to Augusta in order to engage a contingent of Revolutionary soldiers. According to this report, a body of the force "crossed [the] Savannah River above Fort Independence" before attempting to continue their trek along the Georgia side, a reference which lends credence to William Gabriel Pickens' 1833 statement.

However, in assessing the reliability of the evidence presented in the present report, the 1783 plat of the property upon which Fort Independence was built provides the most certain proof of the structure's location. The letter printed in the 1779 Gazette presents, at best, a vague reference to the stockade; and the statement of William Gabriel Pickens can be dismissed as an error of memory or as a particular perceptual problem. It must be recalled that he described Fort Independence as one of a series of forts along the Savannah River. Fort Independence, as identified by the Mills Atlas of 1825, looks to be located on the Rocky River on a peninsula between the Rocky and the Savannah - near, but not on the latter river. Its proximity is telling: perceptually the Savannah River dominated all the stream systems in the

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immediate area, and it is not too farfetched to see how anything located in the Savannah and tributary valleys could be identified as belonging to the Savannah itself.

Yet another hypothesis could explain why observers described Fort Independence as lying on the Savannah River, an hypothesis which presumes an identical location for both Fort Royal and Fort Independence and which could work either on the Savannah or the Rocky River.

Since it is probable that Fort Royal was built before Fort Independence, before the outbreak of hostilities between the Cherokees and white settlers in 1776, it is possible to assume that it was constructed as early as 1774 when skirmishes between Creek Indians and both Georgia and South Carolina residents prompted the erection of private stockades all along the upcountry frontier.¹⁹ In a report to his authorities in London at the time of this conflict, Lieutenant Governor Bull described the actions that he was taking in order to protect the lives of the settlers inhabiting the affected portions of the latter colony. These deeds included sending "powder and ball" to the "poorest of the Irish, French, and German . . . new-comers," ordering "scouts draughted from the militia [to patrol] the banks of the Savannah River and the Cherokee boundary line," and - most significant for this report - providing encouragement for the "building of stockade forts in New Bordeaux and other most convenient places."¹¹ The fortifications erected were done so at the expense and labor of the settlers themselves and were intended to provide protection for groups of families living in the immediate vicinities.

If built during this year, 1774, the stockade with the name of Fort Royal would be totally in character with the efforts undertaken by the "royal" colony to protect the lives of its inhabitants. Nor would it be surprising if the structure's appellation was changed after the outbreak of incivilities between the colonists and England. Perhaps in a burst of patriotic sentiment the families utilizing the fort chose a new name for it, one which expressed a contrary political ideal such as "independence." This could refer to one fort, Fort Royal on the Savannah, or, it is even possible that for the duration of a few years there were two forts called Independence, one lying on the Savannah River which had been erected in about 1774, and the other, a direct result of the Cherokee uprising of 1776, situated on the Rocky River. Or, it could describe a fort on the Rocky River, perceived as being on the Savannah, which simply predated the later fort, Fort Independence. In either case, the forts are part of a system of forts on the Savannah, erected for frontier defense purposes.

Given the difficult terrain in the Russell MRA which hampered travel during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and the fact that the upcountry stockades were utilized by families living in their immediate vicinities, it would not have been necessarily confusing to locals to have had two forts with the same name located within a few miles

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of one another and, the lack of mention in standard secondary sources about the forts, their origins or locations, could be due to their relative frequency or insignificance. They - like other frontier stockades - were "expedient and temporary affairs . . . erected as the need arose"¹² and were not intended to survive as permanent structures. The confusion would persist in the absence of a better historical record.

Most likely, Forts Royal and Independence, whether on one site or two sites, located on the Savannah or on the Rocky River, were part of a line of defense extending north and south along the upper Savannah River that resembled the protective measures taken in other areas also exposed to Indian attack during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An idea of how this network probably appeared in its entirety can be gained from a report completed in 1793 on a string of blockhouses situated along the Oconee River in Georgia, erected for similar defensive purposes.¹³ A stretch of the waterway measuring nearly fifty-eight miles contained eleven stockades which were situated at irregular intervals spaced no less than four and no more than eight miles apart; the average distance between the fortifications amounted to just under six miles. These primitive structures, many of which had been built privately with no state aid, were designed to lodge a specified number of families varying in number from one to ten. A quite similar system of fortifications could have existed on the Savannah River in the 1770s, a system which called for many forts in relatively close proximity to each other built expeditiously and primitively.

Dating and location are problematical enough, but the third research objective here, to identify the forts through the materials used to construct them, has also had little success. Unfortunately, the 1793 report referred to above and the other materials which were examined contained no information concerning the methods or materials utilized to construct the pioneer fortifications. Willard Robinson's book on American Forts has a short section on the stockades erected on the "Southeastern Frontier," but he confines his discussion to the blockhouses common to Florida during the conflicts with the Seminole Indians in the early nineteenth century.¹⁴ Whether or not these structures - generally rectangular in shape and formed by a line of pickets made of split pine logs driven into the ground - resembled the forts in the Georgia and South Carolina upcountry could not be determined.

The site currently under archeological investigation is very likely the site of Fort Independence, built in 1776 and manned by Col. Anderson during the Revolutionary War, "bought" by the state in 1779; it is not so clear from the historical records that it was also known as Fort Royal; at least there is a need for much firmer evidence to that effect.

What the historical record does suggest, and quite strongly, is the possibility for numerous frontier fortifications to have existed in the area of which site 38AB218 may be just one. What is most important about this site is not whether it is, in fact, Fort Royal and/or Fort

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Independence, but that it is representative of an entire pattern of pioneer defenses about which little is known for this particular area. Furthermore, since it was used as both residence and fortress and since it is among the earliest historic sites in the Russell MRA, its cultural interpretation through material artifacts is extremely critical to understanding the early development of the Russell MRA as a Revolutionary period settlement.

S. W. G. &
D. R. R.

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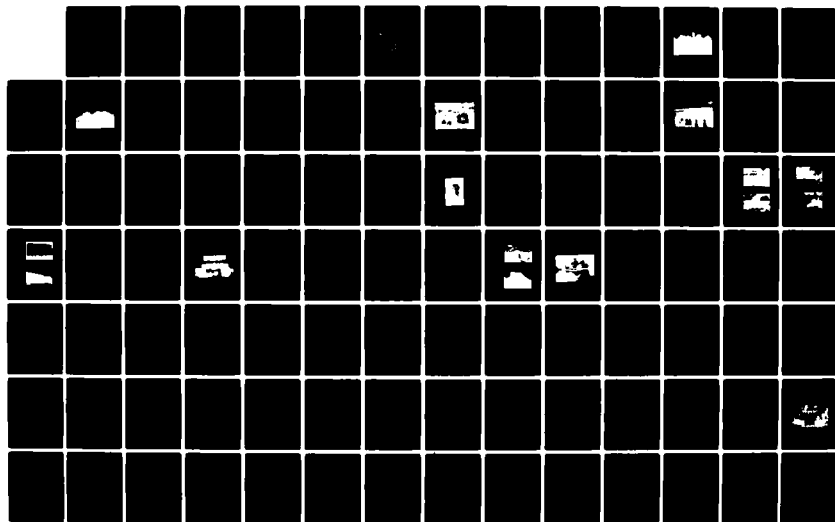
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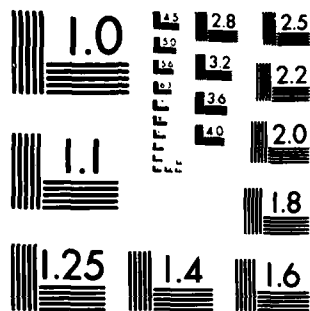
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Fort Independence

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FOOTNOTES

¹William Edwin Hemphill and Wylma Ann Wates, eds., Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congresses of South Carolina, 1775-1776 (Columbia, SC: SC Archives Dept., 1960), p. 255.

²The distance was computed from the 1979 map of South Carolina, issued by the Department of Highways and Public Transportation.

³General Assembly Report, March 7, 1786, on file at South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Fort Independence Plat, May 19, 1783, on file at South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁴E. M. Sharp, Pickens Families of the South (Memphis, TN: E. M. Sharp, 1963), p. 140.

⁵Ibid., p. 142.

⁶Ibid., pp. 143-44.

⁷Ibid., p. 143.

⁸Louis B. Wright, South Carolina: A History (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1976), pp. 133; David Ramsay, Ramsay's History of South Carolina (Newberry, SC: W. J. Duffie, 1858), pp. 158-59.

⁹This account is recorded in Richard L. Taylor and Marion F. Smith, The Report of the Intensive Survey of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake, Savannah River, Georgia and South Carolina, Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1978, p. 120.

¹⁰Noro Marshall Davis, Fort Charlotte on the Savannah River and its Significance in the American Revolution (Greenwood, SC: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1949), pp. 10-11; Larry E. Ives, Colonial Forts of South Carolina, 1670-1775 (Columbia, SC: USC Press, 1970), pp. 22-23.

¹¹Records in the British Public Records Office Relating to South Carolina, Vol 34 (1774), p. 8.

¹²Willard B. Robinson, American Forts: Architectural Form and Function (Urbana, IL: University Press, 1977), p. 140.

¹³"Report to Governor Edward Telfair," February 2, 1793, in Telamon Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia.

¹⁴Robinson, American Forts, pp. 134-40.

SECTION 2: MILLWOOD PLANTATION

Millwood Plantation, assembled by James Edward Colhoun (1796-1889) is an important site within the Russell MRA because it comprises the only large estate which has remained relatively intact as a single physical entity from the ante-bellum period to the present. Its survival into the twentieth century reveals how changing agricultural patterns have led to the creation of three distinct settlement forms: 1) the concentrated pre-1865 plantation village; 2) the dispersed spatial arrangement of buildings during the post-1865 era; and 3) since the 1940s, the absence of significant residential habitation. The particular developments treated in this chapter include the following: the limited settlement of the area during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the collection and combination of separate land parcels into the Millwood tract by Colhoun; the formation of separate settlements of both slave and free tenants as an initial method for clearing and cultivating the property; the consolidation of these separate settlements into a single concentration of residential and service buildings; the return to a pattern of dispersal after the introduction of sharecropping and tenant farming; and, the final significant alteration, the purchase of the property during the 1940s by Duke Power Company and its eventual use for pine forest cultivation.

Unfortunately, the Abbeville Court House fire in 1879 destroyed the County's deed and plat records, so it is impossible to reconstruct Colhoun's acquisitions directly from land records, but the existence of two of his plantation diaries and some correspondence between him and other parties provide a means to describe the manner in which Millwood was created and improved over a period of years. In addition, Abbeville County Land Tax Books and agricultural census returns for 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880 reveal the extent of Colhoun's property holdings and, for those same years, the number of acres which he had under cultivation.

However, the report's expressed intention - to discuss the evolving settlement forms on Colhoun's plantation - was an extremely difficult task to accomplish from the available source material. The most reliable

documents, Colhoun's diaries and letters, provide only glimpses of the estate's development before 1850, and they do not offer a comprehensive view of the plantation's spatial organization. Photographs of the main settlement are not dated and do not show the location of all the buildings scattered throughout the property.

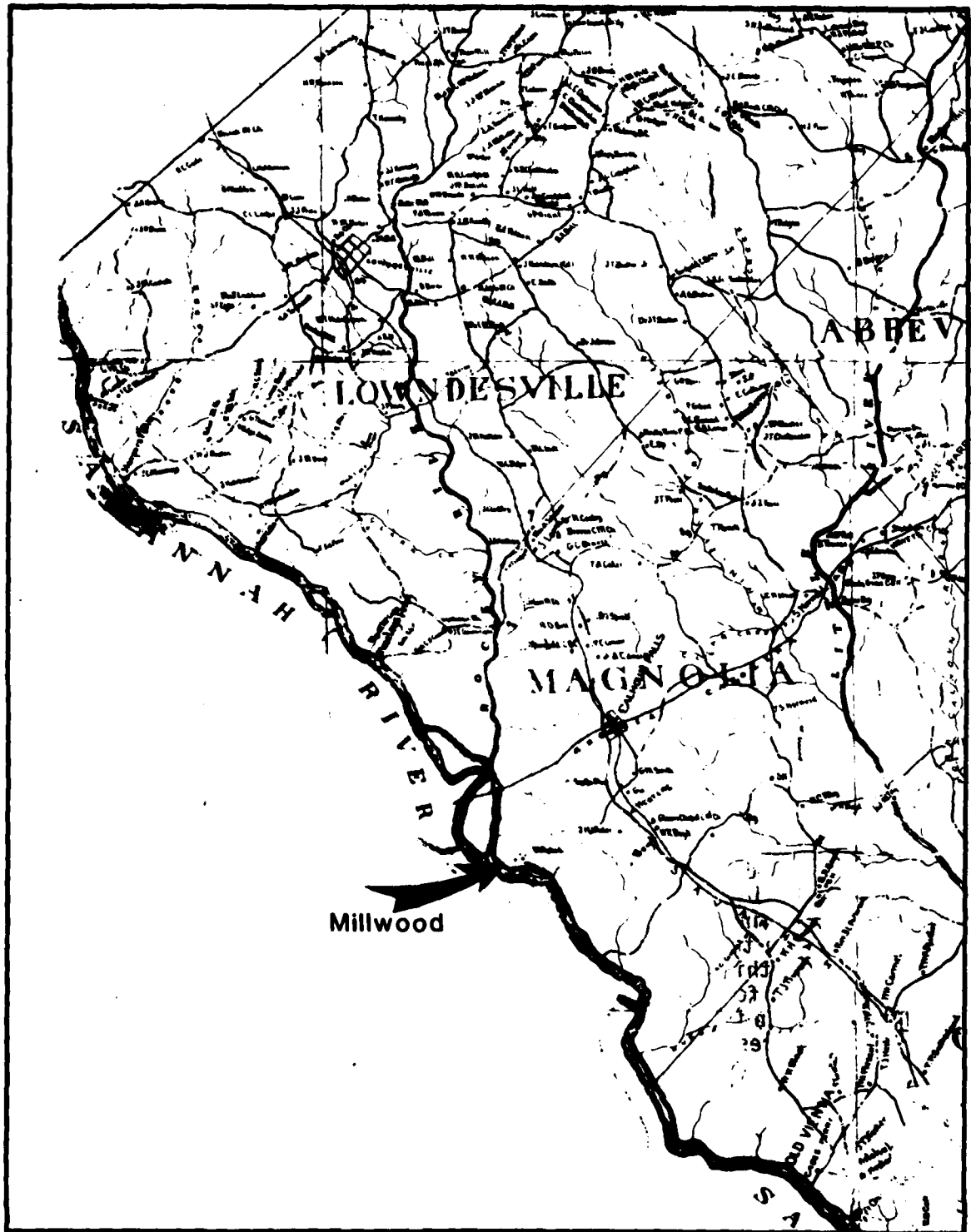
The Ante-bellum Development of Millwood

The principal settlement at Millwood, first developed in the early 1830s, was located along the east bank of the Savannah River, south of current State Highway 72. Its cultivated fields stretched away from the central core of dwellings and service buildings, up a series of slopes to the east almost to the present town limits of Calhoun Falls and north to the Rocky River. Colhoun also owned some of the islands in the Savannah River and property on the Georgia side of the river as well. In 1848, by his own estimate, his plantation totaled "eight thousand (8,000) acres, more or less."¹ According to a description of Millwood published by the Compendium of American Genealogy, the fully developed estate extended for nearly seven miles along the South Carolina bank of the river and for about an equal distance along the Georgia side.²

Before Colhoun began improving the area, only three known settlement sites were located in the general vicinity, all three identified on Mill's Atlas (1825). At Trotter's Shoals there stood a pre-Revolutionary War crib dam; also shown in Allen's Mill, which Colhoun later bought and renovated, and the third settlement was the residential-commercial complex owned by Joseph Bickley which in 1822 consisted of a house, a "large store . . . [considered] to be the best stand for business in the upcountry . . . wealthy and well settled, a gin house, a thrashing machine," and a supply of fresh spring water.³ The site was located on the "road from Kentucky and Tennessee to Augusta," which suggests that travelers passed through this section of Abbeville District regularly.

The remnants of the settlement which Colhoun developed at Millwood during the ante-bellum period are revealed in a map prepared by the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina. If compared with Merle Prunty's spatial model for plantations, Millwood shows itself to comprise a concentrated village.⁴ According to Prunty, the essential characteristic of such a village was the central location of the slave quarters, storage facilities, livestock (primarily mules) pens, and dwellings for the owner and overseers. The structures, grouped closely together, were located along a main road connected to minor roads, linking the main complex to the outlying large fields. The central location for the residential units and service buildings allowed either the owner or manager of the estate to exercise maximum control over the slaves and their treatment of the livestock.

Archeological investigations conducted by the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology did not uncover the site of the original slave



Map 20: Map of South Carolina, Showing Millwood Plantation

cabins, presumably because they lacked foundations and therefore left no ground level evidence of their existence. Yet it is most probable, based upon the model supplied by Prunty, that the cabins were situated on the relatively flat land to the northeast of Colhoun's main house. Future testing in this area might result in the discovery or absence of artifacts to confirm or disprove this hypothesis.

While Prunty's idealized form of the "nucleated plantation village" helps to reconstruct the pre-Civil War Millwood settlement, it does not provide insight into how this collection of structures came into being. For this information, it is necessary to review Colhoun's letters and plantation diaries. It is known that on the death of his father in 1802, Colhoun received 550 acres of land in Abbeville District on the Little River and 540 acres in Pendleton District.⁵ It is possible, though not documented, that at the same time he also was given property along the Rocky and Savannah Rivers, which formed the nucleus for his Midway plantation, known to be already in operation in the early 1820s, as well as his later estate called Millwood.

Colhoun served in an active capacity in the U.S. Navy between 1816 and 1830 and probably was not buying or selling land in large quantities during that time. His Midway Plantation was operated by hired overseers under the supervision of relatives, chiefly his uncle Norris Colhoun and his brother John Ewing Colhoun, Jr.⁶ In 1830, he received a furlough from the military service and returned to Midway in order to manage it himself. However, two full years passed before he reported in his diary that he could at last "bestow undivided attention to [his] affairs . . . which [had] been shamefully abused by overseers."⁷ He stated that he was focusing his attention upon improving Midway because "none of [his] other tracts [had] cleared land on them."

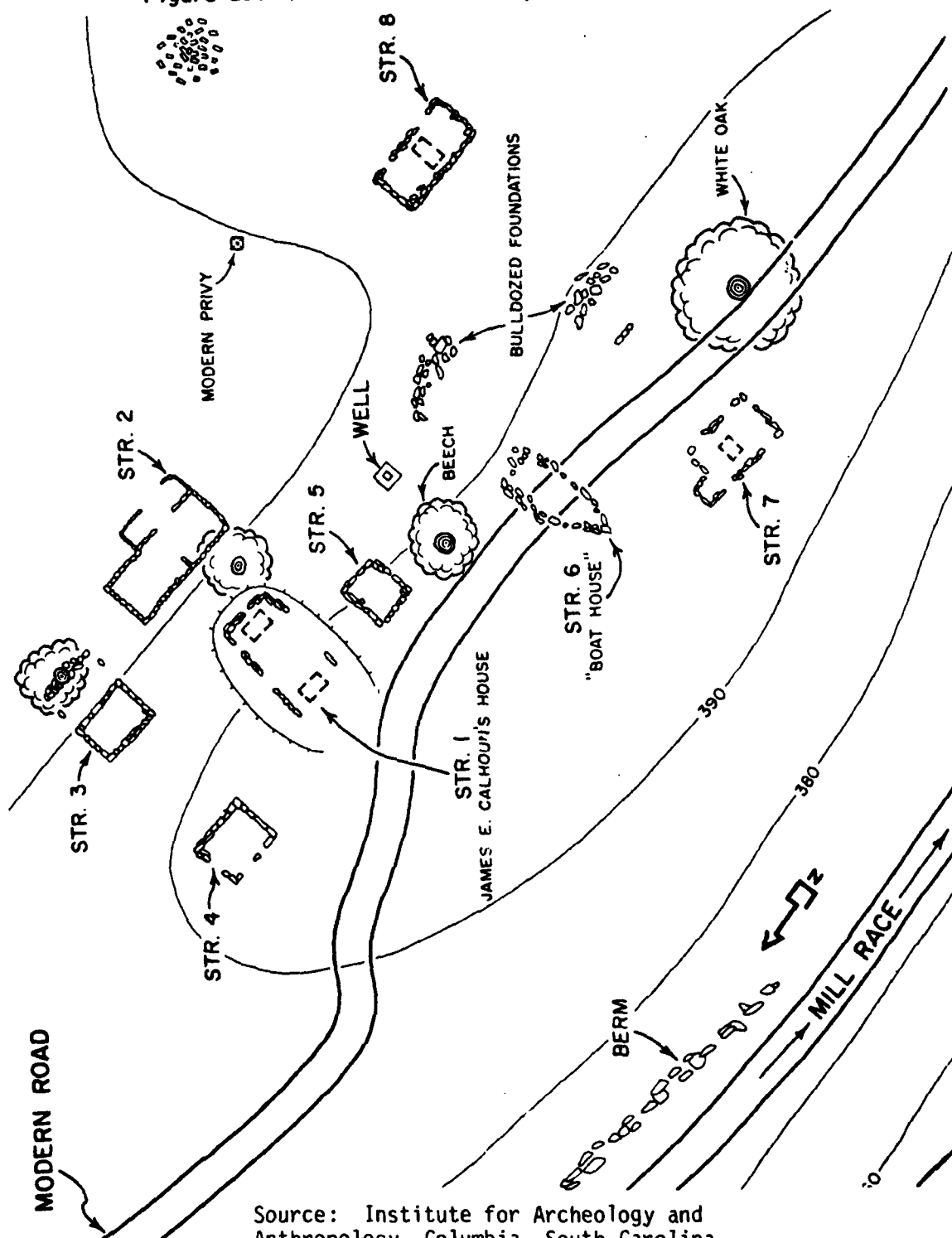
As near as can be determined, Colhoun began assembling property for Millwood, perhaps even engaging in minor land speculation in order to raise additional capital, during the early 1830s, although at that time he still considered Midway to be his primary estate.⁸ A diary entry for September 21, 1832 reveals that he had recently "bought the Hamilton tract, adjoining Millwood, containing 422 1/4 acres, for \$4 the acre . . .," a transaction he considered to be a "good bargain."⁹ During the following thirteen months he purchased an additional 514 1/2 acres, which included four and one-half acres distributed on two Elbert County islands lying in the Savannah River. By December, 1833, he had also added one-hundred acres to his Midway plantation.¹⁰ Colhoun bought all of these properties through the payment of regular installments. He continued to add to his already large Millwood plantation over the next few years and developed a reputation for the energy which he was expending, developing the estate. In 1837, his cousin, John C. Calhoun, congratulated him on a new purchase of property and remarked that should his relative continue, he would soon own "half of the District" of Abbeville.¹¹

The plantation diary also reveals how Colhoun steadily settled and cleared the land which he was acquiring. The first reference to residential activity at Millwood dates from August 1, 1832 and indicates that during the previous spring a settlement had been formed at Millwood of "2 men, 1 woman, and 1 girl."¹² One of the men was "Absolom Roberts, hired at \$100 a year, to superentend there . . . [and] to labor." Colhoun reported that this small force had already cleared sixty acres of land and had "planted [the field] in corn and peas." Later the same month, Colhoun was able to report that an additional "6 or 7 acres around the settlement at Millwood" had been cleared for cultivation, where he intended to "put turnips."¹³ Slightly over a year later, he planted a second colony at the former Hamilton tract, which he now referred to as Stockdale, composed of "2 men and 2 women" with John Blylapping as the superintendent - also expected to "labor himself" for \$100 a year."¹⁴ During the same year, Colhoun paid the manager at Midway, William McCrary, \$210, while he supplied the new superintendent of Millwood, Delancy Chisenhall, with "\$250, 500 lbs pork, a barrel mackerel, and thirty bushels corn," which figures suggest that by 1834 he considered his third and last plantation to be the one demanding the most attention.

Colhoun also rented portions of his property to tenants, which probably entailed two advantages for him: first, it provided him with either cash income or produce from land which he might not have been able to cultivate with his own slave labor force; and second, it brought more of his land under cultivation. In his diary he recorded, for instance, that he had rented [to] Absolom Roberts part of the Hamilton place for 1/4 of the corn, 1/3 of cotton, and 1/2 the oats" which were produced.¹⁵ He leased an adjoining field to another tenant, Elihu Beard, for a cash fee of \$35. Early in the year 1834, he reported that in return for \$50, "John E. Lyon [would again rent] the cleared land on the Bickley and part of the Hamilton tracts: which together amounted to "50 or 60 acres" and included "comfortable houses."¹⁶

Although Colhoun began clearing the land at Millwood in the spring of 1832, it was not until nearly two years later that he started "preparing materials for building" a permanent settlement there.¹⁷ Once he began construction, however, it is clear that he intended to move there himself from Midway. In March of 1834, he recorded that "at Millwood [he was] getting out stuff for an overseer's house, but which [he could] occupy until [he had] the leisure to build there a better house."¹⁸ By the end of April he had "raised the dwelling house" and by early August the chimney was under construction.¹⁹ He enlarged the residence and made "other improvement" to it in 1837, but may never have constructed the other, larger house he spoke of. His "boat house residence," constructed in the shape of a ship, was not built until after his marriage to Maria Edgeworth Simkins in 1839,²⁰ but following his wife's death in 1844, he closed the boat house and let it rot while he lived in other lodgings at Millwood.

Figure 26: Millwood Plantation, the Main Settlement



Source: Institute for Archeology and Anthropology, Columbia, South Carolina

It appears that a number of building improvements were made at Millwood in 1840. In a letter to his mother, Maria E. Colhoun, James Edward reported on the construction then occurring: "I have never been more constantly busy, laying out the work for the Receiving Room, laboring on the Saw Mill, etc. Having put it in complete . . . I shall now have to finish the Merchant Mill, and feel confident I can do all with my own Negroes."²¹

Although Colhoun erected the main settlement at Millwood between 1834 and 1840, he had earlier established a grist mill at the site. In fact, according to local lore the name Millwood came from the "fact that the mill-race cut through a small and rather dense woods, lying right along the Savannah River."²² In 1832, Colhoun recorded that he had started construction of a "crib dam at the upper part of Trotter's Shoals" where he intended to "erect mills . . . on the same site where Trotter had built before the Revolutionary War."²³ Within four months, a millwright, Delancy Chisenhall, (later Colhoun's supervisor) moved to the plantation to manage the work.²⁴ His payment was \$200 a year plus "found provisions." More than a year passed before Chisenhall completed and levelled the millrace in April 1834. The millrace had a total drop of over fourteen feet from the entrance of the race to the mill.²⁵ Apparently, machinery for the complex, purchased and shipped from New York, included a "Burr Mill-stone."²⁶

At approximately the same time Colhoun was constructing his mill, he was also building a gin at Millwood. Late in June of 1834, his cotton factors in Charleston, Mathews and Bonneau, informed him that in accordance with his instructions they had purchased a "light single barreled gin (cost \$12)," which they had sent on to his estate.²⁷ They reassured Colhoun that they were still attempting to locate a "good carpenter . . . of good character for sale" who could be used to construct the dwellings and out-buildings which were planned for Millwood.

Diary entries and correspondence from 1834 through the 1850s show that Colhoun continued to improve the mill he had constructed between 1832 and 1835 and to erect additional mills on his property. In September 1834 he erected a "new Tier Head where Trotter's" was located in order to build a new dam to trap water for the millrace.²⁸ Within a month he was corresponding with a mechanic at the Pendleton factory, Thomas Watson, regarding construction of "a set of mills," presumably at another location from where his mill at the Trotter's site had been built.²⁹

There is other evidence to suggest Colhoun had started to erect additional mill sites. Late in the year 1839, he corresponded with a mason in New York about a "stone mill" he wished to erect on his property.³⁰ Two years later, in 1841, Thomas Watson, who had advised Colhoun in 1834 about mill construction, recommended someone else to complete work then being planned:

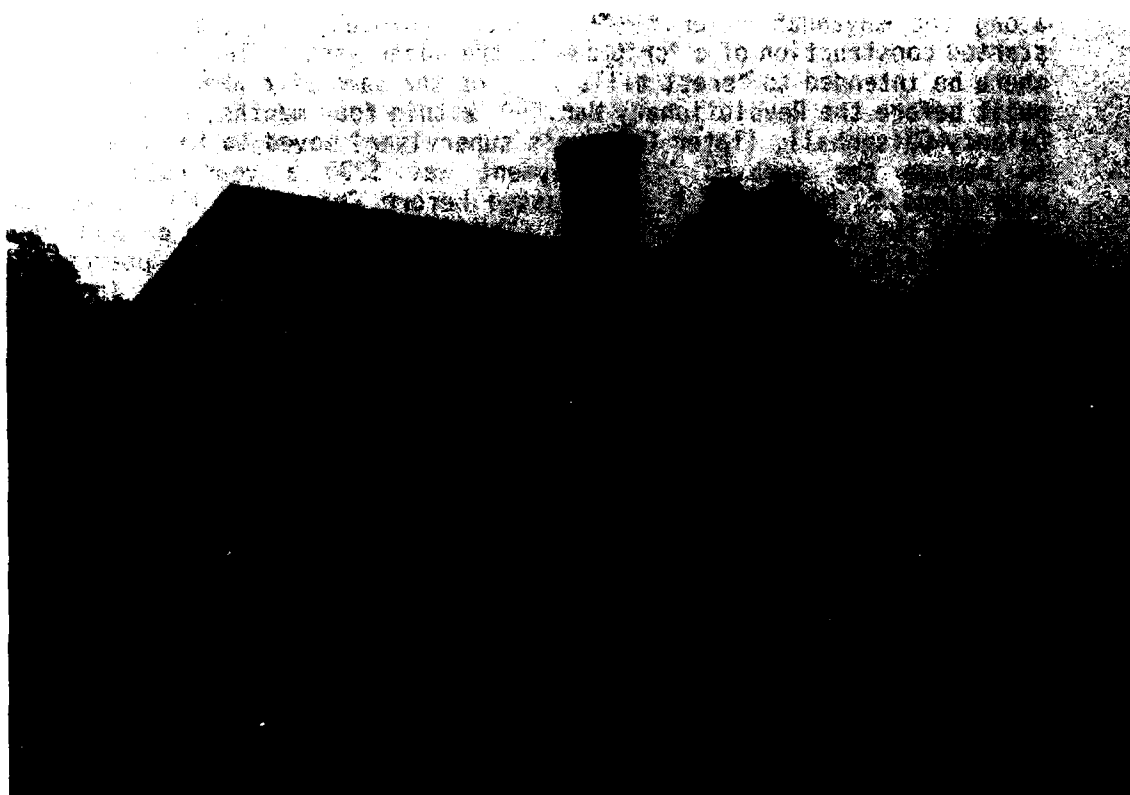


Figure 27:
The Building Reputed to have been James Edward Colhoun's
Home at Millwood
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

Now if you want good mills and convenient improvements you must give the sole construction to Mr. Mason. You must say what you want and he is the man to arrange the plan. He is so much superior to me. I hardly deserve the name of a mechanic.³¹

Beginning in 1847, Colhoun became concerned about the condition of the old Allen Mill and commenced improvements there, which took several years to complete. He first contracted to have the "guard Gates" reinforced, since he felt "uneasy about . . . [their exposure] to the whole force of the River during freshets."³² Several years later, in 1854, he hired D. U. Sloan to superintend a gang of slaves to "dig a mill race" and, eventually, to develop "the water power about the lower part of the shoals of the Millwood Estate for sawing, grinding, and the execution of a tanyard to [be] controlled by Sloan."³³ By this time, the Allen Mill site was referred to in correspondence as Colhoun's Landing, which suggests strongly it was at the same location used to launch Colhoun's flatboats.

In addition to the extensive improvements made to Millwood to make it a self-sufficient plantation, Colhoun also contemplated erecting a textile factory on its grounds. In part, this idea came from his brother John Ewing Colhoun, Jr., who organized a manufacturing establishment in 1829 in the vicinity of Pendleton.³⁴ As early as 1824, John Ewing wrote James Edward, encouraging him to participate in erecting a "cotton factory on [his] 26-mile tract where there [was] an elegant seat for the purpose,"³⁵ The express purpose for which would be "to provide a market for [the two brothers'] raw material."

Although no direct evidence exists to demonstrate whether James Edward joined John Ewing in the textile operation in Pendleton District, it is unlikely, and for two major reasons: first, during the 1820s, James Edward was on active duty with the Navy and did not devote much time to his property interests in either Abbeville or Pendleton District. Second, once he did become fully engaged with his Midway and Millwood Plantations, he probably focused his energies on getting his lands cultivated and developed. Only after establishing the Millwood settlement would he have had time (and perhaps capital) enough to become involved in the erection of a cotton factory.

In fact, the first reference to textile operations in his personal correspondence occurs after 1840, the year in which - as previously discussed - he reported major construction of dwellings, service buildings, and mills at Millwood. It is evident in 1842 that Colhoun was considering building a cotton bag factory, as he had solicited the opinion of John Kershaw, apparently a mechanic located at Pendleton, regarding the cost of such an endeavor. Colhoun was informed that the "expense of machinery for making two hundred yards per day would not exceed about three thousand dollars whilst [he] could not probably start even a small factory for less than twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars with new

machinery."³⁶ Kershaw continued by encouraging Colhoun to proceed with his plans:

Your situation there is a very desirable one for that purpose. You would get all the cotton that will not command [five] cents in market and make it into bagging . . . and should you in connection start a woollen factory I have no doubt but you might get all the inferior cotton in exchange for coarse Negro cloth.

Approximately one year later, in 1843, Colhoun purchased a "power loom" from a New York firm for \$100, although it is not known whether the machinery was placed in the factory proposed by Kershaw.³⁷ Millwood's founder maintained his interest in the development of textile operations in the neighborhood surrounding his estate, and in 1846 John C. Calhoun wrote him, expressing his satisfaction that "manufactures of cotton [were] rising in [Millwood's] vicinity," and furthermore, that James Edward "had such good prospects" before him.³⁸ The former Vice-President had "no doubt" that one day Colhoun's property would "become very valuable".

The cost of improving the Millwood estate, however, proved to be a heavy financial burden, which prompted Colhoun several times to try to sell his plantation. Once in 1843, John C. Calhoun congratulated his cousin for having "made a conditional sale of [the] Millwood property on . . . favourable terms" since it had taken "more capital than [he] could command to develop its resources."³⁹ For reasons unknown, the "conditional sale" of the property never materialized, but Colhoun continued to try to locate a buyer. In 1848, John C. Calhoun promised to cooperate in finding someone to purchase the plantation:

I will, with much pleasure, seize every opportunity to forward your desire to dispose of your landed estate, and will adhere strictly to the prudential suggestions you have made, as to the course to be pursued. I hope you may succeed in getting a purchaser. It would enable you to contract your operations within more moderate limits, and requiring less fatigue and care to conduct them.⁴⁰

Also in 1848, Colhoun began negotiations with two foreign land agents, a Mr. Kappelman and a Reverend Heemsoth, who wanted land on which to establish some German colonies. He made known to them his interest in selling Millwood along with three other tracts of land in Abbeville District, which totaled 2,000 more acres.⁴¹

Colhoun did not sell Millwood in its entirety, but between 1850 and 1860 he managed to dispose of over 7,000 acres of land which had not yet been cleared for planting.⁴² The 1850 Agricultural Census lists his property holdings at 10,000 acres - 450 acres of improved land and 9,550 unimproved. The 1860 Agricultural Census reveals that ten years later he

owned only 2,850 total acres, although 1,450 of them were now classified as improved, an increase of 1,000 acres over the 1850 figures. It appears, then, that Colhoun was either unable to sell the estate - perhaps because his asking price, \$300,000, was too high - or else he changed his mind and sold only a portion of it for the capital needed to clear more land for cultivation and add further improvements.

The Post-bellum Development of Millwood

The physical changes occurring at Millwood after the Civil War are not known in detail, since little primary source material exists for those years. Although Colhoun lived until 1889, his collected letters provide very little information after 1865. Furthermore, the Agricultural Censuses for 1870 and 1880 report on all the separate farms under cultivation, but do not provide data about Millwood as a single plantation unit. Since the identities of the sharecroppers and tenant farmers who worked Millwood properties are not known, it is impossible to include here a specific discussion of Millwood's changing pattern of land tenure after 1865.

However, using Prunty's research model on the difference between ante-bellum and post-bellum plantation spatial relationships, it is possible to speculate with reasonable certainty about the physical transformation of Millwood following the Civil War. In all probability, the following changes happened: first, the concentrated plantation settlement "exploded" into a "fragmented occupance" form of habitation as separate dwellings for sharecroppers and tenants appeared throughout the estate,⁴³ dispersed at a ratio of about one settlement for every thirty to forty acres.⁴⁴ Second, the large cultivated fields were replaced by smaller ones, although the total area supporting crops probably remained the same; also, as on the pre-1865 plantation, fencing was used only for enclosing pastures. And third, linking the various house sites and separate land parcels together were an increased number and length of roads, averaging two miles or more for every square mile of land.

The Civil War disrupted the cotton economy severely, wreaking hardships on the majority of southern planters. Colhoun's financial problems were so great, in fact, that immediately after the cessation of hostilities, he began exploring ways to increase his rents, including plans to lease water-power sites along the Savannah River. In June 1866, he implored an acquaintance to "speak of [his] willingness to lease the 20 miles of water power on [his Millwood] estate."⁴⁵ He had already "leased 200 yards, or so, of water, on the Georgia side of [his] ferry to be improved immediately." In addition, he had found it necessary to lease "the Allen Mill place," presumably because he needed the extra cash, and - a year later, 1867 - he rented to J. L. Vertrees the right to operate the gold mine on property "near the Bickley field."⁴⁶

BIRDS-EYE VIEW OF MILLWOOD CAMPING GROUND, CALHOUN, FALLS, S. C.



Figure 28:
Birds-eye View of Millwood Camping Grounds from an Undated Postcard

Colhoun's fortunes did not improve over the next few years, which kept him from making needed repairs and improvements at Millwood's main settlement. In 1869, he confessed to a relative that his house was "rotting over [his] head, past repair." His financial "losses," which had been "so immense," he expected to continue, and he felt he could not spend the funds to make improvements in his living conditions: "I can do no more than try to gather enough to enable me to modify one of my out buildings that I may have some convenience and more security."⁴⁷

At approximately the same time, Colhoun was leasing land to both black and white tenant farmers, since a letter dated 1869 identifies one individual, W. F. Anderson, as "only one of the white tenants on this portion of the estate."⁴⁸ However, no other specific references about his tenants were uncovered in any of the other research materials or manuscript collections surveyed.

Despite the difficulties Colhoun confronted in the years immediately following the Civil War, he was able to maintain ownership of his lands and, by the 1880s at least, purchased additional property. In 1882, for instance, he spent \$2,000 for the Swearingen Mills located on the Rocky River.⁴⁹

Recent Land Use at Millwood

Following Colhoun's death in 1889, Millwood was managed by a Board of Trustees, which continued to rent land to sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Apparently, a "pleasure resort" was established on the plantation during the early twentieth century, although there is little documentation about this phase of Millwood's history.⁵⁰ During the 1940s, the Duke Power Company purchased the estate with the intention of developing water power at the site. A few farmers remained on the property, but the amount of land kept under cultivation was minimal.⁵¹ The Duke Company's plan to develop the river was abandoned when it learned that the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers intended to acquire the property as part of the its proposed water resource improvement along the upper Savannah. At this point, Duke Power decided to plant pine trees in the fields and to utilize the estate for pulpwood cultivation, which continued from the 1950s until the present. Construction of the Richard B. Russell Dam will flood the majority of the original Millwood plantation, finally ending its century long history.

S. W. G.

FOOTNOTES

¹Letter, James Edward Colhoun to Reverend Hemmesoth, October 15, 1848, James Edward Colhoun (JEC) Collection, South Caroliniana, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

²"Millwood," unidentified extract supplied by Harold Carlisle, based upon material in Frederick A. Virkus, ed., The Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy: First Families of America, Vol. III (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968).

³Sale Advertisement, Pendleton Messenger, 1822. A handwritten copy of this ad, without day or month identified, was supplied by Harold Carlisle.

⁴Merle Prunty, Jr., "The Renaissance of the Southern Plantation," in The Geographical Review, XLV (No. 4), pp. 463-66.

⁵Harold Carlisle, interviews held on November 21, 1979 and November 23, 1979; Harold Carlisle, comp., "The Calhouns of Old Abbeville District," Clark Hill "Highlights" (March-April 1979), p. 2.

⁶Letters, John Ewing Colhoun to James Edward Colhoun June 28, 1824 and September 10, 1824, John Ewing Colhoun Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; John Ewing Colhoun to James Edward Colhoun, May 4, 1827, JEC Collection.

⁷James Edward Colhoun, unpublished plantation diary, undated 1832 entry, John Ewing Colhoun Papers.

⁸Letter, James Edward Colhoun to Francis _____, March 27, 1831, JEC Collection.

⁹James Edward Colhoun, unpublished plantation diary, September 21, 1832.

¹⁰Ibid., January 1, 1833; September 30, 1833; October 12, 1833; and December 28, 1833.

¹¹Letter, John C. Calhoun to James Edward Colhoun, May 12, 1837, Clemson College Library, Clemson, SC.

¹²Colhoun, unpublished plantation diary, August 1, 1832.

¹³Ibid., August 19, 1832.

¹⁴Ibid., January 1, 1834.

- ¹⁵Ibid., February 23, 1833.
- ¹⁶Ibid.
- ¹⁷Letter, James Edward Colhoun to Andrew Colhoun, February 24, 1834, JEC Collection.
- ¹⁸Colhoun, unpublished plantation diary, March 13, 1834.
- ¹⁹Ibid., April 25, 1834 and August 6, 1834.
- ²⁰Davidson, Chalmers Gaston, The Last Foray (Columbia, SC: USC Press, 1971), pp. 108-09, 187.
- ²¹Letter, James Edward Colhoun to Mrs. Maria E. Colhoun, April 1840, JEC Collection.
- ²²Names in South Carolina, III (Winter 1956), p. 14; it is also possible that Colhoun took the name for his plantation from the lavish Millwood estate of Wade Hampton, II, although there certainly is no physical resemblance between the rather drab appearance of the former and the splendor of the latter.
- ²³Colhoun, unpublished plantation diary, August 1, 1832.
- ²⁴Ibid., January 1, 1833.
- ²⁵Ibid., July 15, 1833; April 17, 1834.
- ²⁶Letter, Samuel Mitchell to James Edward Colhoun, May 18, 1834, JEC Collection.
- ²⁷Letter, Mathews and Bonneau to James Edward Colhoun, June 21, 1834, JEC Collection.
- ²⁸Colhoun, unpublished plantation diary, September 20, 1834.
- ²⁹Letter Thomas Watson to James Edward Colhoun, October 14, 1834, JEC Collection.
- ³⁰Letter, Daniel Calkins to James Edward Colhoun, October 8, 1839, JEC Collection.
- ³¹Letter, Thomas Watson to James Edward Colhoun, April 3, 1841, JEC Collection.
- ³²Letter, James Edward Colhoun to Mr. Wilson, May 15, 1847, JEC Collection.

³³Letter of Agreement between James Edward Colhoun and D. U. Sloan, June 7, 1854, JEC Collection.

³⁴Lander, Ernest McPherson, Jr., The Textile Industry in Antebellum South Carolina (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 1969), pp. 22-28.

³⁵Letter, John Ewing Colhoun, Jr., to James Edward Colhoun, June 28, 1824, JEC Collection.

³⁶Letter, John Kershaw to James Edward Colhoun, September 10, 1842, JEC Collection.

³⁷Letter, J. E. Boifssear to James Edward Colhoun, September 9, 1843, JEC Collection.

³⁸Letter, John C. Calhoun to James Edward Colhoun, August 8, 1846, Clemson College Library, Clemson, SC.

³⁹Letter, John C. Calhoun to James Edward Colhoun, November 19, 1843, Clemson College Library, Clemson, SC; see also, Letter, Edward Harleston to James Edward Colhoun, December 13, 1842, JEC Collection.

⁴⁰Letter, John C. Calhoun to James Edward Colhoun, May 22, 1848, Clemson College Library, Clemson, SC.

⁴¹Letter, James Edward Colhoun to Reverend Heemsoth, October 15, 1848, JEC Collection.

⁴²1850 and 1860 Agricultural Census Schedules, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁴³Prunty, "Renaissance of the Southern Plantation," pp. 467-74.

⁴⁴Although no map exists to plot the locations of the dispersed cropper and tenant farmer house sites, local residents could identify some of these places; one reliable local informant, Harold Carlisle, knows the site of several dwellings which are no longer standing.

⁴⁵Letter, James Edward Colhoun to T. G. Clemson, June 14, 1866, JEC Collection.

⁴⁶Memorandum of Agreement between James Edward Colhoun and J. L. Vertrees, August 21, 1867, JEC Collection.

⁴⁷Letter, James Edward Colhoun to Mrs. Anna Clemson, June 3, 1869, JEC Collection.

⁴⁸Letter, James Edward Colhoun to W. F. Anderson, December 17, 1869, JEC Collection.

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⁴⁹Memorandum of Agreement between James Edward Colhoun and Mattox and Whitney, October 18, 1882, JEC Collection.

⁵⁰The only written information about the use of the plantation as a "pleasure resort" is found in H. T. Cannon, True Stories of the Savannah (Calhoun Falls, SC: H. T. Cannon, n.d.), pp. 26-27.

⁵¹Interview with Larry Bloomer, Crescent Land and Timber Company, Seneca, South Carolina, July 16, 1980.



Figure 29: Inside Pearle Mill
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

SECTION 3: PEARLE MILL¹

Since it was NAER's responsibility to record standing structures in the Russell MRA and the further responsibility of Building Conservation Technology, Inc., to investigate the mill sites in the MRA, The History Group judged it unnecessarily redundant to duplicate these efforts in its own case study investigations of Pearle Mill. Instead, all mills, including Pearle, were used as a general topic for oral history to shed light on the efforts of industrialization on the agricultural economy of the area. Also, the relationship between Pearle Mill and nearby hamlets was of special interest, as was the memory of the place as a physical entity.

It was at this point - the memory of the Pearle Mill - that a most interesting element in the oral testimony emerged, which is singled out for discussion here. What is remembered of Pearle is not only varied, which is to be expected in oral testimonies, but it is consistently divergent along racial lines, a clear indication of the presence of separate racial traditions existing side-by-side in the MRA. Our research anticipated finding separate black and white cultural systems, but it did not anticipate finding evidence of them in connection with what might be thought of as a "neutral" subject, Pearle Mill - "neutral" that is, compared to other topics like land confiscation, integration, slavery, and cross-racial cohabitation.

Pearle Mill was built in 1896 on Beaverdam Creek by Thomas M. Swift and his two sons, W. A. Swift and James Y. Swift, to supplement the family's earlier operations at the Swift Cotton Mill in Elberton. The original Pearle Mill was built of granite and brick on a one-half mile long millrace, with funds loaned by the wealthy entrepreneur, James Monroe Smith of Oglethorpe County. In 1897, a post office was established at the mill, and the entire complex was named Beverly. In 1899, the Swift brothers incorporated as the Pearle Cotton Mills with their father, naming the operation Pearle after their sister. Their extensive mill developments coincided with the height of the textile boom in Georgia, when Elberton was thriving commercially. By 1908, Beverly consisted of

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Pearle Mill

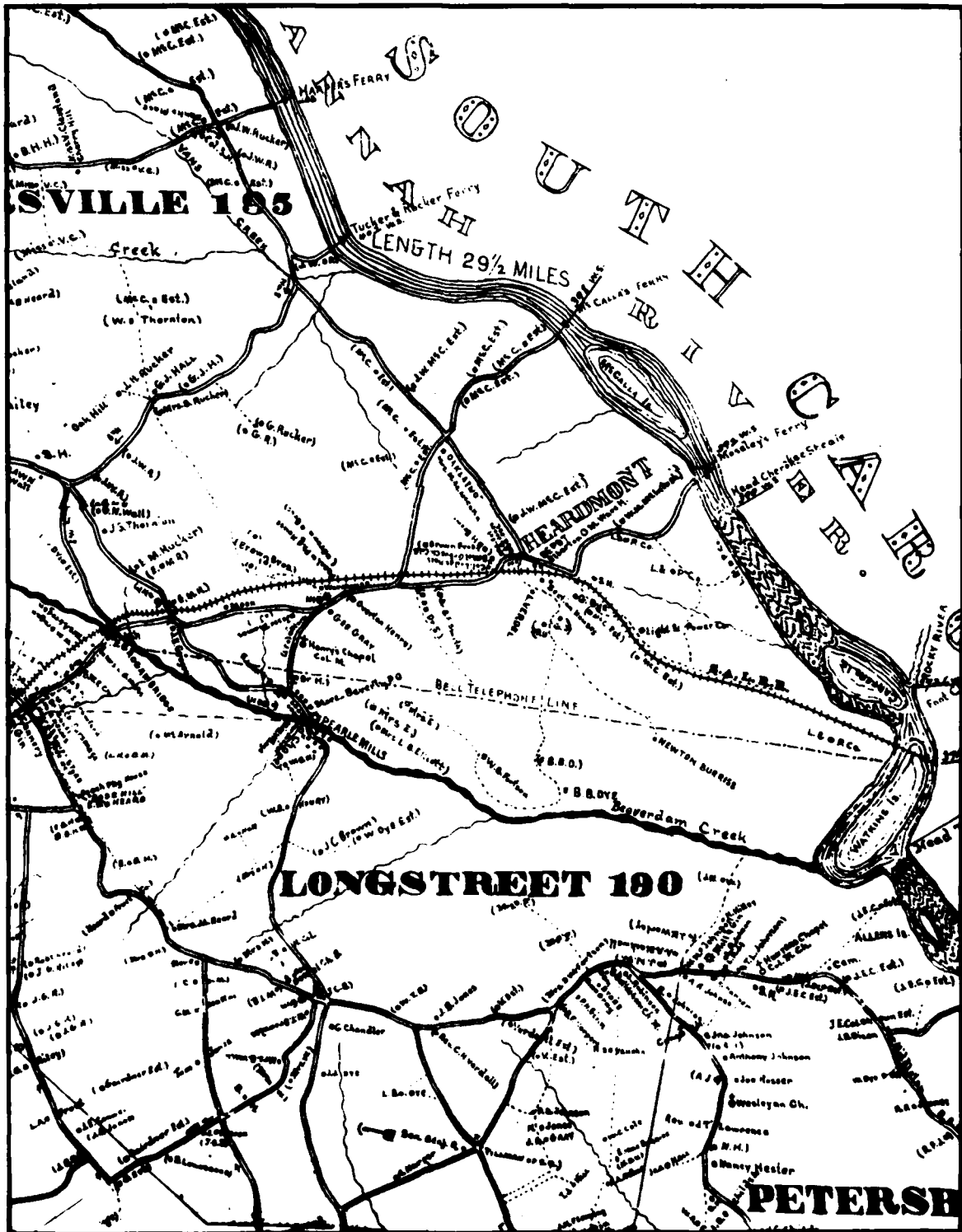
the mill, some thirty-eight houses, a store, a church, and a roadway connecting everything, but in 1908 the area experienced the worst flood in decades, and Pearle Mill - without insurance and with extensive water damage - declared bankruptcy. The town of Beverly emptied out considerably as a result of the flood, and for a few years, until 1916, the mill, now called Beverly Cotton Mills, operated only marginally. In 1918, the mill was revived, serviced with electricity from the Gregg Shoals Power Plant on the Savannah River, only to be sold again, in 1920, and renamed the Beaver Cotton Mills. In 1928, a fire destroyed much of the buildings, and the mill was again idle. In 1935, a portion of it was turned into a corn mill, which operated until 1948.² There has been no activity at the mill since 1948; the townsite is completely covered over with trees and underbrush, and the mill itself in ruins. With the construction of the Russell Dam, the mill site will be completely inundated.

Community memories of Pearle Mill are faint: the village is gone; the millworkers have moved on; Beverly has lost its buildings and its people; the Pearle Mill depot is gone; the church and school have been razed; a few foundation stones scattered in the vicinity and the ruined granite walls of the mill itself are all that remain. The change - or "loss" would be more accurate - in the scenery is stunning to local citizens; Callie May Hudson, for example, a descendent of Stephen Heard and the granddaughter of two of the founders of the ill-fated Heardmont Mills, a predecessor of Pearle Mill, commented on the Pearle Mill site:

Oh, this is changed so much since we used to live down here, and I don't come over here much now . . . [I] tell them I don't care anything about comin', you know, everything seems so changed here, so grown up and all . . .³

Hudson recalled many buildings no longer standing: about six small houses built close together, fronting on an unpaved back road, with their back yards running "right down into the mill race;" other houses up and down the creek, with their backs to the creek, two or three of them on the south side; a house "right close" to the [old] bridge at the corner of the bridge; a large house for the resident doctor, and another large house for the superintendent. She placed the mill store on the same side of the road "set up just above the mill", possibly on the site marked "structure 27" on the accompanying map.⁴ The weatherboarded church was built much later than the mill and mill houses, according to Mrs. Hudson, and the school, along with a small string of houses, was on the south side of Beaverdam Creek.

Local mills, like Pearle, were intended to augment the agricultural economy by facilitating the manufacture of cotton at the scene of its cultivation, but they often had the opposite effect - "breaking up the farms," and "taking the boys away," as one informant put it, to a place where the money they earned was their own and not the landlord's.⁵ Edward Brownlee, whose father sold some cotton to Pearle Mill in the 1920s, has lived through the transition from farming to manufacturing, and remembers



Map 21: Pearle Mill and Vicinity



Figure 30: A Mill House at Beverly
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

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Pearle Mill

Pearle Mill as part of an earlier landscape when "Heardmont was a fine, prosperin' little hamlet."⁶ Brownlee remembered many features no longer visible at the site, which are superimposed on the accompanying map. His memory agreed in most respects with Mrs. Hudson's descriptions.⁷

There was no highway through the village; the road looped around from the north past the Allen cemetery, around the mill, crossing both the millrace and the creek, and then passed back around to the south and east. The goods from Pearle Mill had to be hauled up the road to the depot on the hill. Brownlee remembered when there was no bridge there at all, and the creek had to be forded to get up the hill; the roads, until they were paved, were always bad;

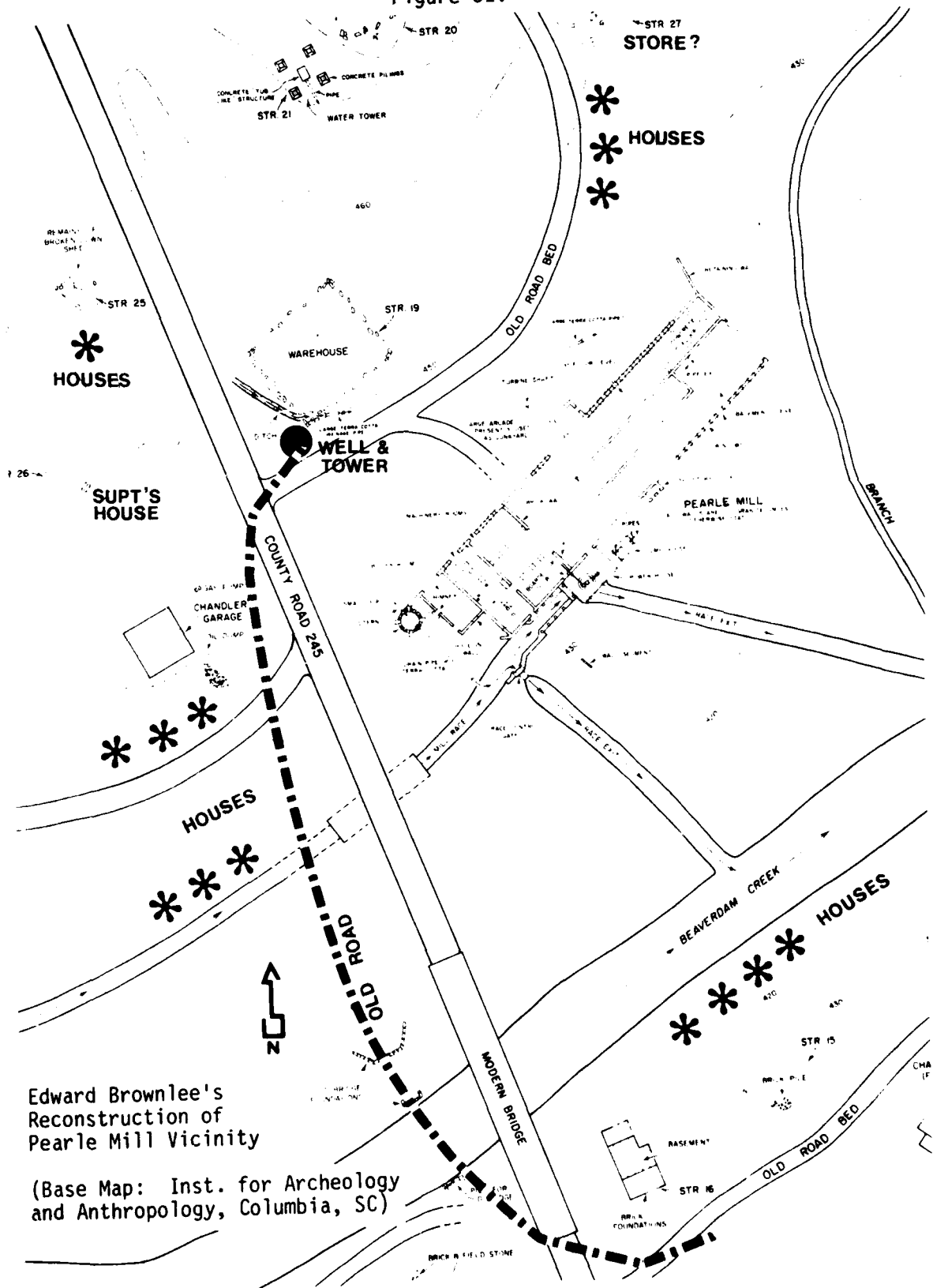
Some folks would get back in here and stay, the roads was so bad. [They'd] get back and couldn't get out.⁸

Brownlee also remembered a great many houses, small and white with blue around the windows and with "twisted" chimneys; they lined the millrace and the roads, and they stood on the bluff. The superintendent's house was on the bluff, and so was the church - known as "Henry's Chapel", it was Methodist and had a "divine healer" whom Brownlee's father was once taken to see by a white man. The houses were inhabited by the mill workers predominantly, who apparently had their own community court.

Memories of Pearle Mill are not as clear a manifestation of the physical place as are the ruins and rubble still on the ground. They are not as helpful in precisely determining where all the houses and other buildings were with much exactitude, but the memories are very trustworthy when it comes to statements with cultural implication and social significance, indicating what Pearle Mill meant to the local populace. At this level testimony diverges along racial lines, as noted at the beginning, and it does so at two points.

According to white testimony, only white mill hands lived at Pearle; according to black testimony, blacks lived there as well, but there were far more whites than blacks, and blacks were only to be found living "on back up on the hill." They were there, though, and children of the blacks at Pearle village went to school at Heardmont. The whites say now that no blacks ever worked at Pearle Mill, and if they did, they only "cleaned up sheds or swept," performing insignificant labor, since the mill was there to give white people jobs. Blacks, however, say that blacks did indeed work there, and they did the "harder work:" "rolling cotton in and busting the bales open," the "rough work," or "what other guys would not do." In other ways blacks were present in the community, but equally invisible. For instance, an aunt of the White Sisters was a cook at the superintendent's house; another local black remembers going to the store at Pearle as a boy on trips to visit his grandmother (he did not mention what she did there).⁹ Other blacks shopped at the store or at George Chandler's pottery shed.

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Figure 31:



Edward Brownlee's
Reconstruction of
Pearle Mill Vicinity

(Base Map: Inst. for Archeology
and Anthropology, Columbia, SC)

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Pearle Mill

Archival documentation on this aspect of Pearle is wholly lacking, but this oral testimony, vestigial as it is, is suggestive, and could be filled out to describe a whole system of adaptive techniques used by both races in the area to work through difficult community relations - with people stopping short of integration or even formal social recognition in their interactions - in an age of segregation and white supremacy. What is remembered by the black testimony is expressed as explanatory and a bit defiant; by white testimony, a bit "superior" and defensive. What emerges is a shadowy picture of extraordinary complexity: blacks could be employed at the mill as long as their work was downgraded or even totally unrecognized; blacks could live nearby as long as their presence there was not seen or acknowledged.

Oral testimony about the mill and its village differs on another point too, and ironically so. In quite another way racial testimony diverges about the mill itself as the kind of "presence" it was to be remembered. The mill has been measured; its dimensions are known - larger than many earlier mills, smaller than modern mills. But, large or small, how was it perceived in the eyes of the local beholders? Large, or small? To the whites, the mill was small, rather insignificant, especially in comparison to (later) mills in the area. It was just a mill that "made some type of textile product;" it "wasn't a big mill," "never a big mill," "not a finishing mill;" it made "mostly thread," that is all. To the blacks however, it was described differently, grander: it was large, two stories, with "good buildings" around it, a "something" on the landscape to be reckoned with and remembered. "The Great Pearle Mill" Edward Brownlee called it, standing on the site. "You jus' can't conceive of this place. As it is," he added, "nothin' is here."

D. R. R.

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Pearle Mill

FOOTNOTES

¹There is some confusion over the spelling of Pearle Mill, since it appears both with and without the final "e" in written documents. It is spelled "Pearle" on the original 1899 charter, and we have adopted that spelling here, as has NAER.

²Historic American Engineering Record, NAER, "Pearle Cotton Mill and Dam," draft report by John P. Johnson, 1980.

³Taped interview with Callie May Hudson, April 15, 1980.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Taped interview with Marshall Thomas, April 12, 1980.

⁶Taped interview with Edward Brownlee, March 1, 1980.

⁷During the interview with Edward Brownlee, March 1, 1980, Brownlee was taken to the site of Pearle Mill where he drew a small map reconstructing the area, while Vincent Fort, the interviewer, made notations on a larger map drawn by the Institute for Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. Brownlee's information has been transferred to the accompanying map from both sources.

⁸Interview with Edward Brownlee, March 1, 1980.

⁹These comments are compiled from information given in oral interviews with Edward Brownlee, Marshall Thomas, Rufus Bullard, Alvin Hutchison, and Callie May (Carroll Mary) Hudson. Refer to the bibliography.

SECTION 4: THE POTTERY OF GEORGE CHANDLER

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the making of utilitarian pottery was an important folk handicraft in Georgia. In the days before refrigerators and inexpensive glass and metal containers, the use of pottery for food preservation was a matter of survival in the warm Southern climate, and was linked to the agrarian self-sufficiency that characterized the region. Such staples of the Southern diet as molasses, whiskey (both taxed and moonshine), lard, salt-cured or pickled meats and vegetables, fruit preserves, butter and buttermilk were stored or processed in jugs, jars, and churns made by potters of the region.

The majority of Georgia's nearly four hundred folk potters were concentrated in eight rural pottery centers, or "jugtowns,"¹ all located within the Piedmont Plateau near creek "bottoms" where clay suitable for making stoneware can be found. Most of these potters were also farmers, who transmitted the craft tradition within their families rather than through formal apprenticeship.² Typically, the glaze used on their stoneware was the distinctly Southern alkaline (woodash or lime-based) glaze,³ but salt glaze was used sporadically and, after the Civil War, a natural clay glaze called Albany slip was imported from the State of New York.

While no pottery community, as such, existed within the Russell MRA, there was some pottery activity in and near there. Mid-nineteenth century potters included members of the Gunter and Brock families in the Coldwater community on the Elbert/Hart County line, just west of the Russell MRA.⁴ Potters of the Kirbee family, in their migration from the stoneware center of Edgefield District, South Carolina,⁵ stopped in Elbert County during the 1830s before moving on to Texas.⁶ Further, there is some indication that pioneer pottery families of Georgia's most intensive pottery community, Mossy Creek in southern White County, passed through Elbert County on their way from the Carolinas. This pattern suggests that the Russell Dam area may have been more important as a resting place for potters moving further westward than as a place to

George Chandler

settle permanently. While a fair amount of folk pottery was seen on site visits to the MRA, all identifiable wares seen on the Georgia side of the Savannah River were relatively late products of the Gillsville area of Hall County, fifty miles to the northwest of Elberton. (It was not unusual for wares to be distributed by wagon over such distances from their place of origin.)

The one potter known to have worked in the MRA is Bailey George Nolan Chandler (1853-1934).⁷ An earlier potter, Clemonds Quillian Chandler (1820-1893), worked at Mossy Creek in White County,⁸ but there seems to have been no direct connection between the two. (The fact that Clemonds had a brother named Bailey,⁹ and a son named George,¹⁰ does, however, suggest a distant relationship.) Two of George Chandler's living relatives - his daughter, Evelyn (Mrs. Boyce Attaway), of Ninety-Six, South Carolina,¹¹ and his great-nephew, Raymond Chandler, Jr., of Rose Hill, east of Elberton¹² - were able to provide information concerning the potter.

Raymond recalls his grandfather (George's brother), Oscar David Chandler, saying that they had migrated around the turn of the century to Elbert County from Jackson County, where George had learned the pottery business. Both specifically mentioned Statham and Jug Tavern (renamed Winder) as the source areas (both now in Barrow County). Indeed, until about 1890 a pottery center flourished around Statham, founded about 1846 by Charles H. Ferguson, who evidently had learned the craft in Edgefield District, South Carolina.¹³ Maps of Georgia dating from 1847 through 1889 show a site called "Jug Factory" near Statham.¹⁴ Raymond remembers hearing about one important function of the locally-made jugs: there were a number of groceries at Statham that sold whiskey, and on Friday and Saturday nights those who had overindulged sometimes would turn mean and engage in "cuttin' and shootin'."

According to Mrs. Attaway, George's father, David, was not a potter; she believes her father picked up the craft by "hanging around" shops run by other potters. The 1850 United States population census for Subdivision 45 of Jackson County shows a David T. Chandler, farmer, age 24 and his wife, Martha A., 17; these could have been George's parents. The household enumerated just before David's is that of Baily Chandler, farmer, age 57 (possibly David's father), while elsewhere in the same subdivision a Bailey G. N. Chandler, farmer, age 31 (possibly David's brother) is listed.

Apparently, none of George's four brothers became potters; for example, his youngest brother, Phil, was a blacksmith and carpenter in Statham, according to Raymond. But Oscar David did help his brother market his wares; Raymond recalls stories about their hauling trips by covered wagon which sometimes lasted a week or more. They would peddle a kiln-load of wares from house to house throughout the countryside, charging ten cents a gallon for each piece sold. Because of the cash they accumulated, they were in some danger of being robbed, and discovered

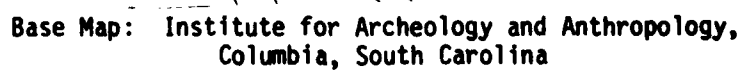
that the safest place to camp overnight was a cemetery, fear of which kept away unwanted visitors. Possibly, one of these trips introduced George to Elbert County.

It is not certain what induced him to move to Elbert County, but the 1900 census provides a clue: by this time, he was renting a house on Factory Street in Elberton and was employed in a cotton mill. His specific job at the mill is illegible on the census sheet, but three of his children also were working there as spinners or doffers (doffing was a less skilled task which involved removing full bobbins of thread from the spinning machines and replacing them with empty bobbins to be filled¹⁵).

In support of the theory that the textile industry lured George Chandler to Elbert County, his daughter described his pottery-making as more of a hobby, "his love," but asserted that his wife and other children pressured him to seek a steadier income from farming and working in the cotton mills. "Dad was a dreamer," said Mrs. Attaway, "but Mom was a materialist." Raymond directed us to one of George's shop sites, now overgrown and marked by a large, uprooted tree stump: it is on Beaverdam Creek, just over the bridge (at the South end, to the right) from Pearle Mill, where his brother, Oscar David, is said to have worked. In fact, the shop was in the brick cellar of a millworker's house. According to both informants, George potted there in the first decade of the century. After a hiatus of some years, following his wife's death, he established another shop on the west bank of the Savannah River, which he operated during the late 1920s. During this period he was living with a daughter in Calhoun Falls, South Carolina.

In an earlier day, before the inducement of industrial wages, there would have been a greater likelihood of George's sons (four are shown on the 1900 census) helping him in the shop and becoming potters themselves. But George worked alone, and his operation can be characterized as small-scale. As described by both informants, his production technology largely conforms to the pattern typifying the folk potters of the Deep South.

George dug his clay from the banks of Beaverdam Creek, half a mile from his first shop site. The clay, which was gray with white streaks (local people used the white clay to white-wash their fireplaces), was hauled to the shop with a mule-drawn wagon. According to Mrs. Attaway, it was mixed with water in a vat and kept moist by covering it with wet burlap; she does not remember a mule-operated pug-mill like those used by other potters for mixing and refining the clay,¹⁶ and stated that her father did not own a mule. But Raymond specifically mentioned such a mill, and recalls hearing of the reaction of the residents of Calhoun Falls to the novelty of seeing George's mule in town. In any case, the clay was "worked up" (wedged) by slapping it across a taught wire onto a table, a process Mrs. Attaway likened to kneading dough. This expelled air bubbles, permitted the removal of coarser foreign particles, and gave the clay a smooth consistency.



The clay was "turned" (thrown) on a foot-powered treadle wheel, or "turnin' lay" (lathe), the type normally used in the South. Once the "raw" (formed but unfired) ware was thoroughly dried, a liquid glaze was sometimes applied. Mrs. Attaway did not know the name of this glaze, but it "came in chunks," shipped by rail in barrels, and was dissolved in water, a description of Albany slip, by then the dominant glaze for Southern potters. Normally, this "patent" or "bought" glaze (as the potters called it) produces a smooth brown, gunmetal gray, or black color, but Mrs. Attaway described the color of her father's glaze as gray-green. However, she added that whenever George could afford it, he would buy a twenty-five pound sack of salt and scatter it on the sandy kiln floor before firing. This would have produced a salt glaze over the Albany slip, creating patches of green or mustard-tan where the salt vapor took. The English called such double-glazed stoneware "crouch ware,"¹⁷ and the technique was used elsewhere in Georgia, notably by the late-nineteenth century Gillsville potter W. R. Addington, although usually the salt was introduced into the kiln at the height of firing. Vessels such as churns, jugs, storage jars, bowls and pitchers would have been glazed, but not the handmade flowerpots in which George specialized toward the end of his career.

George "burned" his ware in a long, rectangular kiln made of bricks, with a firebox at one end and a chimney stack at the other. This is the Southern "groundhog," "tunnel," or "hogback" kiln, quite different from the round kilns of the North.¹⁸ Mrs. Attaway thought the loading port (bricked up during the firing) was in the chimney end, with one of the bricks left loose so that it could be removed for a peep-hole to check the progress.

Although George Chandler did not sign his products (which, of course, makes identification difficult), according to Mrs. Attaway, he did use a distinctive "trademark" on his flowerpots and vases: as a decorative touch, he would rotate a wooden thread spool, the raised ends of which had been notched with a pocketknife, around the outer rim of a damp pot as it turned on the wheel. Such improvised coggle wheels are known elsewhere in the South; G. M. Stewart, of Louisville, Mississippi, currently uses a furniture caster, the plastic wheel of which he carved to produce a decorative band on his flowerpot.

Mrs. Attaway emphasized that as a potter, her father was "not an artiste, he was a plugger," who made functional wares for the local farmers and factory workers; yet he took pride in his work, and could admire those pieces which turned out handsomely. While no examples of his work have been identified thus far, several of The History Group's informants (including the White sisters and Edward Brownlee) once owned pieces they attribute to his hand. Given the limited knowledge of the wares of the Russell MRA's only known potter, The History Group has recommended archeological testing and excavation of George Chandler's shop site on Beaverdam Creek, giving special attention to the "waster pile" where ruined ware would have been discarded. If such a feature

survives, even a surface collection of sherds would prove useful for future identification of George Chandler's wares.

J. A. B.



Figure 33:
From a Photograph of George Chandler
Taken in 1933, One Year Before His Death
(Photo: Mrs. Evelyn Chandler Attaway)
"Daddy would wear a necktie even if he
wasn't wearing any britches!"

FOOTNOTES

¹John A. Burrison, "Folk Pottery of Georgia," in Anna Wadsworth, ed., Missing Pieces: Georgia Folk Art 1770-1976 (Atlanta: Georgia Council for the Arts and Humanities, 1976), pp. 27-28.

²John A. Burrison, "Clay Clans: Georgia's Pottery Dynasties," Family Heritage, 2:3 (June 1979), pp. 70-77, and The Meaders Family of Mossy Creek: Eighty Years of North Georgia Folk Pottery, Exhibit Catalog, (Atlanta: Georgia State University, 1976).

³John A. Burrison, "Alkaline-Glazed Stoneware: A Deep South Pottery Tradition," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 39:4 (December 1975), pp. 337-403.

⁴Allen Gunter (b. 1801 in S.C.) is listed in the 1850 U. S. population census for Elbert Co., as a maker of "Jars & Jugs"; Elijah B. (b. 1822) and Allen J. (b. 1840) Gunter, probably sons of the elder Allen, are shown as potters in the 1860 census for Montevideo and Coldwater P.O., Smith District of Hart County. See also John W. Baker, History of Hart County (n.p.: privately printed, 1933), pp. 274-275. John L. Brock (1805-1896) and his sons John Henry (b. 1832) and Charles J. (b. 1839) are listed as potters in the 1860 census for Smith Dist., Hart Co. The Brock potters later moved to northern Paulding Co., where they continued potting.

⁵Stephen T. and T. M. Ferrell, Early Decorated Stoneware of the Edgefield District, South Carolina (Exhibit Catalog, Greenville: Greenville County Museum of Art, 1976).

⁶James M. Malone, Georgeanna H. Greer, and Helen Simons, Kirbee Kiln: A Mid-19th Century Texas Stoneware Pottery (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, Office of the State Archeologist, Report No. 31, 1979), pp. 8-9.

⁷Full name obtained from his daughter, Mrs. Evelyn Chandler Attaway; dates from his grave marker in the cemetery of the Bethel "E" Baptist Church, Rose Hill, Elbert County, GA.

⁸Dates from his tombstone at the Midway Methodist Church cemetery, Gillsville, Hall Co., Ga. See Burrison, "Alkaline-Glazed Stoneware," p. 392, and Meaders Family, pp. 2, 17.

⁹1816-1884. Dates from his tombstone at Midway Methodist Church cemetery, Gillsville.

¹⁰The 1850 census for the 33rd Subdivision of Gilmer Co., Ga., shows a George N. Chandler, age one, as a son of Clemonds. George later appears in the 1880 census for Harrisburg Dist., Jackson Co.

¹¹Interviewed June 13 and 14, 1980. Mrs. Attaway was born in 1911, after her father had moved to Elbert Co., and had closed his first shop. She is only familiar, then, with his later operation on the Savannah River.

¹²Interviewed April 13 and June 13, 1980.

¹³Burrison, "Clay Clans," p. 73.

¹⁴In the Surveyor General's Office, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

¹⁵Betty Messenger, Picking Up The Linen Threads: A Study In Industrial Folklore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), pp. 30, 35-36. While this source deals with the linen industry of Northern Ireland, some of the terminology is applicable to American cotton mills.

¹⁶Burrison, Meaders Family, p. 4. The Meaders clay mill is illustrated in Allen H. Eaton's Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands (New York: Dover, 1973, reprint of the 1937 edition), opp. p. 139.

¹⁷Burrison, "Alkaline-Glazed Stoneware," pp. 380-81; Wadsworth, Missing Pieces, pp. 25, 28, 103.

¹⁸Georgeanna H. Greer, "Groundhog Kilns: Rectangular American Kilns of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," Northeast Historical Archaeology, 6:1-2 (Spring, 1977), pp. 42-54.

SECTION 5: GRANITE AND ITS USES

One of the more unusual aspects in the appearance of above-ground cultural resources in the Richard B. Russell study area occurs as a result of the widespread use of a locally abundant natural material - granite - which has been commercially quarried and carved in Elberton, Georgia, for about a century.¹ These uses of granite, taken together, constitute an increasingly important industry to the local area; what is more important for our purposes, they reveal a constant and continuous pattern in the local building tradition which crosses folk, vernacular, and commercial lines. By its very prevalence this pattern adds a significant dimension to the architectural and artifactual legacy in the area, which, The History Group agreed, ought in some way be documented by these investigations.

The History Group could not undertake a full-scale inventory of granite uses; such an endeavor was not part of this project. Instead, a summary of field observations combining narrative and photographic descriptions, given here, suggests and begins to document an important cultural pattern, by which some future research interest in the subject may be stimulated.

What follows is little more than a listing of usages and an approximate typology, giving early and recent examples. Field observations centered first on Elberton, for obvious reasons, since most of the quarries and granite manufacturers are located there; from Elberton they moved outward following vectors through, around, and away from the MRA, to Abbeville and Anderson, South Carolina, and to Athens, Georgia. The frequency of use lowered with distance, as would be expected, but a certain consistency of uses - vernacular and commercial ones - occurred throughout.

The most familiar use of granite is for monuments: here would be included sculptures and all variety of memorials - e.g., the Confederate statue in the Elbert County courthouse square, the bicentennial fountain also located there, as well as the thousands of gravestones which are made

every year. According to industry reports, ninety percent of all Elberton granite production is devoted to the manufacture of cemetery memorials,² which local business is more than a century old, since granite tombstones made by local stonemasons have been documented in Elbert County from as early as the 1850s.³ Little is known about that early stonemasonry, but it antedates the commercialization of the granite business by more than three decades. Commercialization of granite greatly increased the availability of dressed stones for local construction uses. It did not so much create new uses as it altered and expanded uses already common to the area, for it has been customary throughout the history of the Russell MRA to build whole granite structures, to build structures with granite foundations and walls (especially first stories), and to furnish wooden structures with granite steps, chimneys, fences, post, trims, and furniture.

There are few remaining architectural sites within the Russell MRA per se, few indeed which have not been abandoned, demolished, or vandalized to some extent. However, the remnants reveal two very common early folk uses of granite. In almost every case, the nineteenth century farm houses and outbuildings have granite foundations. Most of these are piers made of stacked field stones; some are made of milled stones, and in one case - the Eureka-Grogan House - of solid quarried blocks. It is also common to find granite - either as field or rough dressed stones - forming the base of chimneys to about the first story roof line with the rest of the chimneys made of brick.⁴

With commercialization the granite foundation was translated into a system of cut stones shaped into piers, or formed into a solid foundation wall, or used as filler between brick piers. Almost universally the commercial construction reveals decorative repointing between the dressed stones, a stylized mortaring which gives a distinctive look to many buildings in the study area.

While rough cut stones are common in older residential buildings and churches, it is more typical to find precision cut stones in commercial and official structures. Many of the turn-of-the-century commercial structures in Elberton, for example, are brick with granite window sills and doorways. More recently it has become the practice to emphasize the stone's decorative properties over its structural ones: precision cut stones used as colorful facades are now common among new official and institutional buildings, e.g., the county buildings and the headquarters of the granite association in Elberton.

A third type of granite use was found in the Russell MRA, similar to its monumental uses, but still different enough to be separated out, comprised of the host of public signs for streets, buildings, landmarks, and institutions, which proliferate through Elberton and its immediate surroundings. Intricately carved, turned, and polished, they constitute a fascinating and almost unique communal aesthetic statement.



Figure 34: Granite Piers at the Grogan-Eureka House
(Photo: THG)



Figure 35: The G. W. Gray House, Built 1893
(Photo: THG)



Figure 36: A House Made of Granite
(Photo: THG)



Figure 37: Granite Dinner Tables at Hull's Chapel
(Photo: THG)

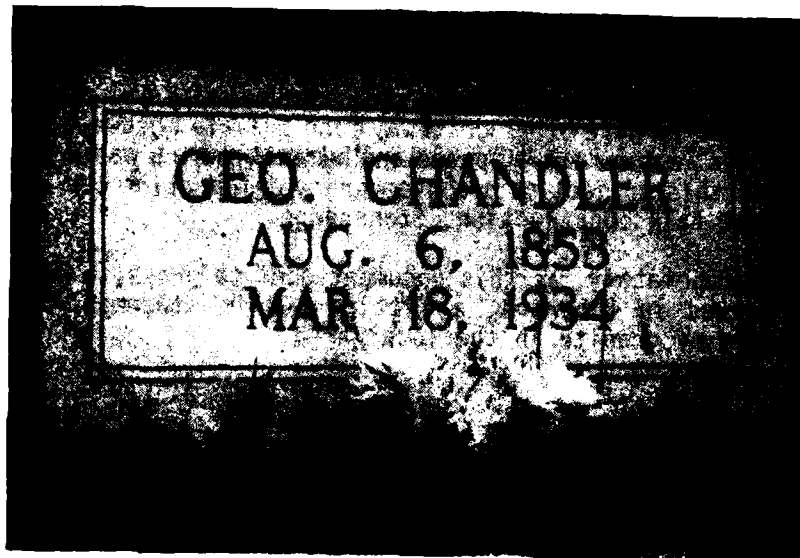


Figure 38: Granite Gravestone for George Chandler
(Photo: THG)

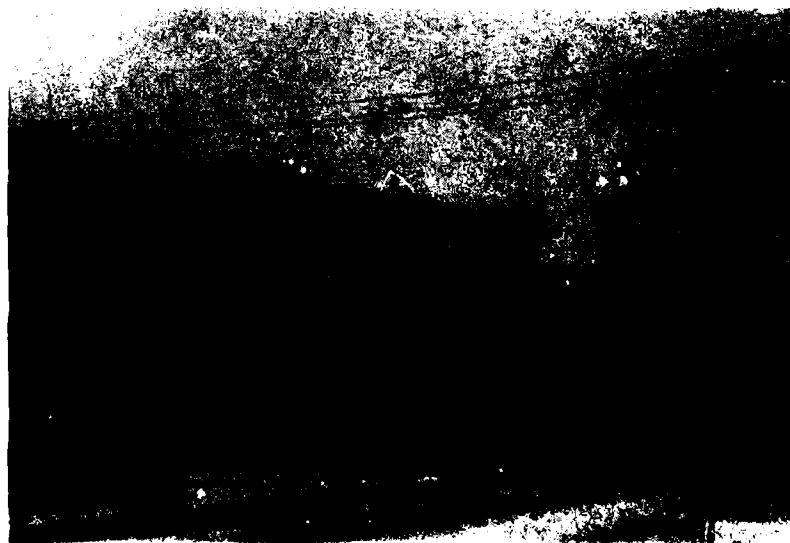


Figure 39: Monuments Advertising Elberton Granite
(Photo: THG)

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Granite

A miscellany of other uses were found which fall outside these major categories or are otherwise exceptional. Of these, three examples could be mentioned to illustrate the extent to which granite has been used as a versatile material and the extent to which the Russell area is culturally and materially identified with the substance: the "Granite Bowl," the stadium at Elberton High School; granite pavers in the streets and granite gravel, used to pave other driveways and private roadways; and the Georgia Guidestones, a monument to peace and humanity which was erected within the period of this project as a contemporary celebration and a reiteration of an ancient folk construction, Stonehenge.⁵

Appropriately, as this document goes to press, a granite museum is being opened in Elberton, a fitting public statement to the use and importance of granite in the local area.

D. R. R.

FOOTNOTES

¹Elberton Granite Association, "Granite Industry Booms in Elberton," mimeographed circular, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 2; see also John H. McIntosh, The Official History of Elbert County (Atlanta, GA: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 300, 301, 306, 307.

³Herbert Wilcox, The Georgia Scribe (Atlanta, GA: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 202-203.

⁴The Historic American Buildings Survey [NAER], architectural inventory field sheets for the summer of 1979.

⁵Brochure, "The Georgia Guidestones," locally available.



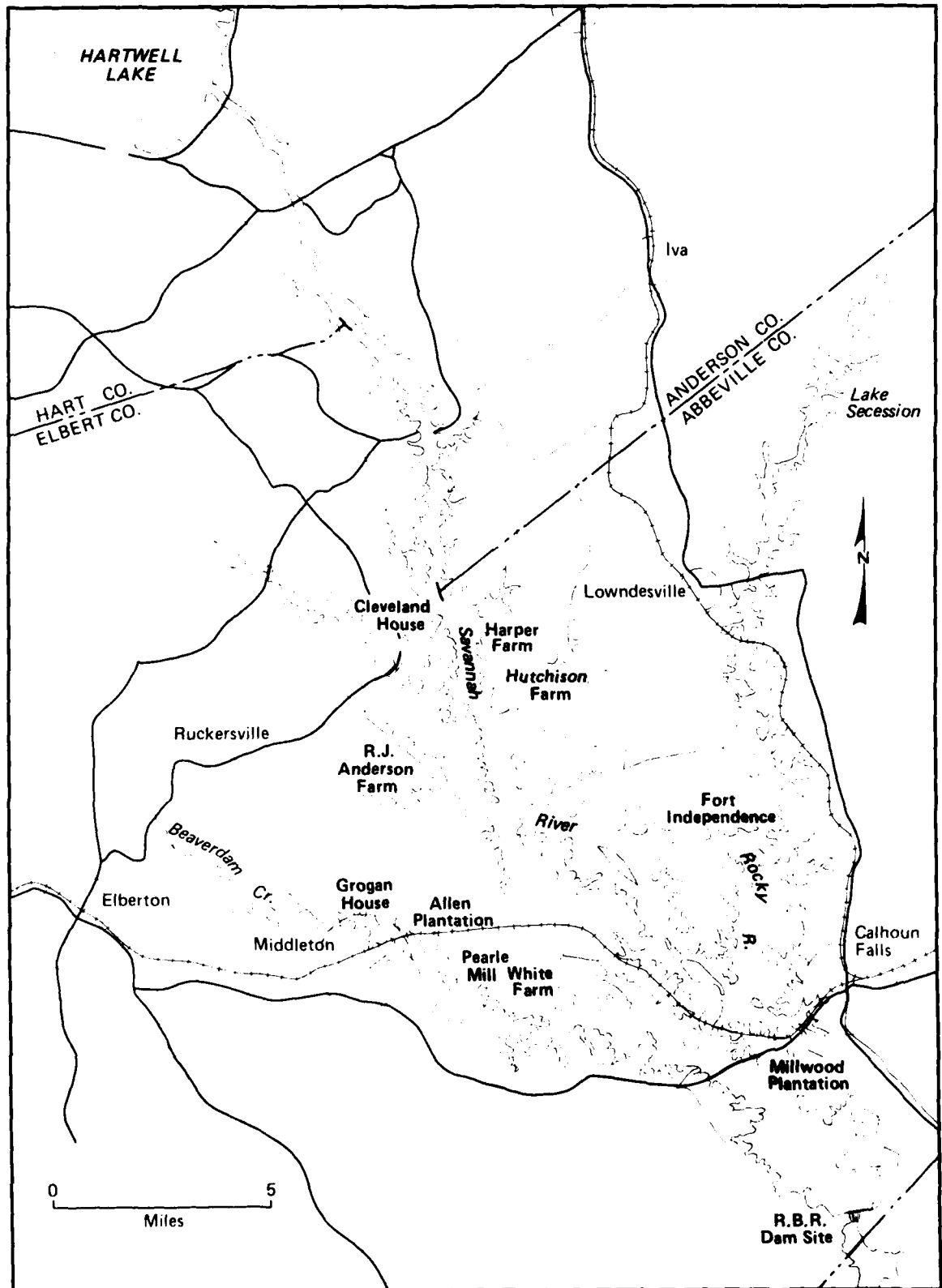
Figure 40: The Clevelands at Their Home, ca. 1908
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

SECTION 6: A LOCAL GAZETTEER

It was the purpose of these historical investigations to concentrate on the major historical developments in the MRA and not on individual sites and events, but a number of sites, buildings, engineering structures, local landmarks and events deserve some individual mention. All of the sites listed below will be affected by inundation or removal with the creation of the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake. Many of them have been recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey (marked by an * in the text here), so those which will no longer stand after the Russell Lake has been inundated will have some permanent record of their existence. The following gazetteer was compiled from a variety of sources, which included the reports submitted by NAER, other project reports, local histories, and miscellaneous newsletters and publications. The NAER documentations are available at the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. and include measured drawings, photographs, and narrative histories of each site. What we have done is simply to summarize the local significance of these sites.

1. ABBEVILLE HYDROELECTRIC PLANT*: This facility is located at Lake Secession Dam, which spans the Rocky River on Abbeville County Road 72. Construction began in 1933 but was abandoned in 1935. The project was completed in 1940 by the City of Abbeville with the use of funds supplied by the Public Works Administration. The dam is a reinforced concrete multiple arch structure that is eighty-five feet high and 370 feet long with nine arch-rings supported on ten buttresses.

2. ALEXANDER-CLEVELAND FARM*: Located on Elbert County Road 238 in the vicinity of Ruckersville, this property contains a farmhouse which is among the oldest structures in this area, constructed about 1791. It is a "plain style" frame residence erected by William Alexander, and has been in the Cleveland family since it was purchased by William Cleveland in 1857. The farmhouse was placed on the National Register of Historic Places some years ago.



Map 22: Historic Sites, Russell MRA

3. ALLEN-BEVERLY PLANTATION*: The eight hundred-acre property was settled by North Carolina pioneer William Allen and is presently located on Elbert County Road 245 approximately two miles north of Highway 72. It is an extant plantation which dates back to the earliest settlement in Elbert County, and it is believed that the main house was erected about 1790.

4. REUBEN J. ANDERSON FARM*: The farm complex, which is located near Elbert County Road 239 in the vicinity of Ruckersville, was developed after 1920 and is characteristic of twentieth century small farming operations.

5. W. FRANK ANDERSON FARM*: Located in northwest Elbert County near County Road 239 and Big Van's Creek, this property contains a single-family farmhouse built in the early twentieth century. The entire complex has exhibited the changing agricultural practices from cotton to grains (wheat, corn, and oats) which began during the 1920s.

6. BLACKWELL BRIDGE*: Constructed in 1917, this bridge spans Beaverdam Creek on County Road 244 in Elbert County in the vicinity of Heardmont. It is a single span, pin-connected Pratt through-truss and is the largest remaining steel truss bridge in the County.

7. CALDWELL-HUTCHISON FARM*: This farm is located on Abbeville County Road 93 in the vicinity of Lowndesville and contains, among other buildings, a two-story log dogtrot house and a log smokehouse dating from the late-eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The property was settled by John Caldwell in the 1790s and was purchased by R. B. Hutchison in 1876-77.

8. CEMETERIES: Four cemeteries in the Russell MRA will be relocated prior to the inundation of the lake. They include Fleming Cemetery located in Elbert County about fourteen miles southeast of Elberton, which was a family burial ground containing twenty-five plots that was last used in 1853. Frederick Gray Cemetery in Abbeville County, two miles southwest of Calhoun Falls, was also a family graveyard containing six burial sites. A third family cemetery was Lyon Cemetery, located one-half mile west of Calhoun Falls in Abbeville County, with five plots, the latest dating to 1890. Finally, Millwood Cemetery, also in Abbeville County and about two miles southwest of Calhoun Falls, is located at the site of the former Millwood Plantation and is believed to have been a slave burial ground. It contains 152 grave sites.

9. DIAMOND SPRINGS HOTEL: This facility, financed by twenty shareholders in 1837 was intended as a resort for low-country tourists during the hot summer months, who came to the Russell MRA for relief. The development passed into other private hands following the Civil War, and the resort burned. Nothing remains of the hotel itself; the archeological site is located on the north side of a branch of Bonds Creek, about one and one-half miles east of Gregg Shoals Dam, and was named after a nearby mineral springs.

10. EDINBURG: Edinburg was a small village located in Elbert County on Coldwater Creek at the Savannah River. Sherwood's Gazetteer of the State of Georgia, 1829, described the community as a "cluster of houses and two stores." The village was not mentioned in White's Statistics of the State of Georgia, published in 1849, but it was described in the 1879-1880 Georgia Gazetteer as "not a post office, only an unimportant place of some twenty persons, about ten miles northeast of Elberton."

11. FRESHET OF 1908: Within a forty-eight hour period during the summer of 1908, over fourteen inches of rain fell upon the MRA and its environs, flooding all of the local streams and creeks. Water rose to the second story of Pearle Mill; all of the bridges along Beaverdam Creek were washed away, and the Seaboard Coast Line trestles across both Beaverdam Creek and the Savannah River were destroyed. The high water mark established that year still stands.

12. GEORGIA-CAROLINA MEMORIAL BRIDGE*: This bridge, which was built in 1927, spans the Savannah River between Georgia and South Carolina on Highway 72. It is a reinforced concrete arch bridge and at the time of its construction was one of the largest structures of its type in the southeastern United States. The bridge will be submerged with construction of the Russell Lake, and a new, higher bridge will replace it. This is the bridge featured on the cover of this report.

13. GREGG SHOALS DAM AND POWER PLANT*: The facility was built in 1907 on the Savannah River near the town of Iva, South Carolina. It was operated by the Savannah River Power Company and produced electricity until 1954.

14. GROGAN-EUREKA HOUSE*: The site of this residence is on Elbert County Road S2218 about two miles northeast of Georgia Highway 72. The house was built in the early 1870s by Reverend John Henry Grogan, an itinerant Methodist minister. The structure exhibited mortise and tenon construction and some fretwork trim; it also had massive granite foundation piers, one of the first known examples of locally quarried granite. The house has been dismantled by its owner.

15. HARPER-FEATHERSTONE FARM AND TENANT FARM*: This collection of farm buildings dates from the antebellum period and is located west of Abbeville County Road 81 in the vicinity of Lowndesville. The tenant farm contains a log structure of dovetailed notch construction, probably built before the Civil War.

16. HARPER'S FERRY TRAGEDY: Local residents still recall the tragedy that occurred on Easter Sunday, April 4, 1920, when eleven young people, all friends and relatives, drowned while trying to cross the Savannah River at Harper's Ferry. One of their bodies was never recovered, and an entire generation of several local families was wiped out.



Figure 41: The Wellhouse at Harper Farm
(Photo: THG)

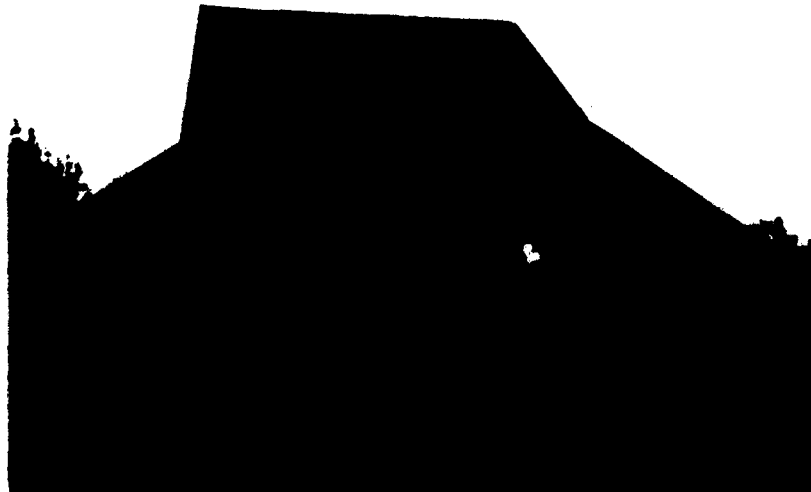


Figure 42: The Barn at Harper Farm
(Photo: THG)

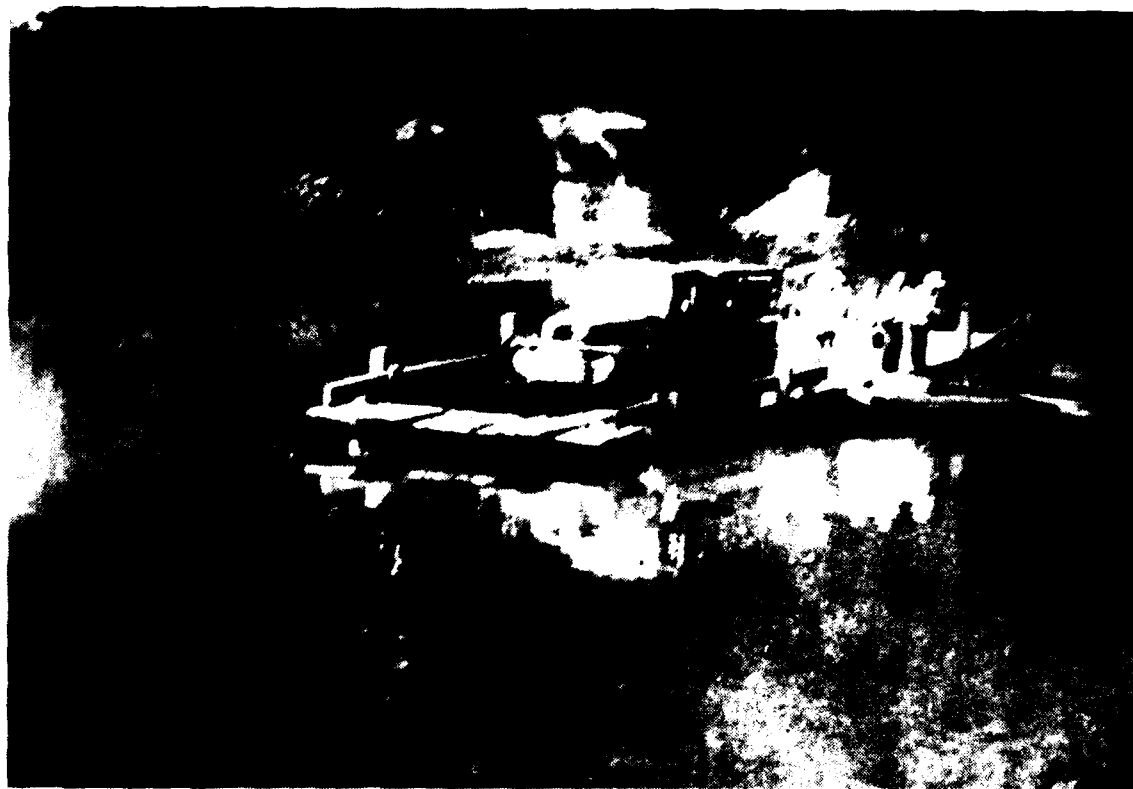


Figure 43:
The Only Known Photograph of Harper's Ferry
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

17. GOVERNOR STEPHEN HEARD'S GRAVE: Stephen Heard, Governor of Georgia in 1781 and a local lawyer, planter, surveyor, and Revolutionary soldier, is buried in a family cemetery, "God's Half Acre," near Heardmont. The graveyard also includes two of his personal slaves, Mammy Kate and her husband Daddy Jack. According to family tradition, Mammy Kate once saved Governor Heard from the Tories during the Revolution by carrying him off from his captors in a laundry basket. Reputedly, he was a small-sized man and she was a large woman.

18. LONG-HUTCHISON FARM*: Originally developed by the Long family in the late nineteenth century, this site contains a post-Civil War vernacular frame house and a dogtrot plan barn of more recent construction built of round logs with saddle notching. The property passed into the ownership of the Hutchison family through marriage and is located on Abbeville County Road 123 in the vicinity of Lowndesville.

19. MCGOWAN'S BLOCKHOUSE: According to local history and informants, this structure was a military fortification which overlooked the east bank of the Savannah River at Cherokee Ford, significant for its role in the Battle at Van's Creek in 1779. (See below.)

20. PILOT ROCK: Located in the Savannah River near Cherokee Ford, Pilot Rock was a natural landmark, used by pole boaters as a navigational aid.

21. SANDERS FERRY BRIDGE*: Built in 1927 by Elbert and Anderson Counties in a joint effort, this vehicular bridge spans the Savannah River between Georgia Highway 368 and South Carolina Highway 184.

22. SEABOARD COAST LINE RAILROAD BRIDGE*: This engineering structure is located across the Savannah River, one-quarter mile below the Rocky River. Originally constructed in 1890, it was rebuilt in 1909 and 1928, and was finally completed in its present form in 1930. It is a twenty-four span plate girder railroad bridge which extends 1,790 feet across the Savannah River. It is historically significant as the first permanent railroad crossing of the Savannah River above Augusta.

23. SMITH-MCGEE BRIDGE*: Built in 1922 as a toll bridge by J. J. Smith and J.E. McGee, this bridge - a three span pin-connected Camelback through truss - crosses the Savannah River between Anderson County and Hart County on South Carolina and Georgia Highway 181. In 1926, it was acquired by the two states and operated as a free public crossing.

24. DAN TUCKER'S GRAVE: The burial site of this legendary ferryman (Tucker's Ferry), Revolutionary soldier, planter, and minister is in Elbert County close to his home at Point Lookout. He was born in Virginia, migrated to Elbert County, and died in 1818.

25. VAN'S CREEK BATTLE: During the winter of 1779, a force of about six hundred Tory soldiers under the command of Colonel William Boyd travelled through the northwest portion of Abbeville District on their

way across the Savannah River south toward Augusta, where they intended to join British troops. At Cherokee Ford, however, they were stopped by the Revolutionary soldiers in control of McGowan's Blockhouse which overlooked the river crossing. Boyd led his men a few miles north where they crossed the Savannah at Van's Creek. But as they entered the Georgia side, they were attacked by patriots who succeeded in killing about one hundred of the Tories before withdrawing. Boyd and his soldiers turned southwest and continued their march, only to be defeated by a second revolutionary force at Kettle Creek, a turning point in the war.

26. WHITE FARM*: This farm was assembled beginning in the early twentieth century by James White, a black landowner, and at one point contained a total of three hundred acres, a significant achievement given the fact that few blacks in the area controlled such sizeable amounts of land. When White first moved to this site, he had the use of several previously constructed buildings that included a barn, a smokehouse, and a one-story, central-hall plan house. Over the years, he added more outbuildings until a total of thirty-seven of them dotted the property. The farm was taken over by four of White's daughters at his death, who were relocated from the site during the construction of the Russell Lake. The old White Farm will be inundated.

S. W. G. &
D. R. R.

PART V: ORAL HISTORY AND GENEALOGY

SECTION 1: SCOPE AND SUBJECTS OF THE INTERVIEWS

A central and critical component of the research for this project was its oral history - central because of the lack of documentary evidence for many aspects of the local history in the Russell MRA, and interesting because this was the most interactive and "lively" segment of our investigations, which were otherwise fairly library-bound. The oral history had many foci: we looked for folklife information; for testimony about changing environments and lifestyles; for evidence of surviving cultural patterns from earlier periods; for community perceptions, definitions, and identifications; for details on particular sites and locales; for personal stories which would be representative of the culture of the MRA; and for specific insights into chronological developments in the twentieth century. Most of all, we attempted to discover just how far back the oral tradition would go in the study area.

The History Group attempted to pick fresh subjects to interview and to avoid "professional" or overused subjects who might have pat or practiced answers to our questions. In this we were eminently fortunate in our choices and successful in the interviews that we obtained. Two especially revealing subjects were Edward Brownlee and Callie Mae (Carroll Mary) Hudson. Most of the subjects were cooperative and permitted us to tape their interviews; some, however, preferred not to be taped, and the evidence from those conversations exists only in note form. Some of the subjects described in the following biographical sketches are available for further interviews; some - for health or other reasons - are not recommended for further interviewing.

Interviews were conducted by several members of the research team: Vincent Fort interviewed all of the black subjects, joined on occasion by Dr. Ross; Steve Grable did both formal, taped interviews and informal, personal and telephone interviews as a regular part of his research efforts; Virginia Shadron had lengthy talks with several residents and was particularly successful with the female interviewees. Dr. Burrison conducted his own folklife interviews as part of his research for this project; he kept notes but did not tape any conversations. In all,

thirty hours of interviews were recorded on tape from a total of fifteen subjects. The subjects were both black and white, male and female, and the interviewers were paired with them to match race or sex. We followed the rigorous guidelines of the Oral History Association for collecting and organizing the taped information. The interviews were logged as quickly as field conditions permitted, and the logs served as a subject index for the information ultimately compiled into this report.

The oral history component was anticipated to offer information most useful for reconstructing twentieth century history, folklife, and black history. In order to cover the ground broadly, a checklist of subjects was prepared to illuminate four major topics: family history, occupations in the MRA, river life, and community life, (for which Heardmont served as a model). Under family life, the team asked questions to identify members, forbears, family distribution and household make-up; social patterns including diet and clothing; status perceptions; and entertainment. In addition, the subjects were interviewed about social relationships, such as church and club memberships and visiting among family and friends. Under occupations the team asked questions about the mills and mill work, the granite industry, farming, lumbering, cattle farming, boating, crafts, and the migration to urban occupations in the twentieth century. River uses were explored - for transportation, for recreation, and for food sources; also river disasters (floods, drownings, and shipwrecks) which might have occurred, especially on the Savannah, and for changes in the rivers' appearance over time. Under community information we asked about community origins, settlement, changes in the community over time, institutions of significance, local social groups, connections with other places in the MRA, and dominant employment and work patterns within the community.

In every case we obtained much needed and useful information, much more, in fact, than we could conveniently incorporate into the report. In the case of black history in the area, especially, we were able to obtain information that exists in no other form. Black out-migration from the Russell MRA has been heavy and has left few informants actually still resident there. Black history sources have not been systematically collected nor events recorded; as a result, almost no contemporary sense exists of the importance of black people to the development of the area's communities or their social and economic structures. This is a knowledge void The History Group could not begin to fill, but we could, from these efforts, in some way offset it.

The need for genealogical information arose in this connection, as no published black family histories for the MRA were found. It was impossible to trace blacks except in reverse chronological order - that is, from the present back to the past - which we did through oral history interviews. In one case, the genealogy that was uncovered was not only critical to understanding the context of the interviews, it was itself essential to document. One member of the Dye family was interviewed at

length, a descendent of George Washington Dye, a white man, who because of his cohabitation with a black woman was considered a social outcast. Dye was identified by our research in the 1850 census, but his name did not appear in any of the Dye family genealogies. For this reason we have put together a brief family tree here as a permanent record of his family.

Genealogical information was useful in another context also relevant to the oral history investigations. As stated in the introduction, we tried to utilize genealogical records to fill out information on family and community history for the area, a time-consuming process. We were successful with one family particularly, the Heards, about whom a great deal of genealogical information exists. In this instance, the migratory patterns of the family were of interest, and the results of that particular study are related in this section. It is noteworthy that one of our informants was a woman who is not only a direct descendent of Stephen Heard, whose progeny it was who were traced, but also a member of the only branch of the Heard family to stay in Elbert County.

What follows is a brief biographical sketch of the oral informants prepared by the interviewers.

D. R. R.

Edward Brownlee

Brownlee was born in 1916 and grew up in Heardmont. He is a lifelong resident of Elbert County and presently resides on Beverly Road just outside Heardmont. He is the great-grandson of George Washington Dye, whose story is briefly told later in this section.

Brownlee has two master's degrees from Columbia University, one in education and one in administration. He retired in 1980 from the Elbert County school system after a long teaching career which began at the Bethel Grove School on the grounds of the Bethel Grove Baptist Church in Heardmont. During World War II, Brownlee served in the U.S. Army in the South and the Southwest. He is single.

Most of the interviews with Brownlee were conducted in the late afternoon or early evening when he arrived home from teaching school. Except for interviews at the Pearle Mill site, the Dye family graveyard, and a survey of the Heardmont community, Brownlee was interviewed in the living room of his home.

He was always quite comfortable during the interviews, appearing able to discuss any area of conversation without discomfort or reluc-

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tance. His recall and ability to provide detail were excellent, making for many significant hours of oral testimony.

V. F.

Rufus Bullard

Bullard was born a short distance from Heardmont in 1909 and moved to Heardmont itself in 1916, where he has remained except for the years between 1921 and 1928 when he removed with his family to Chicago and for the period of time when he served in combat duty in the Air Force at Okinawa during World War II. Farming has been his lifelong career, and although retired, he still farms. He is related to Edward Brownlee and also a descendent of George Washington Dye (see the following section on the Dye family). Bullard was interviewed in his own residence in Heardmont in the mid-afternoon. After some initial shyness around the microphone, he opened up and became quite responsive. His recall was good. He is married; his wife and a neighbor sat in on the interview.

V. F.

Sam Calhoun

Calhoun was born in 1894, the fourteenth of fifteen children, and the son of a slave. He is a lifelong resident of Calhoun Falls. Of his family before his father's generation, he knows only that "his older people were sold here." A widower, Calhoun lives by himself in a wind-worn, dilapidated, stove-heated cabin on Route 81. Calhoun has retained much folklore - stories of slavery, folk remedies, and ghost stories. Calhoun was relaxed during the interview, which took place in his home in the company of Marshall Thomas, another informant.

V. F.

H. A. (Arnette) Carlisle

Carlisle, a Lowndesville resident, was interviewed at his home on April 14, 1980. The session primarily covered the history of the development of Lowndesville after its incorporation in the 1840s, although other topics were discussed as well: the general settlement of the Russell MRA, the effect of the railroads on the area, and the operation of the Diamond Springs resort during the middle of the nineteenth century.

Carlisle, who is the brother of another informant, Harold Carlisle, grew up in the Russell MRA but left the area sometime after the beginning of the Depression to work in Washington, D. C., for the U. S.

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Department of Agriculture. Following his retirement a few years ago, he returned to Lowndesville to reside.

Carlisle is an excellent source. Having grown up in the region, he knows a great deal about the area, and more recently, he has started to compile material for a history of Lowndesville. His files are well organized, which allows him to provide precise answers to questions about early settlers, town incorporation dates, transportation developments, and other subjects.

S. W. G.

Harold Carlisle

Harold Carlisle, a resident of Calhoun Falls in his seventies, still operates a hardware store. Carlisle was interviewed at his store on April 12, 1980 about a number of topics: the general pattern of settlement in the Russell MRA, the effect of the railroads, the use of the Savannah River by pole boats, the development of Calhoun Falls after the turn of the century, and about a few individual sites in the area such as the Millwood plantation.

Carlisle is a long time resident of the area; his family has resided in the Russell area for over three generations. He moved to Calhoun Falls sometime in the 1920s, where he worked first as a mill-hand before opening up a grocery store which he later converted to the hardware store.

Carlisle is a good source for material on early settlers in both Abbeville and Elbert Counties, having engaged for the last half-century in genealogical research, which has made him very knowledgeable about local records. His memory appears to be extremely accurate, especially concerning details about the life histories of prominent local settlers, their purchases and improvements to property, and their descendents.

S. W. G.

Blake Crocker

Crocker, a resident of Calhoun Falls, was interviewed at his home on March 21, 1980. The session dealt almost entirely with the development of and working conditions in several South Carolina cotton mills during the twentieth century. Limited discussion of other topics included transportation modes in the Russell MRA, especially the use of private automobiles after World War I, the general history of Lowndesville and Calhoun Falls, and mention of prominent planters in the vicinity (e.g., the Harpers, McCallas, and Hutchisons).

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The informant's family migrated to the Russell MRA from Lithonia, Georgia, shortly after 1900 and began share cropping. Following the drop in cotton prices in 1921, Crocker left the farm and went to work in the cotton mill at Calhoun Falls. Until his retirement, he spent most of his years in textile factories in Abbeville, Laurens, and Anderson Counties.

Crocker's most reliable information came in the form of personal anecdotes about his experiences in the mills. While he is aware of the general agricultural and industrial changes that have taken place in the Russell area during the twentieth century, he does not appear to be reflective about the social and cultural consequences of those alterations.

S. W. G.

Carroll Mary (Callie May) Jones Hudson

Hudson, an eighty-nine year old widow, is a direct descendent of Governor Stephen Heard. She was born and raised in Heardmont. Several years after her marriage at age sixteen, however, she and her husband moved to Fortsonia, Elbert County. Mrs. Hudson was interviewed at the home of her daughter, Frances (Mrs. Flemming) Balchine and on the porch of the house in the center of Heardmont where she spent her girlhood. This house was later owned and remodeled by her sister, Reba (Mrs. G. W.) Gray, who was postmistress of Heardmont for many years.

Hudson, despite her age, is a lively and eager informant. Because of the strong oral tradition and concern for family history she was able to recount anecdotes of people and events which occurred long before her birth. Her interviews are especially revealing in the area of race relations. Hudson retains strongly patrician and paternalistic views on race and finds it particularly disconcerting that the integration of obituaries and society news in local newspapers makes it difficult to tell who is black and who is white.

Hudson's interviews are significant for their documentation of changes in land ownership, modes of transportation, and the Heardmont community itself for a period spanning approximately one hundred years.

V. S.

Alvin Hutchison

Alvin Hutchison, brother to Catherine and Bandon Hutchison, mentioned below, was interviewed in his residence in Starr, South Carolina, March 20, 1980. The session dealt with the history of his family, the general settlement and farming of the area surrounding Lowndesville, and the use of railroads and automobiles for transportation.

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Like his brother and sister, Hutchison grew up in the farming area surrounding Lowndesville. During the interview he did not specify when and for what reasons he moved farther north to the Anderson County town of Starr.

The informant was a good source, not only with regard to his family and his remembrances of farming practices in the Russell MRA, but also concerning the general changes that have affected this area with recent depopulation of many former settlements. He appeared to be both perceptive and reflective concerning the alterations which he had witnessed.

S. W. G.

Bandon and Catherine Hutchison

Brother and sister, the Hutchison's were interviewed together on March 19, 1980 at their farm outside Lowndesville, South Carolina. The session mainly covered the history of their family, although a few other topics were discussed which included the changing pattern of agriculture in the region after 1921, the emergence of cotton mills, and the importance of Lowndesville as a local collection point for cotton.

The informants grew up on the farm they presently occupy and are descendants of Robert Hutchison, who resided in the Russell MRA early in the nineteenth century. The land they now own was purchased in the 1870s by their grandfather, Barney Hutchison, who had left the area following the Civil War but who returned a few years after. The farm, kept intact by the same family since at least the late nineteenth century will likely be incorporated into a state park when the Richard B. Russell Lake is flooded.

The interview with the informants was productive concerning the farm practices which they have engaged in and on folklore in general. On other matters, they sometimes seemed ill at ease and did not provide authoritative information.

S. W. G.

Gaines Morrow

The youngest brother of Hattie Morrow Williams, Gaines Morrow, sixty-six, lives with his wife, Lizzie Mae Shaw Morrow, in a large old house which they own in Lowndesville. A self-taught mechanic, Morrow is retired from the maintenance crew of Bigelow's Rocky River carpet mill. He continues to work there part-time as a security guard on Sundays and does small engine and machine repairs for himself and others.

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Morrow was interviewed at the Ridge United Methodist Church where most of the Morrow family lies buried. A long-time member of this church, Morrow continues to participate in its affairs, although his part-time job usually makes it impossible to attend its monthly preachings.

After his marriage in 1935, Morrow and his wife engaged in sharecropping, although Morrow was not very successful at it. Even to this day, his wife does not trust him to know turnip greens from weeds in the garden. Morrow quit farming altogether and worked for the WPA driving a school bus, while his wife continued farming in various ways, usually as a "hoe cropper," for some years. She always maintained a garden for family use. Eventually, they had two children.

Morrow went to Abbeville to work for the county prison farm about 1942; during that time he boarded in Abbeville during the week and spent weekends in Lowndesville with his family. In 1948 he returned to school bus driving and then drove for Jessie Cook, a man who operated a private bus service for mill workers. Eventually, Morrow purchased several buses and operated his own transportation service until 1958. Then he went to work in the Rocky River Mill.

Morrow is especially concerned with community safety. He often looks after the property and houses of his neighbors who are out of town. He is particularly proud of his role as a prime mover in organizing Lowndesville's volunteer fire department. Morrow is also keenly interested in radio and related electronic equipment and enjoys listening to and talking on Citizens' Band radio, and listening to emergency scanners which keep him in touch with police and fire department news throughout the county.

Morrow was an especially cooperative interviewee. In the process of the interviews, his own informal interest in local history was reaffirmed. Moreover, he especially enjoyed pointing out old sites, particularly on the Harper place where he was born.

V. S.

Marshall Thomas

Thomas is a lifelong resident of Calhoun Falls, who sharecropped with his father and family until 1959. That year, when the family remained in debt despite a plentiful crop, Marshall Thomas decided to quit. He worked as a truck driver and a local handyman until 1963 when the Burlington Mill began hiring black workers. His six brothers and sisters still work in the mill along with him, as they did in the fields when they farmed cotton together.

Thomas is actively involved in community affairs and local

politics. He resides near Route 81 with his family, where he was interviewed. His memory was very good and he provided a concise and informative portrait of a working class black man who had undergone the transformation from field to factory.

V. F.

Minnie Walker

Walker was born in 1896 on what was then the Millwood plantation near the Memorial Bridge over the Savannah River at Highway 72. She considers herself a farmer, even though she spent twenty-two years in New York City from 1946 to 1968 as a housekeeper in a hospital. In South Carolina, besides being a farmer, she has also worked as a cook, washerwoman and nurse. Devoutly religious, Walker's vividly recollected testimony is full of remembrances of the Millwood plantation and life in Calhoun Falls as far back as her early childhood. Presently she lives in Abbeville near a daughter. Walker was interviewed in her trailer home on a Sunday afternoon. She overcame feelings of poor health to give very good testimony. Her daughter was present throughout and a friend for part of the time.

V. F.

Inez White

Inez White's father, James White, bought land in Heardmont after coming from South Carolina. She farmed the land along with her brothers and sisters, but also taught in the Elbert County school system, where she is now retired.

She was interviewed at her home with her sisters on an afternoon. The interview was not taped due to the reluctance of the informants.

V. F.

Hattie (Mrs. Dewey E.) Williams

Williams, a widow eighty-one years old, was interviewed in her four-room house outside Abbeville. Her house, with outdoor plumbing, is within sight of the Union Presbyterian Church, a local affiliate of the conservative, evangelical Presbyterian Church of America, where Williams has been a devout member since the 1950s. Originally she was a member of the Ridge Methodist Church.

Williams was born in Abbeville County, near Lowndesville, on a farm known as the Maschine Place. Her father, Robert E. Lee Morrow

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(1868-1939) was also born in Abbeville County, and her mother, Maggie Gordon Morrow (1873-1939) was born in Anderson County, South Carolina. Until her marriage in the 1940s to a man much younger than herself, Hattie Williams lived and worked with her family sharecropping on various Lowndesville area farms, including the Hutchisons', the Harpers' and Bakers' land.

Hattie Williams completed a third grade education at the Ridge School. She hoed and sowed in the fields from the age of eight and could plow with mules by age seventeen or eighteen. Her jobs in farming involved everything there was to be done except drive a tractor, which was strictly "man's work." She and her husband left farming when it was no longer even marginally profitable. They moved to Abbeville to work in the cotton spinning mills about 1944, where they first lived in the mill village known as Taylor Town. Williams worked in the mill for a short time, but as soon as it was possible for her and her husband to live on one salary, she stayed home to work a substantial subsistence garden. Subsequently, her husband held maintenance jobs with the county. Eventually, she and her husband owned their own home and had enough land to give several acres of land to the church for a manse.

Williams' close ties to rural folkways and lifestyles are revealed in a number of her habits and practices. Although she has incorporated some aspects of twentieth century domestic technology into her life (she uses an electric stove, refrigerator, freezer, sewing machine, television, and telephone), she prefers to sit by kerosene, rather than electric, lamp light. Williams uses a brush made from a black gum tree stick dipped in baking soda for a tooth brush and she is an avid tobacco chewer. She and her husband decided against installing a bathroom and water in the house even when they had the opportunity to do so. Until recent years, Williams continued to produce and preserve much of her own food, her diet remains substantially unchanged from that of her childhood.

Since her husband's death, Mrs. Williams has lived alone. She relies on a network of family, neighbors and church members to assist her with grocery shopping, transportation and other chores she can no longer perform for herself. She is reluctant to talk with strangers and will have nothing to do with male strangers. She handles a gun well and keeps a loaded rifle in the kitchen for her personal protection.

Mrs. Williams was unable to speak about her life with much clear sense of chronology. She is not a reflective person, but she remembers the course of events in her life and in her family's life accurately according to where she was living at the time. She was well able to recollect many details of farm and community life. Though weakened by age and illness, Williams gave an impression of having once been a strong and able hand.

V. S.

SECTION 2: HEARD FAMILY MIGRATIONS

Family lore and scarce documentation obscure the European origins of the Heards and their early history in the American colonies. The Heards are thought to have descended from Normans (de Herdes), who crossed the English Channel with William the Conqueror in 1066. From Wiltshire County, England, some of these Heards are believed to have migrated to County Cork, Ireland in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and others allegedly migrated from York to County Tyrone, Ireland at the same time, to settle estates granted to them by Queen Elizabeth I for service against the Spanish Armada.¹

It is from this last branch, according to several sources, that the American Heards were descended. John Heard reputedly emigrated to the colonies from Ireland in 1719 or 1720 as the original immigrant ancestor. Some sources also identify him as the Earl of Tyrone. This John Heard is said to have escaped from Ireland with six sons - Charles, John, James, Jesse, Thomas, and George - and five daughters - names unknown - to avoid prosecution for slaying the Church's tithe collector. A seventh son, Stephen, apparently eloped with a Lady Mary Faulkner and followed his family to the colonies.²

Some sources maintain that John Heard's first wife, Margaret McDonald, died in Ireland before the family migrated. John is said to have landed first at Philadelphia and then to have traveled down the eastern seaboard to Charleston, South Carolina, where he married a second time, in 1722, to Esther La Pierre. Subsequently, the family settled in Hanover County, Virginia.³

A better documented version of the Heard migration to Virginia places one branch of the family, represented by a Henry Heard, in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, by 1623, a century earlier than the John Heard mentioned above. This same Henry Heard may have migrated to Northumberland County by 1656. One of his sons, also named Henry, had a son, Walter, who appeared in Northumberland County in 1664. Among Walter's heirs was a son, William, who died in 1709, in Lancaster County,

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Virginia. William's heirs included a son John, who theoretically could have pioneered the Hanover County, Virginia settlement when it was created in 1720. It is perhaps this John Heard who has been identified as both the first Heard immigrant and as the Earl of Tyrone. There is no definitive proof, but this John Heard may also have been the ancestor of those Heards who subsequently settled in Wilkes County, Georgia, in 1773.⁴ It seems reasonable to conclude at least that the Heard family whose descendents came to what is now the Russell MRA migrated to Virginia long before the date traditionally assigned.

A King William, Virginia, county document dated 1702 records that a John Heard, Sr. and his wife Margaret deeded land to their son, William. It also mentions a son Stephen and a daughter Jane. Other extant documents from surrounding counties identify Heards with first names corresponding to those traditionally assigned to the sons of John Heard, "Earl of Tyrone,"⁵ These appear to confirm the family tradition which identifies a Virginian with a wife named Margaret as the ancestors of the Elbert and Wilkes County Heards.

For the purposes of this migration study, John Heard Sr., is designated as the first generation of Heards, for his sons apparently initiated the Heards' out-migration from Virginia. It should be stated at the outset that a comprehensive inventory of Heard family migrations is rendered impossible by the numerous research difficulties involved, but, although it is impossible to account for every family member, it is possible, using genealogical sources, to outline the movements of enough members to suggest ways in which the family conformed or failed to conform with established migration patterns in the South.

The first pattern to perceive occurred within Virginia itself. Family historians have followed the gradual westward migrations of John Heard, Sr., his sons, and their descendents within Virginia, which internal migrations preceded their out-migration from Virginia to Tennessee, then to North and South Carolina, and finally, Georgia. In Virginia, the family appears in records of tidewater counties from 1650-1746. As early as 1736 they appear in Spottsylvania County, and from there the family stayed predominantly in Piedmont counties: Amelia and Goochland, 1739-1769; Albermarle, 1740-1777; and to the south, Halifax, Virginia, 1764-1778; Pittsylvania, 1767-1774; Henry, 1777-1803; Bedford, 1772-1778; and finally, in Franklin, Virginia, 1790-1824. At least one of John Sr.'s, sons settled as far west as the Blue Ridge in Amhurst County, Virginia.⁶

In some cases the changing location of the Heards may be traced in the creation of new counties of old ones, such as Albermarle from Goochland, created in 1774, but without specific plat research this statement is inconclusive.

The Heard's out-migration from Virginia appears to have started by 1759, when John Sr.'s son, John Jr., and his sons, Barnard and Stephen,

pioneered land just north of Augusta, Georgia.⁷ One Stephen Heard, a probable grandson of John Sr., received a land grant in Cumberland County, North Carolina sometime between 1768 and 1777. Three of John Sr.'s sons received land grants in South Carolina: Thomas in Granville County, in 1775; James and Charles in Abbeville County, in 1785 and 1786. In 1773, John Sr.'s two sons, Charles and John, who identified South Carolina as their point of origin, applied for permission to settle in the newly ceded lands of Wilkes County, Georgia. Once permission was granted, the two brothers, accompanied by Charles' sons - William of North Carolina, George and Richard - John's three sons - John, Barnard, and Stephen - and a small band of other Virginians, established a settlement at what later became the town of Washington, Wilkes County, Georgia.

Jesse Heard, son of Stephen Heard and Mary Faulkner of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, followed his uncles and cousins to Wilkes County, Georgia in 1784. His three brothers, John, Stephen, and Thomas settled in neighboring Green County between 1785 and 1786. Another brother, George, may have settled in nearby Oglethorpe County. At about the same time, or a little later, the sisters also moved: Anne and her husband Peter Gilliam settled in Georgia, in Clark County; Susan and her husband Israel Standifer migrated to eastern Tennessee; and Mary, who married her cousin, William Heard, migrated first to Kentucky and then to Tennessee.

Descendents of other children of John Sr. are not accounted for here, but subsequent generations of the descendents of his sons Stephen, John, and Charles, became over time more complicated geographically, but at the same time closely followed migration patterns characteristic to the settlement of the South.

The least complicated of the three family lines outlined in this study are the descendents of John Heard, Jr.'s, son, Stephen Heard, Governor of Georgia in 1781. The land holdings amassed by Governor Heard as a result of his Revolutionary War service totalled 6563 acres in Wilkes County and 287-1/2 acres in Washington County. A large portion of his Wilkes County holdings actually fell in Elbert County, once it was established, and on these properties the Governor developed his expansive plantation in the area known as Heardmont. His descendents, with few exceptions, remained in Elbert County, and his genealogical chart is given below, leading to the seventh and eighth generations. In the seventh generation will be found Carroll Mary Hudson, one of the people in the MRA who served this project as an oral informant.

Among the exceptions, in the fourth generation, Bridget Carroll Heard migrated to Mississippi with her second husband, Elbert H. Thompson, probably in the 1820s or 1830s. In the next generation, Stephen Heard Tucker and his wife, Mary Aiken, migrated to Alabama, probably in the 1830s; and Robert Tucker migrated to Louisiana, Arkansas, and finally, to Texas, beginning probably in the 1840s. In the

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sixth generation, Samuel Wynn Heard migrated to Mississippi in the 1880s, and also in the sixth generation, Anna Cassandra McIntosh, who married Budd Clay Wall, lived in North Augusta, South Carolina, where Wall was a prominent merchant and mayor of the town.

The intermarriage of several of Governor Stephen Heard's descendants with members of the Allen, Tucker, Carter, McCalla, Mattox, Jones, McIntosh, and other large land-holding families in Elbert and surrounding counties on both sides of the Savannah River, insured their economic, social, and political prominence in Elbert County well into the twentieth century.

Among the descendants of Charles C. Heard (son of John Sr.), sons John and Richard and their children remained in Wilkes County. John's grandson, James Heard, later migrated to Alabama, probably in the 1830s or 1840s. Another of John's grandsons, John Bailey Heard, migrated to Catahoula Parish, Louisiana in 1836. Samuel, the son of Charles's son George, was among the first of Charles' descendants to leave Wilkes County, when he migrated to Alabama and then to Tennessee in 1811. Charles' youngest son, Joseph, migrated to Perry County, Alabama, in 1824.

At least three of Joseph's children - Charles, John, and William Christmas Heard - remained behind in Wilkes County until their father's death around 1832. Joseph's younger children apparently accompanied him to Perry County, and at least one of the older sons, Thomas Anderson Heard, who married in Wilkes County, also migrated to Perry County, Alabama. Joseph's son, John, migrated to Cass County, Texas, sometime between his father's death in 1832 and his own, which occurred in 1866. Several of Joseph's other children subsequently migrated to Louisiana. Stephen Suthard Heard and William Christmas Heard both relocated in Union Parish, Louisiana. William migrated first to Noxubee County, Mississippi in 1832, and then arrived in Union Parish, Louisiana, in 1846. Their brother, Thomas Anderson Heard, followed them to Louisiana, settling in neighboring Clairborne Parish, in 1862. In the fifth generation, among Stephen Suthard Heard's children, Charles relocated in Lincoln Parish, immediately southwest of Union Parish.

Comparatively speaking, the descendants of the Heard family line generated by Stephen and Mary Faulkner Heard dispersed more widely and more rapidly. Among the descendants of Stephen's son, Thomas, in Green County, Georgia, only daughter Catherine, and perhaps sons Woodson and Faulkner, remained in Green County. Sons Abram and Joseph settled in neighboring Morgan County by 1822. Daughter Sarah and her husband Wilson Whatley also lived in Morgan County from 1809-1818. They relocated in Walton County, where they remained until 1832, where Sarah's brother, Thomas, and sister, Elizabeth, who also married a Whatley, lived. Sarah and Wilson Whatley subsequently settled in Cedartown, Pauldine (later Polk) County, Georgia, on the Alabama border. Significantly, two of Sarah's siblings also relocated in Georgia Counties on the Alabama line.

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Mary and her husband Caleb Cook settled in Heard County, and George and his wife Martha Coffee settled in Troup County.

Several children of Thomas' brother John migrated out of the state. John and Jesse went to Sequatchie County, Tennessee. Joel migrated to Victoria County, Texas, in 1849, with intermediate stops in Oglethorpe County, Georgia, and in Alabama. Daughter Elizabeth settled in Jasper County, Georgia, with her husband; James Heard migrated to Floyd County, on the Alabama border, after 1797.

Descendents of Stephen's son Stephen also scattered in and out of Georgia. At least eight of his children relocated in Mississippi, most in Hinds County. Another, John, settled in Carroll County, on the Alabama border. Elizabeth lived just north of Green County in Clark County, and George migrated to DeKalb County, Georgia.

Three of the children of Stephen's son, George, migrated out of Georgia: Mary to Ohio, Betsy to Tennessee, and William to South Carolina. Others remained in Georgia: Nancy in nearby Clark County, and George in DeKalb County.

Among Stephen and Mary Faulkner Heard's descendents in Wilkes County, none of the fourth generation remained in Wilkes County. Two, Susan and Lucy, died in Jefferson County, Georgia. Two, Jesse and Sarah, migrated to Mississippi after 1810. Elizabeth settled in Missouri in 1810. Judith lived in South Carolina and then in Chalmers County, Alabama; and Mary, who lived awhile in North Carolina, also died in Alabama.

Most of Sallie Heard and Wilson Whatley's children continued the family's westward migration: Tabitha to Mississippi; Mary Ann and Sarah to Texas; and Seaborn to Alabama, before 1840, to Calhoun County, and after 1864, to Hale County. Wilson remained in the Cedartown, Alabama, area.

The following genealogy is compiled from various Heard and allied family histories listed in the bibliography. No effort has been made to reconcile these sources with official public records, so no claim to accuracy is made. The charts are intended merely to illuminate family connections, to suggest the points at which family migrations occurred, and to identify especially the Elbert County Heards. According to one family genealogist, "up to 1800, there were so many Heards of the same name there [in Elbert County] that they nic-named them according to their occupation or some personal feature."⁸ Here, to keep the generations apart, each descendent is assigned a hyphenated reference number indicating his/her generation and his/her birth order within the generation.

HEARD FAMILY GENEALOGY

- 1-1 John Heard
Many sources believe him to have been the Earl of Tyrone, who supposedly settled in Hanover County, Virginia, c. 1720. Married 1) Margaret McDonald, 2) Esther La Pierre in Charleston, South Carolina, (1772?). Sired fourteen children.
- 2-1 Stephen Heard (1695-1744)
d. Pittsylvania County, Virginia, m. Mary Faulkner.
- 2-2 Charles Heard (?-1797?)
Lived in Goochland County, Virginia, d. in Wilkes County, Georgia, m. 1) Margaret Brady, 2) Margaret Logan.
- 2-3 James Heard
m. Martha?, settled in Abbeville County, South Carolina.
- 2-4 Jesse Heard (?-1809)
Settled in Henry and Franklin Counties, Virginia
- 2-5 John Heard, Jr. (?-1789)
m. Bridget Carroll, d. in Wilkes County, Georgia. Their descendents follow.
- 3-1 Barnard Heard (?-1787)
d. in Wilkes County, Georgia, m. Miss Germany.
- 3-2 John Heard III
m. Elizabaeth (?) in 1787.
- 3-3 Bridget Heard
m. Joseph Staton.
- 3-4 Jane Heard
m. Mr. Austin.
- 3-5 Stephen Heard (1740-1815)
Governor of Georgia, m. 1) Miss Germany, 2) Elizabeth Darden (1765-1848). Their descendents follow.
- 4-1 Barnard Carroll Heard (1787-?)
m. Polly Hutson. Two children.
- 5-1 Boliver Heard.
d. unmarried, in the Savannah River.

- 5-2 Stephen Heard
d. unmarried.
- 5-3 John Alvin Heard
m. Elizabeth Williamson.
- 6-1 George Thomas Heard (1856-?)
- 6-2 Mary Dewitt Heard (1860-1900)
m. in Mississippi
- 6-4 Joseph W. Heard.
- 4-2 Dr. George Washington Heard (1791-1839)
m. Sarah Carter in 1815.
- 5-1 Stephen Heard
m. Miss Aiken
- 4-3 John Adams Heard (1793-1838)
d. unmarried at Heardmont.
- 4-4 Bridget Carroll Heard (1795-?)
m. 1) Simeon Henderson in 1817, 2) Elbert H. Thompson,
migrated to Mississippi.
- 5-1 William Henderson
- 5-2 Daughter (?) Thompson
m. Mr. Riddle
- 5-3 Daughter (?) Thompson
m. Mr. Jones
- 4-5 Jane Lanier Heard (1797-1871)
m. Singleton Walthall Allen (1791-1853), remained in
Elbert County.
- 5-1 Elizabeth Allen
m. George Williams of Athens, Georgia.
- 6-1 Rebecca Allen William
m. DuBose Hill
- 6-2 George Williams
d. unmarried.
- 6-3 William Williams
m. Jessie Arnold.

- 6-4 Janie Williams
m. John Burriss.
- 5-2 George Allen
d. unmarried.
- 5-3 Theodore Allen
d. unmarried.
- 5-4 Ann Allen
m. Dr. Milton Comer of Jones County, Georgia, in
1839.
- 6-1 Janie Comer
m. Samuel Barnett (1841-1898) in 1874.
- 6-2 Benvelle Comer
m. Dr. Hampton, no descendents.
- 6-3 Ann Comer (1849-1928)
d. unmarried.
- 5-5 Susan Allen
m. Young L. G. Harris, remained in Elbert County.
No descendents.
- 5-6 Maria Louisa Allen (1824-1995)
m. William McPherson McIntosh (1815-1862) in 1842.
- 5-7 Mary Allen
m. George McCalla of South Carolina in 1849.
- 6-1 Isaac McCalla.
- 6-2 John W. McCalla
County Commissioner, Elbert County; merchant,
and planter, m. Mitta Allen.
- 6-3 Ida McCalla
m. 1) Frank Cleveland, 2) Bedford Heard in 1887.
- 6-4 Jennie McCalla
m. Joseph Speed.
- 6-5 Susan McCalla (1861-1903).
m. Willis B. Adams (1861-1913) in 1895, an
Elbert County politician.
- 6-6 Mary McCalla
m. George Gaines. No descendents.

6-7 Dr. Lawrence McCalla
m. Hettie Hearne.

5-8 Rebecca Allen
m. William H. Mattox, politician, planter, merchant; remained in Elbert County.

6-1 Sophia Lanier (Lena) Mattox
m. Jeptha Brown Jones.

7-1 Rebecca (Reba) Jones
m. George W. Gray, Justice of the Peace and merchant in 1909.

7-2 Allen Jones

7-3 Annie Jones

7-4 Henry P. Mattox Jones
m. Mary Wall in 1911.

7-5 Carroll Mary (Callie May) Jones (1891--)
[SEE ORAL HISTORY INFORMANTS.] m. Albert R. Hudson (1878--) in 1909.

8-1 Albert R. Hudson, Jr. (1910--)
m. Elizabeth Bell in 1930.

8-2 Clark Hudson (1912--)

8-3 Francis Hudson (1915--)
m. Flemming Balchin.

8-4 Mack Hudson (1919--)

8-5 David Hudson (1919--)

8-6 Carroll Mattox Hudson (1922--)

6-2 Singleton Paige Mattox
m. Annie Jones in 1887.

6-3 Allen Mattox
d. unmarried.

6-4 Clark McIntosh Mattox
m. Sarah Jones

6-5 Susan Bevell Mattox
d. unmarried.

- 6-6 Annie Mattox
d. unmarried.
- 6-7 Carroll Mattox
m. Charles Fisher
- 6-8 Jane Walston Mattox
m. 1) (?) Harris, 2) Raymond Gaines. No
descendents.
- 5-9 Gerrard Walthall Allen
m. Isabella Blackwell in 1850, remained in Elbert
County.
- 6-1 Gerrard Allen
m. Adelaide Stanford
- 4-6 Pamela Darden Heard (1799-1817)
d. unmarried at Heardmont.
- 4-7 Thomas Jefferson Heard (1801-1876)
m. Nancy Parks Middleton (1811-1863), 2) Mrs. Elizabeth
Arnold.
- 5-1 Sarah Heard
m. L. H. O. Martin in 1846.
- 5-2 James Lawrence Heard (1832-1922).
m. Mary Melissa Harper (?-1915), remained in Elbert
County.
- 5-3 Robert Middleton Heard (?-1909)
m. Louisa Hutson Jones in 1864.
- 5-4 Erskin Heard
m. 1) Martha Harper in 1855, 2) Caroline Calhoun.
- 5-5 William Henry Heard
m. Jennie Harper in 1873.
- 5-6 Eugene Barnard Heard (1847-1934)
m. Sallie Harper, lived at Rose Hill, Elbert County.
- 5-7 Jane Heard
m. Dr. David Matthews.
- 4-8 Sarah Hammond Heard (1804-1825)
m. James O. Jarrett in 1825.
- 4-9 Martha Murch Heard (1788-1824)
m. Bartlett Tucker (1784-?) c. 1805; lived at Heardmont.

- 5-1 Martha Tucker (1807-?)
m. John Maxwell. No descendents.
- 5-2 Stephen Heard Tucker
m. Mary Aiken in 1827; migrated to Alabama.
- 5-3 Elizabeth Tucker
m. 1) Mr. Upshaw, 2) Robert Harris in 1840.
- 5-4 Sarah Tucker
m. Dr. Henry Sanders of South Carolina in 1842. No descendents.
- 5-5 Robert Tucker
m. and migrated to Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas.

FOOTNOTES

¹See, for example: Tressie Cook, Cook-Heard and Allied Lines Barton, Bullock, Fitzpatrick and Smith (Dallas, TX: Farmer Genealogy Co., 1978), pp. 91-92; Guy E. Wood, "Southern Line of the Heard Family" (n.p., n.d.), typewritten, pp. 2-3; and Mary Elizabeth Whatley Jones, "Whatley Grandfathers (the Wilson Whatley Line), Ancestors and Descendants: Including Brief Biographies of Heard and Cook Ancestors" (Abilene, TX: Published by the author, 1973), p. 15.

²Cook, Cook-Heard and Allied Lines, p. 92; Wood, "Southern Line of the Heard Family," p. 3; and Jones, "Whatley Grandfathers," p. 15.

³Cook, Cook-Heard and Allied Lines p. 92.

⁴Adaline Evans Wynn, Southern Lineages: Records of Thirteen Families (Published by the author, 1940), pp. 114-17.

⁵Ibid., pp. 118-21.

⁶Ibid., pp. 120-29; and Harold Heard, "Early Records of Heards" (Amarillo, TX: Published by the author, n.d., mimeographed), pp. 1-15; and Harold Heard, "Southern Heard Families" (Amarillo, TX: Published by the author, n.d., mimeographed), pp. 4-25, 99-103.

⁷Wynn Southern Lineages, p. 129; and Heard, "Early Records of Heards," p. 14.

⁸Letter, Dr. Falkner Heard to Silas Wright, November 25, 1900, Heard Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Georgia.

SECTION 3: THE DYE FAMILY

As a young man George Washington Dye served as the postmaster in Elbert County. The oral tradition tells that when he asked for permission to marry the young lady he was in love with, he was told that he was too poor by her landowning father. At that, Dye promised that he would one day have more land and wealth than the father. Instilled with this commitment, he went on to acquire his considerable means and property through shrewd, sometimes marginally ethical, business deals and through gambling.¹

In the process of accumulating his wealth, Dye bought a slave named Lucinda. She probably came from the Virgin Islands and probably had been owned by two other slaveholders before Dye. Lucinda became Dye's mistress and had eight children by him. Before actually moving into the "big house" with Dye, Lucinda was involved with another slave, Albert Harper, for which alliance Dye whipped Lucinda, but he then took her in, and told her that neither she nor any of her children would ever want for anything if she would dedicate herself to Dye's comfort. She agreed to these terms, with little other choice: she was, after all, a slave relating to her master. Lucinda had had one child by Harper, Hester, whom George Dye took as one of his own children after Lucinda became his mistress.

As has been stated, Dye had eight children by Lucinda: Eugene, Jarrett, Bynum, Laura, Martha, Elizabeth, Albert, and Victoria. Eugene Dye married Salonia Harper and had six children by her: Susie, Bynum, George, J.W., Laura Mae, and Victoria. He married a second time, to Jeanette Heard, but there was no issue from this union. Jarrett Dye married Lucinda Harper, who bore him no children, and then he married Lucretia Mattox. They had ten children: TomJoe, Fannie, Mattie, Ella, Mamie and her twin brother George, Edna (called Missie), Walton, Henry, and Jepp. Dye's son Bynum married Edna Louis and had four children: Shelton, Estelle, Liza Ann, and Martin. Dye's daughter Laura married Gibson Verdell and had seven children: George, Addie, Ola, Lucy, Albert, Clarence, and Hester. Lucy's and Addie's children, the great-grand-

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Dye Family

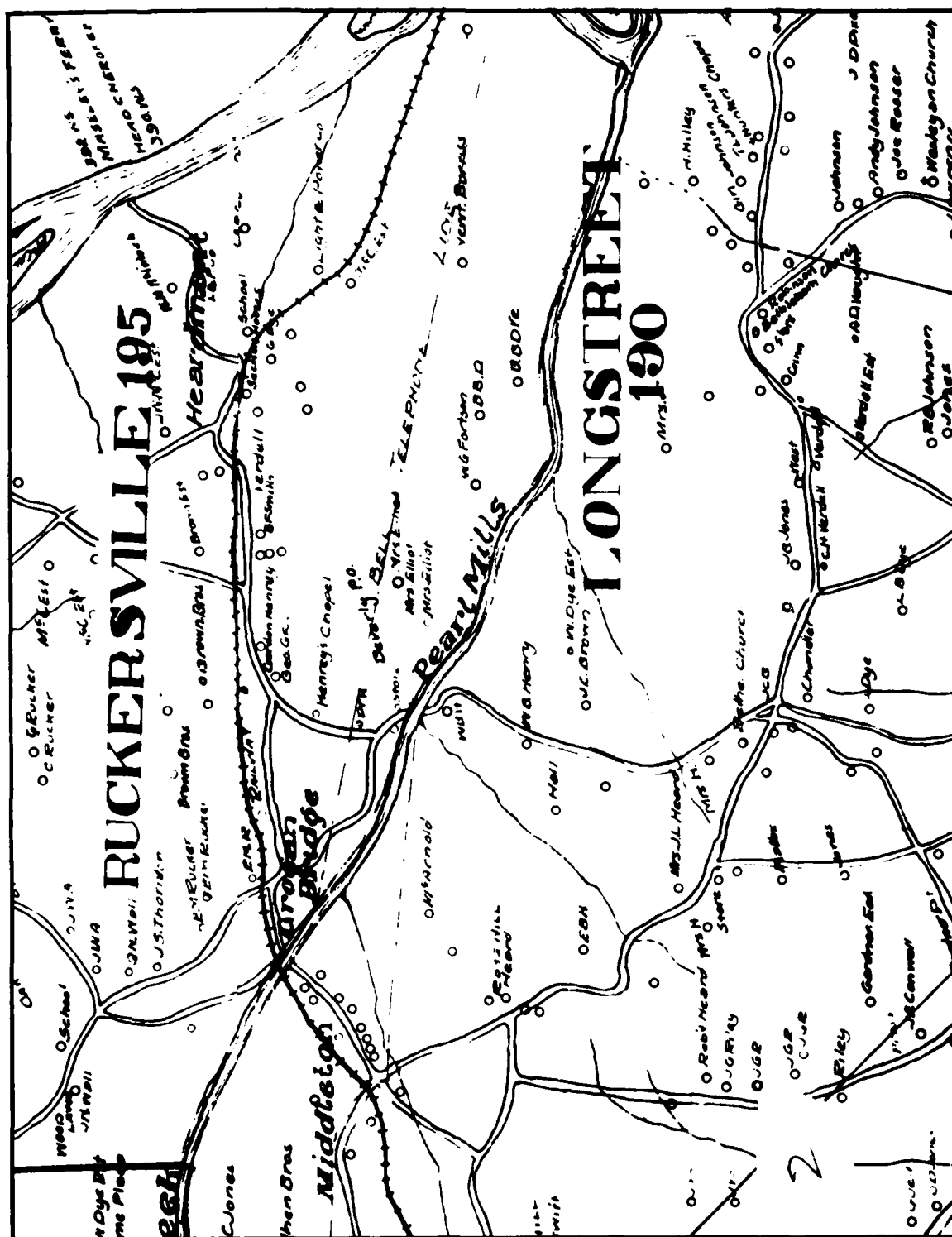
children of George Washington Dye are important here: two of them, Ornel (Rufus) Bullard and Edward Brownlee served as oral history informants for this report. Rufus Bullard was the son of Lucy; Edward was the son of Addie, who married John Edward Brownlee, himself the son of a white man and a black woman. Addie had two other children, a son Norwood and a daughter Marie.²

George Washington Dye's daughter Martha married Robert Brewer and had eleven children, ten whose names were identified here: John, Edward, Ida, Lula, Robert, Martha (called Bessie), Holsey Lucius, William, George Washington, and Lucy. Daughter Elizabeth Dye had two children Annie and Georgia, but her husband's name was not identified. Albert Dye, George Washington Dye's fourth son, married twice. By Georgia Starks he had two children who lived, Mary and William, and another offspring who died at birth. By Frances, a cousin of his first wife, he had Aleck, Albert, Roy, and Herbert. Victoria Dye, the last child of George Washington Dye and Lucinda, had two daughters, Hattie and Carol, but her husband was not identified for this report.

Dye's stepdaughter Hester, nee Harper, also married and had children. She wed Moriah Gray and bore George, Sally, Lula (called Sissie), Andra, Erskin, Robert, and Mack.

When Dye died he divided his land among all nine of his children, including Hester. Some of the family's difficulties in retaining ownership of all of their lands has been mentioned elsewhere in this report. While this summary is skeletal, it served two significant functions for this study. First, since the genealogy of this particular family had not yet been recorded in any form, its barest outlines were collected here in the hope they might be filled in later by other researchers. In addition, the history of the descendants of George Washington Dye provided information on several generations of black land owners in the Russell project area, whose origins and experience in the area are an important part of its story. The genealogical information is, in effect, a by-product of the oral history investigations in which other information than family history was paramount.

V. F.



Map 23: Some Heard and Dye Family Holdings, Elbert County, 1905

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Dye Family

FOOTNOTES

¹Interviews with Edward Brownlee March 1-2, 1980; March 21-22, 1980; June 13, 1980.

²Children are not listed in their correct birth order in every case, as birth order, like many married names, was not known.

PART VI: RECOMMENDATIONS

Our recommendations go in two directions: toward what specific additional historical work might follow this study and how a study of this type might be handled in the future course of large scale archeologically based cultural resource projects.

It seems to The History Group that there are ample suggestions here, hints, leads, and ideas, which might be more fully developed in site-specific and topic-specific studies. Many site-specific archeological investigations are already underway, and each project should uncover more useful information about the project area. However, it also seems to us that there are some definite areas of investigation which need attention. First, we would recommend studies of the families who have been the occupants of the historic sites. The architectural detailing and ownership patterns of the structures have been excellently documented by the NAER field teams, but what is lacking is a fuller understanding of the character of the families who inhabited them - their members, activities, connections, and relationships to the community at large. Second, we would recommend focusing more attention on the histories of the townsites in and bordering the MRA: Heardmont, Middleton, Beverly, and Lowndesville, especially. Because of the paucity of documentary evidence on these towns, and because of their continuing loss of population, their historical reconstruction has some immediacy connected to it. These are for the most part not yet archeological sites - although Beverly clearly is - but they are well on their way to becoming abandoned places. Third, we would recommend an analytical study which could relate the background history here to the architectural history of the area as documented by NAER. We had no responsibilities for architecture and NAER had none for general history; consequently, the two might be pieced together quite profitably, i.e., to fit the features of the built environment into the developmental story of the project area.

Finally, we would strongly endorse a complete synthesis of information for the historical period which is drawn from all inves-

Recommendations

tigative sources and fields: from archeology, from anthropology, from folklore, from history, from architecture, and from the ecological and environmental studies done in the area. Such a synthesis would have everything to offer a program of interpretation for the MRA, as the Corps of Engineers begins to develop the lakeside parcels for recreation, conservation, and history.

It is our sincerest hope that this background study will be useful to ongoing investigations in the project area, but we also know that its usefulness is dependent upon its original objectives, and it was our experience throughout this project that there were at times conflicting, if not quite mutually exclusive, objectives for our work. First, it was to be a background overview of the project area based on a literature search; second, it was to investigate specific sites; and third, it was to serve as a piece of mitigation for the impact of the dam construction on the local environment. It is our professional view that broad-based and site-specific studies are not mutually compatible within the same project unless the site-specific studies are severely contained. They require too much detailed research to do anything but compete with precious time to evaluate other sources also useful for conceptualizing the area's total history. It is a constant problem in history to balance the two, the Whole and the Parts; this is not an original comment, only a reminder about the way historical research works.

Of more concern to us when it comes to the usefulness of this report is its ultimate offering. Is it a background overview? Then, in our view it is scheduled too late in the whole program of Russell MRA investigations to be of much use. It arrives on the scene at a time when its bibliographic "news" is barely wanted or needed. Is it an item of mitigation? If so, then it is scheduled too early to be of much use, as it cannot gain insights from the very archeological and other specialized studies it was otherwise also designed to serve; it cannot synthesize or make meaningful the most comprehensive picture of MRA history. Consequently, its full public effectiveness is compromised.

We are well aware that this project, like all projects, has evolved from one intention to another, as its usefulness was increasingly perceived. However, we would strongly recommend breaking these several research objectives apart and setting up an historical work program which is more programmatic for its own sake (history's, that is), and less a "servant to all masters."

The literature search portion might be isolated and performed very early on in the program of investigations, as early if not earlier than the first archeological reconnaissance. It ought to have as its tasks the identification of all unpublished sources on the project area, the summary of their research value, and the annotation of all published secondary sources relevant to the area. It ought to make recommendations as to the scope and limits of the archival materials and public records and how they might best be mined for original research purposes. The

literature search ought not itself to perform original research. Second, an overview ought to be scheduled which emanates naturally from the literature available, which tests the sources available according to certain hypotheses about the history of the project area, and which makes certain conclusions as to those hypotheses. This overview ought not to be identifying bibliography and it ought not to be trying to synthesize other works. Finally, after site specific investigations, a synthesis, integrating the overview with site-specific research ought to be performed. These are clear steps in the historiographical process which might easily be replicated as separate projects or as parts of larger projects, but they ought not to be confused with each other.

Probably the point is to distinguish between "history" which everybody claims and does, and documentary history, which is more systematic and professionalized. The study of our human past requires a mutuality of process as well as idea, a dynamic tension between thought and thing, and between the disciplines which represent them. It is in all our best interests to make the professional use of history a valuable handmaiden in cultural resource management - to honor its own traditions, while challenging its comprehensions. If the Russell MRA has anything to teach through the medium of this report, it is not only the substance of some of its local history, but also its place in the process of that undying human endeavor to confront, understand, and formulate the past to its most appropriate and most sustaining possibilities.

D. R. R.

APPENDIX



Figure 44: The White School at Heardmont
(Photo: Corps of Engineers)

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Appendix

Table 4:
County Population Statistics
(Adjusted for Boundary Changes)

	Census Year	Total Pop.	White %	Free B. %	Slave %	For. %
SC						
Abbeville	1790	9,197	81.6	.3	18.1	-
	1810	21,156	68.1	.4	31.5	-
	1850	32,318	39.	1.	60.	-
	1890	46,854	32.1	67.7	-	.2
	1930	23,331	52.5	47.4	-	.1
	1970	21,112	69.	31.	-	
Anderson ¹	1790	9,568	91.25	.03	8.72	-
	1810	22,897	84.6	.2	15.2	-
	1850	21,475	64.6	.4	35.	-
	1890	43,696	57.4	42.2	-	.4
	1930	81,065	72.	27.9	-	.1
	1970	105,474	82.	18.	-	
GA						
Elbert ²	1790	31,500	76.4	.6	23.	-
	1810	12,156	62.	.4	37.6	-
	1850	12,959	51.9	.1	48.	-
	1890	15,376	48.6	51.3	-	.1
	1930	18,571	59.	40.5	-	.5
	1970	17,262	68.	32.	-	
Hart ³	1790	1,041	85.	-	15.	-
	1810	10,815	84.5	.2	15.3	-
	1850	11,513	78.8	.5	20.7	-
	1890	10,887	72.6	27.2	-	.2
	1930	15,194	74.3	25.6	-	.1
	1970	15,814	77.	23.	-	

¹Figures for 1790 and 1810 given for Pendleton County and Pendleton District; Anderson and Pickens Counties created from Pendleton District in 1826.

²Figure for 1790 for Wilkes County which still included Elbert County.

³Figures for 1790, 1810, and 1850 for Franklin County out of which Hart was created in 1853.

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Table 5: County Statistics: Numbers of Males and Females

	White		Free blk.		Slave		Foreign	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1790:								
Wilkes	11,892	12,160	180*		7,268*		not listed	
Franklin	468	417	not listed		156*		"	"
Abbeville	3,852	3,653	27*		1,665*		"	"
Pendleton	4,542	4,189	3*		834*		"	"
1810:								
Elbert	3,882	3,650	50*		4,574*		"	"
Franklin	4,689	4,454	16*		1,656*		"	"
Abbeville	7,348	7,048	88*		6,672*		"	"
Pendleton	10,002	9,362	48*		3,485*		"	"
1850:								
Elbert	3,374	3,302	6	10	3,165	3,102	"	"
Hart	3,908	4,001	30	25	1,140	1,242	"	"
Abbeville	6,384	6,315	165	192	9,419	9,843	"	"
Pendleton	6,782	7,085	53	41	3,587	3,927	"	"
1890:								
Elbert	3,778	3,692	4,077	3,807	-		17	5
Hart	3,908	4,001	1,501	1,456	-		12	9
Abbeville	7,433	7,617	15,946	15,766	-		67	25
Anderson	12,352	12,741	9,294	9,134	-		99	76
1930:								
Elbert	10,949*		7,535*		-		87*	
Hart	11,281*		3,893*		-		20*	
Abbeville	12,258*		11,055*		-		18*	
Anderson	58,355*		22,594*		-		116*	
1970:								
Elbert	11,753*		5,509*		-			
Hart	12,116*		3,684*		-			
Abbeville	14,539*		6,557*		-			
Anderson	86,373*		19,043*		-			

Note: (*) indicates figure includes both males and females.
Figures for free blacks may also include Indians.

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Table 6: National Population Statistics

Year	Total Population	% Growth	% White	% Free B.	% Slave
1790	3,929,214	-	80.7	1.5	17.8
1810	7,239,881	84.3	81.	3.	16.
1850	23,191,876	220.3	84.	2.	14.
1890	62,979,766	171.6	87.	12.	-
1930	123,202,624	80.	89.	10.	-
1970	203,211,926	65.	87.	11.	-

Table 7: National Population Trends, Increases by Race

Year	Whites	% Increase	Blacks	% Increase
1790	3,172,056	-	757,208	-
1810	5,862,073	85%	1,377,808	82%
1850	19,553,068	234%	3,638,808	164%
1890	55,101,258	182%	7,488,676	106%
1930	110,286,740	100%	11,891,143	50%
1970	177,748,975	61%	22,689,146	90%

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Table 8:
Statistics by State

South Carolina

Year	Population	Growth	White	Black
1790	249,073	-	140,178	108,895
1810	415,115	66%	214,196	200,919
1850	668,507	61%	274,563	393,944
1890	1,151,149	72%	462,008	688,934
1930	1,738,765	51%	944,049	793,681
1970	2,590,516	49%	1,794,430	789,041

Georgia

Year	Population	Growth	White	Black
1790	82,848	-	52,886	29,662
1810	252,433	205%	145,414	107,019
1850	906,185	259%	521,572	384,613
1890	1,837,353	103%	978,357	858,815
1930	2,908,506	58%	1,837,021	1,071,125
1970	4,589,575	58%	3,391,242	1,187,149

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Table 9:
Population Changes of Georgia Towns and Cities, 1920-1970

Places by county	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	Change	
							#loss	%loss
Elbert County:	23,905	18,485	19,618	18,585	17,835	17,262	-6643	-27.8
Beverly Town	132	12	132	0	0	0	-132	-100.0
Bowman City*	730	604	634	714	654	724	-6	-0.8
Elberton City	6,475	4,650	6,188	6,772	7,107	6,438	-37	-0.6
Middleton Town	152	151	224	144	106	106	-46	-30.3
Ruckersville Town	111	74	65	74	64	82	-29	-26.1
Hart County:	17,944	15,174	15,512	14,495	15,229	15,814	-2130	-11.9
Bowersville Town*	390	271	284	303	293	301	-89	-22.8
Cannon City*	1,132	568	496	596	626	709	-423	-37.4
Hartwell Town	2,323	2,048	2,372	2,964	4,599	4,865	+2542	+109.4
Royston City*	1,681	1,447	1,545	2,039	2,333	2,428	+747	+44.4
Vanna Town*	0	158	167	145	152	149	+149	+100.0

*Not in the MRA, used only for comparison with Elbert County statistics.

Source: Tarver and Nixon, Population Trends of Georgia Cities and Towns (October 1972), Appendix, Table 1, pp. 49, 50, 51, and 53.

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Tables 10 and 11:

Table 10: Migration Rates by Counties as % of Total Population in Age Groups

County:	Age:	0-9	10-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75++
Abbeville										
1930-1940		- 4.61	- 4.01	-24.03	-51.00	- 6.44	- 1.44	- 6.60	- 7.02	-23.15
1940-1950		-10.13	-16.35	-19.74	-42.06	-24.94	- 6.05	- 7.08	- 4.63	-26.02
Anderson										
1930-1940		- 2.88	0.42	- 6.29	-21.60	- 1.23	- 5.24	-10.83	0.39	-28.81
1940-1950		- 7.63	- 9.59	-17.79	-31.95	-18.96	-10.88	-10.53	1.69	-18.83

Table 11: Net migration by Counties, Total Numbers in Age Groups

County:	Age:	0-9	10-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75++
Abbeville										
1930-1940		- 259	- 127	-1223	-1321	- 160	- 30	- 88	- 46	- 69
1940-1950		- 510	- 416	- 943	-1412	- 577	- 128	- 103	- 47	- 83
Anderson										
1930-1940		- 594	43	-1144	-2309	- 107	- 334	- 375	7	- 223
1940-1950		-1439	- 941	-3493	-4690	-1935	- 804	- 485	46	- 154

Tables 12 and 13

Table 12: Migration Rates by Counties, White Population in Age Groups

County:	Age:	0-9	10-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75++
Abbeville	1930-1940	- 1.04	3.64	-11.10	-21.78	- 0.91	4.30	- 4.27	0.27	-24.05
	1940-1950	- 3.36	- 4.48	1.66	-16.72	- 8.46	2.56	- 0.31	- 2.41	-15.34
Anderson	1930-1940	- 2.13	- 0.07	- 5.61	-13.70	- 1.07	- 5.62	- 9.88	- 2.09	-28.02
	1940-1950	- 4.56	- 4.64	-13.15	-18.17	- 8.97	- 5125	- 6.56	1.60	-16.20

Table 13: Net Migration by Counties, White Population in Age Groups

County:	Age:	0-9	10-14	15-24	25-34	25-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75++
Abbeville	1930-1940	- 30	56	- 277	- 325	- 13	51	- 30	1	- 38
	1940-1950	- 84	- 61	46	- 346	- 122	35	- 3	- 13	- 27
Anderson	1930-1940	- 315	- 5	- 712	-1093	- 69	- 266	- 254	- 28	- 160
	1940-1950	- 619	- 326	-1834	-2014	- 693	- 299	- 244	31	- 99

Tables 14 and 15

Table 14: Migration Rates by Counties, Black Population in Age Groups

County:	Age:	0-9	10-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75++
Abbeville										
	1930-1940	- 8.38	-11.23	-36.47	-90.71	-13.92	- 9.07	- 9.21	-16.79	-22.14
	1940-1950	-16.80	-20.98	-49.33	-82.76	-52.18	-21.82	-20.45	- 7.13	-39.16
Anderson										
	1930-1940	- 4.82	1.52	- 7.86	-44.84	- 1.69	- 4.14	-13.57	7.83	-31.03
	1940-1950	-15.55	-22.10	-29.19	-74.48	-50.02	-29.83	-27.26	1.93	-26.57

Table 15: Net Migration by Counties, Black Population in Age Groups

County:	Age:	0-9	10-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75++
Abbeville										
	1930-1940	- 229	- 183	- 946	- 996	- 147	- 81	- 58	- 47	- 31
	1940-1950	- 426	- 355	- 989	-1066	- 455	- 163	- 100	- 34	- 56
Anderson										
	1930-1940	- 279	48	- 432	-1216	- 38	- 68	- 121	35	- 63
	1940-1950	- 820	- 615	-1659	-2676	-1242	- 505	- 241	15	- 55

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Appendix

Table 16:
Farms, Farm Land, and Average Size, 1930 and 1974

Divisions	No. of Farms			Total Farm Land (acres)			Average Farm Size (acres)		
	1930	1974	% Diff.	1930	1974	% Diff.	1930	1974	% Diff.
South Carolina	157,931	29,275	-81.5%	10,393,113	6,177,024	-40.6%	65.8	211	220%
Abbeville County	3,403	503	-85.2%	212,313	111,473	-47.5%	62.4	222	256%
Anderson County	8,200	1,231	-85.0%	373,489	175,082	-53.1%	45.5	142	212%
Georgia	255,598	54,911	-78.5%	22,078,630	13,878,294	-37.1%	86.4	253	193%
Elbert County	2,427	411	-83.1%	164,276	66,622	-59.4%	67.7	162	139%
Hart County	2,593	580	-77.6%	134,863	75,575	-44.0%	52.0	130	150%

Sources: U.S. Agricultural Censuses for 1930 and 1974

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Appendix

Table 17: Distribution of Farms, 1930 and 1974,
State of Georgia, Elbert and Hart Counties

Farm Sizes (acres)	Georgia		Elbert Co.		Hart Co.	
	1930	1974	1930	1974	1930	1974
Total No. of Farms	255,598	54,911	2,427	411	2,593	580
1-9	3.2%	5.4%	2.1%	1.5%	2.3%	4.5%
10-49	45.0%	20.2%	46.7%	27.5%	55.1%	27.4%
50-99	27.3%	20.4%	33.1%	24.1%	32.2%	26.7%
100-179	14.8%	19.6%	13.0%	23.3%	9.0%	21.9%
180-499	8.3%	22.7%	4.4%	17.7%	1.4%	15.3%
500-999	1.0%	7.3%	.7%	3.9%	0%	3.0%
1,000+	.4%	4.4%	0%	2%	0%	1.2%

Sources: U.S. Agricultural Censuses for 1930 and 1974

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Appendix

Table 18: Distribution of Farms, 1930 and 1974,
State of South Carolina, Abbeville and Anderson Counties

Farm Sizes (acres)	South Carolina		Abbeville Co.		Anderson Co.	
	1930	1974	1930	1974	1930	1974
Total No. of Farms	157,931	29,275	3,403	503	8,200	1,231
1-9	7.5%	5.8%	8.0%	2.4%	6.1%	2.4%
10-49	55.3%	26.2%	52.4%	14.1%	62.6%	26.8%
50-99	21.1%	22.8%	21.4%	20.3%	23.1%	30.6%
100-179	9.8%	18.0%	11.8%	23.8%	6.4%	19.4%
180-499	5.3%	18.0%	5.8%	31.0%	1.7%	16.7%
500-999	.7%	5.6%	.5%	6.4%	.1%	3.0%
1,000+	.3%	3.6%	.1%	2.0%	0.0%	1.1%

Sources: U.S. Agricultural Censuses for 1930 and 1974

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Table 19:
Farm Tenure by County, 1930 and 1974

County	1930		1974	
	Full Owner	Part Owner	Full Owner	Part Owner
Elbert	586	88	322	70
Hart	543	71	443	121
Abbeville	746	108	383	108
Anderson	1,776	221	865	286
				80

Sources: U.S. Agricultural Censuses for 1930 and 1974

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Appendix

Table 20:
Percentage and Tenure of Black Farmers by County, 1974

County	Farmers		Tenure of Black Farmers		
	Total No. of all Farmers	% Black Farmers	Full Owners	Part Owners	Tenants
Elbert	411	5.3%	19	1	2
Hart	580	3.3%	13	6	0
Abbeville	503	4.0%	14	2	4
Anderson	1,231	4.3%	38	4	11

Source: U.S. Agricultural Census for 1974

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Table 21:
Abbeville County Work Force Employed in Manufacturing,
1947-1977

Year	Total Employed	No. in Manufac.	% in Manufac.	Increase	% of Increase
1947	8,693	1,826	21.0%	---	---
1956	8,306	3,007	36.2%	1,181	65.0%
1967	7,763	3,524	45.4%	517	17.2%
1977	8,657	4,926	56.9%	1,402	39.8%

Sources: County and City Data Books (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government
Printing Office) for 1947, 1956, 1967, and 1977

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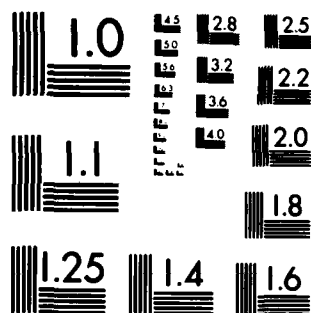
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Appendix

Table 21:
Abbeville County Work Force Employed in Manufacturing,
1947-1977

Year	Total Employed	No. in Manufac.	% in Manufac.	Increase	% of Increase
1947	8,693	1,826	21.0%	---	---
1956	8,306	3,007	36.2%	1,181	65.0%
1967	7,763	3,524	45.4%	517	17.2%
1977	8,657	4,926	56.9%	1,402	39.8%

Sources: County and City Data Books (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government
Printing Office) for 1947, 1956, 1967, and 1977

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Table 22:
Anderson County Work Force Employed in Manufacturing,
1947-1977

Year	Total Employed	No. in Manufac.	% in Manufac.	Increase	% of Increase
1947	31,363	11,108	35.4%	---	---
1956	36,077	15,405	42.7%	4,297	39.0%
1967	40,401	19,150	47.4%	3,745	24.3%
1977	45,947	22,606	49.2%	3,456	18.0%

Sources: County and City Data Books (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government
Printing Office) for 1947, 1956, 1967, and 1977

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Table 23:
Elbert County Work Force Employed in Manufacturing,
1947-1977

Year	Total Employed	No. in Manufac.	% in Manufac.	Increase	% of Increase
1947	6,992	1,217	17.4%	---	---
1956	6,821	1,269	18.6%	52	4.3%
1967	6,400	2,125	33.2%	856	67.5%
1977	6,725	2,804	41.7%	679	32.0%

Sources: County and City Data Books (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government
Printing Office) for 1947, 1956, 1967, and 1977

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Table 24:
Hart County Work Force Employed in Manufacturing,
1947-1977

Year	Total Employed	No. in Manufac.	% in Manufac.	Increase	% of Increase
1947	4,906	255	5.2%	---	---
1956	5,162	1,007	19.5%	752	295.0%
1967	5,456	1,964	36.0%	957	95.0%
1977	6,005	2,912	48.5%	948	48.3%

Sources: County and City Data Book (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government
Printing Office) for 1947, 1956, 1967, and 1977

Table 25:
Pulpwood Production by States and Counties,
1962-1976

Division	1962 (cords)		Hard- wood	1976 (cords)		Hard- wood
	All Species	Pine		All Species	Pine*	
South Carolina	2,092,000	1,615,200	476,800	2,601,500	2,009,900	591,600
Abbeville County	42,890	39,172	3,718	91,434	72,915	18,519
Anderson County	33,887	29,507	4,380	67,896	59,755	8,141
Georgia	4,556,300	4,057,500	498,800	5,599,200	4,965,700	633,500
Elbert County	22,324	17,621	4,703	37,272	33,802	3,470
Hart County	32	32	0	3,208	3,177	31

*** figures reported for "softwood"**

Sources: Joe F. Christopher and Martha E. Nelson, Southern Pulpwood Production, 1962 (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture and Southern Pulpwood Conservation Association, 1963); Daniel F. Bertelson, Southern Pulpwood Production, 1976 (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture and American Pulpwood Association, 1977).

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