

IX. "A DELIGHTFUL MELLOW EARTH": THE LAND OF KING COTTON, 1810-1865

The history of the South and the story of King Cotton are inextricably linked. Cotton did not beget slavery, which was a well established economic and ideological tradition in the South long before the nineteenth century, nor did it create the plantation, a unit of social and labor organization which developed in the Carribean and was successfully transplanted to the southeastern United States. But cotton carried slavery and the plantation away from the rice ponds of Georgia's and South Carolina's coast and into the interior of the Old South, where these institutions took root and thrived. Prior to the advent of King Cotton there were two Souths: the plantation South of the lowcountry, and the upcountry land of small farmers and subsistence crops. Like Bismarck, King Cotton ascended to power through the unification of his country.

King Cotton's reign was noted for two events: (1) the consolidation of large land tracts for plantation organization, and (2) a dramatic increase in the slave population. Land consolidation and the out migration noted in Chapter VIII were symbiotic. Plantation agriculture was best suited to the river bottoms and level terraces of the upper Piedmont, where broad expanses of fertile soil made the large scale production of cotton possible and profitable. The successful employment of such lands required substantial work forces, since cotton is a labor intensive crop. Hence those planters who were able to combine suitable land and slaves were the ones likely to profit from the cotton economy. Farmers situated on the sloping uplands were not as capable of competing in the cotton economy. These lands required extensive clearing for any large scale agricultural endeavor, and were thus susceptible to erosion. Erosion depleted most upland fields of their nutrients within the course of a few years, hence clearing had to be engaged on a cyclical basis. The labor effort necessary to create and maintain an upland agricultural plot of any size was probably beyond the profits to be gained in the cotton economy. As King Cotton's dominance spread, social and economic stratification intensified. Yet in the Old South, the frontier was the great equalizer, and offered the possibility of social migration.

While the plantation was the most visible aspect of the Old South and the project area, it would be incorrect to assume that it swallowed the South like some sort of agricultural amoeba. The plantation is worthy of much attention due to its economic success, and to the impact of slavery on Southern society but, statistically, small farmers dominated the landscape. Historian Kenneth Coleman has noted that two-thirds of Georgia land was divided among small farm holdings in 1860, and that three-fifths of all Georgians owned no slaves. Coleman also notes that ownership of 20 or more slaves, a figure often used as the dividing line between farmer and planter, was restricted to 6,363 individuals in that year (Coleman 1978:38). As Taylor and Smith have noted, it is difficult to determine the number of plantations which were present in the study area. They

estimate there were "at least five and most likely twenty more" (Brooks 1978:124) plantations present during the antebellum period. Small farms are even more difficult to identify. Leaving behind scant traces in the documentary record, and often difficult to ascertain through archaeological techniques, the plethora of antebellum archaeological remains revealed in the Russell Reservoir indicates that historic farmsteads far outnumbered the plantations. While it is impossible to venture an accurate guess, the archaeological evidence would indicate that farmsteads occurred at a ratio of somewhere between ten and twenty times the frequency of plantations.

The importance of King Cotton to the RBR is reflected in the attention it received in the archaeological research. Grey (1983), Drucker et al (1983), and Orser et al. (1987) span the archaeology of the agricultural continuum, ranging in scale from small farms to plantations as their foci. Information from Worthy (1983) and Ramsey et al. (1986) provide added dimensions to this archaeological discussion, while The History Group (1981) and Brooks in Taylor and Smith (1978) provide the description and the basic time line against which the archaeological excavations are pegged.

FROM FRONTIER TO FIELD: HISTORICAL EVOLUTION IN THE RUSSELL RESERVOIR, 1810-1865

While the increase of cotton cultivation in the upcountry preceded immediately upon the heels of Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793, not all inhabitants of the region were initially persuaded of the profitability of cotton agriculture. Cotton prices were sound during the early years of the nineteenth century, then depressed during the War of 1812, when exports to Great Britain were curtailed. Following the war, however, prices rose dramatically. From a low of eight cents per pound in 1808, cotton prices more than doubled by 1815, reaching a mark of 19 cents per pound. By 1816 the price had increased to 21 and a half cents, while 1817 saw cotton sell for the sum of 31 and a quarter cents per pound (The History Group 1981:92). After this point prices moderated, but the boom following the War of 1812 established cotton as the upcountry's favored crop.

With the rise of a cotton economy, the population matrix of the region changed. Table 10 presents the population statistics of the four counties contributing to the study area for the period from 1790 to 1850. All four share a number of attributes. The population in 1790 was heavily weighted toward white inhabitants. Elbert County possessed the largest slave percentage (23 percent), and the high overall population density in Elbert County (more than three times as great as any of the adjoining counties) may have been a factor of settlement clustering in preparation for the expansion of Georgia's boundaries which occurred in 1790. With the exception of Elbert County, the total population of these counties increased by 1810, with a substantial portion of this increase coming at the expense of bonded labor. Clearly, slavery and the origins of a plantation economy were in motion prior to the War of 1812. While the total population of these counties remained relatively

stable between 1810 and 1850, the slave population of all of the counties dramatically increased. Abbeville County, which experienced the greatest total population increase between 1810 and 1850 (11,162 individuals) actually witnessed a decrease in the white population (from 14,407 inhabitants in 1810 to 12,604 in 1850) but a dramatic expansion of the slave population (from 6,664 individuals in 1810 to 19,391 in 1850). The white population of all but Hart County declined during the period between 1810 and 1850 (Hart County's population remained nearly stable), undoubtedly as a product of the migration of white farmers to the frontier.

Table 10: Population Statistics - Abbeville, Anderson, Hart, and Elbert Counties - 1790-1850 (from The History Group 1981:257)

	Census Year	Total Population	White %	Free Black %	Slave %
Abbeville County (SC)	1790	9,197	81.60	0.30	18.10
	1810	21,156	68.10	0.40	31.50
	1850	32,318	39.00	1.00	60.00
Anderson County (SC) ¹	1790	9,568	91.25	0.03	8.72
	1810	22,897	84.60	0.20	15.20
	1850	21,475	64.60	0.40	35.00
Elbert County (GA) ²	1790	31,500	76.40	0.60	23.00
	1810	12,156	62.00	0.40	37.60
	1850	12,959	51.90	0.10	48.00
Hart County (GA) ³	1790	1,041	85.00	-	15.00
	1810	10,815	84.50	0.20	15.30
	1850	11,513	78.80	0.50	20.70

¹ Figures for 1790 and 1810 are for Pendleton County and Pendleton District; Anderson and Pickens Counties were created from the Pendleton District in 1826

² Figures for 1790 for Wilkes County, which included Elbert County at that time.

³ Figures for 1790, 1810, and 1850 for Franklin County, from which Hart was created in 1853.

While the statistics presented above illuminate the general trends of dramatically increasing slave populations and a gradual decline in the white habitation of the region, they do not provide any concrete evidence for the formation of plantations, or for the distribution of slaves among the white residents. For example, in Abbeville County in 1850, which had the highest percentage of slaves as part of the total population for the counties contributing to the Russell Reservoir, there were only approximately one and a half slaves for each white resident of the county.

Considering that 20 slaves was a number commonly used to separate planters from slave-holding farmers, it is obvious that there were either few plantations in the county in 1850, or else a large number of white farmers owned no slaves. The distribution and relation of blacks to whites and of planters to farmers cannot be readily discerned from the census data. Statistics gathered for Elbert County in the early nineteenth century and in 1850 provide a more in-depth view of slave holding and the agrarian economy in that part of the reservoir.

The Elbert County Tax Digests were employed by Worthy (1983:13-16) to illustrate the relations between the increase in slave populations and plantations during the antebellum nineteenth century. These digests provide a number of pertinent statistics - the number of slaveowners, number of slaves owned, quality of lands owned, etc. - which are critical to establishing the parameters of plantation agriculture in the project area. Although developed for Elbert County, they are illustrative of general trends in the agriculture of the region, and hence may be applied to the other counties contributing to the project area. Table 11 below outlines slave and land ownership for Elbert County in 1809 and 1851 respectively.

These statistics support and elaborate upon the population trends noted for the Russell Reservoir area as a whole. The white population decreased, and the slave population increased, between 1809 and 1851. (It should be noted that the 1851 statistics are taken for the Militia Districts of Elbert County within the RBR, and are not county totals, as are the figures for 1809. Thus the decrease of the white population cannot be substantiated. However, the increase in the slave population was certainly greater than is shown.) There were more slaveowners in 1851 than in 1809 as a percentage of the total land-owning population. While in 1809 only slightly more than half of Elbert County's land-owning population possessed slaves, by 1851 nearly 80 percent were slave holders. The distribution of the slave population had also adjusted during the interim. In 1809, half of all slaveowners in Elbert County owned five slaves or less. By 1851, this group was reduced to only 31 percent of the slaveowning population. While fewer individuals owned more slaves in 1851 than in 1809, the population shifts do not necessarily signal the growth of a sizable plantation economy. Accepting ownership of 20 or more slaves as the boundary between plantation and farm, this percentage increased only from 16 to 24 percent during the period from 1809 to 1851. The most substantial increase was in the percentage of the population owning from six to 19 slaves, which rose from 35 to 45 percent. In 1851 76 percent of all slave-holders owned less than 20 slaves. The slave-holding population of the Russell Reservoir thus changed during the course of the first half of the nineteenth century. More landowners came to own slaves, and to own larger groups of slaves. The percentage of Russell Reservoir slaveowners owning 20 or more slaves, 24 percent by 1851, was significantly higher than the national average, which one historian has calculated as no more than 12 percent of all Southern slaveowners (Starobin 1970:5). However, this average was higher than the national average as early as 1809, when it accounted for 16 percent of the area's slaveowners. The significance of this observation is debatable. While much has been made of the rise of cotton prices following the War of 1812, as a catalyst to the plantation economy, in Elbert County this appears to have had less of an impact. Perhaps Elbert County's

Table 11: Slave and Land Ownership in Elbert County, 1809 and 1851 (from Worthy 1983:15)

Description	1809 ¹		1851 ²	
	N	%	N	%
Total Landowners	198		129	
Owning Second Quality Land	28	14	15	12
Owning First Quality Land	2	1	6	5
Total Nonslaveowners	86	43	30	23
Total Slaveowners	112	57	99	77
Owning 5 or fewer slaves	55	49	31	31
Owning from 6 to 19 slaves	39	35	45	45
Owning 20 or more slaves	18	16	24	24
Owning 35 or more slaves	4	4	9	9
Owning 50 or more slaves	1	.90	7	7
Owning 100 or more slaves	0	--	3	3
Total Slaves Owned	1041		2008	
By owners of 5 or fewer slaves	132	13	95	5
By owners of from 6 to 19 slaves	413	40	583	29
By owners of 20 or more slaves	496	48	1330	66
By owners of 35 or more slaves	173	17	868	43
By owners of 100 or more slaves	0	--	529	26

¹ The data for Elbert County for 1809 are taken from a volume entitled *Tax Digest for 1794-1813*, on file at the Elbert County Courthouse. According to Worthy (1983:15), the volume clearly contains the assessments of only one year. At least one individual listed in this volume is assessed for lands purchased in 1807, hence the digest must have been prepared after 1807. Worthy arbitrarily chose 1809 as the date between 1807 and 1813 to which to assign these statistics.

² These data are compiled for Georgia Militia Districts 199, 196, 195, and 190, which more closely comprise that portion of Elbert County contained within the Russell Reservoir study area. This is thus a reduction in the overall land being considered, which accounts for some of the variations between the data presented for 1809 and 1851 above.

proximity to the birthplace of the cotton gin served to implant cotton agriculture at an earlier date than elsewhere in the South. It is also likely that the importance of the price increase following the War of 1812 was highlighted by the westward expansion of the South, and that this increase, in tandem with Whitney's cotton gin, served to spread plantation agriculture across the southern United States at an accelerated rate. The project area represents the hearth of upland cotton agriculture, and hence may predate agricultural trends generally attributed to the cotton economy.

The statistics presented in Table 11 remind us that as the world of planters changed, so to changed the world of slaves. The majority of all slaves in Elbert County (88 percent) were found on farms or plantations housing from six to more than 20 slaves in 1809. This trend was amplified by 1851, by which time 95 percent of all Elbert County slaves in the project area were found on agricultural units in this range. Most dramatic is the percentage of slaves belonging to plantations, that is, held in groups of 20 or more. By 1851 66 percent of Elbert County slaves in the study area were found on such plantations. Notable is the number of slaves held in units of 100 or more. Twenty six percent of all Elbert County slaves from the RBR were found in such units in 1851. Since only three slaveowners possessed these 529 slaves, the average number of slaves on these three largest plantations was slightly more than 176. The consolidation of slaves into larger agricultural units should have several implications for slave life in the project area. First, slaves housed under such conditions were less likely to interact with whites, and hence become acculturated into Anglo American traditions. Slaves held by small farmers, in groups of five or less, were likely to live in close conjunction with (if not within) the master's dwelling, and were more prone to daily interaction with whites (Deetz 1988). In contrast, slaves found on large plantations probably occupied separate slave villages, and were more segregated from white culture. A second implication of this population distribution has to do with the natural increase of America's black population in the nineteenth century. Slaves held in small units (five or less) were less likely to find mates, establish familial relations, and naturally increase the black population. Those on larger plantations had greater access to a larger pool of prospective mates, and perhaps enjoyed a more stable environment in which familial relations could endure. The black population nationwide increased from 1,377,808 to 3,638,808 between 1810 and 1850, almost entirely due to natural increase, since slave importation was banned following 1808 (The History Group 1981:259). Such increases were made possible by large slave holdings, and in turn contributed to them.

While the plantation economy was clearly ensconced in 1851, there was still a large number of landowners who must be defined as farmers. Of the 129 landowners recorded in 1851, 61 (47 percent) owned less than five slaves, with half of these (30) owning no slaves at all. The project area, as represented by Elbert County, can be considered as having a social division of approximately six tiers. The lowest tier would have consisted of whites who did not own land, and hence were not registered in the Tax Digests. It is difficult to establish their number within the project area, although they most likely contributed only a small

percentage to the total white population. The second tier consisted of landowners who did not own slaves (23 percent of all landowners), while the third tier consisted of landowners who owned less than five slaves (24 percent of the total). The fourth tier would have been composed of a large group of well-to-do farmers on the brink of planter status; those owning from six to 19 slaves (35 percent of the total). A fifth tier consisted of planters, those who owned more than 20 slaves (16 percent of the total) while the final stratum consisted of those extremely wealthy individuals who possessed more than 100 slaves, and who comprised only two percent of the total landowning population.

The project area by 1850 appears to have exhibited the social qualifications of plantation society: a ranked social scale among whites, with the ownership of slaves being the key determinant of social place; an overall decrease in the white population, and a corresponding increase in the number of slaves; and a more sharply defined separation and segregation of whites and blacks. While slaves were an important variable in determining the social and economic scale of the Old South, they were only one component of the plantation. The second, equally critical variable, was land.

As Worthy (1983:17) notes of Elbert County:

In general, increased slaveholding was accompanied by increased land ownership. Of those who owned more than 20 slaves in 1809, fewer than one-third owned more than 950 acres. In 1851, roughly two-thirds of those owned more than 950 acres, and all but one of those owning more than 35 slaves owned over 1000 acres. (The individual who owned 38 slaves and only 25 acres of upland also owned 800 "town lots"). These statistics indicate that during the first half of the nineteenth century, the concentration of wealth, and the degree of monopolization of the slave labor force, increased in the MRA.

This development of a sizable class of large slaveholders who monopolized land and slave labor suggests the intensification of the cotton plantation system between 1809 and 1851. This conclusion must remain tentative due to the nature of the taxation system. The assessment of land according to its "quality" prevents making a definitive correlation between the development of what appears to be a planter class and the actual incidence of plantation agriculture in the MRA.

Within the 1851 Tax Digest, land was classified into either "Upland" or "River/Swamp" categories, and ranked within each by class: first, second, or third quality. This classification indicates that the upland/bottomland dichotomy used elsewhere in this discussion was one employed by the inhabitants of the area themselves. More importantly, only two individuals were assessed as owners of "River/Swamps" in 1851. These were Singleton W. Allen, the owner of 211 slaves, and Joseph Rucker, who owned 214 slaves. These two individuals, Elbert

County's largest planters, monopolized the prime agricultural land of the region, possessing a combined 1,000 acres of bottomland between them. Within this particular category of landownership, there is a strong correlation between land quality and the development of plantation agriculture (Worthy 1983:17, 19).

Unfortunately, the Tax Digests do not provide information on the criteria used to distinguish between first, second, and third quality land. Worthy (1983:17) notes that third quality land does not appear to have been unimproved, as might be hypothesized, since in 1851 only 12 percent of all landowners owned second quality land and only five percent possessed land ranked as first quality. According to her review of the Tax Digest, land appears to have been ranked on the basis of the types of crops which it was capable of producing. Third quality land appears to have been best suited to subsistence crop production, while both first and second quality acreage was employed in the production of cash crops. Worthy notes that the number and average size of first and second quality parcels increased from 1809 to 1851, supporting the growth of a plantation system (Worthy 1983:18).

There is, however, not an absolute correlation between first and second quality land and plantation agriculture. In 1851, for example, I. W. Warren owned 22 slaves and 1,080 acres of third quality land; William Bowen owned 40 slaves and 1,199 acres of third quality land; and B. G. Wall owned 54 slaves and 2,004 and one half acres of third quality land. All of these individuals, who would have to be considered planters by the size of their slave labor forces, owned no first or second quality land (Worthy 1983:18). There are several possible explanations for this phenomenon. These individuals may have been recent arrivals to the area, who had not yet cleared, planted, and improved their lands to a higher tax status. It is unlikely, however, that so much land capable of being transformed to first or second quality could still be found in the Russell area by 1851. A second possibility is that these individuals were engaged in large scale timbering, to which third quality land was suited and which also required large work forces. Starobin (1970:25) has noted that Georgia led the South in lumber production in the 1850s, and M'Call (1909:68) observed that it required 20 hands working for a full year to transform 40 acres of densely forested land into agricultural fields. Thus the antebellum timber industry in Georgia would have required large labor forces. A third possibility is that these individuals were engaged in early industrial efforts in the Russell Reservoir area. Worthy notes that mills appear to have been situated on third quality lands (Worthy 1983:18). However, there was only a minimal amount of industrial activity in the Russell area prior to the Civil War, and it is unlikely that the slave population outlined above were all involved in industrial pursuits. Finally, it is possible that the individuals cited above actually possessed first and second quality lands, but through some sort of debt of gratitude or obligation from the tax assessor, managed to have these lands evaluated in the lower taxable category (see Gray 1983:85).

By 1851 the project area was evidently part of the plantation South. While the discussion above focused exclusively on Elbert County, the trends exhibited here were undoubtedly repeated in Hart, Anderson, and Abbeville counties. There may have been some separation within the Russell Reservoir area regarding the amount of participation within the plantation economy, as figures presented by

Hilliard (1984) indicate a gradual dissolution of the force of this economy as it proceeded northward. Hilliard's maps allow this variation to be placed in perspective, and also provide the opportunity to compare trends in the agriculture of the Russell Reservoir with those occurring across the South.

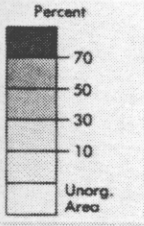
The first measure of the Russell Reservoir's participation in the plantation economy is the distribution of slaves as a percent of the total population. Figures 79 and 80 reflect this distribution. The earliest map dates to 1790. By that year the project area had been settled, and was situated as the South's western frontier. The slave population contributed less than 30 percent of the total population across most of the reservoir area. High density slave populations at this time were restricted to the South Carolina and Georgia coast, and to the Tidewater region of Virginia and Maryland.

By 1810 (Figure 79) Louisiana had been added to the South, as well as eastern Tennessee and central Georgia. The area of highest slave density continued to concentrate along South Carolina and Georgia's coast, and in sections of Louisiana along the Mississippi River. Slave population density in the lower sections of the project area now ranged from 30 to 50 percent of the total population, and from 10 to 30 percent in the upper sections of the Reservoir.

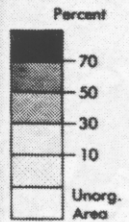
By 1830 (Figure 80) the South had expanded greatly, and now included parts of Alabama and Mississippi, and all of Florida, Arkansas, and Missouri. Slaveholding trends continued to reflect the distribution noted in earlier years, with the highest density found along the Atlantic coast from South Carolina through Florida and along the Mississippi River. A second band of moderately high density extended from central South Carolina through Georgia and into Alabama and Mississippi. This band included the southern portion of the Reservoir (Abbeville and Elbert Counties), while the northern portion was characterized by a lower slave density. These trends had intensified by 1860 (Figure 80). Three zones of high-density slave holdings existed on the eve of the Civil War. The coastal fringe of South Carolina and Georgia continued to demonstrate an adherence to slave labor, although the slave ratios for some counties in this region had declined. The greatest concentration of slavery was now found along the Mississippi, and included parts of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Finally, a concentration in western Alabama (part of the famed "Black Belt") highlighted the termination of an arc of high density slave populations which extended from South Carolina through the Piedmont of Georgia and Alabama. This arc included Elbert and Abbeville County. The slave population of Anderson County was not as great, contributing between 30 and 50 percent of the total population, while that of Hart County amounted to no more than 30 percent of the total population. Thus the southern counties within the Reservoir must be considered within the cotton economy, while the participation of the northern counties was more marginal.

Graphic representations of cotton production reflect the fact that the plantation culture of the Old South was oriented to two separate crops. 1820 is the first year

SLAVES AS A PERCENT
OF TOTAL POPULATION
1790



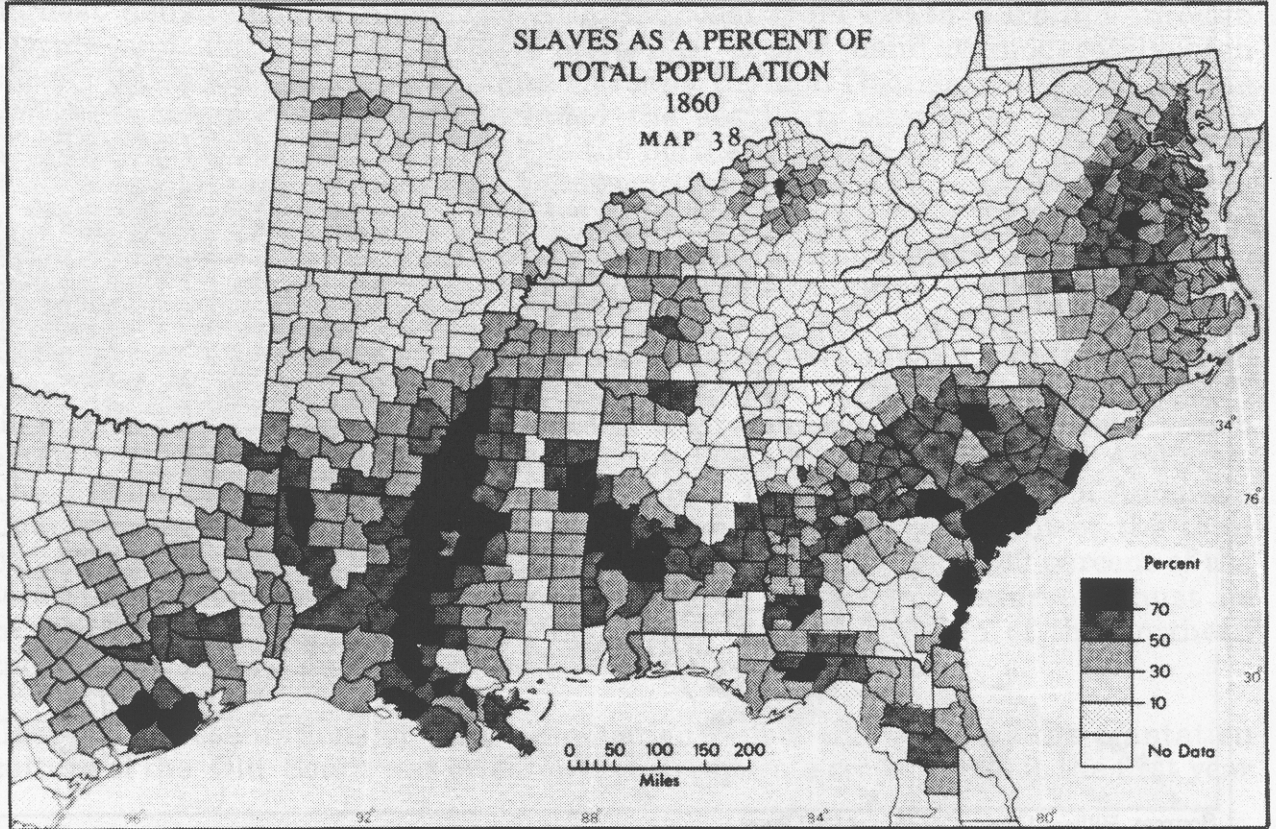
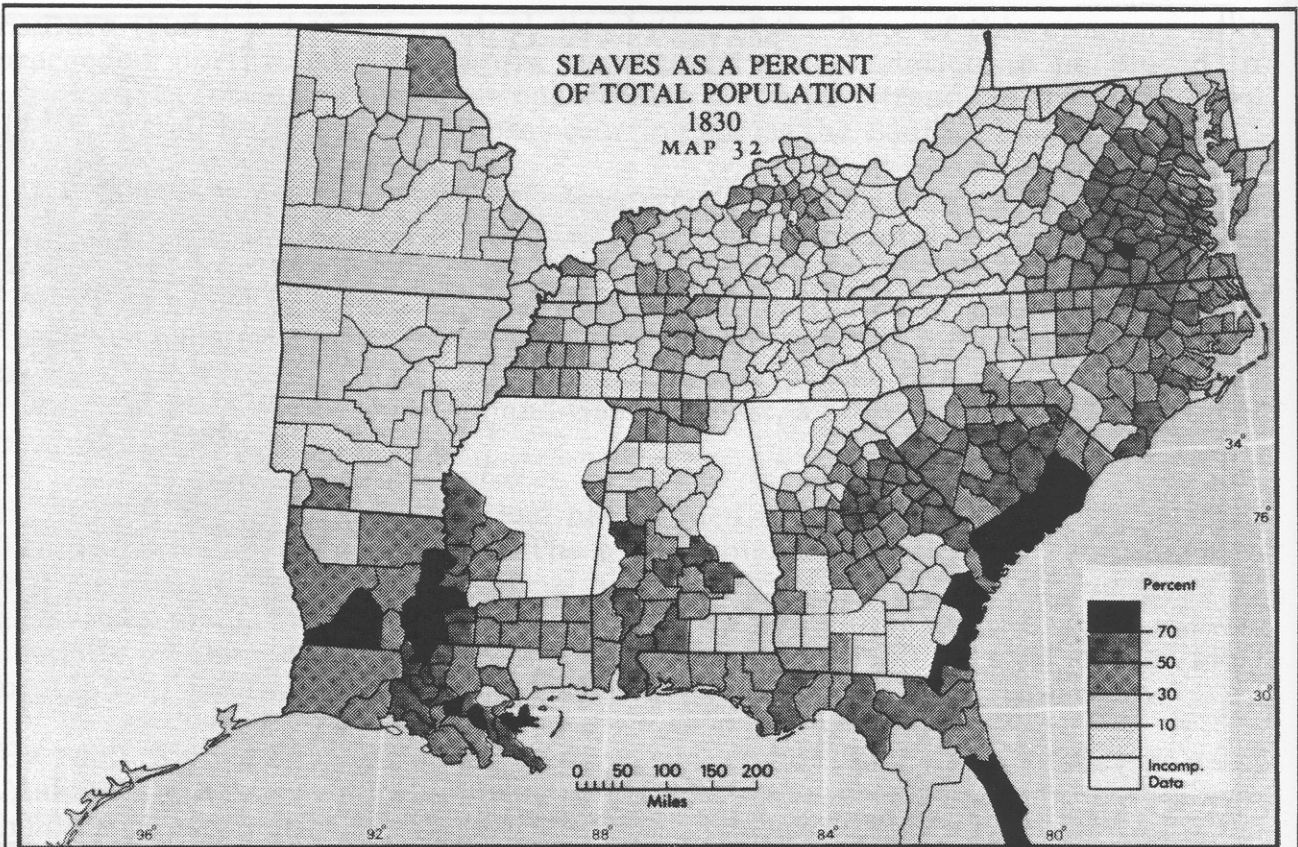
SLAVES AS A PERCENT
OF TOTAL POPULATION
1810
MAP 28



Source: Hilliard 1984 . Courtesy of LSU Press

Figure 79. Slave Population as a Percent of Total Population, 1790 and 1810.

Technical Synthesis
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Source: Hilliard 1984 . Courtesy of LSU Press

Figure 80. Slave Population as a Percent of Total Population, 1830 and 1860.

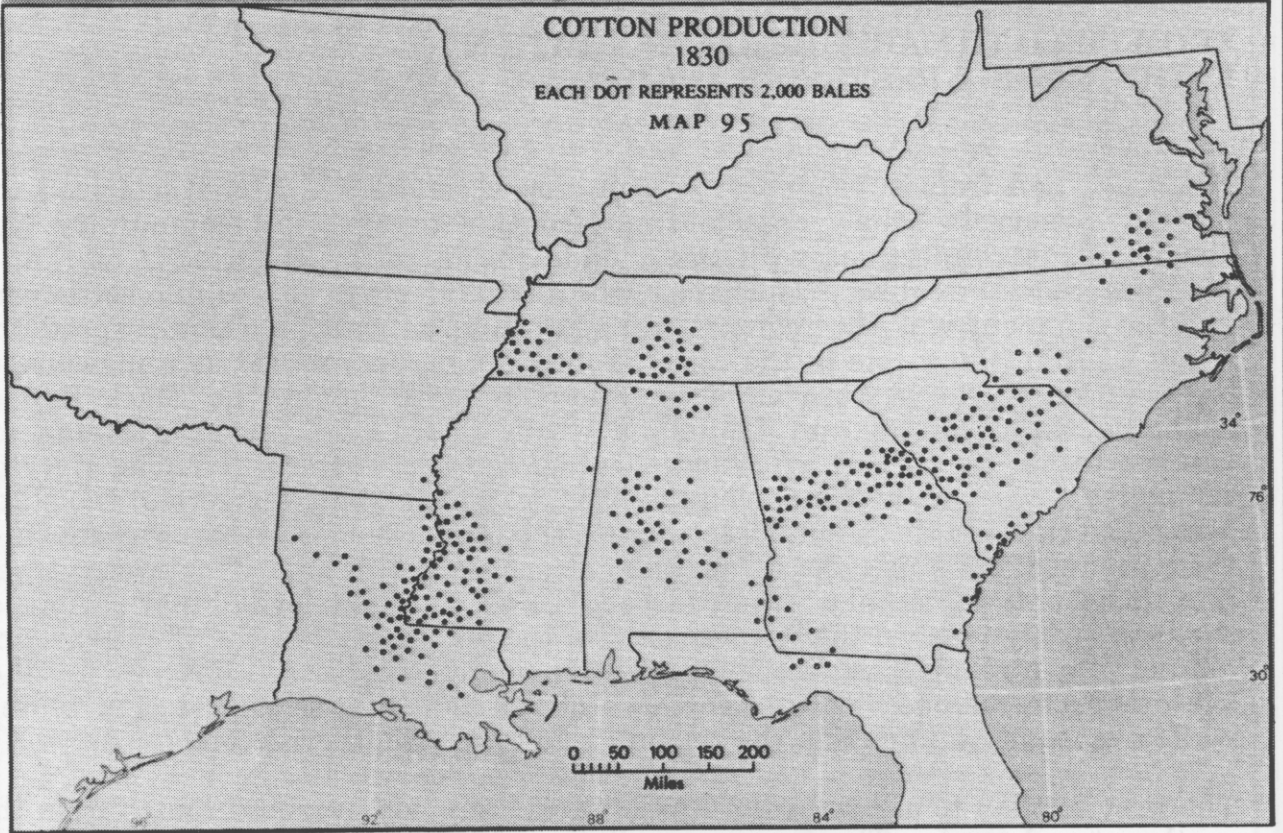
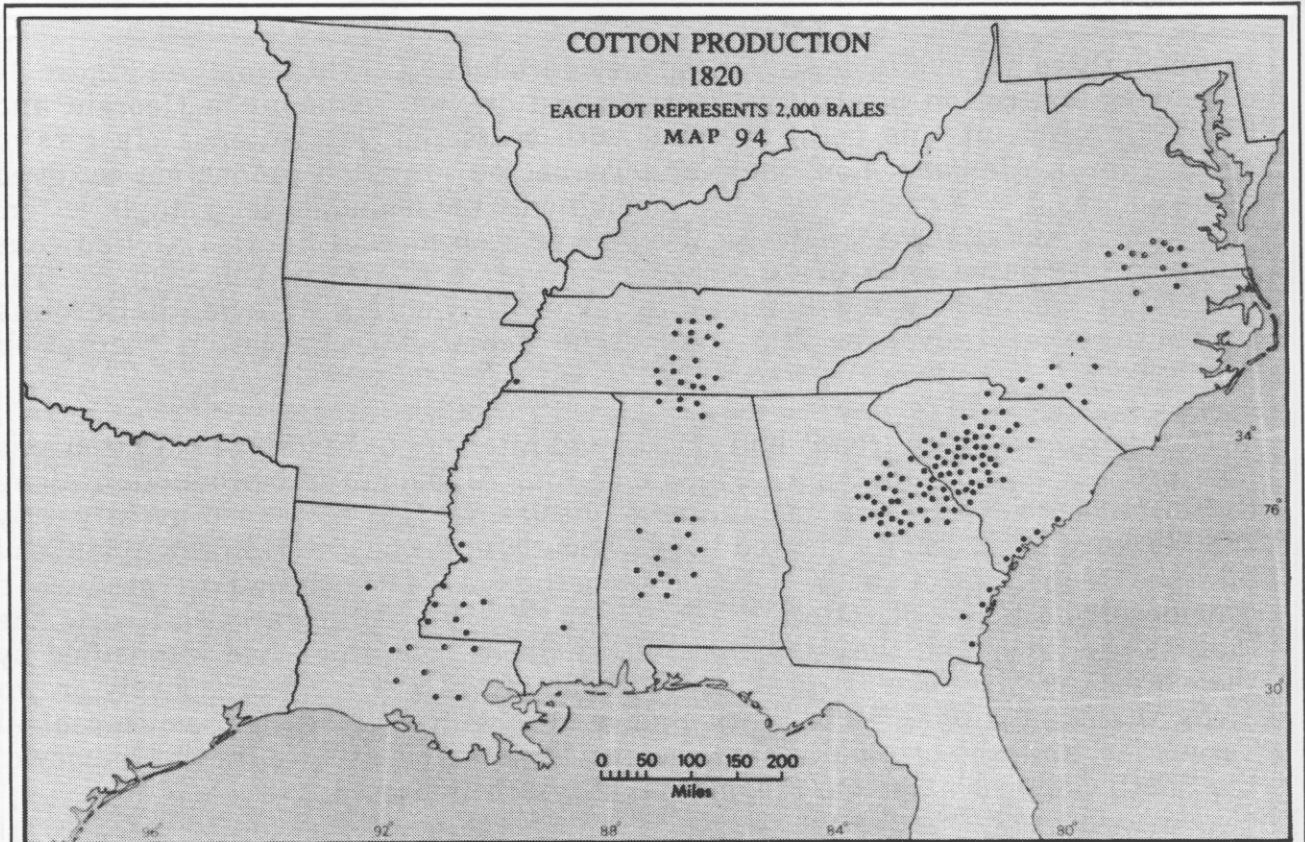
in which there are available statistics for the production of this crop. As Figure 81 demonstrates, cotton agriculture was focused on the Piedmont of Georgia and South Carolina at this point in time, with scattered, less intense clusters of production in Alabama, Louisiana, and Tennessee. Limited production occurred along the coast, and most of this was undoubtedly sea island, or long staple cotton. The slave populations of the coastal fringe of Georgia and South Carolina thus must be attributed with the successful cultivation of rice in this region. The Piedmont was clearly the home of cotton, with Georgia and South Carolina (including the study area) serving as the hearth for the cotton plantation economy.

Within ten years these trends had spread and intensified (Figure 81). Cotton was now produced across Georgia's Piedmont, into Alabama, and production along the Mississippi River in Louisiana and Mississippi had increased greatly. By 1850 (Figure 82) cotton dominated the Old South, and was grown in the uplands of all the Deep South states. While the study area continued to produce a considerable amount of cotton, the focus for this crop had clearly shifted to the Mississippi River and the Alabama Black Belt, a shift which had intensified by the eve of the Civil War (Figure 82). In 1860 cotton was most intensively grown along the Mississippi, in the Black Belt, and in southwestern and south-central Tennessee, and was expanding into eastern Texas. By this date the supremacy of the South Carolina - Georgia Piedmont had evidently passed.

FROM FIELD TO MARKET: TRANSPORTATION IN THE RUSSELL RESERVOIR, 1810-1865

The transition from subsistence to cash crop economy which characterized the Russell Reservoir area's change from frontier to agrarian community was dependent on connections with the outside world; cotton required a market if profits were to be realized. Thus one of the key catalysts to antebellum settlement and development was the regional transportation network. In one respect, the region's diminishing role in the cotton South can be understood as a measure of its isolation. The western empire of the Cotton Kingdom, the Black Belt of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, focused on major river systems for transportation as well as irrigation. Unlike cotton's western domains, riverine commerce never adequately served the needs of planters and farmers in the study area. Overland routes brought settlers to the region, and carried away much of their produce, but this access was difficult, sporadic, and poorly maintained well into the twentieth century. The railroad, the economic savior of other regions of the South, only reached the far perimeter of the project area by the Civil War, and did not play a role in the antebellum development of the Russell Reservoir. All of these aspects magnified the importance of the available transportation routes, while eventually minimizing the region's role in the Southern economy.

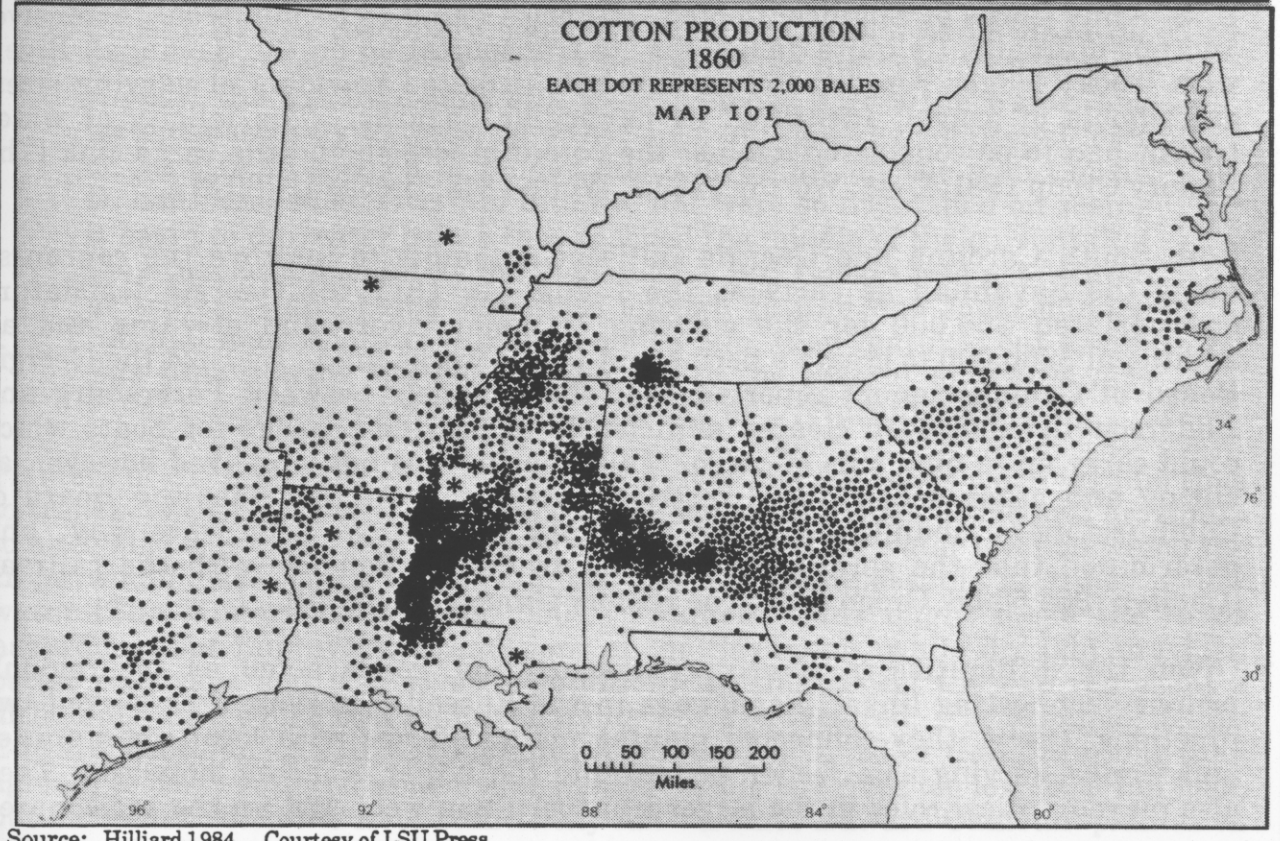
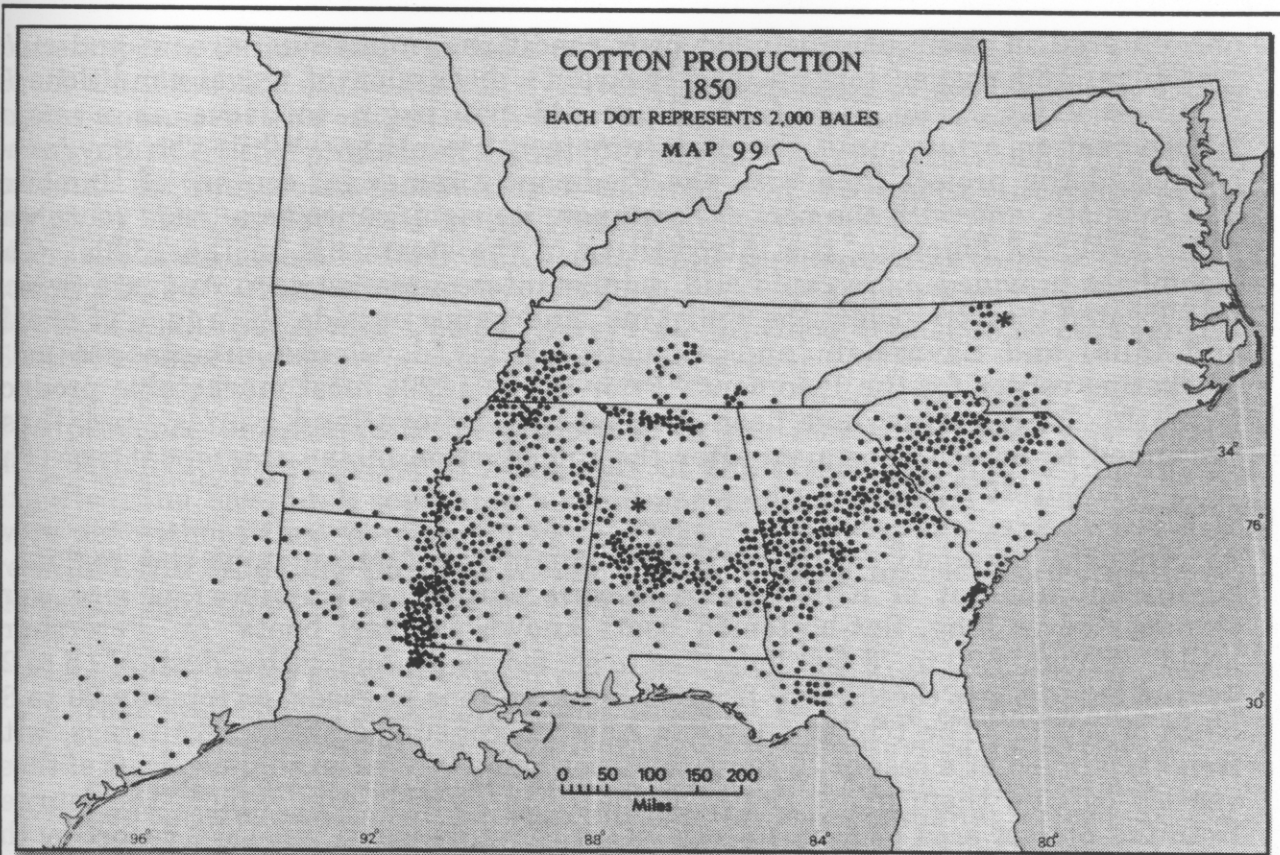
The first settlers to arrive in the Russell area came via overland routes from the northeast and south. These wagon trails were ill-suited to travel, and difficulties



Source: Hilliard 1984 . Courtesy of LSU Press

Figure 81. Cotton Production, 1820 and 1830.

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Source: Hilliard 1984 . Courtesy of LSU Press

Figure 82. Cotton Production, 1850 and 1860.

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encountered in their use included poor conditions, numerous stream and river crossings, and rugged terrain (see Bartram's discussion of travel conditions in Chapter VIII). The Savannah River did not begin to serve as a major transportation artery until the early nineteenth century. While the Savannah connected the project area with the Piedmont commercial centers of Hamburg and Augusta, and with the port of Savannah, its significance as a trade route was only developed following the introduction of the steamboat in the 1820s. The steamboat provided more rapid and regular intercourse between Augusta (which was located directly below the Fall Line, and hence outside the range of shoals and falls) and Savannah, and Augusta quickly developed prominence as a marketing center for the Piedmont. Prior to the 1820s most marketable produce from the RBR region had been transported by overland routes, and these continued to be of importance after the introduction of the steamboat era (The History Group 1981:46).

As Augusta emerged as the principal commercial entrepot of the region, a significant amount of RBR resources were shipped down river. These were transported in long, flat-bottomed boats known as "keel boats" or "Petersburg boats." Roughly 70 to 75 feet long, five to six feet wide, and with a draft of 15 to 20 inches, these boats could carry from eight to ten tons of goods, or roughly 60 to 80 bales of cotton. The trip to and from Augusta consumed six to seven days, with freight handled at a cost of 75 cents to \$1 per bale. While the shallow draft of these vessels carried them above many of the river's shoals and rapids, the journey from the project area to Augusta was not without dangers. An 1879 report by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers noted "obstacles found to be numerous, extensive, and not unfrequently quite dangerous" to transportation on the Savannah River, with "rocky ledges running across channels, isolated boulders of varying sizes, and shoals of gravel" identified as particular hazards. The felicity of water transit had to be considered against the potential loss should the cargo sink (The History Group 1981:47-48; Worthy 1983:9; White 1849; Brooks 1978:131).

Both South Carolina and Georgia initiated attempts to improve the concourse along the Savannah as early as the 1780s. In 1817 the Georgia legislature appropriated \$66,000 for the clearing of major rivers and streams and an additional \$250,000 to create a permanent public works fund. By 1824 the Georgia Board of Commissioners reported that the channels between Petersburg and Andersonville had been cleared sufficiently to provide passage for boats which could carry up to nine tons of cargo. This clearing was not long-lived however, as silting and other debris again restricted passage. At this date the Board of Commissioners abandoned their attempts to improve the waterway, and determined that the solution to internal transportation lay with the railroad (Coulter 1965:55-56; Green 1938; The History Group 1981:48-49).

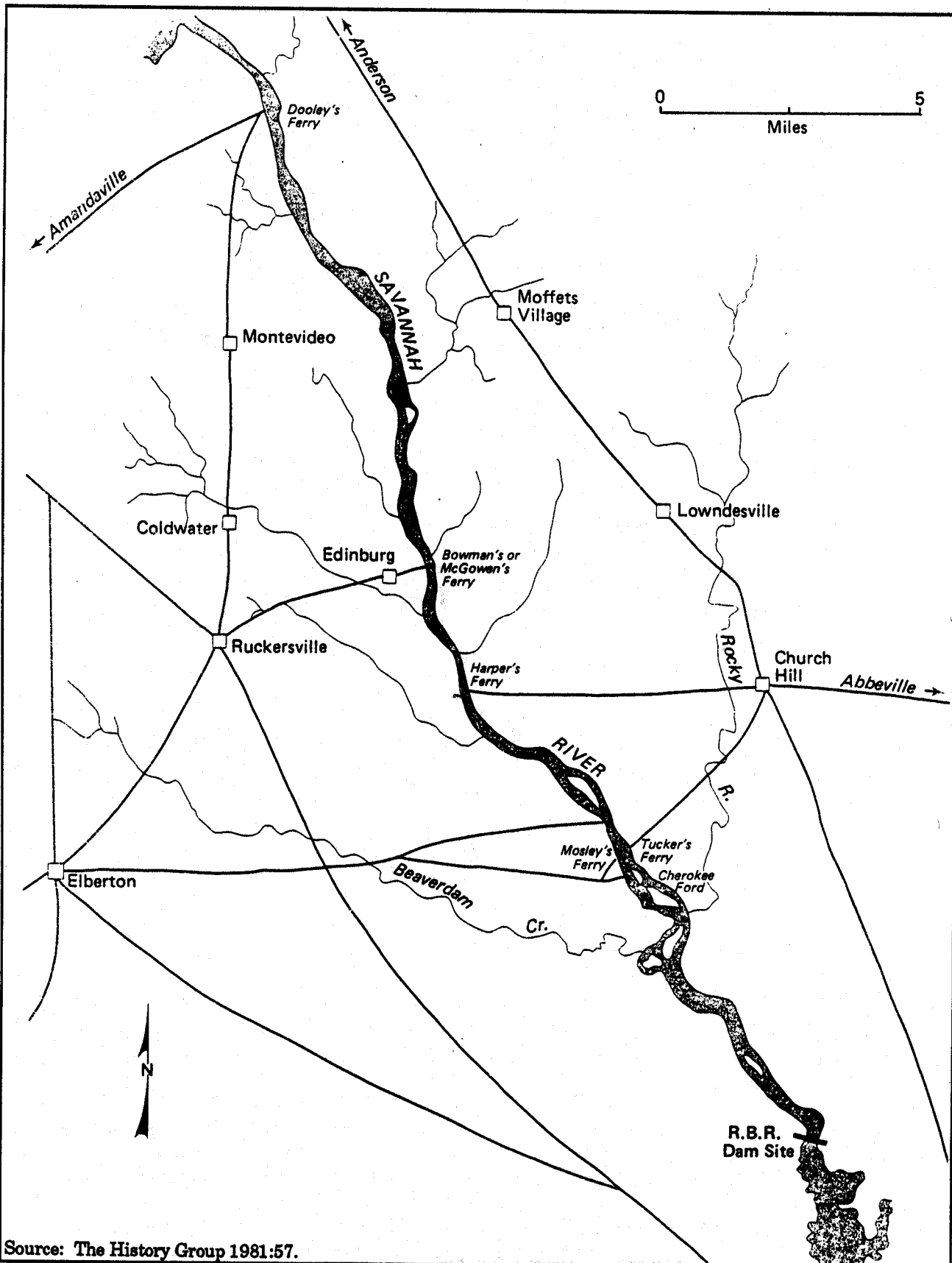
Given the difficulties in riverine transportation, roads acted as the region's primary connecting links. Road ways in the Russell Reservoir area served two functions. First, they connected plantations and farms with local communities and ferries, serving as a feeder system into the larger economic network. They also played critical roles in the larger transportation web. Within the project area

there appears to have been at least one major thoroughfare, which ran along the South Carolina side of the Savannah River before crossing over to Augusta. Other routes connected the region with the Columbia-Charleston wagon road; along which much of the produce of South Carolina's Piedmont traveled. Figure 83 presents an interpreted perspective of the road and settlement patterning of the region in 1850, as developed by the History Group (1981:57). On each side of the river, the main access is north and south, while smaller routes connect the area's communities. The importance of ferrys is evident; Mosley's, Tucker's, Bowman's, Harper's, and Dooley's ferrys all provided connections between the South Carolina and Georgia sides of the project area in 1850.

The presence of numerous ferries attest to the fact that there was greater interaction between the opposing banks of the river than might initially be expected; the Savannah separated but did not divide the region. Ferry crossings were not without their dangers, however. Mary Moragne of the Abbeville District recorded the following incident in her journal during an 1838 trip to August (Moragne 1951:53-54; in The History Group 1981:102):

As soon as we came in view of the creek we were forced to halt, as the road was block'd with horses, and waggons, in all the confusion of a newly struck camp. A dozen or so of nearly savage men were lounging around, either eating or smoking, and one in a red flannel shirt, who seems to be the buffoon of the company, afforded entertainment 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 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 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.... But Cousin was not "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.

Planters of the area thus chose between the river and the roads when it came time to transport their crops. Their choice depended on a number of factors: proximity to navigable water, the availability of water craft, and the water level on which the crops would pass, since the Savannah was nearly impassable at times of low water (The History Group 1981:550). Frequent rains might make the roads hazardous, but improve the conditions of the Savannah, while drought provided better roadways and poor river negotiation. In this aspect the two represent a dichotomy, into which cost and availability must be factored. For example, James Edward Calhoun of Millwood Plantation recorded in 1830 that "Stanton [had agreed] to carry cotton for one dollar the bale while the river too low for a full load, but for 87 1/2 when the river sufficiently full" (James Edward Calhoun plantation



Source: The History Group 1981:57.

Figure 83. Generalized Transportation and Settlement Pattern, RBR Area, ca. 1850.

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diary, October 1, 1830; in *The History Group* 1981:51). Within the course of one week in September of 1832 Calhoun shipped cotton to Augusta by both boat and wagon, suggesting that availability was the key determinant in selecting a transportation medium (James Edward Calhoun plantation diary, September 7 and 11, 1832; in *The History Group* 1981:51). River and road were clearly interchangeable.

By the eve of the Civil War some Russell area planters may have taken advantage of railroad lines which encroached upon the area. To the west, the Georgia Railroad had reached Athens by 1841, and linked that city to Augusta and points beyond. To the east, the Greenville and Columbia Railroad provided a connection between Anderson, Columbia, and Charleston following its completion in 1853 (Figure 84) (*The History Group* 1981:51). Neither appears to have had any lasting impact on the economy of the region, as they were too distant to provide economically realistic alternatives. In part, the railroads ignored the region because the terrain made it difficult to access. But they also bypassed this point in the Piedmont because there was no central community for them to serve.

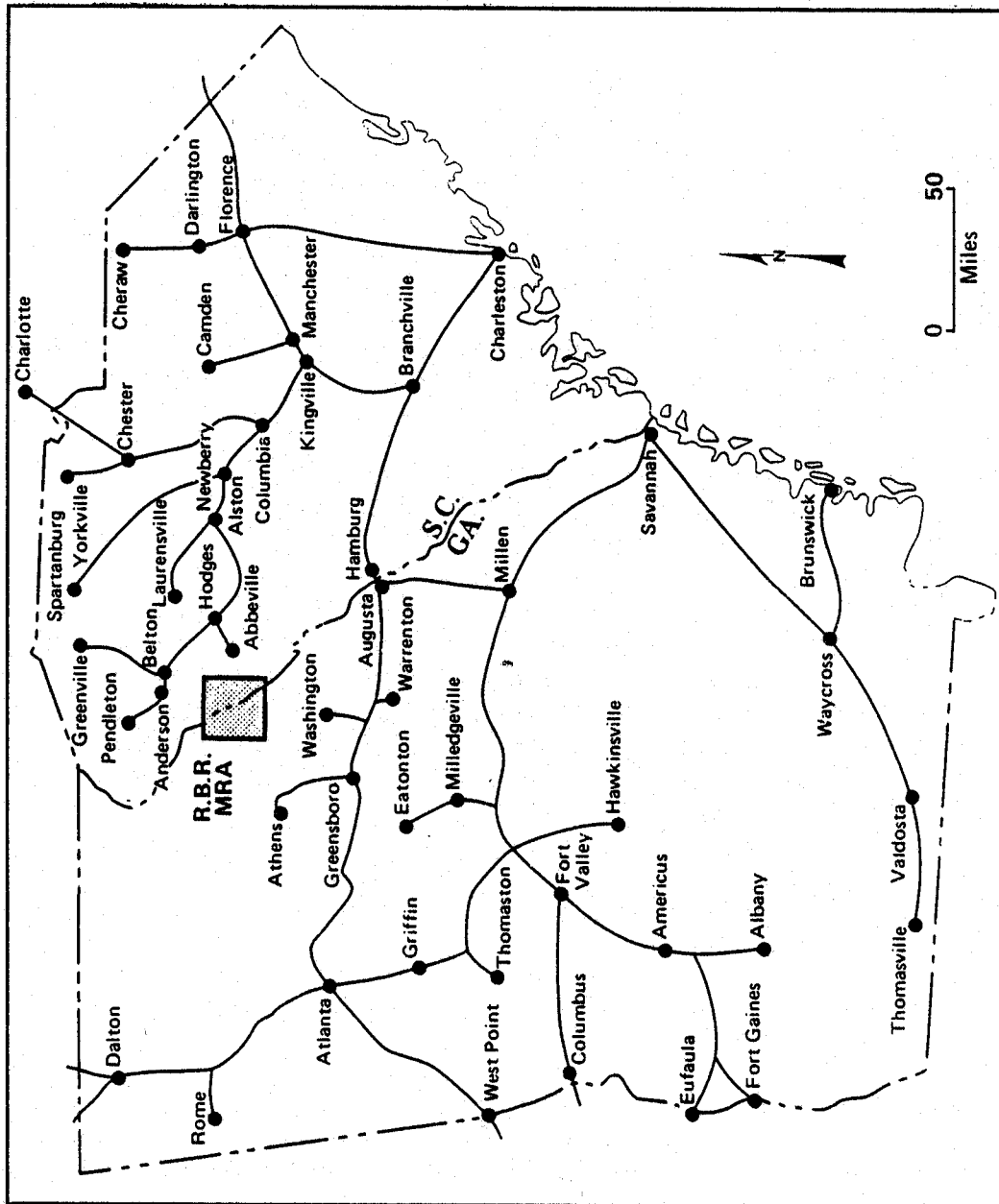
FROM MARKET TO FACTORY: TOWNS AND INDUSTRY IN THE RUSSELL RESERVOIR, 1810-1865

The vicinity of the Russell Reservoir can be considered as a wheel without a hub. Whether the lack of a viable antebellum commercial center was a measure or a contributor to the region's isolation is uncertain, but in either instance the results were the same. The project area appears to have been most closely intertwined with the markets and factors of Augusta, with Abbeville, Anderson, and Athens all also receiving a portion of the area's trade. No site in the immediate region provided a mercantile focus.

The lack of a central place says much about the development of the region; or to be more accurate, the loss of central place is most telling. In the early nineteenth century the region had a clear urban focus, situated at the confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers, to the immediate south of the project area. Here Petersburg, Lisbon, and Vienna all offered the promise of urban leadership to the rural hinterland (Figure 85).

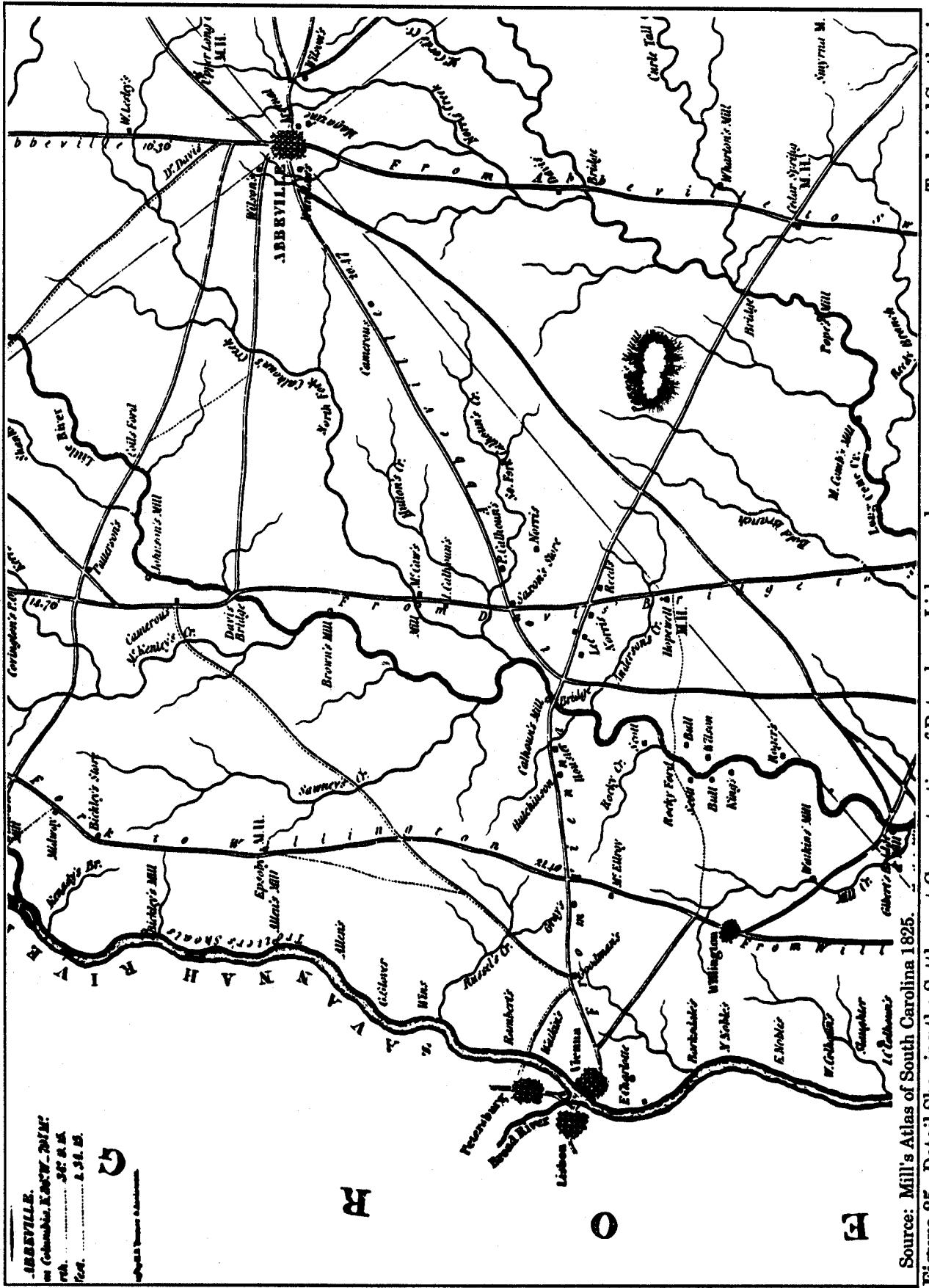
Petersburg was the earliest and most important of the three. Founded in the 1780s by Virginia entrepreneur Dionysius Oliver, the town was laid out in 86 half acre lots, with large plantations arranged along its outskirts. By 1808 Oliver had sold all of the town lots, as well as the remainder of his adjoining 9,000 acres, and the town offered every prospect of health and economic growth (Worthy 1983:8).

The initial success of Petersburg derived in part from Oliver's state patent to establish a tobacco inspection station in the town. Concerned with establishing a solid reputation for this crop, the Georgia legislature provided a series of acts regulating tobacco and providing for its inspection during the period from 1778 to



Source: The History Group 1981:60.

Figure 84. The Railway System in Georgia and South Carolina, 1860.



ABBESVILLE.
 on Columbia R. 36° 17' N. 79° 14' W.
 Elev. 325 ft. above sea level.
 Pop. 1,311.

Source: Mill's Atlas of South Carolina 1825.

Figure 85. Detail Showing the Settlement Concentration of Petersburg, Lisbon, and Vienna at the Confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers. See also Figure 87.

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1797. Prior to the rise of King Cotton, tobacco was the cash crop of Georgia and South Carolina's Piedmont, and Petersburg was well situated to receive the leaf grown in northeast Georgia. By 1800 the town boasted a doctor's office, billiard hall, post office, warehouses, domestic residences, and a public well. In the year of 1805 it produced a paper, *The Georgia and Carolina Gazette*, which was discontinued following that year for lack of public support. The U. S. Census of 1810 reports 332 residents in the town, and nearly 45,000 inhabitants in the surrounding Broad River Valley (Elliott 1987:24; Worthy 1983:9).

Despite this initial prosperity, Petersburg's decline was swift and complete. In his 1849 *Statistics of Georgia*, George White noted that little remained of the community (White 1849:227, in Worthy 1983:9):

This was once among the prosperous towns in Georgia; but it is now in a state of dilapidation. A feeling of melancholy and loneliness is experienced by the visitor when he remembers what the town was in former days.

The decline of Petersburg has been the subject of attention for several historians. At least part of this decline can be explained by the shift from tobacco to cotton agriculture which characterized the region in the nineteenth century. Cotton required no inspection, hence Petersburg did not exert the magnetic draw on this crop that it had on tobacco. The arrival of the steamboat also boosted the prominence of its chief competitor, Augusta, since steam travel was not viable above the Fall Line. Augusta's position was bolstered by its rail connection to Charleston, established in 1831 and acclaimed as the world's longest railroad. Historian E. Merten Coulter views Petersburg's decline as a product of enterprise and westward expansion, and notes that many of the town's prominent citizens had resettled in the Alabama territory as early as 1810 (Coulter 1965:174-176; Worthy 1983:9-10). Finally, the growth of the plantation economy which characterized the region after 1800 deemphasized the role of towns. The plantation provided many of the support facilities: mills, forges, cotton gins, etc., which previously were concentrated in urban centers, and shifted allegiances from communities to plantations. All of these factors explain not only the decline of Petersburg, but of other antebellum towns in the region: Edinburg, Lisbon, Vienna, etc.

The Russell Reservoir and surrounding area possessed few industrial improvements in the antebellum era. This characterization was also true of the South in general, as southern capital was reinvested in the plantation economy and not industrial growth. What mills and factories did exist appear to have developed as components of the plantation system, although at least one cotton spinning mill, the White-Thompson factory on the Broad River, was established in Elbert County as early as 1830 (Worthy 1983:21). Plantation industry included cotton gins, grist mills, and saw mills, all of which were available for use by less fortunate neighbors, at an economic and social cost. Their presence helps explain the communal force the plantation exerted beyond the parameters of its boundaries (Worthy 1983:22).

The area of the Russell Reservoir in the antebellum era can thus only be understood in terms of the plantation economy. Cotton dominated trade and transportation; slavery shaped regional demographics; plantation industry replaced the role of towns. To develop a keener appreciation of the form and function of the plantation South, it is crucial to examine the plantation, and its lesser brethren, the farm, in greater detail.

PLANTERS AND FARMERS: THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE OF ANTEBELLUM LIFE IN THE RUSSELL RESERVOIR

The plantation and the world that surrounded it can be understood from a number of perspectives: economics, ideology, politics, social structure, to name a few. The goal of this section is to consider plantation life from the perspective of material culture. The plantation was a physical entity, composed of buildings, fields, roads, and the natural environment. The arrangement of these cultural features on the landscape, especially in comparison with smaller agrarian units, offers insights into the role and relations of planters, farmers, and slaves. Likewise, the form, construction, and arrangement of domestic and non-domestic architecture illuminates aspects of plantation life such as status and social control. The material remains associated with various members of the plantation, the broken dishes, bottles, and personal items, contribute a greater understanding of diet, economics, and behavior. These material manifestations of plantation life, as revealed through plats, inventories, oral history, old buildings, and archaeology, form the basis of this discussion.

Four texts support this platform of analysis. *Exploring the Rustic Life*, authored by Charles Orser, Jr., Annette Nekola, and James Roark (1987), provides a discussion of Millwood Plantation, the antebellum estate of James Edward Calhoun, and the largest plantation studied during the cultural resources investigations of the Russell Reservoir. *The Banister Allen Plantation and Thomas B. Clinkscales Farm*, authored by Lesley Drucker, Woody Meiszner, and James Legg (1983), documents the archaeological research conducted at an antebellum plantation and postbellum farm, and offers contrasting views of planters' and farmers' associated lifeways. *The Old Home Place*, by Marlesa Gray (1983), considers five agricultural sites in the Russell Reservoir, ranging from small farms to plantations, and brings the social scale of regional agriculture into clearer focus. It should be noted that all of these reports also illustrate the difficulties inherent in applying historical chronologies to archaeological deposits. While the Civil War is generally considered as a sharp temporal boundary in historical treatments of the South, its presence is less easily detected in the archaeological record. While the proverbial (and sometimes real) shackles and chains were thrown off at the end of the War, material culture remained in many ways the same. All the sites treated by the reports above continued into the postbellum period, and thus the archaeological research was unable to securely segregate antebellum from postbellum material and behavior. Despite this weakness, these studies do describe the material world of an

agrarian society, for consideration in both this chapter and the next.

The archaeological reports outlined above offer only one perspective of the material world. A complementary view is offered by Linda Worthy's (1983) edited volume, *All That Remains*, the story of architecture in the Russell Reservoir. In addition to augmenting the archaeological perspective of material culture, Worthy's volume also points out the false segregation between archaeological and architectural sites. Little archaeological research was carried out at those antebellum and postbellum agrarian sites with standing architecture, while the archaeological research often produced views of foundations and interior construction details not accessible on standing structures. This section attempts to integrate both sets of knowledge into a single coherent body, but it also hopes to illustrate the interconnectedness of historic material culture. Archaeology, architecture, oral history, and the written record must all be considered if we are to flesh out the body of the past.

While the four texts cited above serve as the main pillars of this section, information culled from other sources provides planks and trim to our discussion. The importance of the material world is perhaps best understood by the numerous ways it appeared in the writings and remembrances of the past inhabitants of the region. The project area appears to have been a physical place of mental landmarks; a landscape where the material and the ideological met.

Planters and Farmers

Four planters were treated by the archaeological research of the Russell Reservoir: James E. Calhoun (also spelled Colhoun), son of U. S. Senator John E. Calhoun and cousin of famed southern politician J. C. Calhoun; Bannister Allen; and father and son John and George McCalla. The lives of these four men provide a glimpse of the range and variation in planter's knowledge, skills, ambitions, and production, as examined in the Russell Reservoir.

John and George McCalla John McCalla appears to have arrived in the project area in the 1820s or 1830s. He is listed as a resident of Abbeville County and the owner of 26 slaves in the 1820 census, although his name does not appear on a map of the district prepared in 1820 for Mill's Atlas of 1825. The first definite correlation of McCalla and the project area occurs in 1833, when he had surveyed 768 acres of land between the Savannah and Rocky Rivers. His residence in this area was built at least by 1836, when a petition to the South Carolina legislature for a road closure in the area was circulated. Although McCalla did not sign the petition, his home is shown on an attached plat (Figure 86). This plat indicates McCalla's house was two stories in height; his nearest neighbor was John Mosely; and a saw mill and school house were located in the general vicinity (Gray 1983:77).

John McCalla died in 1839, leaving his estate to his wife Susan, and his sons, George and Issac. His inventory (Table 12) provides a detailed accounting of the

Table 12: "A true Inventory of the Personal Estate of John McCalla, dec'd. Appraised this 29th day of November 1839" (from Gray 1983:82-83)

	\$ Cts		\$ Cts
Bookcase & Library	150 00	2 hundred bushels oats 50 per bushel	100 00
Slab [?] and contents	140 00	125 bushels wheat at 1.00 per bushel	125 00
1 Set dining tables	60 00	1 Carriage and horses	150 00
1 Tea Table	15 00	90 thous of Cotton at 2 doll hundred	1,800 00
1 dozen chairs	90 00	14 hundred bushels corn @ \$1.60	875 00
1 Clock	60 00	Waggon and cart	15 00
2 Maps	12 00	1 Colt	65 00
Washington's farewell address	20 00	1 Grey horse	60 00
4 Candlesticks	1 00	Sorrel horse	51 00
1 pair andirons shovel & tongs	25 00	5 Mules at a hundred dollars	500 00
1 Sofa	20 00	1 Lot hogs	90 00
3 Guns & shot bags	25 00	2 horses @ 40.00	80 00
1 Brace pistols & dink [?]	25 00	1 Loom	8 00
1 Stand	5 00	1 Carding machine	10 00
Fire dogs fender shovel & tongs	3 00	Kitchen utensils	10 00
1 dozen split bottom chairs	6 00	Set knives & forks	20 00
5 Feather Bed & bedsteds	250 00	6 meal bags	1 00
Lot sundries	11 00	Salt	25 00
1 Easy Chair	25 00	6 Spinning wheels	12 00
Lot files screws etc.	2 00	Lot Cattle	250 00
4 Bedsteds	4 00	5500 lbs pork at 6 dollars per hund	330 00
3 Sides Leather	10 00	20 thousand lbs fodder 75 per hund	150 00
1 Slab water and fire dogs	2 00	Biddy	200 00
1 Glass Stand	2 00	Patty	300 00
1 Kitchen Basin Table	2 00	Rachel	350 00
4 Trunks	10 00	Herrod [Harwood?]	500 00
2 Chests	7 00	Tom	400 00
1 Slate [?]	90	Winnie	250 00
350 lbs iron	25 00	Fanny	500 00
1 Lot Flours [?]	60 00	Jim Strong	350 00
hoes & spades	10 00	Zack	650 00
Axes wedge & pieces of iron	8 00	Mary	400 00
2 Saws	12 00	Betty	250 00
Several eva____	7 50	Dely	700 00
Lot Single-trees	5 00	Milly	700 00
Lot old axes	2 00	Carolina	650 00
Lot of Carpenter's Tools	3 00	Henry	800 00
2 pair Steelyards	2 00	Charles	900 00
4 pair Guns [?] etc.	2 00	Alek	900 00
Lot Sundries	1 50	Jim H	500 00
1 Scrapin [?] & old irons	12 00	Table & cupboard	10 00
Shop Tools	50 00		16,74 75
Lot Husks [?]	10 00		[\$16,129 90]

We certify the above to be a just and true Inventory of of [sic] the personal Estate of John McCalla dec'd, as shown to us by the acting Executor and appraised this 29th Novr. 1839. Josiah Peterson, A. Giles, and William Speer

wealth of a nineteenth-century planter. McCalla was obviously educated, and among his possessions were a library appraised at \$150, a bookcase, and a copy of Washington's farewell address with a value of \$20. Other items included furniture, guns (including a possible brace of dueling pistols), tools (agricultural, wood-working, and iron-working), wagons and carriages, equipment associated with the manufacture of cloth (a carding machine, spinning wheels, and a loom), livestock, and agricultural produce, including \$1,800 in cotton. Eighteen slaves were listed, eight men and ten women, with an average value of about \$560. The remaining slaves of his plantation were owned by his wife, Susan, with a total value of \$10,200, suggesting this group consisted of approximately 20 additional individuals, for a total plantation slave population of approximately 40 persons. Slaves represented the bulk of John McCalla's material wealth, as indicated by his inventory (Gray 1983:81-83).

As executor, Issac McCalla filed returns on the estate for several years following the death of his father. These provide additional insights into the functioning of this plantation. In 1839 the estate received \$1,203.88 on the sale of cotton produced in that year (it is uncertain whether this included the \$1,800 in cotton listed in John McCalla's inventory). The costs of items purchased included a pair of shoes for son George at \$2.50, \$94.75 to Archibald Scott for building a new wagon and repairing an old one, \$70.70 to John Mosely for corn, \$25.16 for 1839 taxes, \$100 for a new well, \$131.12 1/2 to James English for plastering the dwelling house, \$6.50 to J. E. Calhoun for the "spring season of a horse" (Calhoun was apparently operating a stud service), and \$36.90 1/2 for the cost of a coffin. In 1841 the estate made \$881.94 from the sale of 26 bales of cotton, paid \$92.67 for cotton seed, \$159.82 to Benjamin Baird for paints and lime, \$78.58 to W. Pearce for painting the dwelling house, \$27.89 for the general poor and bridge tax, \$48.72 to E. Adams for groceries, and \$81.72 to James Hodge for overseeing the field hands. In 1842 the estate received \$798 for 36 bales of cotton (while productivity had increased, prices appear to have declined from the previous year, dropping from 34¢ to 22¢ a pound), and paid \$22.81 to William Bostwicks for groceries, \$8.50 to Sam Hill for smith work, \$32.54 to J. English for repairing the cotton gin, \$30.00 to Dr. Arnold for medication and treatment, and \$33.31 for the bridge and poor tax (Gray 1983:83-84).

These returns, in combination with the inventory produced at John McCalla's death, provide an indication of the lifestyle to which the McCalla family was accustomed. Like other planters, John McCalla appears to have augmented the agricultural pursuits of his plantation with craft and industrial ventures: carpentry, black smithing, cloth manufacture, and possibly timbering. Agriculture provided the bulk of his capital gains, while his wealth appears to have been concentrated in his slaves. The McCalla home was apparently well maintained, with some of the largest expenses in 1840 and 1841 being assigned to plastering and painting the house. The family employed an overseer for at least part of one year following the death of John McCalla, although by 1841 it appears that the sons were managing the plantation's production. The McCalla's dealt with other planters, and merchants of the area for minor provisions and services, but their plantation appears to have been largely self-sufficient.

Following the death of Susan McCalla, the brothers Issac and George reached a final settlement of their parent's estate. They sold the household furniture, tools, and livestock, dividing the proceeds, and split the slave population evenly between themselves. Although not recorded, George McCalla apparently purchased his brother's portion of the real estate, and by 1850 he was operating the family plantation (Gray 1983:84).

In 1850 George McCalla was 29. The previous year he had married Mary Jane Allen, then age 16. In 1850 George McCalla owned 27 slaves: 12 men ranging in age from 3 to 75, and 15 women from 1 to 75 years old. He also owned at that time 1,155 acres of land, of which 400 acres were improved, and he produced a diverse array of crops focused primarily on corn, oats, wheat, and cotton (Gray 1983:85). On the basis of his 1850 census return (Table 13), George McCalla appears to have been a moderately successful planter.

By 1856 George McCalla's fortunes had risen substantially. In the 1856 tax digest for Abbeville County, George was listed as the owner of 1,760 acres and 74 slaves. Within six years his acreage had increased by two-thirds, and his slave population by two and three fourths (Gray 1983:85). The source of this increase is uncertain. On the basis of the 1850 census returns, George was fairly successful at agriculture, although these profits would have required careful management to produce the increase noted in his slave population and real estate. He produced a fair quantity of cotton in 1850, 50 bales, and also had considerable amounts of livestock and grains. The cotton produced in 1850 would have yielded from \$5,000 to \$6,000, possibly enough money on an annual basis to secure the increases noted by 1856, if wisely invested. The 1860 census suggests that McCalla profited most from cotton production, as it was the amount of this crop which increased the most between 1850 and 1860. By 1860 McCalla owned 3,000 acres of land (800 improved) and 85 slaves. His profits from cotton would have been substantial, and by 1860 McCalla was among the wealthiest men in Abbeville County.

George McCalla's increased wealth may also have come through inheritance, either from his brother Issac or perhaps through his wife's family. It is possible that he rented slaves from brother Issac during the early 1850s, and perhaps later purchased these, as the amount of cotton produced per slave in 1850 is considerable when compared with other planters (see below). The main thrust of George McCalla's wealth appears to have come from cotton agriculture, and it is illuminating to note the acceleration with which wealth could be gained in the plantation South.

Banister Allen The Allen family arrived in the area of the Russell Reservoir from Virginia in the early nineteenth century, first settling in Elbert County before relocating to Abbeville County in 1802. The patriarch, Arva Allen, journeyed on to Mississippi at some point after 1810, but his son Banister remained behind to continue the family lineage in Abbeville County (Drucker et al. 1983:17).

Table 13: George McCalla's Agricultural Production, 1850 and 1860, from the Census Returns (Gray 1983:85, 86).

	1850		1860	
	N	\$	N	\$
Acres of improved land	400		800	
Acres of unimproved land	755		2,200	
Cash value of farm		\$13,860		\$31,000
Cash value of farm machinery		360		500
Horses	9		9	
Asses and mules	5		14	
Milk cows	8		18	
Working oxen	6		6	
Other cattle	30		42	
Sheep	38		90	
Swine	173		140	
Value of livestock		\$1,952		\$4,870
Value of livestock slaughtered		[illegible]		800
Wool (pounds)	100		200	
Butter (pounds)	1,000		700	
Beeswax (pounds)	--		10	
Honey (pounds)	--		50	
Wheat (bushels)	250		400	
Rye (bushels)	--		150	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,200		1,400	
Oats (bushels)	250		50	
Cotton (bales)	50		110	
Peas and beans (bushels)	70		50	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	5		15	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	40		100	
Barley (bushels)	50		--	
Hay (tons)	14		21	
Value of orchard products		--		--

Arva Allen was apparently a modest farmsteader, a tradition in which his son initially followed. In the 1810 census Arva's household contained four white adults, five white children, one slave, and one free black. By 1820 son Banister had established his own household along the Rocky River (Figure 87), which by that date sheltered his five children, four agricultural employees, and seven female slaves. His first wife, Rachel, died in 1822, and Banister married Nancy Scudder in 1824. Nancy bore him four children, and by 1830 their household included seven children and 26 slaves. Nancy died in 1838. Banister's third and final marriage was to Ann Elizabeth Overby in 1845, who bore him five children, and outlived him by 21 years (Drucker et al. 1983:17).

Banister Allen steadily acquired wealth during the nineteenth century. By 1850 he was the master of 64 slaves, including 33 males and 31 females ranging in age from infancy to age 60. His 1850 agricultural census return (Table 14) indicates he owned 2,400 acres at this date, including 1,300 improved acres. Banister owned substantial numbers of livestock, and like George McCalla, produced a diverse array of crops. He grew a considerable amount of oats and corn, and also produced 64 bales of cotton in that year. As a measure of productivity, Allen produced one bale of cotton for each slave he owned, whereas George McCalla enjoyed a better rate of production, 1.85 bales per slave owned in 1850.

By 1860 Banister Allen's fortunes appear to have declined somewhat. He had lost 575 acres of land by this date, most from his improved acreage, although his agricultural production does not appear to have suffered greatly. The owner of 58 slaves in that year, he produced 57 bales of cotton, indicating very little fluctuation in the productivity of his lands and laborers. For comparison, George McCalla produced 1.3 bales of cotton per slave in that year. The contrast between the fortunes George McCalla had made between 1850 and 1860, and Banister Allen's maintenance of the status quo, indicates that the cotton economy required management if substantial profits were to be made, and thus not all planters shared equally in the benefits of this economy.

James Edward Calhoun James E. Calhoun was born in the Abbeville District of South Carolina in ca. 1798, the son of John Ewing and Floride Bonneau Calhoun. The family was among the earliest white settlers of Abbeville, having arrived in 1755 from Virginia. At his death in 1802, John Ewing Calhoun was one of Abbeville's leading planters, the owner of a considerable number of slaves, and a U. S. Senator (Orser et al. 1987:446).

While James Edward inherited his father's estate, he pursued for several years a maritime career, serving in the U. S. Navy from 1816 through 1830. During this time the family's estate was managed by overseers and relatives, but Calhoun appears to have maintained an active interest and management of his property. Orser et al. (1987:741) note that, like many planters of this period, Calhoun was "land long and labor short." His principal plantation of Midway, which possessed only a fraction of his total lands, was "sufficiently large to employ to advantage from 9 to 10 hands more" according to a report of his uncle in 1823 (Andrew

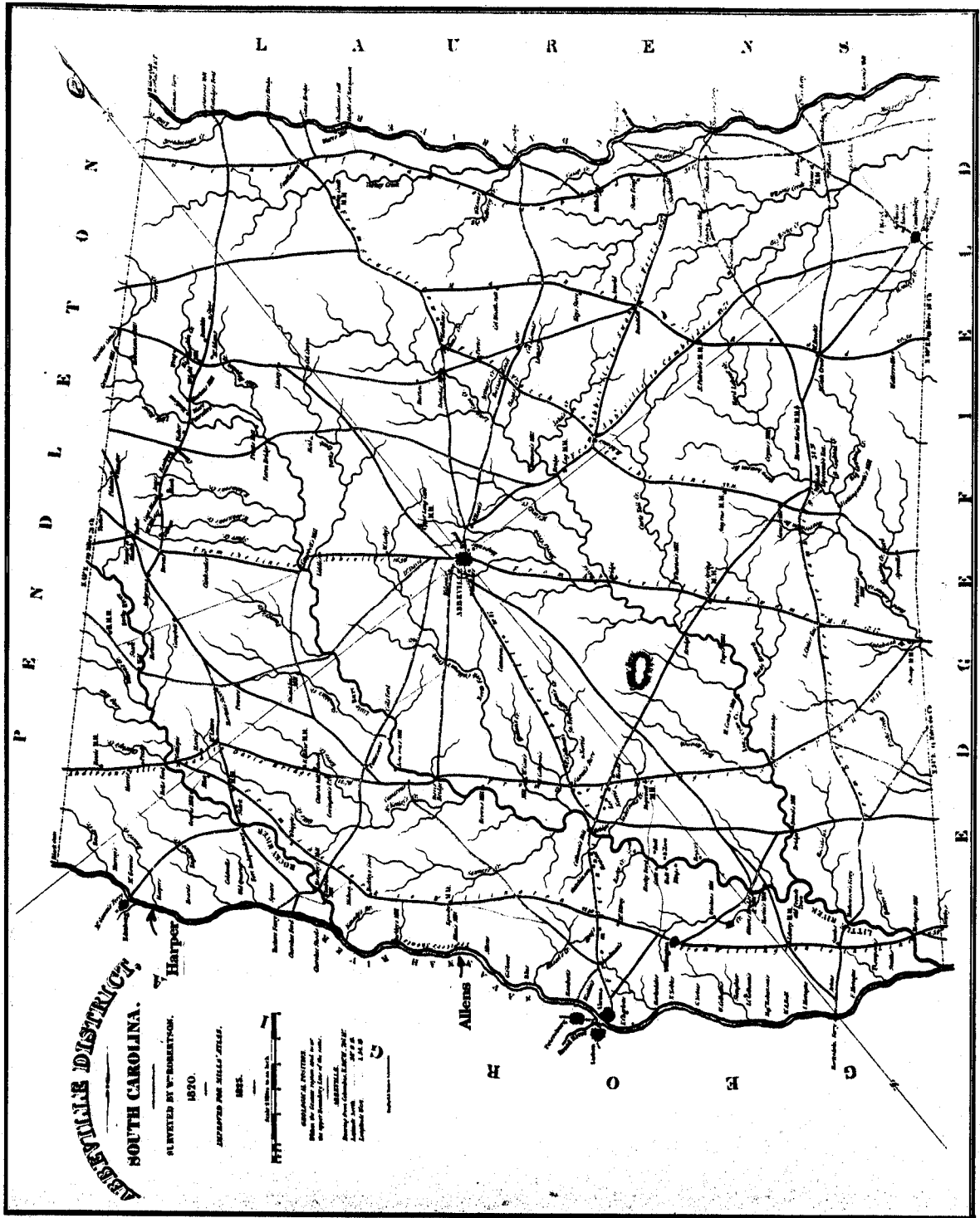


Figure 87. Map of Abbeville District prepared in 1820 for Mill's Atlas of South Carolina, 1825. Note the location of the Harper and Allen sites.

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Table 14: Banister Allen's Agricultural Production, 1850 and 1860, from the Census Returns (Drucker et al. 1983:19, 21).

	1850		1860	
	N	\$	N	\$
Acres of improved land	1,300		800	
Acres of unimproved land	1,000		925	
Cash value of farm		\$25,000		\$17,270
Cash value of farm machinery		1,400		910
Horses	14		12	
Asses and mules	19		12	
Milk cows	10		12	
Working oxen	2		4	
Other cattle	63		18	
Sheep	63		13	
Swine	200		130	
Value of livestock		\$3,000		\$5,544
Value of livestock slaughtered		850		350
Wool (pounds)	320		26	
Butter (pounds)	96		520	
Beeswax (pounds)	--		--	
Honey (pounds)	--		--	
Wheat (bushels)	600		600	
Rye (bushels)	300		--	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,000		3,000	
Oats (bushels)	1500		1,000	
Cotton (bales)	64		57	
Peas and beans (bushels)	300		500	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	31		30	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	14		20	
Barley (bushels)	--		5	
Hay (tons)	37		6	

Norris to JEC, February 27, 1823, JEC; in Orser et al. 1987:741). Calhoun attempted to sell some of his lands in order to purchase new slaves, but the economy of the 1820s apparently did not favor such sales, as his brother John reported that the "times are so dreadful that there is no possibility of selling any kind of property" (John Ewing Calhoun to JEC, May 4, 1827, JEC; in Orser et al. 1987:741). Crops of the late 1820s were only sufficient to pay the bills and keep the plantation in operation; they did not provide the means to expand.

Orser et al. (1987:741) speculate that it was this limited profitability which prompted Calhoun to resign his naval commission and return to Abbeville County in 1830. Calhoun settled at Midway, and immediately pursued a more scientific approach to agriculture. He invested in mechanical additions to the plantation, including tools, mules, oxen, and a cotton gin, and he made inquiries regarding the plans for constructing a mill for grinding corn. A considerable amount of effort was expended on experimental crops, and new varieties planted at Midway included rye, oats, barley, red and white clover, mulberries, tea plants, peaches, cedars, pecans, grapes, and "thirty wild orange sprouts." Calhoun also focused his efforts on devising a new system of agriculture. He read and corresponded extensively, and determined that fertilization and crop rotation were critical aspects of this new system (Orser et al. 1987:743).

On January 3, 1832, Calhoun took stock of his work at Midway (JEC Diary, January 3, 1832, John Ewing Calhoun Papers; in Orser et al. 1987:743-744):

Being able, at last, to bestow individual attention to my affairs, I have commenced the improvement of my lands, which have been shamefully abused by overseers.... So little regard has been paid to resting the soil, that I find much of it inclined to 'bake' or 'run together,' tho' naturally a delightful mellow earth. I am therefore taking pains to sow down in small grain as much of it as I can spare from corn and cotton and turning in the surface growth in order to impregnate the soil with vegetable matter.

In addition to rotating groups and fertilizing, Calhoun devised a new system of plowing, "horizontalizing," which he described as a scheme of "lay[ing] off the rows that the rain falling on each shall continue in it, drawing off with a gentle drip." Since there was no term for this scheme, Calhoun devised one, referring to it as "Loxotising," a combination of Greek and Latin terms which meant plowing obliquely (JEC Diary, January 3, 1832, John Ewing Calhoun Papers; in Orser et al. 1987:744). In his experimentation, Calhoun received the advise of other agriculturalists (he subscribed to at least one journal, the *Southern Agriculturalist*) and was undoubtedly influenced by his cousin John C. Calhoun, who was also concerned with the development of agriculture in South Carolina.

In the early 1830s Calhoun began acquiring property along the Savannah River, within the current confines of the Russell Reservoir. These acquisitions came mostly in parcels of 200 to 400 acres, and shared contiguous boundaries. In 1832 Calhoun began operations at a new plantation, which he referred to as

"Millwood," sending two men, one woman, and one girl to the settlement under the supervision of Absolom Roberts, who was paid \$100 per year, but was expected to work in the fields as well as supervise. The small number of hands committed to Millwood is a reflection of Calhoun's labor shortages, since in 1830 he owned only 55 slaves, of whom only 36 were old enough to work. He could also not afford substantial labor investments at Millwood for commitments he had made to Midway. In 1833 Calhoun began a refurbishing of the latter plantation, stating that he would not "cease until I have good Barns, Stable shed, a Tool house and waggon Shed with geer room and Plow house" (JEC Diary, August 5, 1833, John Ewing Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:745). Thus within three years of his return to Abbeville Calhoun had embarked on the ambitious path of refurbishing one plantation while building a second.

Calhoun intended for Millwood to serve as both a plantation and industrial site, proposing to build a mill on the upper portion of Trotter's Shoals, "where Trotter had built before the Revolutionary War." Within the first year he managed to clear 60 acres at Millwood, but did not fare as well with his mill construction, as the river carried away "some of the Dam, which proves badly built" (JEC Diary, August 1, 1833, August 19, 1833, John Ewing Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:745). However, Calhoun would not be discouraged in his attempts to transform Millwood into an industrial setting, and throughout 1833 and 1834 his diary and papers contain numerous references to these attempts. In 1833 he wrote that "Delaney Chisenhall, a good Millwright, moved to Millwood to superintend there." Efforts to bring other artisans to Millwood were less successful, and his Charleston factors, Mathews & Bonneau, informed him in March of 1834 that they were unable to find a slave carpenter at public auction. In October, 1834 a white mechanist wrote Calhoun that he had received his invitation to come to Millwood, but was already under contract. He did send along a list of the timber Calhoun would require to construct a building he had described to the mechanist (JEC Diary January 1, 1833, March 25, 1834, John Ewing Calhoun Papers; Thomas Watson to JEC, October 14, 1834, JECP, in Orser et al. 1987:747).

By 1834 Calhoun was also developing the settlement at Millwood. In February of that year he recorded in his diary that "Last Fall the overseer at Millwood killed two rattlesnakes, one afternoon, under houses at the settlement" (JAC Diary, February 22, 1834, John Ewing Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:747). This is the first reference to indicate that a settlement was formed at the lower plantation. In 1834 he built the overseer's house at Millwood, which was to serve as Calhoun's residence "until I have the leisure to build there a better house" (JEC Diary, March 13, 1834, John Ewing Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:747). Millwood apparently concentrated on the production of food stuffs, particularly corn, and on industrial pursuits in 1833 and 1834. Calhoun's diary ends in 1834, and thus the development of the plantation beyond this date is less certain (Orser et al. 1987:748).

By the 1830s Calhoun had discovered at least one means of augmenting his income, and began renting land at Millwood, Midway, and a third plantation, Spotsdale, for shares and for cash. In January, 1833, he rented part of his land to

Absalom Roberts (who had been his overseer the previous year), and received one fourth of the corn, one third of the cotton and half the oats produced from this land. An adjoining field was rented to Elihu Beard for \$35, while John Lyon rented other lands for \$50 (JEC Diary, January 23, 1833, January 5, 1834, John Ewing Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:745). While this provided a means of economic return for the asset he possessed in greatest quantity, it does not explain Calhoun's ability to greatly increase his slave holdings between 1830 and 1840. In the former year he possessed 55 slaves, and faced a constant labor shortage. By 1840 this figure had nearly tripled, and Calhoun owned 155 slaves. He was the master of 183 slaves in 1850, and of 194 slaves by 1860. How he came to acquire so many slaves in the years between 1830 and 1840 is unknown, as are the reasons for the stability of the population between 1840 and 1860, when population increases were more marginal. His papers reveal few references to slave trading, although he did contemplate selling some slaves in 1843; the slave trader he contacted was too busy with transactions in Alabama and Mississippi (J. Hunter to JEC, February 3, 1843, JECP, in Orser et al. 1987:748). Census documentation, as well as a slave ledger book maintained for Calhoun's plantations for the period from 1834 through 1847, suggest that his slaves lived in two-parent, extended family households. His slave population of 1860 was fairly evenly divided, consisting of 88 males, 94 females, 7 mulatto males, and 5 mulatto females. These individuals were housed in 29 dwellings, or at a ratio of 6.68 person per dwelling, a ratio consistent with although somewhat higher than slave occupancy rates in other portions of the South (Orser et al. 1987:749). It is uncertain where among Calhoun's Abbeville estates these slaves lived, although it is likely that the population was constantly evolving and shifting, as different plantations required more or less labor, and as particular fields were used up and abandoned. For example, in 1842 Calhoun received a letter from a prospective renter who had heard that "most of your force has been removed near the river," suggesting that a particular slave village had been relocated (Edward Harleston to JEC, February 15, 1842, JECP, in Orser et al. 1987:749). Settlement most likely moved as Calhoun's interests and means expanded and contracted.

Despite his increased land and wealth, Calhoun was not a major producer of cotton. In 1850 he owned 450 acres of improved land and 9,650 acres unimproved in Abbeville County, with a value of \$100,000. On this estate he produced only 70 bales of cotton (consider that George McCalla, with one sixth the slaves and less land still managed to produce 50 bales in this year). While his production of other crops was considerable, none indicate the size of labor force. By 1860 his real estate had declined, now accounting for 1,450 improved acres but only 1,400 unimproved, with a cash value of \$40,000. Despite his increased improved acreage, his cotton production fell to 63 bales, and only corn (accounting for 5,500 bushels) and hay (400 tons) showed any significant increase over the 1850 census return (Orser et al. 1987:753). As a measure of comparison, in 1850 Calhoun produced only 0.38 bales of cotton per slave, and in 1860 a paltry 0.32 bales per individual, compared to a range of 1 to 1.84 bales noted for the other planters studied in the reservoir: George McCalla and Bannister Allen.

It is likely that much of Calhoun's work force was diverted to his industrial pursuits. "Pursuit," in this instance, is an accurate term, since it is unclear

whether or not Calhoun ever realized his goals for industrialization. What is clear is that these plans were becoming more and more ambitious throughout the 1840s and 1850s. James E. Calhoun and his cousin John C. Calhoun both pursued gold mining in the 1840s, although James does not appear to have had a sound knowledge of minerals, John C. writing him in 1843 that "I doubt whether the specimen you sent contains metal of any discription" (John C. Calhoun to JEC, John J. Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:751). However, as Orser et al. note (1987:751): "at least one individual thought that Calhoun had found something of value somewhere, for in 1843 he had a request to lease his gold mine" (P. S. Garvin to JEC, January 4, 1843, JECP).

In March, 1837, John C. wrote "I attended to your business in Washington, and have collected a good deal of information in relation to the manufacture of cotton seed oil, of the success of which I have very flattering accounts" (John C. Calhoun to JEC, March 22, 1837, John C. Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:751). John C. appears to have been especially concerned with the industrial pursuits of his cousin and brother-in-law (he had married James' sister in 1811). On a later occasion he wrote a letter of introduction for John Hastings of Philadelphia, a superintendent of cotton manufactures, assuming that James might be "disposed to commence one" (John C. Calhoun to JEC, March 27, 1838, John C. Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:751). A month later John C. stated his position on industrialization adamantly: "If I were in your situation, I would not hesitate. You could commence almost for nothing, and make your women & children your most valuable hands" (John C. Calhoun to JEC, April 21, 1838, John C. Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:751).

James appears to have heeded his brother-in-law's advice. In 1840 he set out to construct a saw mill and cotton mill, and wrote "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 fix, I shall now have to finish the Merchant Mil, & feel confident can do all with my own Negroes" (JEC to Maria Calhoun, April, 1840, JECP, in Orser et al. 1987:751-752). In 1841, a mechanic from the Pendleton factory informed Calhoun that he had arranged for a Mr. Mason to build him mills and improvements, while another mechanic from Pendleton informed Calhoun in the following year that he was attempting to build too large of a factory. This mechanic recommended that Calhoun focus on the production of cotton bagging, predicting that cotton would replace hemp, and noted that the "expense of machinery for making two hundred yard per day would not exceed about three thousand whilst you could not possibly start Even a small Factory for less than twenty five or thirty thousand dollars with new Machinery" (John Kershaw to JEC, September 10, 1842, JECP, in Orser et al. 1987:752).

It is difficult to judge from the correspondence how far Calhoun's industrial vision had taken him. The letters are almost entirely one-sided, responses to queries Calhoun had made. Evidently he intended at first to construct a grand industrial complex, someplace which could convert his various agricultural products into finished goods. He was also counseled against doing so by some of those whose advice he sought. Calhoun clearly proceeded with some of his

industrial strategies. In October, 1843, a New York loom manufacturer wrote that he had received Calhoun's order for a "loom for weaving cotton Bagging, osnaburgs and Negro clothing," and requested more information before filling the order (J. B. Boisseau to JEC, October 24, 1843, JEC, in Orser et al. 1987:752). In 1845 Calhoun was again in correspondence with John Hastings, the Philadelphia textile superintendent who was now in Florida running a slave-outfitted textile mill. Hastings wrote "You say you have about \$2,000 of Machinery on the spot fitted for the fabrication of woolen & coarse cotton goods.... From the facilities you have, having a blacksmith & carpenter I could get the machinery running at a small outlay of money when placed on the spot -- what small shaft & drums would be required we could make there with my assistance & instructions" (John Hastings to JEC, May 5, 1845, JEC, in Orser et al. 1987:752). Calhoun had apparently followed the advice of the Pendleton mechanic, purchasing machinery for the production of cotton bagging, but lacked the know-how to make the machinery work. If purchases of osnaburgs and bagging made by Calhoun in the late 1840s are an indication, this part of his industry may never have gotten off the ground (Orser et al, 1987:753).

The censuses provide conflicting information on Calhoun's industrial success. On his 1850 census return, Calhoun listed an unspecified number of mills producing corn and wheat flour and boards, with a value of only \$1,000. However, the 1860 census lists an Abbeville enterprise of Rogers & Calhoun, which possessed grist mills, a saw mill, a tannery, and a smith shop, with a total capital investment of \$5,200 and production worth \$8,400 (Orser et al. 1987:753). If Calhoun was partner in this industry, then many of his dreams must have been realized.

For all his energy, industry, and wealth, Calhoun lived a relatively simple life for a planter. He married only once, to Maria Edgewood Simkins, in 1839. Her death in 1844 left him childless and widowed, and Calhoun abandoned work on the grand house he was intending to replace their more humble dwelling. Calhoun continued on at Millwood in the house once built to house his overseers, engaged in a variety of pursuits, a visionary, out of step with his neighbors and with his region.

The four men discussed above indicate there was no common pattern or formula which produced a successful planter in the Russell Reservoir area in the nineteenth century. Nor were their lives dictated by the "trends" of history, economics, politics, and other forces commonly considered in historical overviews. Banister Allen's fortune declined during the decade from 1850 to 1860; George McCalla's rose mercurially; and James Calhoun's wealth is difficult to document due to his scattered energies and possessions. These four individuals provide a range of planters from the Russell Reservoir, not a template. They were not the only agrarian inhabitants of the region. In order to more fully document the agrarian world, three more individuals must be considered in this section: William Clinkscales and Lyndsey and Henry Harper, farmers.

William Franklin Clinkscales William Clinkscales and his family arrived in the area of Lowndesville, Abbeville County, between 1850 and 1856, purchasing 450

acres along the Savannah River. There the family settled, building a home which would shelter three generations, and be known as "The Old Home Place." Clinkscale's first recorded presence in the county appears in the 1856 tax digest, at which time he was assessed a tax of \$64 on 450 acres and six slaves. Of this land, only 100 acres were improved (Gray 1983:28).

Clinkscales' status had changed little by 1860. As of that date he was listed as owning 420 acres, with 100 improved, and eight slaves. He possessed limited amounts of livestock, and produced a range of crops, led by corn, but including 18 bales of cotton (Table 15; Gray 1983:30-31). These two documents, the 1856 tax record and the 1860 census return are our only insights into the life of William Clinkscales.

Lyndsey and Henry Harper The Harper family arrived in Abbeville County in the early nineteenth century, with their presence positively documented as early as 1817. Lyndsey Harper's father, Henry, had arrived at Edinburgh, Georgia from Albemarle County, Virginia, at sometime prior to 1792, and established a ferry in Edinburgh. In 1808, his son Lyndsey, married Jane Harris of Abbeville County, and it is possible that he moved to Abbeville, and perhaps her parents home, at that date. Evidence that the Harper plantation was originally the Harris homestead comes from the inscription on Jane Harris Harper's tombstone, in the family cemetery located nearby the Harper site. This inscription reads "she was born, lived, and died within 300 yards of her grave." No documents were revealed during the research of this site which could confirm its transfer from the Harris family to Lyndsey Harper (Gray 1983:55-56).

The Harper site is shown on the 1820 map of the Abbeville District prepared for Mill's Atlas of 1825 (Figure 87). The site was located at the confluence of Ross' Creek and the Savannah River, below the town of Edinburgh on the South Carolina side of the river. By 1820 Lyndsey Harper's household was listed as containing eight slaves and four free persons of color. This slave population remained stable through 1840, and Lyndsey's fortunes appear to have witnessed few changes in the decades between 1820 and 1840 (Gray 1983:57).

Lyndsey Harper died in 1850. He left his plantation to his wife Jane, for use during her life or widowhood, after which the plantation was to be divided among their six children. His son James C. was willed the lands north of Ross' Creek, at a price of \$7 per acre, if he wanted them, and otherwise these lands were to be sold and the proceeds divided according to the arrangements provided for the rest of the estate. Lyndsey also left behind a detailed inventory, which provides an excellent source for the interpretation of his material wealth (Table 16).

Unlike most inventories, which lump categories, Lyndsey Harper's estate is broken out by rooms and activities. The house had a dining room, parlor, hall, two bed rooms, a "North Upper Room," a left and right hand shed room, a piazza, a "little room," an "upper south room," a kitchen, a smoke house, and a milk house. The most expensive furniture was in the "North Upper Room," which was possibly a study or guest bedroom located on the second floor of the house. Other

Table 15: W. H. Clinkscales' and Henry Harper's Agricultural Production, 1850 and 1860, from the Census Returns (Gray 1983:31, 66, 71).

	Clinkscales 1850		Henry Harper 1850		Henry Harper 1860	
	N	\$	N	\$	N	\$
Acres of improved land	150		165		400	
Acres of unimproved land	270		635		1,000	
Cash value of farm		\$6,300		\$8,000		\$21,000
Cash value of farm machinery		140		250		950
Horses	5		6		9	
Asses and mules	1		2		3	
Milk cows	5		5		12	
Working oxen	4		2		8	
Other cattle	21		30		30	
Sheep	50		18		50	
Swine	50		11		35	
Value of livestock		\$1,326		\$840		\$2,678
Value of livestock slaughtered		372		[illegible]		760
Wool (pounds)	100		40		60	
Butter (pounds)	250		200		365	
Beeswax (pounds)	--		120		30	
Honey (pounds)	--		--		400	
Wheat (bushels)	--		200		300	
Rye (bushels)	--		6		50	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,200		1,500		1,500	
Oats (bushels)	100		200		200	
Cotton (bales)	18		19		30	
Peas and beans (bushels)	150		70		200	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	25		10		50	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	75		40		--	
Barley (bushels)	--		--		--	
Hay (tons)	6		--		8	

Table 16. "An Inventory of the Personal Property of Lyndsey Harper deceased" (From Gray 1983:59-60).

	\$ Cts		\$ Cts
Dining room Furniture	134 55	" " " Bacon Supposed 12000 lbs	
Hall Room "	149 00	at 8 cts pr lb	96 00
Parlor " "	134 00	" " " Lard Supposed 100 lbs at 8	
The North Corner Bed Room Furniture	30 00	cts pr lb	8 00
The Family bed Chamber Furniture	171 00	" " " Tallow Supposed 35 lbs at 10	
One fine silver lever Watch	47 00	cts pr lb	3 50
The right hand shed room Furniture	40 00	" " " Shelled peas Supposed 45	
The left hand shed room Furniture	40 00	bu at 50 cts pr bu	22 50
Front Piazza Furniture	6 00	" " " Oats in the sheaf	60 00
The little room "	2 00	Shucks in the pen	2 00
The upper south Room "	90 00	One first rate set of Carpenter's tools	39 75
Kitchen Furniture	62 62 1/2	Two cross cut saws	6 00
Smoke House furniture	2 00	" Grind stones	2 50
Milk House Furniture	70 00	" Cutting blades	1 75
A young boy, Peter	800 00	One lot of Barrel staves	3 00
" " " Anderson	1000 00	Two large poplar troughs	2 00
" " " Solomon	550 00	One lot of coal	8 00
" " " Ben	550 00	" " " Bar Iron	32 50
A young girl, Eliza	630 00	" " " Old iron & three iron wedges	5 00
" " " Margarette	565 00	One set of Smith's tools	40 00
" " " Lucy	450 00	One half keg of nails	2 50
" " " Mary Ann	400 00	" Barouche and harnes	125 00
An old man Jim	400 00	A couple of ox-carts	30 00
A diseased woman Aggy	251 00	A little one horse wagon	40 00
A woman Blanc & child Martha	700 00	One lot of Sundries	2 00
" " Elizabeth & two children,		" " " Hogheads	3 00
Angeline & Reuben	1200 00	" " " Lumber	8 50
A young boy Monk	800 00	One lot of bees and hives	10 00
John & Charlotte Old people	2 00	One lot of Plough-irons, stocks and	
Jack An old man	1 00	swingletrees	27 00
One Bay horse Dave	30 00	" " " Spades hoes axes & crowbars	11 00
One Sorrel Mare Bimcomb	20 00	" " " Plough gear	5 00
One Grey horse, Tom	50 00	One cutting knife and wheat fan	10 00
On Large Bay Horse, Bob	50 00	Two knives for currying and	
Eight Milk cows with calves	64 00	preparing leather	1 00
One yoke oxen	30 00		
Twelve head of dry cattle	48 00		[\$11064 62]
One lot of hogs	72 00		
" lot of sheep	73 75		
" " " old corn 232 bu at 50 cents per bu	116 00		
" " " new corn 756 bu at 62 1/2 pr bu	570 00		
" " " fodder Sup 900 lbs at 62 1/2 pr wt	56 25		

We the undersigned appraisers being duly qualify & do certify that we have appraised the personal Estate of Lyndsey Harper deceased as showed us by the Exrs of Said Estate according to the forgoing Inventory 9th May 1850. Wm. Speer, Alexr. Oliver, Peter S. Burton Appraisers.

rooms in the upper bracket in the value of furniture included the dining room, hall, and parlor, which would have been the main focus of social activities in the house, all located on the first floor. Only two bed rooms are specifically mentioned: the north corner bed room and the family bed chamber. In 1850 Lyndsey and Jane Harper's youngest son was 20, and their remaining nine children ranged in age from 42 to 23 (see Figure 88), thus it is unlikely that the house sheltered more than three to five inhabitants. Possibly the "upper south Room," and "little room" were once bedrooms as well. It is uncertain what purposes the left and right shed rooms served, although these may have been enclosed sections of the front porch (referred to as the front piazza on the inventory) which were common on many antebellum southern homes. Such rooms were used to house travelers, and the right hand shed room has furniture with approximately the same value as that of the two bedrooms, suggesting it may have served such a function.

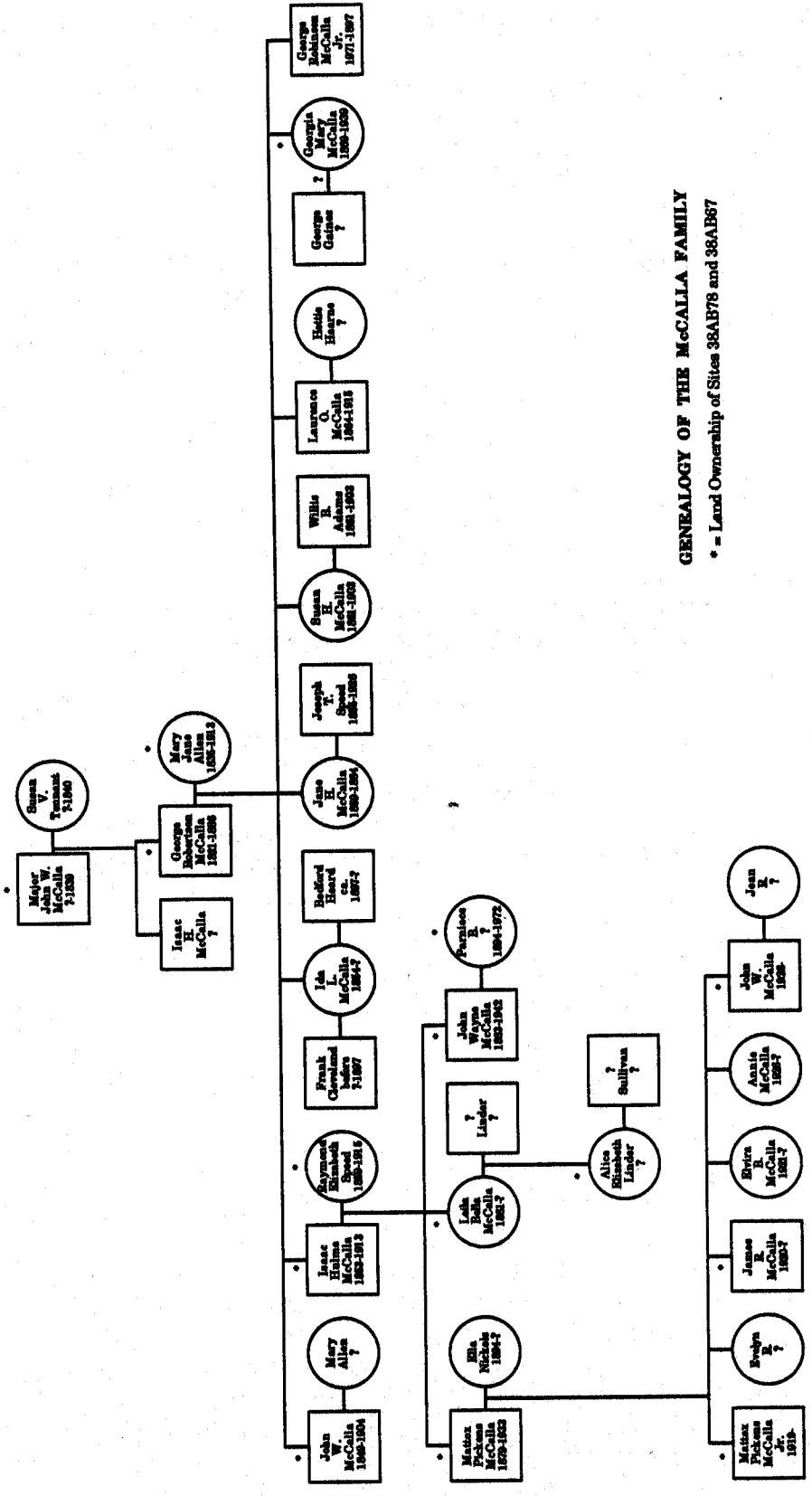
The appraisers appear to have followed a logical progression through the house and grounds. Following this assumption, it is possible to reconstruct the form and features of this farmstead. Beyond the main house were a smoke house and milk house, apparently relatively close by. Assuming that the slaves are then listed because of proximity, the slave village must have been situated just beyond the smoke house and milk house at the rear of the yard. It is difficult to determine whether the listing of slaves reveals any patterns of residence, however, it is interesting to note that four "young boys" are listed together, then four "young girls," suggesting possible dormitory-style housing by sex. The remaining slaves are not broken out by any conceivable pattern; an old man and diseased woman are listed, then two family units composed of mothers and children, then another young boy, and finally three more old people. All of these may have been divided by extended family groupings, or by age, or randomly distributed.

Next encountered appears to have been the livestock shelters: stable, barn, animal pens etc., where the agricultural produce was also stored: corn, peas, etc. However, bacon and lard are listed here, which should have been found in the smokehouse. There was also apparently a small blacksmith's shop, and probably an additional structure housing other farm implements: stocks and swingletrees, hoes, axes, log chains, etc.

The sale of Lyndsey's estate in 1851 provides additional information on the family. Most of the property was purchased by members of the family, with son Henry H. Harper buying six slaves and 227 acres of land. Jane Harper purchased the eight remaining slaves: all of the women and old people. The price received for the six slaves purchased by Henry Harper and the five remaining others was consistently higher than their appraised value, on an average \$256 more than valued the previous year. The returns on the estate indicate that Lyndsey Harper loaned a considerable amount of money, and also demonstrate that he was a successful producer of cotton, his estate owning 55 bales in 1850. Lyndsey also was apparently a miller, having produced 30 barrels of flour valued at \$195 in that year. Several payments were made to individuals referred to as "landlord" or

Figure 88. McCalla Genealogy.

Note: This genealogy was constructed solely as a reference for the chain-of-title history of the sites studied by Gray, and does not show all McCalla family members.



GENEALOGY OF THE McCALLA FAMILY
 * - Land Ownership of Sites 38AB78 and 38AB87

"landlady," one as far away as Augusta, who presumably managed property for the Harper family. Payments made by the estate in 1852 included \$80 for a cotton gin, \$120 for one paneled tombstone, \$10.62 for freight on the tombstone, and \$8 for a land survey (Gray 1983:65).

Lyndsey was already dead when the 1850 census was taken, and Henry H. Harper was managing the farm. The 1850 census (Table 15) indicates the estate possessed 850 acres, of which 165 were improved, and produced a mixed quantity of crops. According to the 1850 Agricultural Schedule, only 19 bales of cotton had been made, less than the 55 bales listed in the estate returns for that year.

Jane Harper died in 1853. The inventory of her estate provides an interesting contrast to that of her husband's, and a rare insight to the woman's world in the Russell Reservoir in antebellum period (Table 17). Jane Harper's possessions were mostly household items: furniture, kitchen utensils, etc. She also possessed several books, as noted in the sale bill for her estate: biographies, a four volume history, the "Life of Christ," a dictionary, and a volume on the Greek Revolution. A carding machine, loom, spinning wheels, and flax wheels all attest to her production of cloth for the family's use. Noticeably missing from her inventory are the slaves and livestock she purchased from her husband's estate; these must have been transferred to her children at some time before her death.

Henry H. Harper acquired much of the family land following the death of his mother. The 1856 tax return lists Henry as the owner of 705 acres and 34 slaves, so by this date he had attained the status of planter. According to the 1860 agricultural schedule, Henry owned 42 slaves (who were sheltered in seven dwellings), and 1,400 acres of land, of which 400 were improved. He produced 30 bales of cotton in that year (0.71 bales per slave), and a fair amount of indian corn (1,500 bushels) (Table 15).

Summary The histories of the planters and farmers outlined above indicates that there were no peculiar traits that served to separate one class from another. Each followed a fairly distinctive course; James Calhoun inheriting a substantial estate which became as much his toy as livelihood, George McCalla consolidating his father's lands and quickly advancing into the upper echelon's of planter status, Banister Allen maintaining his family estate with little upward progress after substantial strides in the 1830s. What distinguished these men as planters versus farmers appears to have been a certain drive and the resources with which that drive was put in motion. Table 18 outlines comparative statistics on land, labor and agricultural productivity of these five estates between the years of 1850 and 1860. These figures are credible only for broad generalizations, since they do not account for the years before 1850, but they provide a measure of activity and changing patterns of wealth and land use within this particular decade. In 1850 three of our five individuals had attained planter status (McCalla, Allen, and Calhoun), while Henry Harper was poised on the brink of this ranking. William Clinkscales had not yet appeared on the landscape. By 1860 all but Clinkscales had acquired enough slaves to be considered planters. Interestingly, the greatest increase in slave holding and the value of real estate, the two primary measures

Table 17. "Appraisement Bill of the Estate of Mrs. Jane Harper Deceased late of Abbeville District, South Carolina, Appraised July 7th 1853. By E. P. Speed, W. F. Clinkscales, & Josiah Burton -" (From Gray 1983:67-68).

	\$ Cts		\$ Cts
One Dining Table	2 50	Carding Machine	8 00
Water Bucket & Stand	1 00	5 Spinning wheels & scale	7 00
Lot of crockery, spoons, knives & waitins	25 00	Loom, Gin, & flax wheels	12 00
Lot of candle sticks	1 50	2 Tables, Barrels, Mortar & Tub	3 00
lot of Jars	1 00	Lot of Jars & Tins	5 00
Bed of furniture	12 00	Lot of Bowls	1 50
3 Tables, bowls, & pitchers	7 00	Andirons Shovel & tongs	2 00
Lot of Bed clothing & chest	25 00	" " & poker	1 50
2 Chests	50		
3 Barrels	75		
Ropes, works, pail, & c.	5 00		
5 Demi-jons	5 00		
1 Thermometer	1 00		
Lot of castings	10 00		
10 Split bottom chairs	2 00		
1/2 Doz Windsor chairs	3 00		
Side board & contents	35 00		
1 Dining Table & 1 small do	8 00		
1 Clock	5 00		
silver Candle sticks & snuffers	1 50		
Set of Draws, glass, Tables & arm chair	20 00		
1 Dining Table	25 00		
1 Doz flag chairs	12 00		
1 Carpet & Rug	3 00		
Fender fire dogs shovel & tongs	15 00		
2 Silver Candle Sticks	2 00		
2 pictures	3 00		
Lot of Books	5 00		
Seat of draws, whash stand & bowl	30 00		
Bed of furniture	20 00		
Be of furniture	18 00		
Lot of sundries in smoke House	3 00		
			[\$347 75]

South Carolina Abbeville Dist.

We the subscribers Sworn appraisers of the Estate of the late Mrs Jane Harper do herby Certify that the above is to the best of our belief a true apprasment of her Estate

Sworn to before T N Gante M A P

July 7, 1853

E P Speed
W. F. Clinkscales
Josiah Burton

____Appraisers____

Table 18: The Use of Land and Labor in the Russell Reservoir - A Comparison of Holdings and Agricultural Production for the McCalla, Allen, Calhoun, Clinkscales, and Harper Families, 1850 and 1860

	<u>McCalla</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Calhoun</u>	<u>Clinkscales</u>	<u>Harper</u>
1850					
No. Improved Acres	400	1,300	450	--	165
No. Unimproved Acres	755	1,000	9,650	--	635
Value of Real Estate	\$13,860	\$25,000	\$100,000	--	\$8,000
No. Of Slaves	27	64	183	--	19
Bales of Cotton	50	64	70	--	19
Bushels of Corn	1,200	1,000	2,500	--	1,500
Bales of Cotton/Slave	1.85	1	0.38	--	1
Bushels of Corn/Slave	44.4	15.6	13.6	--	78.9
	<u>McCalla</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Calhoun</u>	<u>Clinkscales</u>	<u>Harper</u>
1860					
No. Improved Acres	800	800	1,450	150	400
No. Unimproved Acres	2,200	925	1,400	270	1,000
Value of Real Estate	\$31,000	\$17,270	\$40,000	\$6,300	\$21,000
No. Of Slaves	85	58	194	8	42
Bales of Cotton	110	57	63	18	30
Bushels of Corn	1,400	3,000	5,500	1,200	1,500
Bales of Cotton/Slave	1.3	1	0.3	2.25	0.7
Bushels of Corn/Slave	16.5	51.7	28.3	150	35.7
	<u>McCalla</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Calhoun</u>	<u>Clinkscales</u>	<u>Harper</u>
Percentage of change 1850 to 1860					
No. Improved Acres	+100%	-38%	+220%	--	+142%
No. Unimproved Acres	+191%	-7%	-85%	--	+57%
Value of Real Estate	+123%	-31%	-60%	--	+162%
No. Of Slaves	+215%	-9%	+6%	--	+121%
Bales of Cotton	+120%	-10%	-10%	--	+58%
Bushels of Corn	+16%	+200%	+120%	--	0

of wealth in the antebellum South, were made by George McCalla and Henry Harper, who were among the least wealthy in 1850. The value of McCalla's real estate had increased by 123 percent, while Harper's landholdings had demonstrated even greater gains, increasing by 162 percent. Both men had augmented their slave labor force, McCalla investing the bulk of his capital in this area (for a 215 percent gain) and Harper also showing considerable improvements (a 121 percent increase). Surprisingly, the two wealthiest individuals in 1850, James Calhoun and Banister Allen, had lost wealth by 1860, Allen losing 31 percent of his real estate value and nine percent of his slaves, Calhoun losing 60 percent of his real estate value and only marginally augmenting his slave force (a 6% increase). While a variety of factors obviously contributed to these transformations (we have already considered Calhoun's industrial ventures, and McCalla's possible inheritances), at least one measure of their success appears to have come from productivity. In 1850 McCalla produced the greatest amount of cotton per slave, and the second largest amount of corn per slave, while Harper produced the most corn per slave and tied Allen for cotton productivity. The 1860 statistics are interesting, in that William Clinkscales, the poorest of the lot, led in both categories of production. Clinkscales was probably assisted by a number of family members, none-the-less, the productivity he enjoyed in 1860 suggests that he might have entered the planter class at some point in the future, had plantation culture remained intact.

Productivity can be considered in part as a measure of land fertility and improvements. McCalla and Harper had both substantially increased their acreage in improved lands, indicating they'd prepared new fields and avoided soil depletion. Allen had lost improved acreage, possibly through sale, or through the erosion and exhaustion of improved acreage listed in 1850. Calhoun demonstrated the greatest increase in improved acreage, yet his overall agricultural productivity did not improve substantially. It should be considered, however, that Calhoun was in the habit of leasing his lands, and thus some of these improved acres may have benefited other farmers and planters.

These statistics, and the histories outlined above, indicate there was no single shared common lifeway for planters and farmers in the Russell Reservoir. Some, like Calhoun, married only once, bore no children, and lived in a very modest household considering his wealth. Banister Allen had three wives and fourteen children in his lifetime. Lyndsey Harper, Henry's father, possessed a fairly substantial and well outfitted home at a time when his wealth was not considerable. In instances when patriarchs passed on, and sons inherited plantations, there is no evidence of primogeniture or other patterns for the transition of wealth. George McCalla was the second youngest son, Henry Harper the sixth, yet each recreated their father's estate. The lives of other children occurred outside the project area, and are less easily reconstructed. The historical record clearly indicates there was no pattern in the lives of these men. The question remains, was there pattern in their material world? Did norms and ideals exist on the arrangement of structures, the provisioning of slaves, the rotation of crops, which all obeyed?

Planters and farmers are the best documented inhabitants of the project area. The lives of their slaves are less well known. Slave life and material culture on the southern plantation has been portrayed as a homogeneous unit -- the daily routine. It should be cautioned that this homogeneity was almost certainly untrue, that it is a product of a paucity of historical documentation. Nevertheless, it provides a basic introduction to the material world of the plantation.

Slave Life on the Plantation: The Daily Routine

As historian Bennett Wall has noted (1975:232; in *The History Group* 1981:17), the agrarian South was united by annual patterns of labor: planting, harvest, and maintenance. Small farmers and the South's wealthiest planters alike shared these patterns. The annual "routine of growing cotton," as reconstructed by historian Julia Floyd Smith, applied to the project area as well as to other portions of the cotton South (Smith 1973:66-67; in *The History Group* 1981:17):

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.

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 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 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, [and] though there was some variation from this general schedule, the work of cotton growers was essentially the same everywhere.

Most cotton plantations organized and deployed their labor forces under the "gang" system, essentially working sunup to sundown at daily tasks such as chopping or planting while under the supervision of the plantation owner, his overseer, or a slave "driver." Gang labor also provided a means of controlling potentially rebellious workers, by forcing them to labor from "can to can't" (Orser et al. 1987:642). Men, women, and children above the age of ten to twelve worked side by side in the fields. Most planters gauged the capability of their slaves in relation to the work which could be performed by a healthy male "hand." Thus children might be classified as "quarter hands," indicating they could accomplish only a fourth of the work for which an adult was capable. The work was physically demanding. For example, during harvest slaves in the best physical condition were expected to pick 300 or more pounds of cotton per day. Planters often weighed each slave's produce at the end of the day, and delivered lashes as a punishment for not making quota (Bennett 1970: 74; Steward 1969:12; Brooks 1978:124; Eaton 1966:211).

While most slaves were engaged in the daily routine of cotton cultivation, others were assigned more skilled duties. In general, slaves can be divided into three groups: those whose duties required them in the main-house, where some of this group also resided; those whose skills separated them from the field hands, the carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and others; and the field hands, who formed the bulk of the community. Field hands were not always continually assigned to the agricultural services of the plantation; each plantation functioned as a self-contained community, and carried out a variety of industrial tasks which the agrarian pursuits proved necessary. Benny Dillard, an Elbert County slave, remembered that (in Rawick 1972:285-299; as cited in The History Group 1981:99):

Master's gin was turned by a mule. That big old gin wheel had wooden cogs what made the gin work when the old mule went 'round and 'round hitched to that wheel. That old cotton press was a sight. First they cut down a big old tree and trimmed off the limbs and made grooves in it for planks to fit in. It was stood up with a big weight on top of it, over the cotton what was pressed. It was worked by a wheel what was turned by a mule, jus' like the one what turned the gin. A old mule pulled the pole what turned the syrup mill too. Missy, them old mules done their part 'long side the Niggers them days, and Marster seen that his mules had good keer too. When them mules done turned the mill 'till the juice was squz out of the sugarcane stalks, they strained dat juice and boiled it down 'til it was jus' the finest tastin' syrup you ever did see. Marster's mill where he ground his wheat and corn was down on the crick, so the water could turn the big old wheel.

The plantation world was governed by the rhythms of planting and harvest. While the slaves were mostly engaged in work, there were also times of relaxation, and shared conditions promoted a strong sense of community. Carrie Hudson, another Elbert County slave, remembers that (in Rawick 1972:220-231; as cited in The History Group 1981:97):

Saddy nights the young folkses picked the bango, danced and cut de buck 'till long after midnight, but Christmas times was when chilluns had their bestes' good times. Marese Elbert 'ranged to have a hog killin' close enough to Christmas so there would be plenty of fresh meat, and there was heaps of good chickens, turkeys, cake, candies, and just everything good. And during the Christmas, slaves visited 'roun from house to house, but New Year's Day was work again, and there was always plenty to do on that plantation. Most all the Niggers loved to go to them cornshuckin's, 'cause after the corn was all shucked they give 'em big suppers and let em dance. The cotton picken's was on nights when the moon was extra bright 'cause they couldn't do much lightin' up a big cotton field with torches like they did the places where they had the cornshuckin's. After cornshuckin's, they might be dancin' by the light of torches, but us danced in the moonlight when the cotton was picked and the prize done been give out to the slave what picked the most. Logrollin's was the most fun of all. The men and womens would roll them logs and sing and they give 'em plenty of good eats, and whiskey by the kegs, at logrollin's. The Marsters, they planned the cornshuckin's, and cotton pickin's, and log-rollin's and provided the eats and liquor, but the quiltin' parties belonged to the slaves. They 'ranged 'em their own eats, but most of the Marster would let 'em have a little somepin' extra like brown sugar or 'lasses and some liquor. The quiltin's was in the cabins, and they always had 'em in winter when there warn't no field work. They would quilt a while and stop to eat apple pies, peach pies, and other good things and drink a little liquor.

Slaves depended on the planter for housing, food, and clothes. While the rationing of these resources varied from plantation to plantation, all appear to have been governed by the planter's desire to keep his work force adequately enough clothed, fed, and housed to remain healthy, while distributing the least of his personal capital. Frederick Law Olmsted described the dress of female field workers as (1959:110; as cited in Brooks 1978:124) :

...coarse gray gowns, generally very much burned and dirty; which, for greater convenience of working in the mud, were reefed up with a cord drawn tightly about the body, a little above the hips -- the spare amount of skirt bagging out between this and the waist proper. On their legs were loose leggins or pieces of blanket or bagging wrapped about, and lashed with thongs; and they wore very heavy shoes. Most of them had handkechiefs, only, tied around their heads; some wore men's caps, or old slouched hats, and several were bareheaded.

Clothes were either provided ready-made, or fashioned by the female slaves from cloth distributed by the master. Some plantations employed a seamstress who made the garments of all the plantation's slaves. Many planters appear to have allocated ready-made clothes to the men, and cloth to the women. Planters recognized only two seasons: winter and summer, and allotted the bare

necessities for each. A South Carolina planter described the yearly clothing allowance distributed to his slaves as follows (as cited in Bennett 1970:74; in Brooks 1978:125):

Each man gets in the fall 2 shirts of cotton drilling, a pair of woolen pants and a woolen jacket. In the spring 2 shirts of cotton shirting and 2 pr. of cotton pants.... Each woman gets in the fall 6 yds. of woolen cloth, 6 yds. of cotton drilling and needle, skein of thread and 1/2 dozen buttons. In the spring 6 yds. of cotton shirting and 6 yds. of cotton cloth similar to that for men's pants, needle, thread, and buttons. Each worker gets a stout pr. of shoes each fall, and a heavy blanket every third year.

Food was similarly rationed, and usually provided on a weekly basis. Some planters assigned a cook responsible for preparing the evening meal for all the plantation slaves, although many seem to have left meal preparations to each individual or family. Austin Steward, a slave for 22 years, recalled that (1969:11-13; in Brooks 1978:125):

The slaves on our plantation were provided with very little meat. In addition to a peck of corn or meal, they were allowed a little salt and a few herrings. If they wished for more, they were obliged to earn it by over-work. They were permitted to cultivate small gardens, and were thereby enabled to provide themselves with trifling conveniences. But these gardens were only allowed to some of the more industrious.

It was the usual practice to have all of the old slaves set apart to do the cooking. All the field hands were required to give into the hands of the cook a certain portion of their weekly allowance, either in dough or meal, which was prepared in the following manner. The cook made a hot fire and rolled up each person's portion in some cabbage leaves, when they could be obtained, and placed it in a hole in the ashes, carefully covered with the same, where it remained until done. Bread baked in this way is very sweet and good. But then cabbage leaves could not always be obtained. When this was the case, the bread was little better than a mixture of dough and ashes, and not very palatable.

Charlie Hudson, an Elbert County slave born in 1858, described the diet provided by his mother, who was also the main-house cook, and may have had access to a greater variety of foodstuffs (in Rawick 1972:220-231; as cited in The History Group 1981:98):

Most times it was meat and bread with 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 the gravy was good and brown. You was lucky if you got to eat 'possum and gnaw the bones after Ma done cooked it.

The basic constituents of the slave diet appear to have been corn meal and salt pork, and fresh vegetables and meat were most likely obtained through the slave's energies in gardening and hunting.

Slave housing on cotton plantations was most frequently of log construction (McDaniel 1982). The reasons why this particular mode was preferred are several. Timber was one the upland plantation's most available and least expensive resources. The gathering of logs for cabin construction required only the slaves' time and labor, and did not burden the planter with any monetary cost. Since most planters were engaged in clearing land in preparation for new fields, logs were a reliable and abundant resource. Cotton also quickly depleted the fertility of agricultural fields, and hence cotton fields rarely were employed for more than three to five consecutive years. As the fields moved, slave villages often followed. The planter thus gained no economic incentive from constructing a more permanent architecture, if such structures were abandoned at intervals of three to five years. Wood planking, a common resource of the coastal region, was less readily found in the Piedmont, and the cost of brick was beyond the means of most planters in the project area for their own homes, much less slave dwellings. Together these factors conspired to dictate the form of the slave cabin commonly associated with the Old South, the earth-floored, log structure of meager dimensions.

Contemporary descriptions of slave housing illuminate the rugged simplicity which characterized these structures. Writing of cabins he saw at a Virginia plantation, Olmsted noted (1959; in Brooks 1978:127):

The houses of the slaves are usually log-cabins, of various degrees of comfort and comodiousness. At one end there is a great fire-place, which is exterior to the wall of the house, being made of clay in an enclosure, about eight feet square and high, of logs. The chimney is sometimes of brick, but more commonly of lath or split sticks, laid up like log-work and plastered with mud. They enjoy great roaring fires, and, as the common fuel is pitch pine, the cabin, at night when the door is open, seen from a distance, appears like a fierce furnace. The chimneys often catch fire, and the cabin is destroyed.... Several cabins are placed near together, and they are called "the quarters."... The situation chosen for its reference to convenience of obtaining water from springs and fuel from woods.

This view was echoed by Steward, who described the cabin he lived in as (1969; in Brooks 1978:127-128):

... a small cabin, built of rough boards, with a floor of earth, and small openings in the sides of the cabin were substituted for windows. The chimney was built of sticks and mud; the door, of rough boards; and the whole was put together in the rudest possible manner. As to the furniture of this rude dwelling, it was procured by the slaves themselves, who occasionally permitted to earn a little

money after their day's toil was done. I never knew Capt. H. to furnish his slaves with household utensils of any description.

Carrie Hudson, born in 1863 on Joseph (Squire) Rucker's plantation in Elbert County, described the slave (and later freedman) village in which she was raised. Her description echoes Steward's mention of the limited furnishings found in slave cabins (in Rawick 1972:211-219; as cited in The History Group 1981:96-97):

Us lived in log cabins scattered 'round the plantation. The biggest of them had two rooms and every cabin had a chimbley made of sticks and red mud. Most of the chillun slept on pallets on the floor, but I slept with my Pa and Ma 'cause I was so pettish. Most of the beds were made of poles, this away: they bored two holes in the wall, wide apart as they wanted the bed, and in these holdes they stuck one end of the poles what was the side pieces. They sharpened the ends of two more poles and driv' 'em in the floor for the foot pieces and fastened the side pieces to 'em. Planks was put across this frame to hold a coarse cloth tick filled with wheat straw. Ma had a ruffle, what was called a foot bouncer, 'round the foot of her bed.

While these and other contemporary descriptions highlight the crude nature of slave housing, it would be incorrect to associate such conditions specifically with slavery. The upcountry as a whole, and in particular the project area, was isolated from markets, industries, and other sources of raw materials. While the agrarian life rewarded a few, it provided a mean existence for the many. Olmsted, in his travels through South Carolina, noted the general poverty of housing, and from his descriptions it is clear that little separated slave housing from the dwellings built by poor whites (1959; in Taylor and Smith 1978:128):

The large majority of the dwellings were of logs, and even those of the white people were often without glass windows. In the better class of cabins, the roof is usually built with a curve, so as to project eight to ten feet beyond the log-wall; and a part of this space, exterior to the logs, is enclosed with boards, making an additional small room -- the remainder forms an open porch. The whole cabin is elevated on four corner-posts, so that air may circulate under it. The fireplace is built up at the end of the house, of sticks and clay, and the chimney is carried up outside, and often detached from the log walls; but the roof is extended at the gable, until the line with its outer side. The porch has a railing in front, and a wide shelf at the end on which a bucket of water, a gourd, and hand basins, are usually placed. There are chairs, or benches, on the porch.... The logs are usually hewn but little; and, of course, as they are laid up, there will be wide interslices between them -- which are increased by subsequent shrinking. These, very commonly, are not "chinked," or filled up in any way; nor is the wall lined on the inside....

Cabins, of this class, would almost always be flanked by two or three negro-huts. The cabins of the poorest class of whites were of a

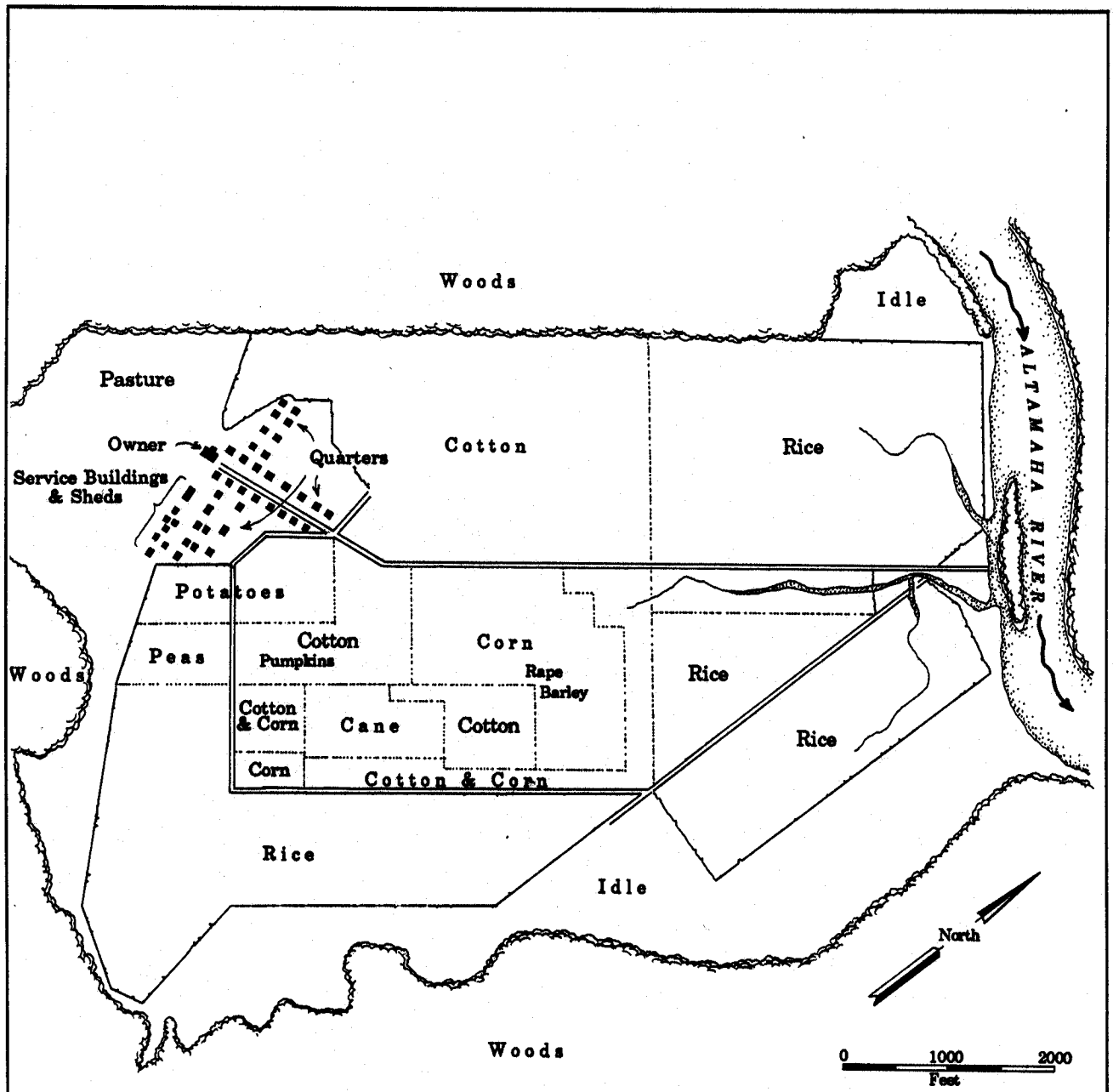
meaner sort -- being mere square pens of logs, roofed over, provided with a chimney, and usually with a shed of boards, supported by rough posts, before the door.

Plantations consisted of individuals against a backdrop of agricultural patterns. The individual's world was idiosyncratic, dependent on education, ambitions, political orientations, intelligence, wealth, and status. The agricultural world was dominated by the rhythms of the seasons, the fertility of the soil, by planting, chopping, harvest, and maintenance. The individual's world and the agricultural world coincided in the material world of the plantation.

Settlement

Antebellum farms and plantations were composed of domestic structures, agricultural facilities, industrial features, fields, pastures, roads, and other natural landmarks. The arrangement of these aspects has long been of interest to cultural geographers, historians, architectural historians, and archaeologists. The most influential research on plantation settlement to date has been Merle Prunty's (1955) article on the "Renaissance of the Southern Plantation," in which plantation settlement is viewed as nucleated, i.e. consisting of a relatively tight arrangement of domestic and service structures. Within this nucleus there is some recognition of social variation and stratification, most scholars viewing this cluster as consisting of a least two distinct zones: planter's residence and slave quarters (Orser et al. 1987:588-589). Prunty's consideration of antebellum plantation settlement was based on Hopeton plantation, a coastal Georgia rice and cotton plantation (Figure 89). Settlement at Hopeton featured a single concentration of structures, consisting of: the owner's house, which was situated adjacent to the slave quarters and service buildings; the slave quarters, "grouped compactly in rows along short roads;" and the barns and sheds, which were situated centrally "in relation to pasture, cropland, and labor quarters.... Cultivating power was centrally located within the area to which it was applied and among human elements whose effective employment depended upon it" (Prunty 1955:465-66).

As Gray has noted (1983:169), the nucleated pattern was one of only several alternate forms which agrarian settlement could accept. Based on her research of antebellum and postbellum agricultural settlements in the Russell Reservoir, Gray outlined four historic settlement patterns: nucleated, semi-nucleated, conglomerate, and dispersed (Figure 90). The semi-nucleated form consisted of an association, but not concentration, of settlement components; the conglomerate settlement featured several clusters of activities; and the dispersed form was characterized by a random spread and separation of independent structures. Of these, the conglomerate pattern may present a more accurate reflection of upland south plantation settlement, as Gray (1983:173) noted of the McCalla plantation. Several features of Prunty's (1955) nucleated example, Hopeton Plantation, would not have been as likely to appear on upland plantations. The first of these is the permanence of slave housing. As noted above, the most common slave dwelling of

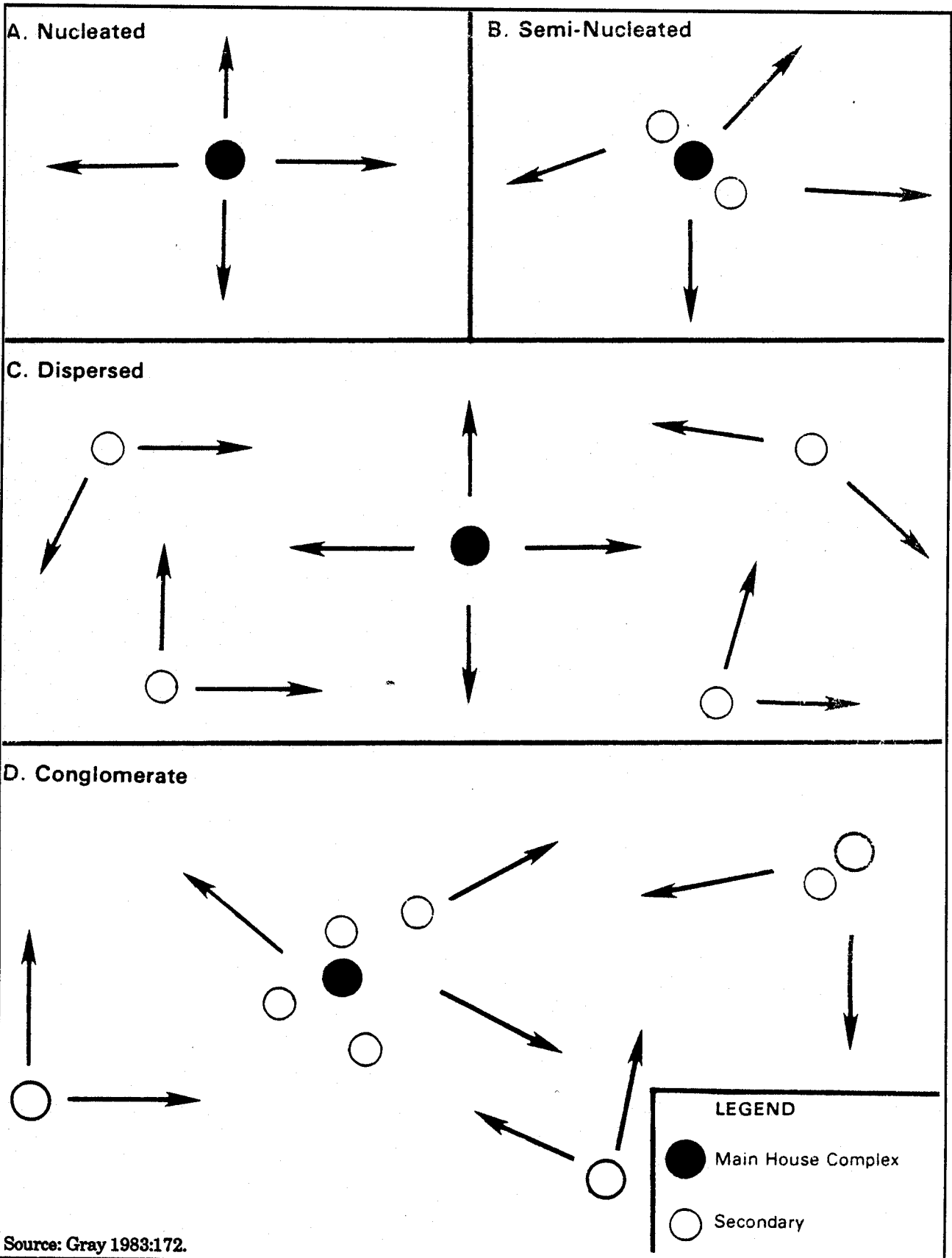


Note: This coastal Georgia plantation was used by Prunty as an example of nucleated settlement, however, its attributes may not have been entirely applicable to upland plantations.

Source: Prunty 1955.

Figure 89. Hopeton Plantation Settlement and Cropland, 1827.

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Source: Gray 1983:172.

Figure 90. Settlement Pattern Models for RBR
Historic Agricultural Sites.

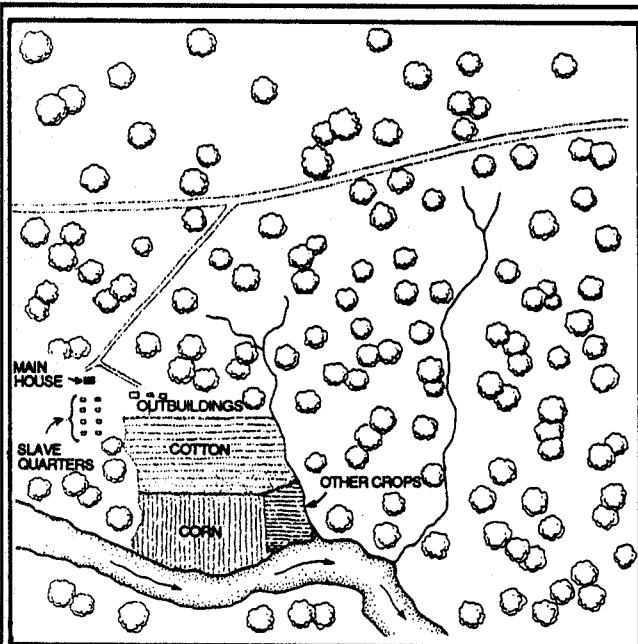
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Cultural Resources Investigations
Richard B. Russell Reservoir

the upland south was the log cabin, a structure not designed for permanence (although one which has proved to be quite durable in some instances). Coastal rice plantations featured elaborate system of dikes, trunks, and canals, necessary to support the flooding and drainage of rice ponds during the growth cycle. These required considerable investments of labor and materials, and hence were intended for long-term use. Rice ponds were irrigated through either the tidal flow or gravity system, both of which brought in nutrients: silt, leaf matter, etc. Thus rice ponds were essentially self-fertilizing, and could be used for years consecutively. Slave villages on rice plantations tended to be of a more permanent nature, with frame, tabby, and even brick construction being employed. Because rice plantations were by their nature situated in wetland environments, arid land was limited, and hence all settlement aspects were frequently concentrated on higher elevations among the marshes and streams. These environmental and agricultural requirements help explain the nucleated settlement patterning of coastal plantations.

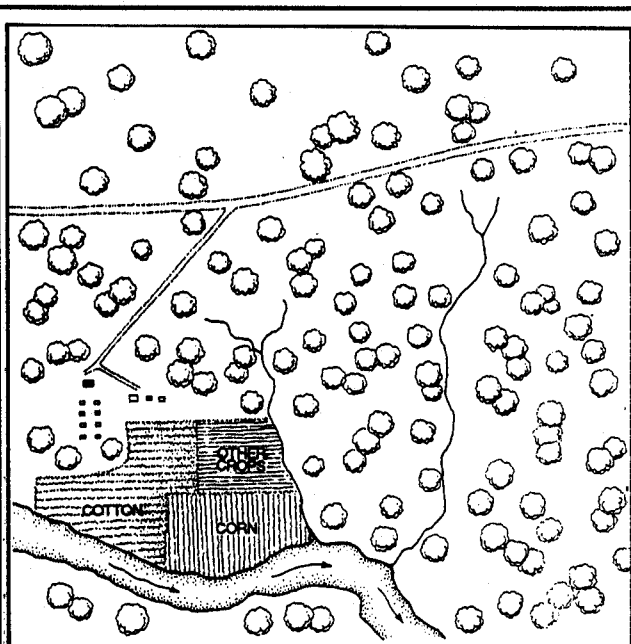
Cotton, however, was an entirely different crop. Extremely exhaustive of soil nutrients, cotton fields were rotated on an average of every three to five years. An evolutionary pattern for a cotton plantation might feature an initial concentration of all structures adjacent to prime soils suited for clearing and agriculture (Figure 91). Within three to five years of occupation, however, these fields would be exhausted, and it would be necessary to rotate crops and create new croplands. At this stage such croplands may have been cleared from the forests surrounding the main concentration, and occupation would have shifted little. However, if the plantation was to continue to function successfully, additional land would have to be acquired and developed, and this additional cropland could not always be found adjacent to the main concentration of structures. Thus as the land holdings and slave populations of plantations increased, they were likely to take on a conglomerate appearance, featuring a nucleus consisting of the main house, some slave quarters, and service structures, and satellite communities of slave villages with associated overseers and service quarters. A pattern which occurred on coastal plantations (Otto 1975) may have been found in the uplands, in which an overseer's dwelling was established central to two or more slave villages. It is unlikely that slave villages were left unsupervised.

As agricultural fields were depleted of nutrients and abandoned, associated slave villages were also probably left behind. Such practice helps explain the use of impermanent architecture for slave housing. At some point in the evolutionary sequence the main house complex itself would probably be ancillary to the primary agricultural foci of the plantation, and at this point the planter may have considered relocating and building a new main house.

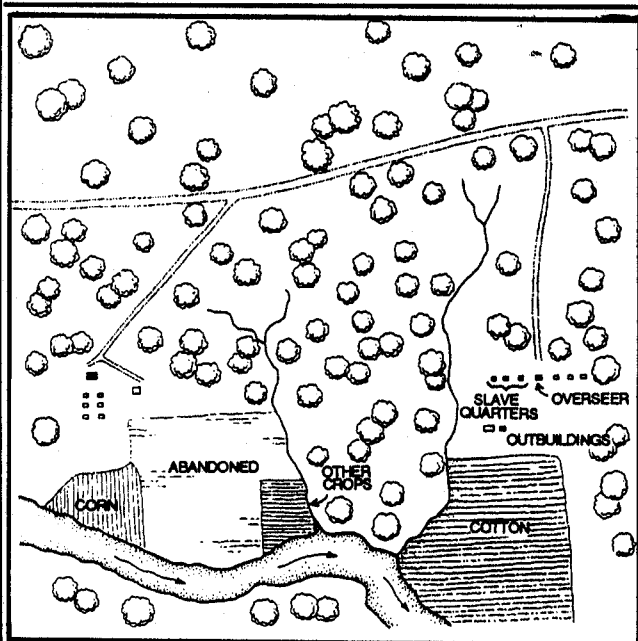
Upland plantations could thus have exhibited nucleated or conglomerate patterns depending on their size and stage of development. Small plantations probably never expanded beyond the limits of the agricultural lands surrounding them. Larger plantations may have featured several satellite communities, and may even have witnessed shifts in the location of the main house complex. One reason why the nucleated settlement system has received the bulk of attention in the



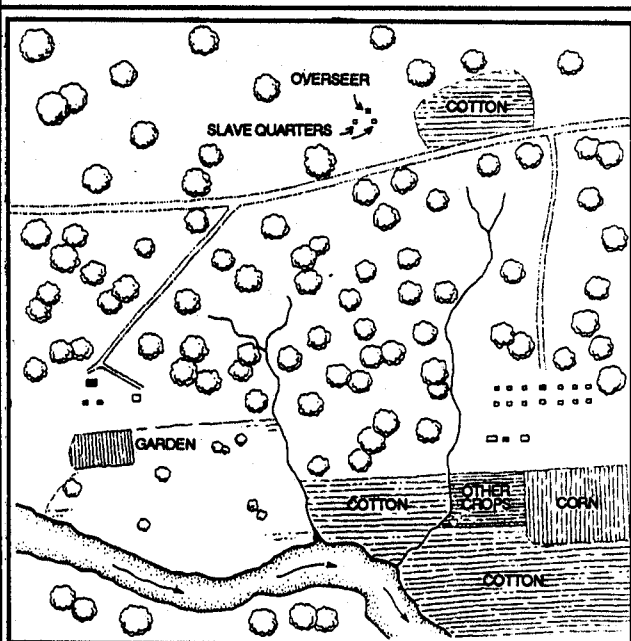
STAGE I: Initial occupation. Lands cleared adjacent to main house complex, 400 acres in cotton, corn and other crops. Slave village of eight houses shelters total population of 48. No overseer.



STAGE II: Crops rotated, new fields established adjacent to older fields. Slave population now 54, housed in ten cabins. Now 600 acres improved land.



STAGE III: Fields adjacent to main house mostly exhausted and abandoned, new fields established down river. Slave population now 60, mostly housed at new village under the supervision of an overseer. 800 improved acres.



STAGE IV: Fields surrounding main house abandoned except for small garden. Four slaves live at main house as servants. Main focus now at new village, which has overseer and 97 slaves housed in thirteen cabins. Beginnings of a third field complex north of the road with a second overseer and seven slaves. Now 1,000 acres improved.

Figure 91. The Evolution of Upland Cotton Plantations from Nucleated to Conglomerate Settlement Patterning - Graphic Model.

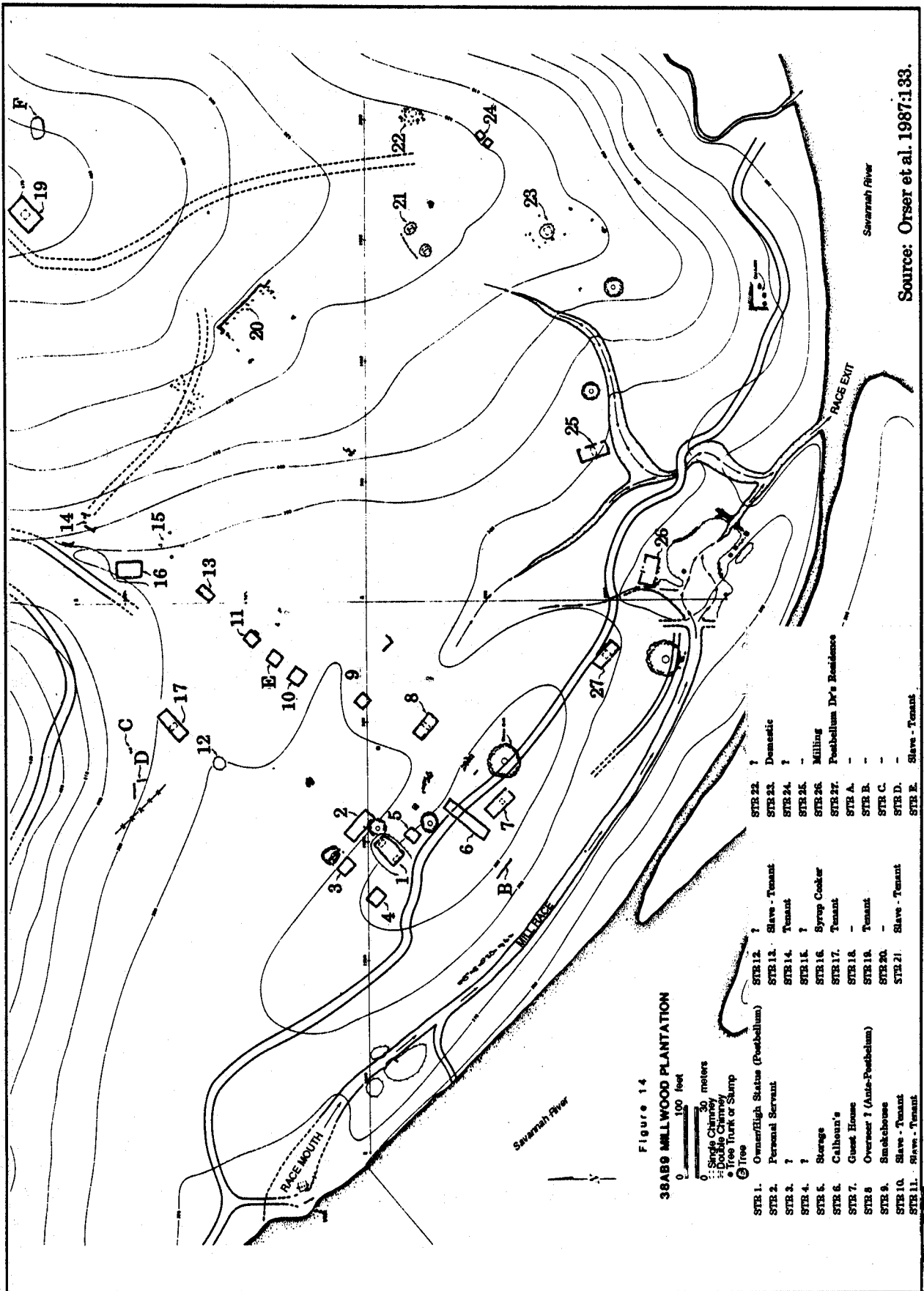
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archaeological literature has to do with the nature of archaeological investigations. While main house compounds are fairly readily recognized due to the substantial (in both size and number) architecture involved, satellite communities, especially those consisting of small slave villages, would leave few traces and be difficult to locate. As Hodder and Orton (1976:17) note: "Any map is, in a sense, an attempt at quantification. It provides empirical evidence on which some theory can be built. But such a map can be totally misleading due to the uneven way archaeological information survives and is collected." Plantation archaeology, by the nature of archaeological survival and identification, is likely to support the theory of nucleated plantation settlement and disregard conglomerate distribution.

Data from the Russell Reservoir supports this hypothesized shift from nucleated to conglomerate settlement among the plantation sites studied. The best evidence comes from the historical documentation associated with James Calhoun and Midway and Millwood Plantations. Calhoun expanded on inherited land in the vicinity of Millwood Plantation through the purchase of at least six tracts of land containing more than 1,000 acres between 1832 and 1834. At that time he was in residence at Midway Plantation, of whose settlement we have little evidence. In the spring of 1832 Calhoun sent an overseer and four slaves to "form a settlement" at Millwood, on lands a few miles south of Midway (JEC Diary, August 1, 1832, John Ewing Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:599). Initial work consisted of clearing 60 acres and beginning the construction of a crib dam. This settlement suggests that lands surrounding Midway were becoming exhausted, and that Calhoun was actively seeking new lands for improvement and planting. At this point in its history, Millwood was a satellite of Midway Plantation, and Midway's settlement pattern can be considered as conglomerated.

In 1834 Calhoun wrote that he was preparing materials for building at Millwood in preparation of moving there. Calhoun's relocation from Midway to Millwood may have indicated the abandonment of the former due to impoverished fields, although it is as likely that Calhoun moved to Millwood for the industrial potential the new plantation offered. By 1835 Calhoun wrote that he was enjoying the "cottage life" at Millwood (JEC to John C. Calhoun, January 31, 1835, John C. Calhoun Papers, in Orser et al. 1987:601).

Millwood developed a main house complex consisting of Calhoun's home, the house of his overseer, slave dwellings, and service structures (Figure 92). Even if considered as an independent plantation, however, Millwood does not appear to have exhibited a nucleated settlement due to the size of its labor force and of Calhoun's land holdings. As Orser et al. note (1987:603): "By 1860 his landholdings had the shape of modern Chile, more than 10,000 acres in a stringbean configuration along both sides of the Savannah River while hardly a mile in width." With such extensive holdings along either bank of the Savannah, it is likely that Calhoun dispersed his labor force to take advantage of his best lands. Thus Millwood must have exhibited a conglomerate network of slave villages dependent on the main house concentration. Slave villages were likely to have moved as new fields were developed; in February of 1842 Calhoun received



Source: Orser et al. 1987:133.

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Figure 92. Millwood Plantation Settlement.
 Note: Designations of structure functions are abstracted from Orser et al. 1987:132-375.

an inquiry on the availability of some of his lands from a gentleman who had heard that "most of your force has been removed near the river," suggesting that a particular slave village had been relocated (Edward Harleston to JEC, February 15, 1842, JECF, in Orser et al. 1987:749).

Archaeological evidence from the Banister Allen Plantation, McCalla Plantation, and Millwood all support this conglomerate distribution, although through negative evidence. Specifically, excavations at Bannister Allen and McCalla failed to reveal evidence of slave occupations at these sites, despite the fact that both plantations possessed substantial slave populations by the 1860s. It is possible that such evidence was missed during the archaeological research, however, as Gray notes (1983:147):

Especially critical is the fact that the locations of most of the slave quarters associated with the McCalla I site [the George McCalla home], of which there were at least 23 (U. S. Bureau of Census 1860), have not been positively identified. The reason for this is simple. When one examines the extent of the plantation prior to the Civil War (roughly 3,000 acres), it becomes apparent that the greatest efficiency would have been achieved if slaves were housed near their work locations, rather than in a concentration around the main house complex.

Gray did identify the slave cemetery associated with the McCalla Plantation (Figure 93), as well as several historic sites in the immediate area which were not investigated during the archaeological studies, and suggests that these possibly were outlying slave settlements (Gray 1983:147-148).

While numerous antebellum and postbellum structures were identified at Millwood (see Figure 92), it does not appear likely that the 29 slave dwellings listed in the 1860 agricultural schedule are all represented in the main house concentration. As Figure 92 indicates, only seven of the 32 structures identified at Millwood can be positively associated with the antebellum period, and Orser et al. (1987:603-604) note that it was unlikely that Calhoun housed all of his slaves (194 individuals in 1860) in the area immediately surrounding his house. The archaeological evidence, through the absence of numerous verified slave dwellings in the main house complex, supports the interpretation of the historical documentation that Millwood's settlement pattern was conglomerate.

The evidence from the McCalla, Bannister Allen, and Millwood plantations offers possible evidence for the size (in terms of land and labor) at which plantations shifted from a nucleated to conglomerate pattern. By 1860 these plantations possessed an average of 1,016 acres, and an average slave population of 112. We know that Calhoun began to develop Millwood in the 1830s, at which time he owned 55 slaves, and that Millwood was established as a separate plantation by 1840, when Calhoun was master to 158 individuals (Orser et al. 1987:748). Coastal Georgia rice plantations featuring a conglomerate settlement appear to have slave villages housing from 30 to 50 individuals sheltered in six to ten dwellings (Joseph

FIGURE 27
TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE McCALLA I SITE (38AB78)
AND PORTIONS OF OTHER McCALLA LANDS (BASED ON 1834
STATE PLAT)

LEGEND

- - - - - McCalla I Original Site Boundary (Approximate)
- X Other Structure Locations
- * Reported Locations of Schools

0 1000 2000
 SCALE IN FEET



Source: Gray 1983:145.

Figure 93. Topographic Map of the McCalla I (George McCalla) and McCalla II (Isaac McCalla) Sites, Showing Additional Historic Sites Within the Property Boundaries, as Well as the Location of the McCalla Slave Cemetery. Note: Gray postulates that some of

1986). The evidence from Calhoun would support a shift from nucleated to conglomerate settlement near the upper end of this range. The second variable in the shift from nucleated to conglomerate settlement, improved land, is less certain. Considering land and slave holdings among our five families in 1860 (see Table 16), these individuals averaged 9.3 improved acres per slave. Thus a plantation with 50 slaves would be expected to have 465 improved acres under this scheme. Since land is the critical factor in the shift from the nucleated to conglomerate pattern, it is suggested that those planters with at least 50 slaves and more than 465 acres of improved land would be likely to shift to a conglomerate settlement.

While plantation settlement may be considered as fitting either a nucleated or conglomerate pattern, the analysis presented above would not apply to farmsteads within the project area. Gray's (1983:173) research suggest that farms were either nucleated or semi-nucleated in their occupance form, and such distribution would be in line with the considerations of land, labor and settlement expressed above.

Glassie's (1975) research in Virginia suggests the possibility that farmstead settlement patterning evolved over time. He notes that (Glassie 1975:144; in Worthy 1983:74):

Indications are that the old farm had two centers, the house and the barn, around which smaller dependencies were dropped. Beside the house are the outbuildings needed by the woman in order to get food on the table; beside the barn at the outbuildings needed by the man to keep the cattle fat. The nineteenth-century plan still shows this duality, but the farm would be best described as consisting of a house with a stragging row of outbuildings behind it.

Worthy (1983:75; based on Smith et al. 1982:9-12; Newton 1974:151; Weaver and Doster 1982:63-64; Hart 1977) outlines a number of characteristics which she feels embodied the Upland South farmstead settlement pattern:

1. Random clustering of domestic and service occupations, frequently situated on hilltops or other prominent points. Placement is a factor of changing views on "convenience."
2. Individual buildings for separate functions: dwellings, storehouse, livestock barn, pens for fowl, smokehouse, etc., although sometimes these structures are combined to serve more than one function.
3. Dwelling, well, privy, storage shed, and chicken house closely placed, as these represent areas primarily associated with household activities. The yard surrounding these structures is frequently swept.

4. Barns, larger animal pens, equipment buildings, forges, and other male activity areas at a slightly greater distance from dwelling cluster. Access to these facilities is around rather than through the yard.

5. The house faces the probable path of human approach, and is frequently shaded by trees.

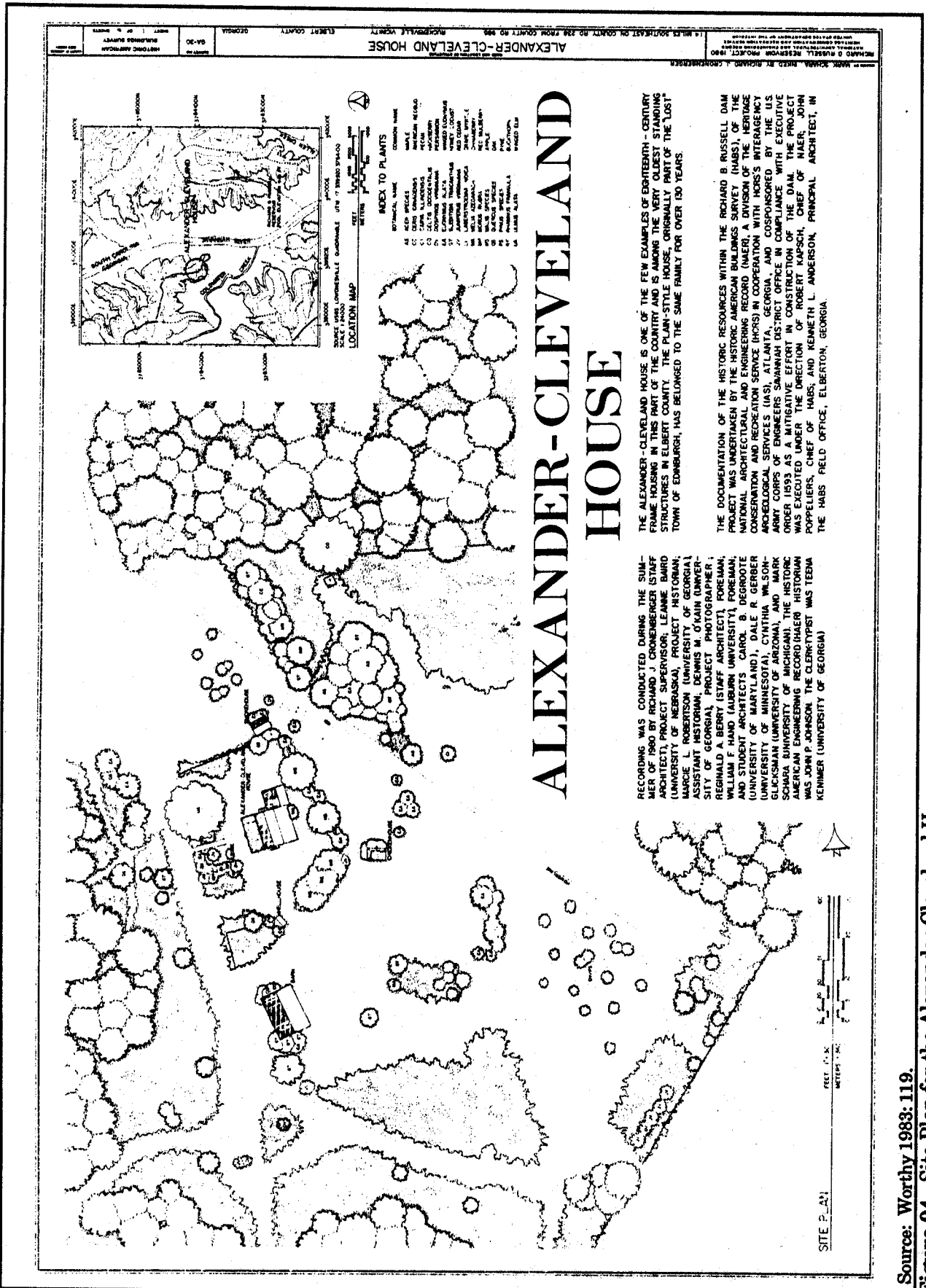
6. Fields are irregularly arranged and follow natural topography. Fields are situated to make use of the best available lands; farms are situated to provide best access to fields.

These attributes were likely to have been found on antebellum farmsteads in the project area. Unfortunately, the archaeological research at the identified antebellum farms in the reservoir can not clearly illuminate farmstead settlement, since the Clinkscales and Harper sites were both occupied well in to the postbellum period.

Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) recordation of three antebellum farmsteads provide some measure of settlement patterning. All of these sites: the Caldwell-Hutchinson Farm, the Harper-Featherstone Farm, and the Alexander-Cleveland House, were initially developed in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. The Alexander-Cleveland House was one of the oldest surviving structures in Elbert County, with the apparent construction date, 1791, carved into both exterior chimneys (Worthy 1983:101). All three sites feature late nineteenth- and twentieth-century additions, and hence cannot be considered as pure representations of antebellum farmsteads, however, the position of the mainhouse, landscape treatment, and the possible location of later service structures over antebellum features of similar function all provide means of considering antebellum farmstead patterning.

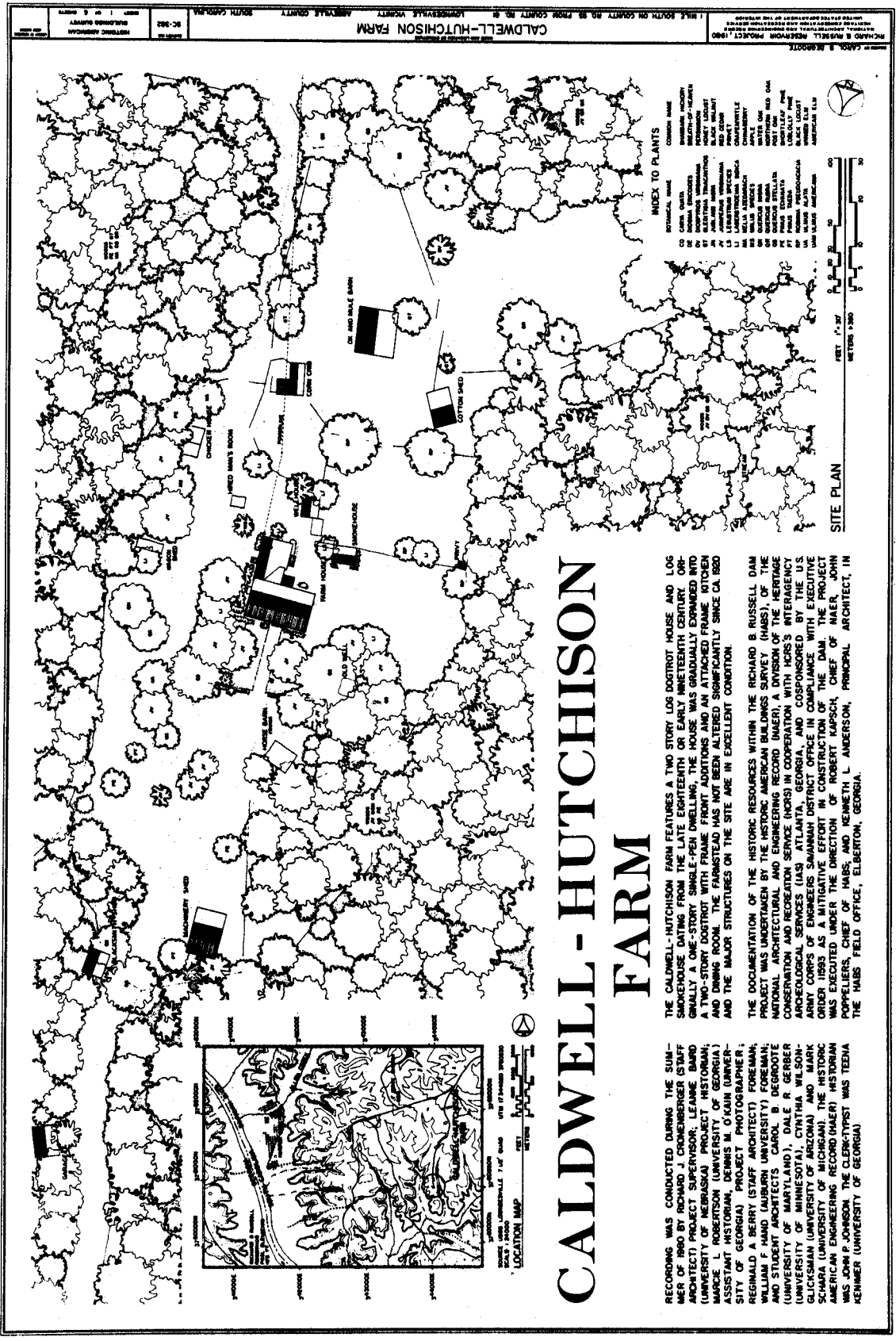
The Alexander-Cleveland House (Figure 94) features few of the original ancillary structures which would have been associated with this occupation. Situated at the end of a ridge overlooking the confluence of Coldwater Creek and the Savannah, the house stood in a protective enclosure of vegetation at the time of its recording. Either within or on the immediate periphery of this yard were the wellhouse and smokehouse, while the chicken house was located just beyond a row of mulberry trees. These three structures were all within a 20 m radius of the main house, while the barn was located at a distance of approximately 50 m. This plan conforms with the general attributes of farmstead settlement outlined above.

The Caldwell-Hutchinson Farm (Figure 95) features a two-story log dogtrot home which originally began as a single-storied single-pen dwelling. The construction of the core of this structure most likely dates to 1800. The farm was owned by the family of John and James Caldwell from 1800 through 1860; by Joseph Burton from 1860 through 1876; and by R. B., Malley, Katherine, and Bandon Hutchinson from 1876 through 1980. Expansion of the main house occurred between 1800 and 1810, when the Caldwell family increased through the addition of five children.



Source: Worthy 1983: 119.
 Figure 94. Site Plan for the Alexander-Cleveland House.
 Drawing prepared for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

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Source: Worthy 1983: 220.

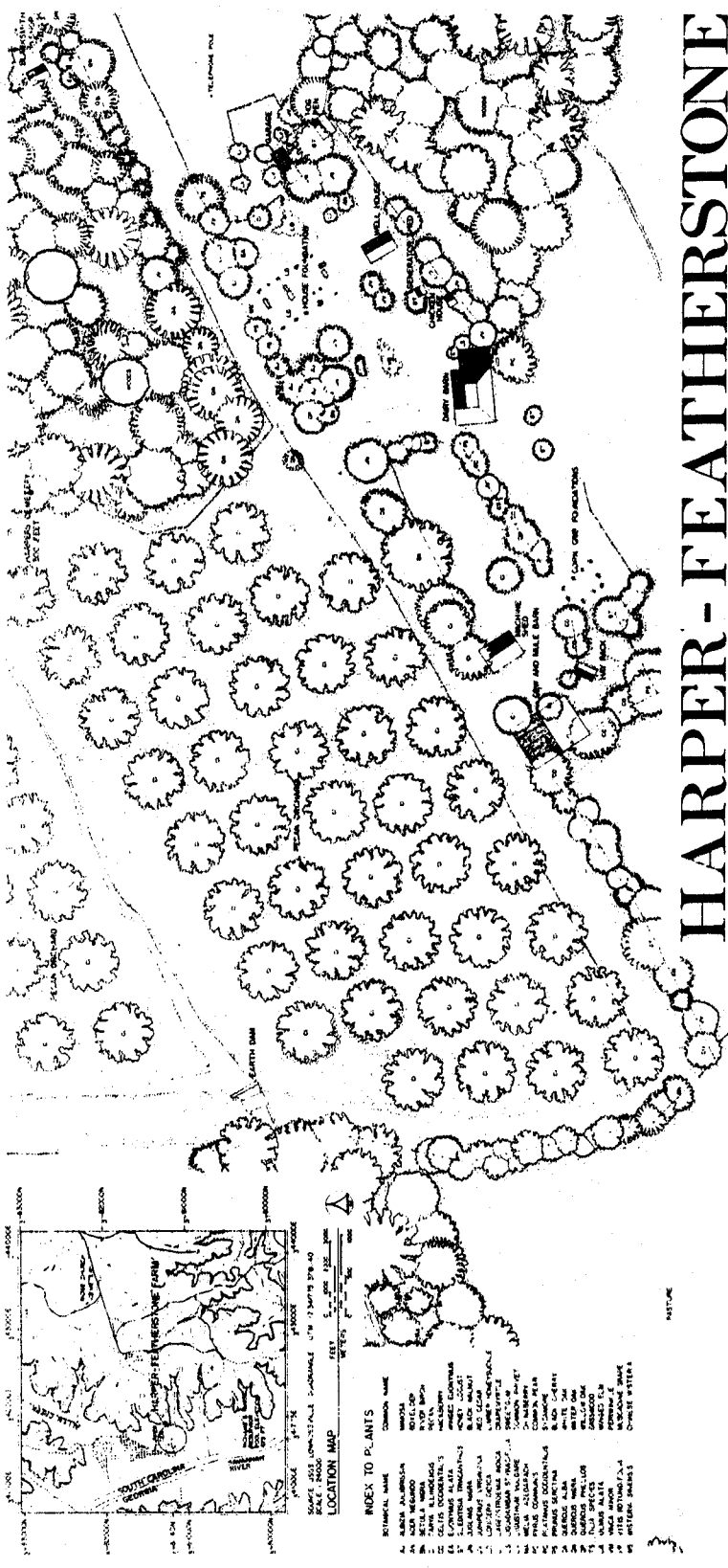
Figure 95. Site Plan for the Caldwell-Hutchinson Farm. Drawing prepared for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

Other features dating to the antebellum occupation of this site include the smokehouse, the old well (northwest of the main house), the wagon shed, the ox and mule barn, the cotton shed, and the blacksmith shop (Worthy 1983:204-207).

The organization of this farm follows many of the traits outlined by Worthy. The smokehouse and well were both located within a central core formed around the main house. Other postbellum structures within this core include the chicken house, hired man's room, and privy. These appear to conform to Worthy's dichotomy of household/field activities, or the female/male separation noted by Glassie (1975). Field/male related structures are more dispersed; the ox and mule barn, cotton shed, and corn crib are all situated on the rear periphery of the main house; the wagon shed is located at a distance of approximately 20 m from the main house and on a right angle, while the horse barn was located just north of the house (these may have been situated in close proximity for the convenience of transferring materials to and from the main house). One antebellum feature, the blacksmith shop, and two twentieth-century structures, the garage and machinery shed, are located along the road entering the site, and at a distance of approximately 70 m from the main house. The blacksmith shop was probably placed at such a distance to counter against the threat of fire, while the location of the machinery shed, and to a degree that of the garage, probably reflect their dependence on activities engaged at the smithy. The farm is located on high ground near the end of a ridge, and is flanked by two streams. In all of these respects its location fits the model outlined above.

The Harper-Featherstone Farm (Figure 96) is of interest, since this site was occupied by Lyndsey, Henry, and Jane Harper, discussed above. The main house burnt in 1968, and had been a one and a half story log structure with weatherboard covering, which possessed a detached kitchen (Worthy 1983:241-242). Of the remaining structures at the farm, only the cow and mule barn appears to be antebellum in origin, while the other structures all apparently date to the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. It is interesting to note that the settlement of the farm, as hypothetically outlined from Lyndsey Harper's inventory, above, fits Worthy's model of farmstead settlement. The inventory treats the smoke house and milk house, then the slave village, and then the barns and forges sequentially, suggesting that this order reflects their relationship to the main house. The current organization of the farm fits this pattern, with the well house, garage, chicken coop, hog pen, and dairy barn all surrounding the main house, and the machine shed, cow and mule barn, corn crib, and hay rack forming a second concentration of buildings. Unfortunately, archaeological research at this site failed to reveal evidence of any slave quarters in the immediate proximity, and hence this critical aspect of settlement relations cannot be accessed.

While the discussion of settlement outlined above is limited to the perspective gained from the examination of a few sites, historical documentation, and models which exist in the literature, it can be used to make some general observations concerning the differences between planters and farmers. Plantations appear to have followed more structured concepts of social and physical organization. The



HARPER-FEATHERSTONE FARM

THE COLLECTION OF FARM BUILDINGS ON THE HARPER-FEATHERSTONE FARM DATES FROM THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD THROUGH TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. THE FARM IS AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF HARPER'S FERRY, WHICH SERVED AS A TRANSPORTATION LINK BETWEEN THE LOWMEVILLE COMMUNITY AND TRADE CENTERS IN ELBERTON AND RUCKERSVILLE, GEORGIA, FROM THE 1830S WHEN HARPER WAS A PROMINENT PLANTATION, UNTIL THE LATE 1890S WHEN THE FARM CAME UNDER ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP.

THE DOCUMENTATION OF THE HISTORIC RESOURCES WITHIN THE RICHARD B. RUSSELL DAM PROJECT WAS UNDERTAKEN BY THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY (HABS), OF THE NATIONAL ARCHITECTURAL AND ENGINEERING RECORD (NAER), A DIVISION OF THE HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND RECREATION SERVICE (HCRRS) IN COOPERATION WITH HCRRS INTERAGENCY ARCHEOLOGICAL SERVICES (IAS), ATLANTA, GEORGIA, AND COSPONSORED BY THE U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS, SAVANNAH DISTRICT OFFICE IN COMPLIANCE WITH EXECUTIVE ORDER 11593 AS A MITIGATIVE EFFORT IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE DAM. THE PROJECT WAS EXECUTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ROBERT KAPSCHE, CHIEF OF NAER, JOHN POPPELLERS, CHIEF OF HABS, AND KENNETH L. ANDERSON, PRINCIPAL ARCHITECT, IN THE HABS FIELD OFFICE, ELBERTON, GEORGIA.

RECORDING WAS CONDUCTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1980 BY ROBERT ANDERSON, CHIEF ARCHITECT, PROJECT SUPERVISOR LEANNE BAIRD (UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA), PROJECT HISTORIAN MARGIE L. ROBERTSON (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA), ASSISTANT HISTORIAN DENNIS M. O'KAIN (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA), PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHER REGINALD A. BERRY (STAFF ARCHITECT), FOREMAN WILLIAM F. HEND (AUBURN UNIVERSITY), FOREMAN AND STUDENT ARCHITECTS CAROL B. DEGRACOTE (UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND), DALE R. GERBER (UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA), CYNTHIA WILSON-GLUCKSMAN (UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA), AND MARK SCHAMER (UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN). THE HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD (NAER) HISTORIAN WAS JOHN P. JOHNSON (THE CLERK-TYPIST WAS TEENA KEMMER (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA)).

INDEX TO PLANTS

NUMERICAL INDEX	SCIENTIFIC NAME	COMMON NAME
1	ALBIS JARDINIA	
2	ALNUS INCANA	WHITE ALDER
3	ASPERULUM	
4	BETULA FLACCIDA	YELLOW BIRCH
5	BETULA PULCHRA	SWAMP WHITE BIRCH
6	CEDRUS DEODAR	REDWOOD
7	ELMUS AMERICANA	AMERICAN ELM
8	FRAXINUS VIRGINIANA	WHITE OAK
9	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
10	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
11	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
12	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
13	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
14	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
15	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
16	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
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49	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS
50	FRAXINUS SP.	FRAXINUS

Source: Worthy 1983: 257.

Figure 96. Site Plan for the Harper-Featherstone Farm. Drawing prepared for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

key determinant of plantation structure appears to have been the relationship between white masters and black slaves. Slave villages were frequently ordered along streets or squares, at least partially because such organization provided a more suitable means for surveillance and control. While it would be difficult for a planter or overseer to supervise the lives of slaves if their habitations were dispersed across a plantation's vast estate, an orderly linear arrangement made such monitoring practical. Structure also reflected planter's perceptions of and justification for their exploitation of slaves. Eighteenth-century scientific theory viewed the natural world as purposefully created and ordered, as expressed in the "Great Chain of Being" (Jordan 1974). This order was rationalized as legitimizing white's domination of blacks; that such domination were biologically inherent in the natural order. The plantation world was one divided, compartmentalized, aligned, and opposed. Structure appeared not only in plantation settlement, but also in the Georgian symmetry of many planter's homes, and clearly underlies plantation organization.

Farmsteads, on the other hand, were more organic in nature. Farmers seem to have placed their buildings, as one scholar has noted, for "convenience" (Newton 1974:151). While farmsteads contained certain specific activity centers, these were not aligned in any particular fashion. Buildings exist at odd angles, at various placements, and with little evident forethought on ideological relations. The single organizational feature which can be recognized in farmstead settlement is the separation of household/female and field/male activities. While the separation between white and black, supervisor and worker, appears to have set the parameters of plantation settlement, it is the segregation between field and home, male and female, which characterized the farm.

Settlement is only one measure of understanding social relations. Settlements were composed of structures, and the form of these structures can also indicate something of the social relations on plantations and farms.

Architecture

An 1859 publication, *Pine Farm; or, The Southern Side* offered observations on a number of aspects of southern life. Interesting among these is the author's evaluation of the association of housing and status in southern society. The anonymous author observed that (Anonymous 1859:20; in Worthy 1983:85):

Who that has ever traveled through South Carolina and Georgia but has remarked the uniformity of design as respects the dwellings of the country-people -- varied chiefly by the pecuniary circumstances of the owners? The little log cabin, with a single room and a clay chimney. This represents the lowest class.

Two log pens, and two back shed rooms, with a passage through the center and a piazza in front; clay chimney at each end of the house. This is the second in the ascending scale.

Two story house, built of pine boards, with four rooms in the body of the house, and two shed rooms behind; brick chimney at each end, piazza in front, and passage through the center. This is the third class -- men who are getting "well-to-do in the world."

Large two story double house, eight rooms, chimney running up through the roof, giving a fireplace to each room; piazza or portico in front, and passage through the center. This complete the series, and here we find the lordly planter, with all the appointments of comfortable and stylish living. Occasional deviation from these descriptions may of course be found, according to the peculiarity or amount of taste in individuals; but the picture in the main is, we think, correctly drawn.

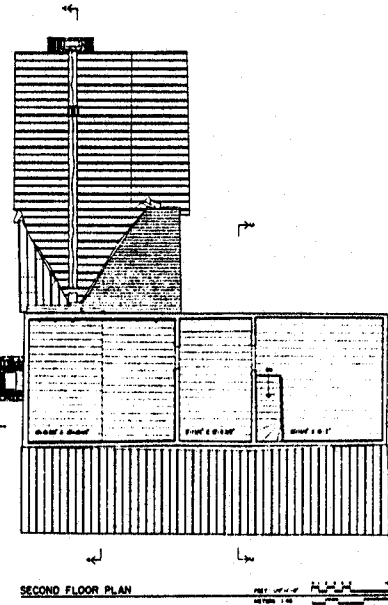
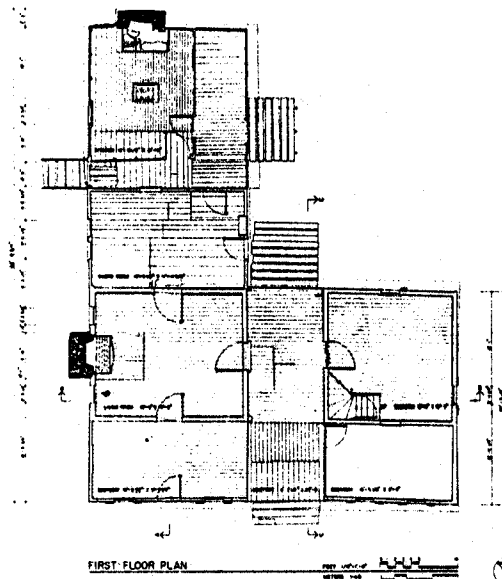
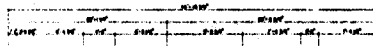
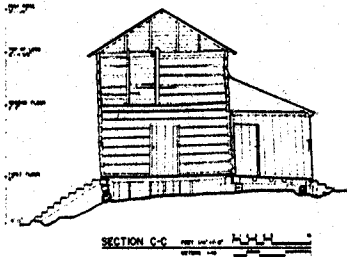
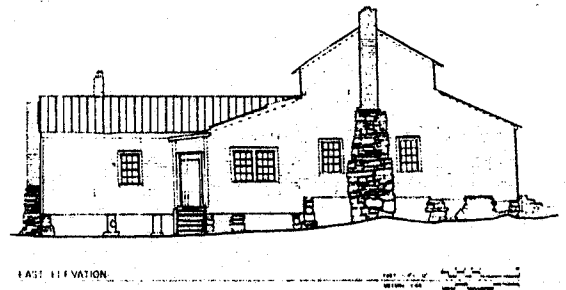
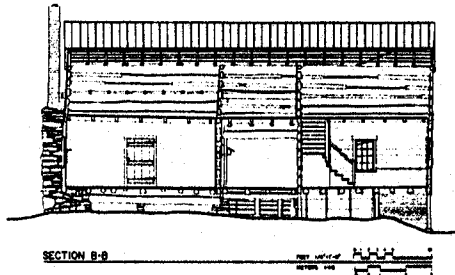
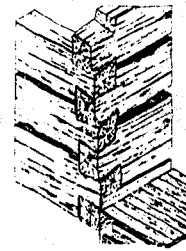
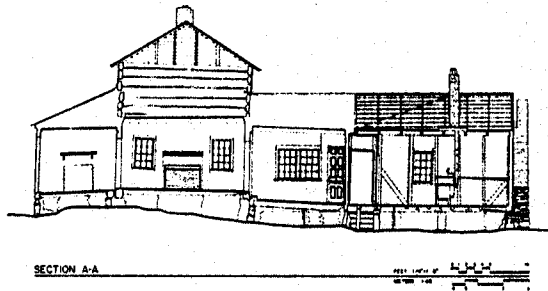
Thus even at the time particular housing types were associated with certain social statuses. The structures recorded within the Russell Reservoir provide a gauge not only of the assumptions outlined above, but also of the social and cultural concerns which produced these architectural preferences.

The Caldwell-Hutchinson House (see the discussion above) was originally built as a one-story, single-pen structure in ca. 1800 (Worthy 1983:27; Figure 97). The structure was later enlarged to become a two-storied, double-pen, dog trot dwelling. The structure incorporates both frame and log construction, with the log portions of the building hewn and featuring half dovetailed notching (the combination of plank-hewn logs and half-dovetailed notching is one which Glassie (1968:112-113) attributes to the Blue Ridge region of Tennessee and North Carolina).

The Alexander-Cleveland House (Figure 98) features frame construction with mortice-and-tenon joints. The original structure was two-storied in height, while subsequent construction attached a single-storied shed kitchen to the south elevation (Worthy 1983:107-109). The Alexander-Cleveland House is a good example of the Carolina I house type, which features a single story porch across the facade, and a single story shed on the rear (Worthy 1983:63-64).

The William Allen House (Beverly Plantation) (Figure 99) was constructed in circa 1790 by William Allen, a successful Elbert County planter. At his death in 1826 Allen owned 2,042 1/2 acres and 25 slaves. The plantation was inherited by Allen's son Beverly in 1826, and he also enjoyed the life of well-to-do planter. Beverly Allen was active in politics, serving as a State Representative from 1817 to 1819, as a State Senator from 1822 to 1824, 1826 to 1827, 1830 to 1831, and in 1834, and as Justice of the Inferior Court from 1821 to 1828 and from 1833 to 1837 (Worthy 1983:129-130).

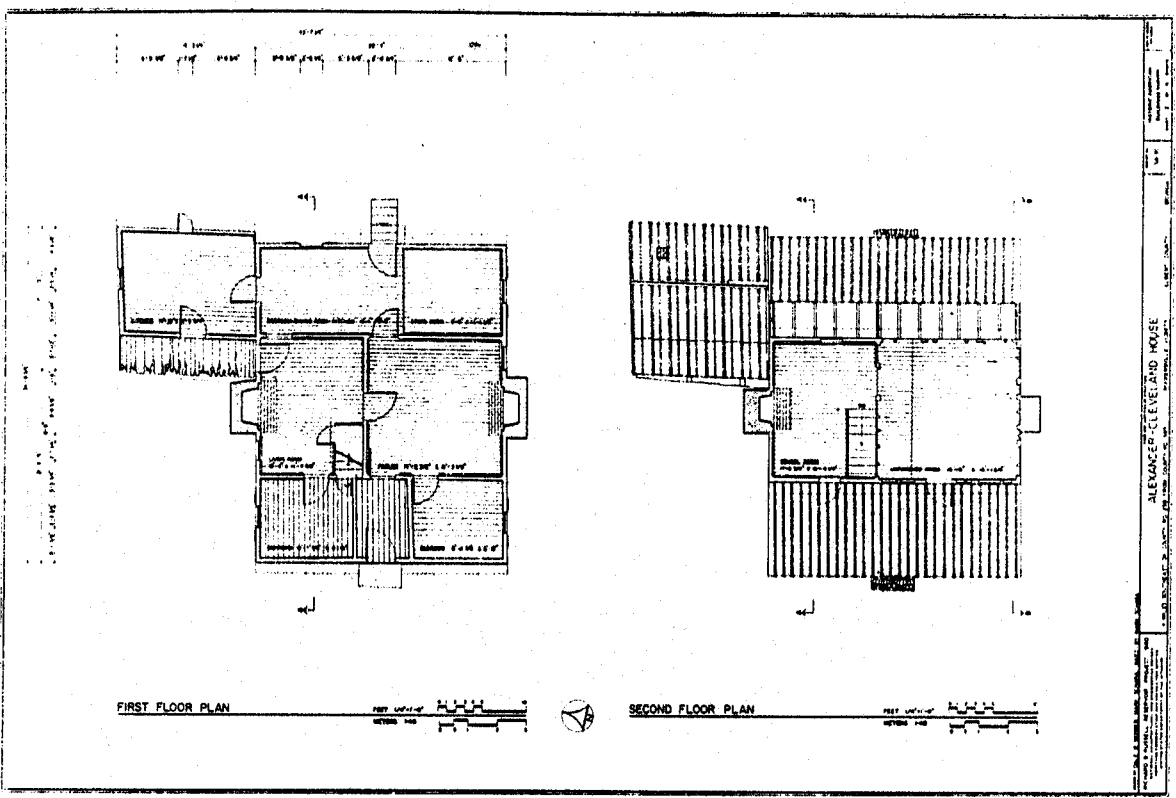
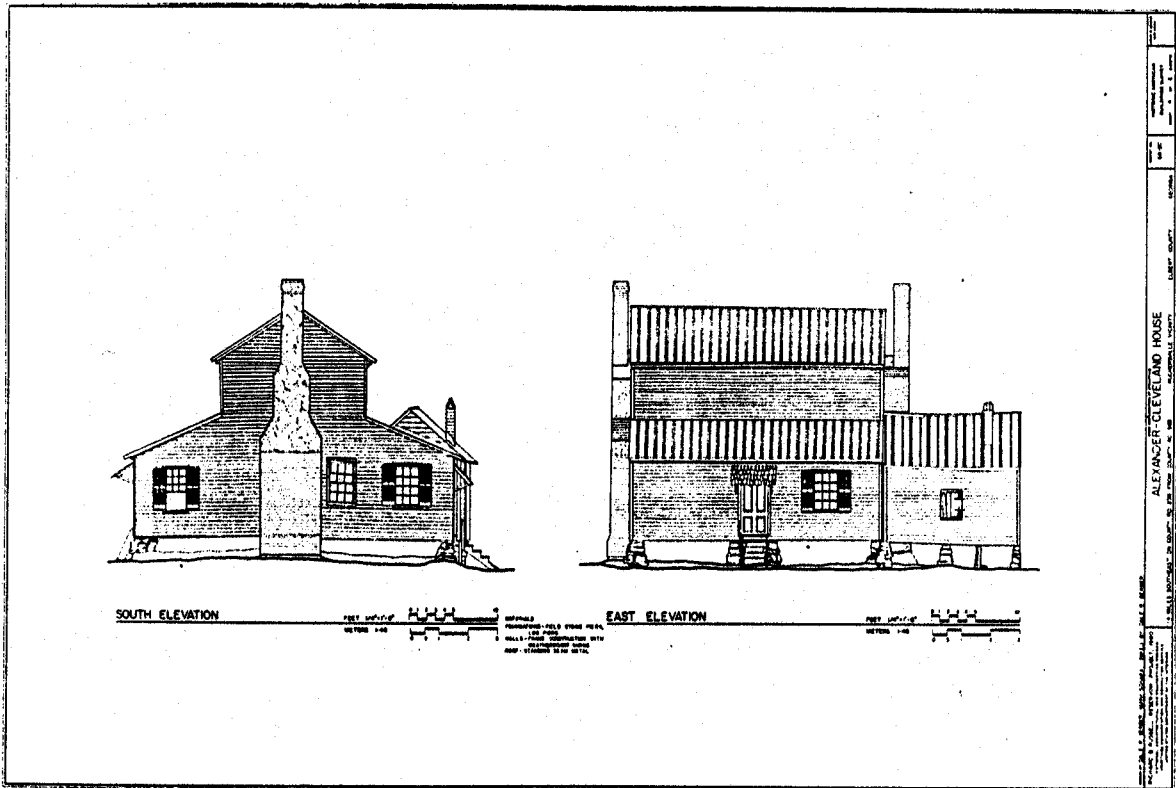
The Allen House has been described by one architectural historian as "plantation plain-style" (Nichols 1976:125; in Worthy 1983:29):



Source: Worthy 1983: 221, 223, 224.

Figure 97. Caldwell-Hutchinson House, East Elevation, Sections and Details, 1st and 2nd Story Plan. Drawings prepared for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

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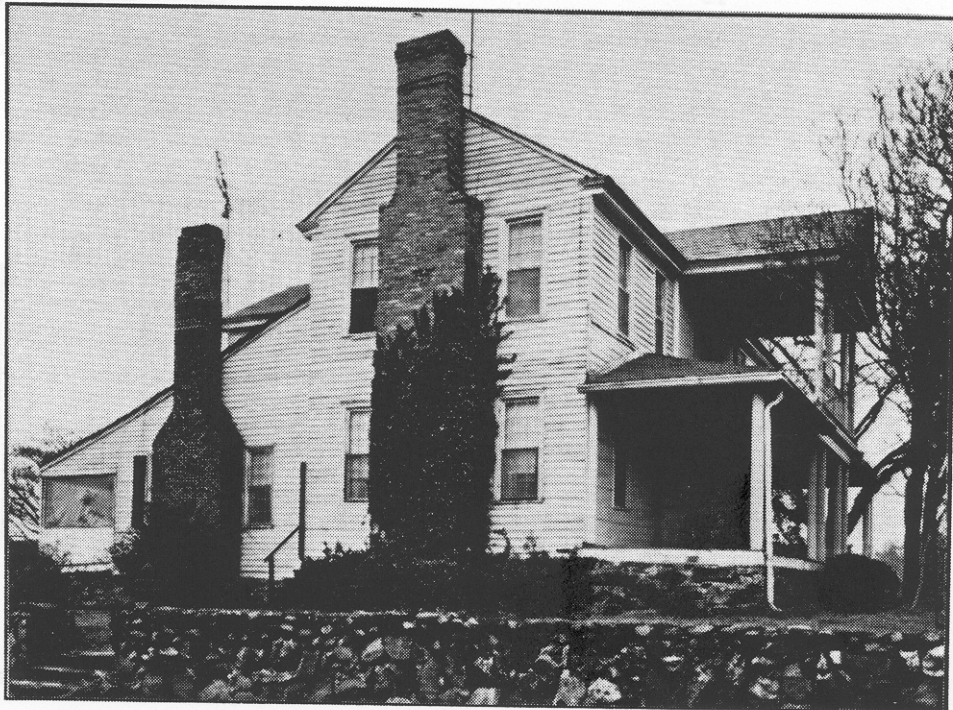


ALEXANDER-CLEVELAND HOUSE
 1850-1855
 RICHARD B. RUSSELL RESERVOIR
 CLEVELAND, OHIO
 DRAWN BY: [illegible]
 CHECKED BY: [illegible]
 DATE: [illegible]

ALEXANDER-CLEVELAND HOUSE
 1850-1855
 RICHARD B. RUSSELL RESERVOIR
 CLEVELAND, OHIO
 DRAWN BY: [illegible]
 CHECKED BY: [illegible]
 DATE: [illegible]

Figure 98. Alexander-Cleveland House, South and East Elevations, 1st and 2nd Story Plans. Drawings prepared for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

**Technical Synthesis
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Source: Worthy 1983:137.

Figure 99. William Allen House, Photographs of Facade and South Elevation. Prepared for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

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Richard B. Russell Reservoir

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, all across Georgia and the South, the plain people of the plantations built vernacular houses now generally called 'plantation plain-style'.... The plantation plain-style can be described as frame, two-story, gable-roof dwelling with exterior end chimneys. In plan it has two rooms of unequal but corresponding size on each floor, with shed rooms on the rear and a shed porch across the front facade. Raised slightly on flat bedrock or brick, the plantation plain-style house was usually unpainted. On the interiors, the plain walls were of plaster or often of flush siding with a chair rail and a simple mantel treated with only an architrave and a shelf. These houses reflect the final continuation in a tradition of Anglo-American hand craftsmanship, which was ended by the industrial revolution, which overtook the work of patient hands and apprenticeship training in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Caldwell-Hutchinson House, Alexander-Cleveland House, and William Allen House provide architectural statements on the influence of socio-economics and class in the project area. The Caldwell-Hutchinson House reflects the world of farmers. Like the farms themselves, this house appears to have grown organically, without any deliberate effort to unify these additions with the whole. The dog-trot central breezeway meant that the house was open and easily accessible to strangers. From the breezeway either a bedroom or the home's living room could be accessed, both private spaces which became public in this architecture. The Alexander-Cleveland House employed a more rigid floorplan and social differentiation. Originally this structure featured a porch across the front facade, and this space could have been used to deal with visitors whose status did not permit access to the interior of the home. This is contrasted with the open breezeway of the Caldwell-Hutchinson House, which also acted as a porch, but as one contained within the house. Once inside, the home was divided into parlor (social) and hall (private) spaces, and into bedrooms and kitchens, which were also private spaces. The house thus sought to segregate guest from inhabitant. Although no floor plan exists for the William Allen House, it was clearly the most socially imposing of the three structures. The tiered gable porch, massive columns, and symmetrical arrangement all cast a haughty shadow over the visitor.

These structures exhibit similar concerns to those noted of plantation and farm settlement patterns. The planters' houses are structured, symmetrical, homogeneous, and seek to segregate those on the inside from those on the outside. The farmer's house is organic, assymetrical, and relatively open; this house makes no attempt at segregation. These concerns represent not only socio-economics, and the means of construction, they are also measures of social relations. Farmers were likely to have interacted with other farmers, and with the few slaves they might own. If slave-owners, then they probably worked together with their slaves in the field and were familiar with one another. Farmers had no reason to build houses which excluded them from the outside

world, because the outside world was not a threat. Planters were more aware of social status. In their roles as local patriarchs and politicians, they dealt with a broader cross-section of the community. Uncertain of the intentions of their guests, and eager to illustrate their social attainments, planters' homes established a series of boundaries which reflected the social spheres of their world. Like their supposed natural order, these boundaries ranked and segregated them from their fellow men.

Summary and Conclusions

Planters and farmers were individuals, their lives shaped by a variety of factors which cannot be easily abstracted from broad historical trends. While their life histories are idiosyncratic, the material world which formed around them shows more pattern and meaning. This interpretation illustrates the difference between the individual and his culture; that while the individual may marry, buy and sell land, grow rich or poor, die, and be buried in a variety of ways, the norms and traditions of culture establish the proper and approved forms of marriage, land transfer, the accumulation and display of wealth, the accounting of death, and burial. Cultural patterns distinguish the material world of the plantation from the farm.

The settlement and architecture of antebellum culture in the Russell Reservoir suggests that structure and segregation dominated planter's lives, while farmer's recognized the division between field and home. It would be interesting to pursue these interpretations through other evidences of the archaeological record. Unfortunately, the archaeology of the Russell Reservoir better illustrates another aspect of agrarian culture in the region; the continuation of antebellum patterns into the postbellum years. While the Civil War is presented as a sharp boundary in traditional histories of the South, the archaeology reminds us that Southerners rebuilt with what they had and what they knew. All of the sites discussed above continued to be occupied into the postbellum period, and no secure contexts from the antebellum were identified during this research. Patterns of material culture are thus best considered in the following chapter, since they represent a blend of behaviors from before and after the war.

The Civil War disrupted patterns of land and labor established in the antebellum years. The response to this disruption offers a rare insight to the world of planters and freedmen, since their adjustments indicate what each valued most. The following chapter charts the resurgence of the cotton economy, as the region's agrarian culture coped with new patterns of labor and social interaction.