

X. "MY COTTON, MY CORN, MY CROP": THE RESURGENCE OF THE COTTON ECONOMY, 1865-1890

The transition from the "Rise" to "Resurgence" of King Cotton downplays the pivotal event between the periods, the Civil War. In reality, King Cotton never died. While the war did not have a direct, physical impact on the project area, it was evidenced in the abolition of slavery and the transformation of plantation culture. This transition was marked in the project area primarily by five phenomena: (1) the division of plantations into smaller units; (2) the cultivation of these smaller units by separate individuals and families, either as owners, tenants, or sharecroppers; (3) increased soil erosion due to careless agricultural practices; (4) the development of crossroads hamlets providing stores and services for the neighboring community; and (5) the growth of a more heterogeneous culture (The History Group 1981:109-110).

The project area was spared from Sherman's southern transit and other maneuvers of the Civil War, and entered the postbellum period physically unscathed. This factor in part explains the similarities between the antebellum and postbellum in the Russell Reservoir. Plantations, such as Millwood, remained as physical and psychological landmarks of the antebellum era. The planters themselves: Calhoun, Harper, McCalla, Allen, and others, survived the war. While slavery was abolished, there was little Federal presence in the project area to persuade former slaves that things had really changed. Force was employed by the whites to convince them otherwise. King Cotton continued his reign.

Without the plantation, towns and hamlets were needed to fill the role of providers of goods and services. A number of these developed in the project area in the immediate postbellum years. Without the plantation, the profits of cotton agriculture were less attractive. Southern capital was diverted, industrialization spread, and the regional character became less homogeneous. Without the plantation, and with the growth of urban centers and industrialization, transportation networks became more centralized, and the railroad entered the region as an emissary of the new South. Without the plantation, settlement became less stable, and blacks, once securely anchored to their fields and quarters, were free to move. The settlement patterning of individual plantations changed; the settlement patterning of the region changed as well. The Russell Reservoir in the immediate postbellum period was a space in flux. The choices made, choices once unavailable, offer insights to wants and needs of the area's inhabitants.

FROM PLANTATION TO TENANCY: HISTORICAL EVOLUTION IN THE RUSSELL RESERVOIR, 1865 - 1890

The years immediately following the Civil War were marked by a struggle for supremacy, a struggle waged between blacks and whites and between northerners and southerners. The Federal Government attempted to enforce emancipation through contractual agreements between former slaves and former masters. These contracts, such as that drawn up for Elbert County's Joseph Deadwyler in the summer of 1865, stipulated the resources the planter would provide in return for labor (in *The History Group* 1981:110):

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

Freedmen were hesitant to sign contractual obligations. First, these contracts negated the most cherished result of emancipation, the freedom to come and go at will and to answer to no white man. Second, the contracts established at the immediate end of the war were almost invariably between former masters and former slaves. If the master had been kind, then a contract might be acceptable, but if not, the contract only tied the freedmen into a relationship they were trying to avoid. Third, these contracts did not really provide a substantial change from the pre-War conditions; Deadwyler's contract obligated him to provide the freedmen with clothes, food, and humane treatment "as heretofore." Finally, the freedmen expected - anticipated - something more from the Federal Government, at least some version of the promise of "forty acres and a mule." Many blacks simply waited passively, inactively, for the Federal Government to provide; others left the region in search of better opportunities. In March, 1866, Captain C. R. Becker noted that no freedmen "who need want employment,... for in fact I have applications nearly every day from planters who are in want of hands and unable to obtain them" (Capt. C. R. Becker to Lt. Colonel John Devereau, March 20, 1866, *Freedmen's Bureau Papers*; in Orser et al. 1987:756). For the planters, many with cotton in the fields and no hands for the picking, the sight of former servants idly standing by only provoked a greater anger toward the North, and more violent resistance to the intent of emancipation.

Unfortunately for the freedmen, the Federal Government was disinclined to support the meaning of the Emancipation Proclamation. A long and costly war was over, the wounds of nation needed time to heal, and freedom had been established. Washington was not interested in debating the meaning of freedom. The transition from slavery to free labor was supervised by the Bureau of

Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (the Freedmen's Bureau), and in June of 1865 Brevet Major General Rufus B. Saxon was assigned as the chief military officer for the territory comprised of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. With an estimated 400,000 freedmen to look after, Saxon had a staff of only 24 assistants and 20 doctors. Clearly, supervision could not be intense (The History Group 1981:110-111).

Saxon appears to have focused his efforts on the coastal regions of the states under his supervision, since these housed the bulk of the slave population. The upcountry of Georgia and South Carolina received less attention. The documentation of this period is thus not as thorough as for other portions of the South, but what little documentation exists indicates that the lack of Federal supervision made the transition a difficult one for blacks. A field report from October, 1865, concluded that (in The History Group 181:111):

...colored people in this section of the state [are] not freedmen and women... they are nominally such, but their condition indeed is worse than bondage itself and ever will be unless this subdistrict is flooded with... cavalry, or a civil protective law is enacted at once - and the latter, I fear, will be no preventative of assassination, robbery, burglary, assault and battery with intent to kill.

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

Although not explicit, the report documents the continuation of two elements of southern society: the plantocracy ("a certain class") and the Confederates ("the same old desire to butcher U.S. soldiers"). In essence, the war was not yet over.

In May of 1866, a field report from Captain C. R. Beesley detailed the types of intimidation freedmen in the project area were likely to experience (in The History Group 1981:111):

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

Violence in the area continued well into the postbellum years. A memorandum of June 30, 1868 reports thirteen separate incidents of racial violence. In August and September of that year five freedmen were abused, and one shot for joining the Republican Party. Antagonisms intensified as the November elections approached, and the Ku Klux Klan authorized a reign of terror to keep freedmen from voting for black candidates. A report issued in November noted that "innumerable persons have been lying out in the woods since sometime before the election to save being murdered in their beds, their houses having been frequently visited at night for that purpose." As the History Group notes, "a social revolution was underway" (The History Group 1981:113).

The Civil War destroyed the bonds of slavery which had connected many of the area's inhabitants to the land, and planters responded forcefully to this separation. It did not dramatically restructure the population matrix. In general, the population of the region increased moderately in the years between 1850 and 1890, and the relative proportions of blacks to whites remained virtually unchanged. Table 19 compares the population of the area before the Civil War and at the end of the nineteenth century. The populations of all but Hart County increased during this period, with Hart witnessing a modest decrease in the number of inhabitants. The greatest population increase was witnessed by Anderson County, whose total population doubled between 1850 and 1890. Anderson County became one of South Carolina's leading textile centers following the Civil War, and this industrial focus contributed to its population increase.

Table 19: Population Statistics - Abbeville, Anderson, Hart, and Elbert Counties - 1850-1890 (from The History Group 1981:257)

	Census	Total	White %	Black %
Abbeville County (SC)	1850	32,318	39.00	61.00
	1890	46,854	32.10	67.70
Anderson County (SC) ¹	1850	21,475	64.60	35.40
	1890	43,696	57.40	42.20
Elbert County (GA) ²	1850	12,959	51.90	48.10
	1890	15,376	48.60	51.30
Hart County (GA) ³	1850	11,513	78.80	21.20
	1890	10,887	72.60	27.20

With the abolition of slavery the demographics for the black population of the reservoir stabilized. The black population of all four counties increased, although at much more modest rates than had been shown during the antebellum years. The continuation of population trends established during the antebellum is

reflected in proportion of blacks to whites in the various counties. Abbeville and Elbert Counties, the foci of plantation culture in the Reservoir, maintained relatively similar ratios of blacks to whites from the antebellum to postbellum periods, and exhibited black majorities, whereas Anderson and Hart Counties, which had the least participation in the plantation economy and the lowest percentage of black population in the antebellum period, continued this trend into the postbellum years. In general, the statistics indicate a relatively stable population matrix during the period from 1850 to 1890.

Stable population trends and a stable population are not necessarily the same. The inhabitants of the Russell Reservoir area made several settlement choices in the aftermath of the Civil War. The first was whether or not to remain in the region. The Civil War abolished the bonds which had connected slaves to the land, and as one Elbert County black stated, provided the "privilege to go" (Ramsey et al. 1986:2). In the aftermath of the war many blacks left the South, or their region of the South, in search of better economic opportunities. Cities and industries competed with fields for labor, and even among the fields there was variation in the wages offered. In 1867 the average yearly wage, including rations, paid to farm laborers in Georgia was \$125. In Mississippi the yearly average was \$149; in Louisiana \$150. Blacks moved in response to economic opportunity (Brooks 1914:17; Brooks 1978:123).

Ramsey et al. (1986:2-8) characterize four forms of black migration which occurred in the region in the late nineteenth century. It is likely that similar patterns existed in the immediate postbellum years. The first of these was outmigration, as mentioned above. A second type was out-and-back migration, characterized by removal from the project area and return in later years. A third form of migration was described by Ramsey et al. as "in-out," and featured a move away from the project area for improved earning potential, with the purpose of this move being to save enough money to buy land in the area and then return. The final pattern was a migration of employment opportunities. Blacks moved across the area's landscape in search of better opportunities, yet always remained within the regions' bounds. As Ramsey et al. (1986:6) note: "changing jobs was synonymous with moving."

With the dissolution of the plantation, the focus of community shifted to hamlets, crossroads towns, neighborhoods, and churches. As noted previously, a sense of community played an important role in black culture during the plantation period, and this sense continued and flourished in the Civil War's aftermath. Religion played a key role in establishing community. Speaking in the present, Lillie Pressely's words could also be applied to the area's immediate past (Ramsey et al. 1986:7):

My daddy was a member of Dove Creek; and my mother [was a] member of Dove Creek; and my older brother [was a] member of Dove Creek; and my sister next to me, she's a member of Dove Creek; and my sister in Ohio, she's a member of Dove Creek. But its just a few miles out in the country. But, like I say, for sixty years I've been in

town, I've been right at Mt. Calvary, but I don't forget my home church. When things [are] doing at my home church, I remember them too.

Heardmont, a black community that developed after the Civil War, apparently had as its focus the Bethel Grove Baptist Church, established during the antebellum era as a house of worship for slaves. While Bethel Grove served as the cultural center of the community, other features included a school for children from surrounding farms (the school featured two sessions: "laid by times," from July to August, and "after harvest," November to March). Three stores were located within the community, all owned and operated by white men, and two of these stores supported cotton gins. Heardmont also had a blacksmith shop, a cooperative cannery, and a building where two white landowners (William Maddox and John McCalla) kept their offices (The History Group 1981:121-123).

Perhaps the most dramatic transition which occurred in the wake of the Civil War was the shift in patterns of labor and agriculture. Sharecropping, share renting, cash renting and land ownership were all avenues in which freedmen continued to participate in the agrarian economy. Traditionally, these responses to the abolition of slavery have been viewed as a product of abolition, but as noted in the previous chapter with regards to James E. Calhoun, all of these were practiced in the antebellum. The difference was that in the antebellum these were minority land-labor relations which were restricted primarily to whites, whereas in the postbellum these became the dominant forms of labor relations and typified rural black's existence in the South. A second traditional view has posited a rather abrupt break between slavery and tenancy; as slavery ended, a dispersed tenant-based agricultural system emerged as an immediate response. This view is also incorrect; the path from slavery to tenancy featured a number of different labor schemes as both planters and freedmen sorted their options and chose those which were most valued. One planter reported in 1865 that "on twenty plantations around me there are ten different styles of contracts" (Trowbridge 1866:391; in Orser and Holland 1984), and historian Ralph Shlomowitz (1979:561-562; in Orser and Holland 1984:113) has identified six major variants of wage compensation alone. Clearly the responses to abolition were numerous and varied.

As Orser (1986:11) notes, planter's initially sought to replace slavery with a wage system of agriculture, since this offered the greatest potential for profit within the cotton economy. Familiar with a gang labor arrangement, and the direct supervision of their workers, planters sought to maintain the basic attributes of the plantation system and simply compensate their employees with a modest wage. Thus freedmen would continue to be housed in the plantation quarters, continue to be outfitted and fed by the plantation master, and continue to work in gangs in the plantation fields. The wages offered were too low to provide any means of escape from this system, and signed contracts and harsh vagrancy laws prohibited freedmen from leaving the plantation if they so chose. In essence, the wage system was merely a thinly veiled continuation of slavery. This system was not appreciated by southern blacks, who sought a greater degree of freedom and self-supervision. The eventual compromise between planters and freedmen was

sharecropping and tenancy, which provided blacks with an economic incentive for their labor, and the possibility (although slight) to save and eventually become land owners. One system which emerged as a predecessor to sharecropping was the squad system.

Shlomowitz (1979:571-572, 1982:268-270; in Orser 1986:12) identified the squad system by four traits. First, under this system, blacks worked in groups but received as compensation a share of the crop, rather than a monthly wage. Second, squads were apparently kin-based, whereas gangs were randomly assembled from the available freedmen population. This trait was noted by British journalist Robert Somers (1871:120; in Orser 1986:12), who commented that "a strong family group" that "can bring odd hands to work at proper seasons makes a choice, if not always attainable, nucleus of a 'squad.'" A third characteristic of the squad was that it consisted of fewer laborers than traditionally found among gangs. Finally, this labor system was characterized by a settlement system featuring dispersed small villages, a pattern intermediate between nuclear settlement and a fully dispersed occupancy (Orser 1986:12), and one which replicated, on a smaller and more dispersed scale, the conglomerate settlement patterning of large plantations.

The evidence for the use of the squad system at Millwood Plantation comes from an 1867 contract established between James E. Calhoun and seven freedmen. The contract stipulated that these individuals were to cultivate certain plots of land (the size of which were unfortunately not provided) "with a view to making large crops, out of which they are to pay the said Calhoun a rentage of one half of all they raise" (Contract between JEC and freedmen, February 5, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau Papers; in Orser et al. 1987:758). Each of the seven was expected to gather a crew for the cultivation of their respective plots, and to compensate their laborers (their half of the crop would thus be subdivided many times over). Other stipulations of the contract included that "they are to aid in keeping the portion of the said Estate embraced within the home Range, in making improvements, in fencing & in farm building & in work on roads." They were responsible for work animals lent them by Calhoun, "for which they are answerable to the full value against being stolen or neglected." Supplies were to be purchased from Calhoun's storerooms, hogs and chickens were provided with the following expected returns (Contract between JEC and freedmen, February 5, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau Papers; in Orser et al. 1987:758):

...articles in the storerooms of said Calhoun shall be preferred, at the same rate. Said Calhoun having divided his hogs & poultry among the second Parties & lent them his work animals & milch cows, till called for, he shall receive one third part of all the fresh eggs, & of the increase in poultry, every month a roasting pig, & beginning at the 1st of Nov. & closing at the 31st of Dec. a sounded, well fatted Hog, weighing at least 150 lbs. from each one of the second Parties.

The contract also required the seven to be present on the property at all times, and insisted that the freedmen receive Calhoun's permission to either leave the

plantation or receive visitors. The seven were responsible for the conduct of their crews, and Calhoun provided penalties for those who disobeyed his rules and regulations (Contract between JEC and freedmen, February 5, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau Papers; in Orser et al. 1987:759):

For each offense or neglect of themselves, or of their Hands, there may be a fine of twenty five cents, & it shall be the option of the said Calhoun, on continuation of misconduct to dismiss any or all of the second parties or of the Hands they employ, with forfeiture of all claims whatsoever, & to place their effects in the public road.

Calhoun's contract provides an interesting glimpse at the interests of a planter (and to a lesser degree those of the freedmen) in the years immediately following the war. Calhoun maintained many of the measures of authority which he had enjoyed in the antebellum era. Freedmen were not to come and go without his permission, misconduct was a punishable offense (if not by lashes, at least with quarter fines), and workers were expected to maintain the plantation beyond the limits of their fields. The labor organization is not unlike that of the antebellum period, if the seven "Second Parties" are considered as slave drivers, their crews as gangs, and the fields in which they worked as separate quarters. Interestingly, the contract makes no provision for housing, suggesting that facilities already existed, and Calhoun may have merely taken advantage of an established conglomerate settlement pattern in providing for the subdivision of his estate. The freedmen received a share of the crop and the means to support themselves while producing that crop, not great incentives, but an improvement over slavery. In the essentials the plantation system was little changed.

The desire for a hand in their own economic fate led freedmen to push for shares over wages, and characterizes the shift from the gang labor wage system to the squad labor share system which occurred in the late 1860s. It was the desire to control their own lives, to step out from under the planters' watchful eyes, that led to the dispersed residence sharecropping and rental system which characterized the postbellum South after ca. 1870. As Robert Preston Brooks noted: "it is the escaping from supervision, not the larger opportunity of profits that the negro has in mind in shifting from the position of wage earner to share tenant to renter" (1914:60; in Orser and Holland 1984:115). Four forms of tenancy developed: sharecropping, share renting, standing rent, and cash renting (The History Group 1981:113; Orser and Holland 1984:115). In sharecropping, planters provided all of the resources except fertilizer, which was supplied equally by tenant and landlord, and the crop was then evenly divided; in share renting, the landlord provided land, housing, and a quarter to a third of the fertilizer, while the tenant provided labor, livestock, tools, seed, and feed, and the crop was then divided by the proportion of fertilizer contributed by the landlord (either "thirds" or "fourths"); in standing rent the landlord provided land and housing, and the tenant provided a fixed amount of a staple crop as rent; and in cash renting, the landlord provided land and housing, while the tenant supplied the other resources and paid a fixed rent per acre, payable in either cash or cotton. All of these practices might occur on a single plantation, and all were applied to both freedmen and landless whites (Orser and Holland 1984:115).

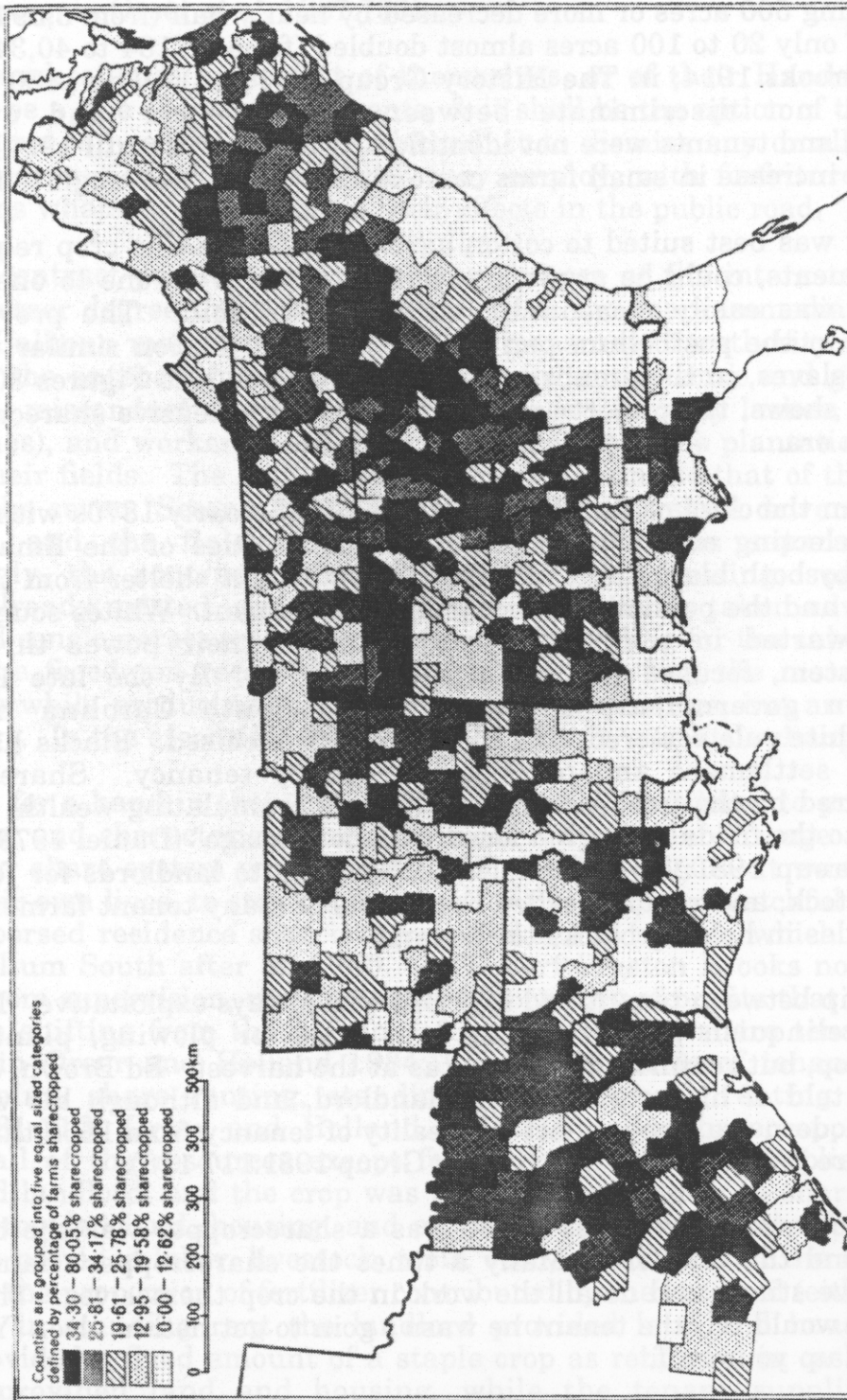
The most noticeable effect of this system of land-labor relations was the fragmentation of the agricultural units of production. Statistics from Georgia for the period between 1860 and 1870 indicate that this fragmentation was striking. Farms containing 500 acres or more decreased by nearly half (from 3,594 to 1,925) while farms of only 20 to 100 acres almost doubled (from 28,134 to 40,342) during this decade (Brooks 1914; in *The History Group* 1981:114). The 1860 and 1870 censuses did not discriminate between tenancy and land ownership (sharecroppers and tenants were not identified on the census until 1910), but it is likely that the increase in small farms came almost entirely through tenancy.

Sharecropping was best suited to cotton agriculture, since this crop required few capital investments, could be grown by work forces of from one to one hundred laborers, and was easily measured, marketed, and sold. The prevalence of sharecropping in the postbellum period follows a distribution similar to that of cotton, and of slaves, in the antebellum (Figure 100; see also Figures 80 and 82). As Figure 100 shows, the project area was marked by intensive sharecropping in the postbellum era.

The period from the close of the Civil War through the early 1870s witnessed the sorting and selecting of the promises and opportunities of the Emancipation Proclamation by both blacks and whites. Blacks sought shelter from the prying eyes of whites, and the possibility of economic achievement. Whites sought power, and when thwarted in their efforts to resurrect their power through the plantation system, focused their efforts on politics. By the late 1870s the Reconstruction governments of Georgia and South Carolina had been overthrown, white rule restored, and blacks disenfranchised. Blacks had gained the dispersed settlement and privacy afforded by tenancy. Sharecropping, initially preferred by the freedmen as a means of accumulating wealth, proved to connect them to the fields through a form of "debt-peonage" (Daniel 1979:88-89; in *The History Group* 1981:115). Financial obligations to landlords for feed, seed, fertilizer, livestock, and rent, exceeded the profits of many tenant farmers. Debts replaced shackles in holding blacks to the land.

The relationship between tenant and landlord was always exploitative. Landlords appeared to relinquish power when it was time for plowing, planting, and weeding the crop, but reaffirmed their status at the harvest. Ed Brown, a Georgia sharecropper, told of his relation to his landlord, and although his words are from a more modern era, they reflect the reality of tenancy from 1865 through the present (Maguire 1975:55-59; in *The History Group* 1981:117-118):

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



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

Source: The History Group 1981:116.

Figure 100. The Prevalence of Sharecropping in the South, 1880. Note: The project area was one of the most densely sharecropped portions of the postbellum South, a reflection of its dependence on the cotton economy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

...Pickin time...

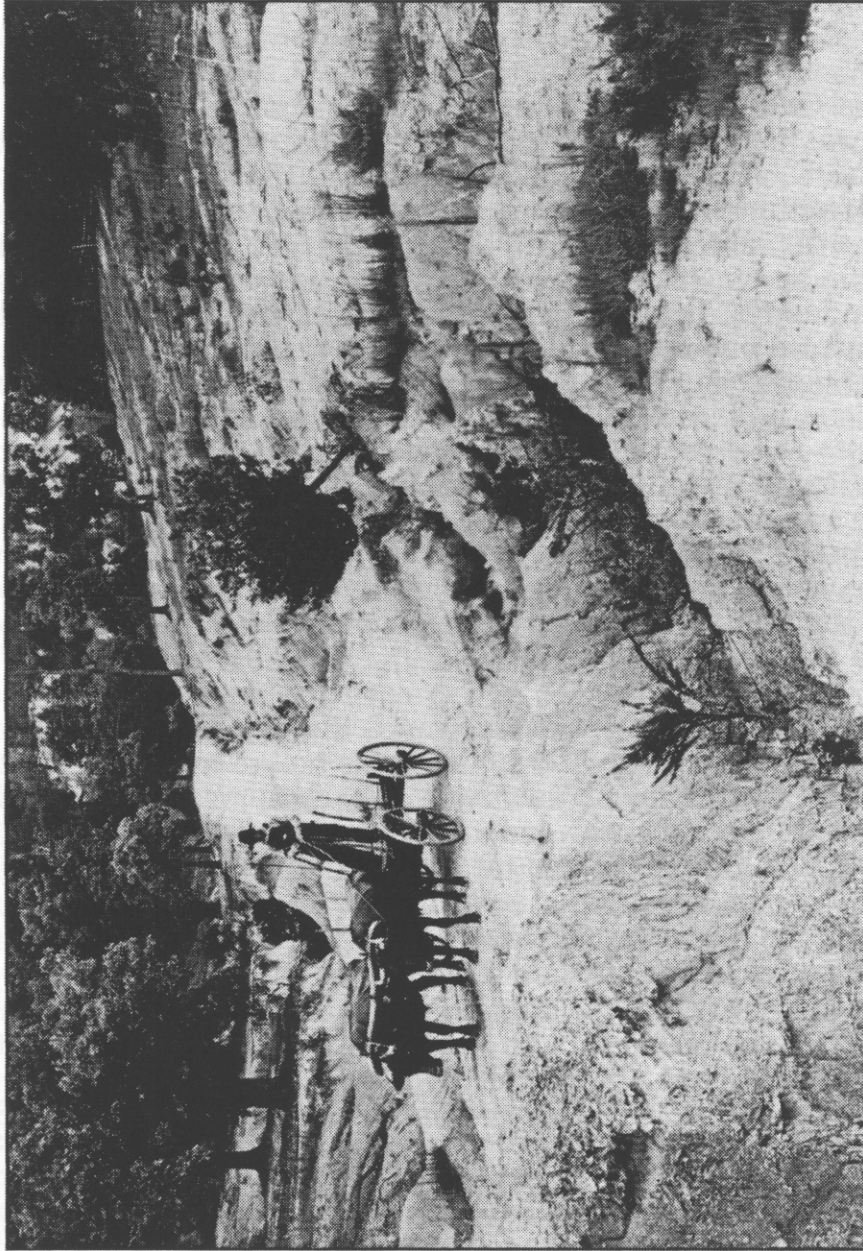
Now [Mr Addison] goes out to the crop... 'My crop is lookin pretty,' [he] say to my wife.

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

While tenancy exploited sharecroppers and renters, it also exploited the land under cultivation. Since their own economic well being was tied to crop productivity, long-term soil conservation offered tenants no economic advantage. As Stanley Trimble has noted, "the period of greatest erosive land use" occurred between 1860 and 1920, and directly corresponded with the rise of tenancy (Figure 101) (Trimble 1974:69; in The History Group 1981:124).

The effects of increased soil erosion in the Russell Reservoir were felt as early as 1888, and probably much earlier. In an address to the Savannah River Valley Association in that year, Harry Hammond discussed the impact of erosion on the area (Hammond n.d.; in The History Group 1981:125). Hammond noted that the "denudation" of the "upper country" had left great gullies, whose red clay washed onto the lowlands and flushed away the nutritive top-soil. This erosive action was accelerated by improvements to the river itself; "clearing out the channel and confining the current with wing dams" had increased the velocity of the river and thus its capacity to drain the runoff of the eroding uplands. As this upland "deluge of mud" spilled into the river, the river became more prone to floods, destroying even more cultivated land. Hammond viewed this problem as a vicious cycle, yet he did not recognize that this cycle was only a spin-off of a much greater circuit, the struggle of the agrarian South for economic survival.

By the late 1880s the railroads began to extend their influence into the project area. The Savannah Valley Railroad (later the Charleston and Western Carolina Railway) crossed the eastern portion of the study area by 1886, and more extensive rail connections developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (The History Group 1981:52). The railway combined with essential services, cotton gins, stores, warehouses, etc., to spur the growth of communities in the project area. These towns served as hubs and distribution points for the regional commerce. Lowndesville served as the primary hub for the South Carolina side of the river, while Elberton and Heardmont serviced the western bank of the Savannah (Drucker et al. 1983:15). By the late nineteenth century these towns



Source: The History Group 1981:125.

Figure 101. Soil Erosion in the Project Area. Note: This photograph dates to ca. 1940 and features Malley Hutchinson of the Caldwell-Hutchinson Farm. Note also the poor conditions of local roads even as of this late date.

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marketed the produce not only of the agricultural community, but of the industrial centers as well.

"THE PRODUCTION OF YOUR SOIL AND MILL": INDUSTRIALIZATION IN THE RUSSELL RESERVOIR, 1865 - 1890

In 1840, James Calhoun received correspondence from a northern friend, who wrote that he was looking forward to "some of that fine bread, the production of your Soil and Mill" (J. B. Boisseau to JEC, March 18, 1840, JECP; in Orser et al. 1987:752). This comment points out that industrialization in the project area was synonymous with milling, an industrial venture well established in the antebellum period as part of the plantation economy. This concentration within one aspect of industrial behavior was deliberate, a reinforcement and completion of the agricultural economy that dominated the region before and after the War. Thus, the milling of corn and the ginning of cotton were the major tasks carried out at the various millseats along the Savannah and the three major drainages which empty into the river within the project area: Beaverdam Creek, Coldwater Creek, and the Rocky River. The scope of these operations was limited; most were geared to service a local community or the needs of a plantation. This limitation was in part imposed by the absence of an adequate transportation system by land or river which would allow the expansion of industry within this part of the piedmont, and thus industrial activity was constricted to servicing a local market during much of the postbellum period.

Despite this constraint, milling was very much a part of the landscape within the project area and its surrounds. Elbert County is a case in point as documented in the Eighth Federal Census. Twenty flour and meal manufacturies were enumerated in 1860 in Elbert County. This accounted for half of the county's industry, and 55 per cent of the capital invested. Comparative data on Hart and Lincoln Counties, situated on the Savannah to the north and south of Elbert County, respectively, show that neither county equalled Elbert in the amount of mills in operation. Moreover, when all of the county statistics for Georgia were compared, Elbert County ranked first in the number of flour and meal mills in operation in 1860. Elbert also supported a wool manufactory and a cotton mill, the White-Thompson factory on the Broad River (Worthy 1983:21). A predisposition toward industrialization was clearly present within the general project area prior to the Civil War.

The area's potential for water power was first enthusiastically noted by William Bartram in the late eighteenth century, and later descriptions and surveys of the reservoir area underscored Bartram's initial observations (DeVorse 1966; in Newman 1984:2):

The whole of the lands appear finely watered by an abundance of streams which are very convenient places for erecting saw and grist

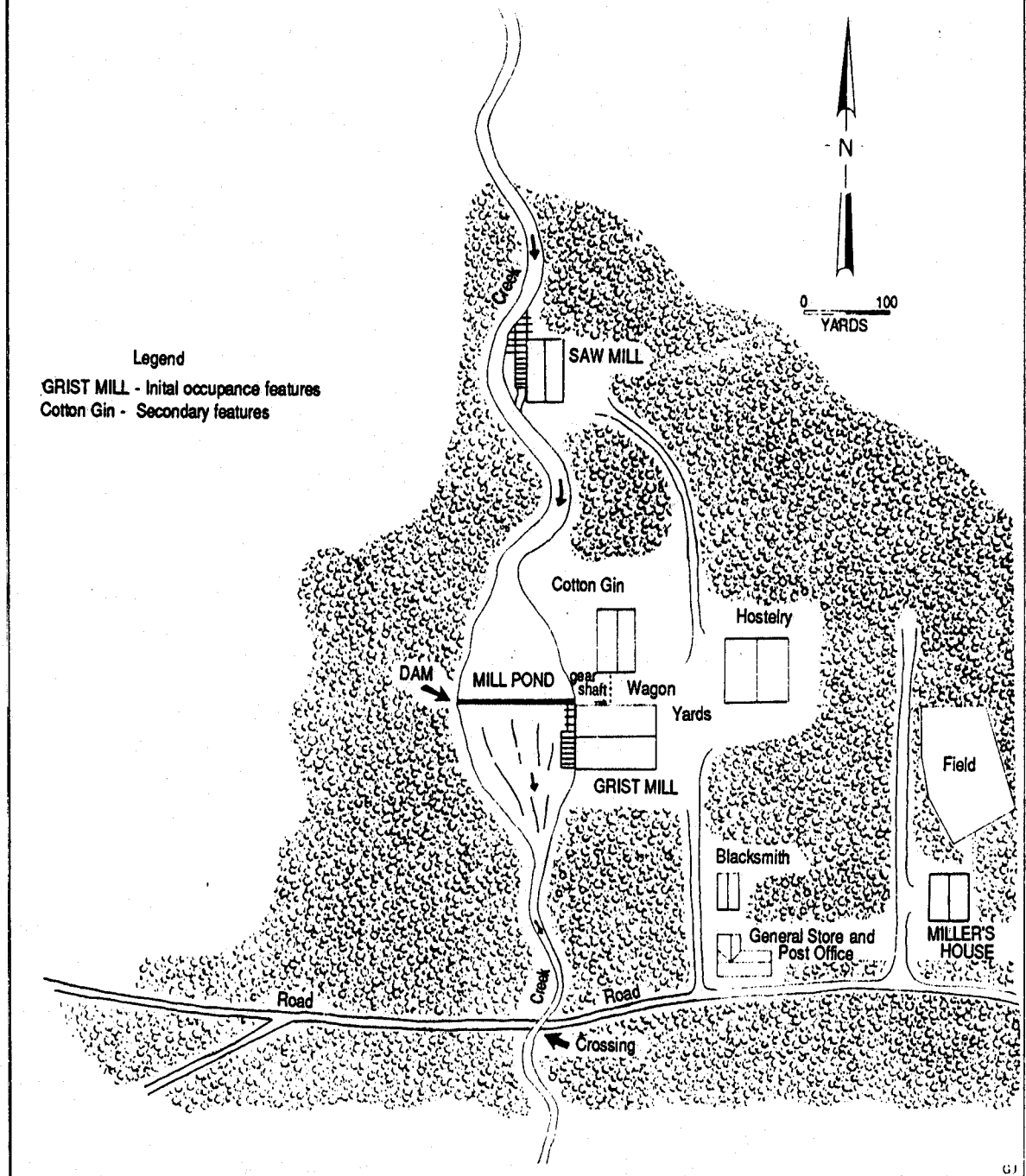
mills. Also on the river are several convenient places for mills where rocks and islands in the river stand near the banks.

The project area's situation within the piedmont on the Savannah River between the mountains and lowlands was favorable to water power development as the river descended into the coastal plain. The gradient of the river was cited within an 1879 Army Corps of Engineers document as averaging 5.25 feet per mile. The same report further described the area between Andersonville and Petersburg as a "torrential stream." A *Survey of Water Power*, published in 1885, described the descent of the Savannah River as being stepped rather than steady, with drops in elevation occurring at various shoals. The stepped character of this portion of the Savannah was extremely well suited to the development of water power sites. However, the environment offered a setback to the industrial entrepreneur; the shoal areas were encased by high river banks which would make the building of millraces problematical (Newman 1984:2).

Tightly defined, a dam, headrace, wheelpit, mill, and a tailrace are the specific components of a mill seat (Wallace 1978:14). In a small operation, a miller's house would adjoin the mill. If the site generated sufficient power, further activities such as a sawmill, cotton gin, blacksmith's shop, and a general store would join the mill and function as a service complex for the neighboring community. A geographic model of a mill complex, composed by Gregory Jeane (1974) is offered in Figure 102. In this example, the creek has been utilized as a power source in two locations; first, for a sawmill, and next for a grist mill and cotton gin. The power for the sawmill is drawn directly from the creek, whereas the grist mill and cotton gin's motive power derives from the construction of a dam which channels the fall of the water to the waterwheel. A hostelry, blacksmith's shop, general store, and miller's house adjoin the mill buildings, and a road leads into the complex to allow traffic to and from the mill. Jeane's model, based upon his study of milling in northwest Georgia, is instructive. The larger operation, the grist mill and cotton gin, is powered in a complex and artificial manner, using a full dam to create the fall of water to the waterwheel, whereas the smaller operation upstream uses the natural flow of water along a bend in the creek to garner power. Hence, as Jeane's model shows, terrain and technology determine the physical layout of the principal components of a mill.

Mills within the reservoir area ranged in type from the typical mill seat to the mill complex during this period. While a number of nineteenth-century mills were identified, certain mill sites were chosen for study. Five of this group were operative in the post war period, four were grist and flour mills probably performing custom work with some merchant milling (Newman 1984:102). The fifth was a cotton yarn factory. Their locations are shown on Figure 103. None of these mills were specifically plantation-based but some were owned and operated by prominent planters in the reservoir area. Four of the mills under discussion were located in Elbert County, and three of these were in operation prior to the Civil War. As discussed, Elbert County was heavily involved in industrial development by 1860. It had the largest amount of flour and meal mills in the state as well as a cotton mill and a wool manufactory. Hence, capital which had

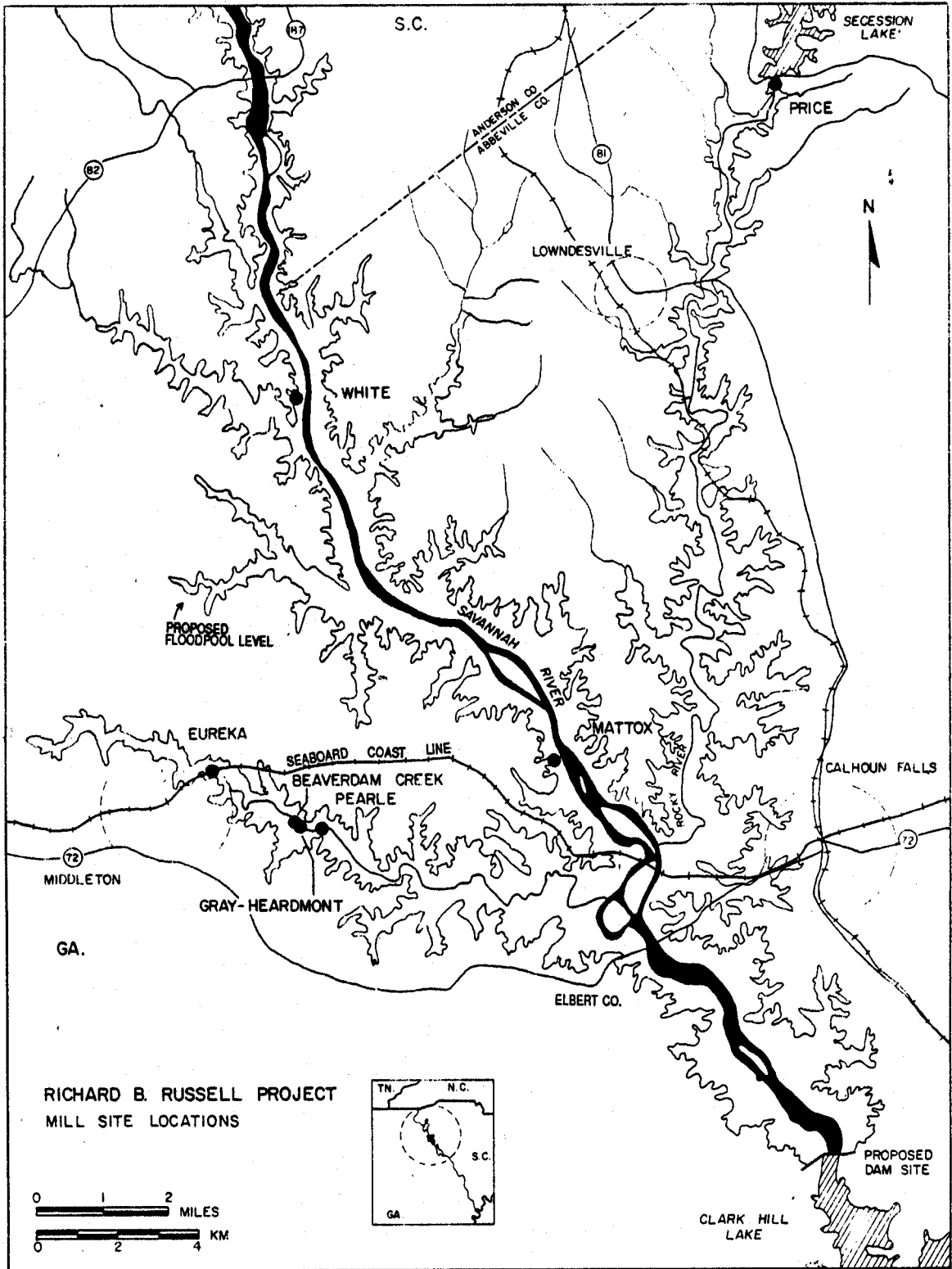
A GEOGRAPHIC MODEL OF A MILL COMPLEX



Source: Jeane (1974)

Figure 102. Geographical Model of a Mill Complex.
 Note: While developed for northwest Georgia, this model contains many of the attributes expected for mills in the project area.

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Source: Newman (1984:3).

Figure 103. The location of Russell Reservoir Mill Sites Examined by Newman (1984).

once been solely devoted to the development of agriculture was finding a foothold in the industrial sector. Planter-owned mills would handle the crops from their owner's fields, and would also grind the crops produced locally. The fact that planters began to have the economic vision to broaden their agricultural milling base was the first step in the development of the mercantile milling business.

Nineteenth-Century Water Power Technology

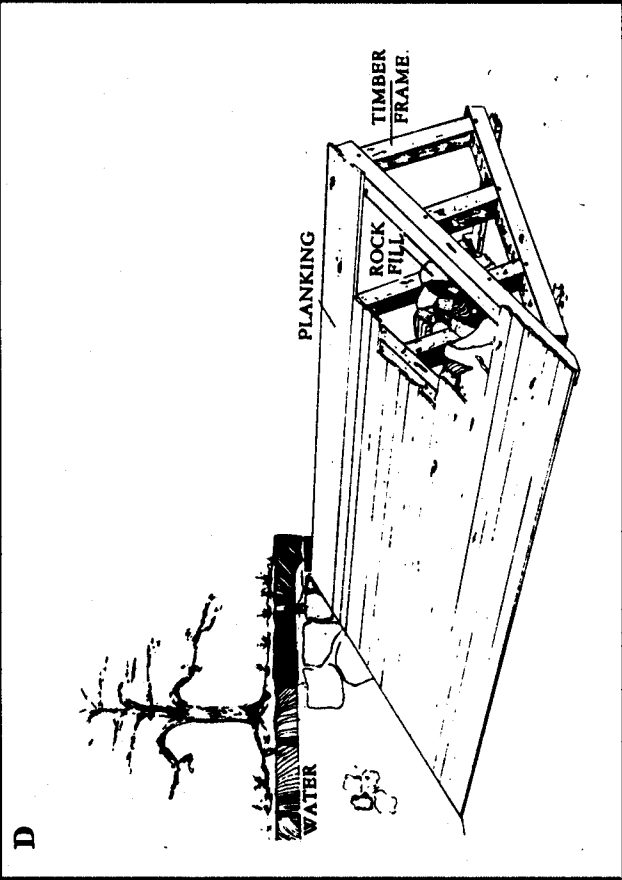
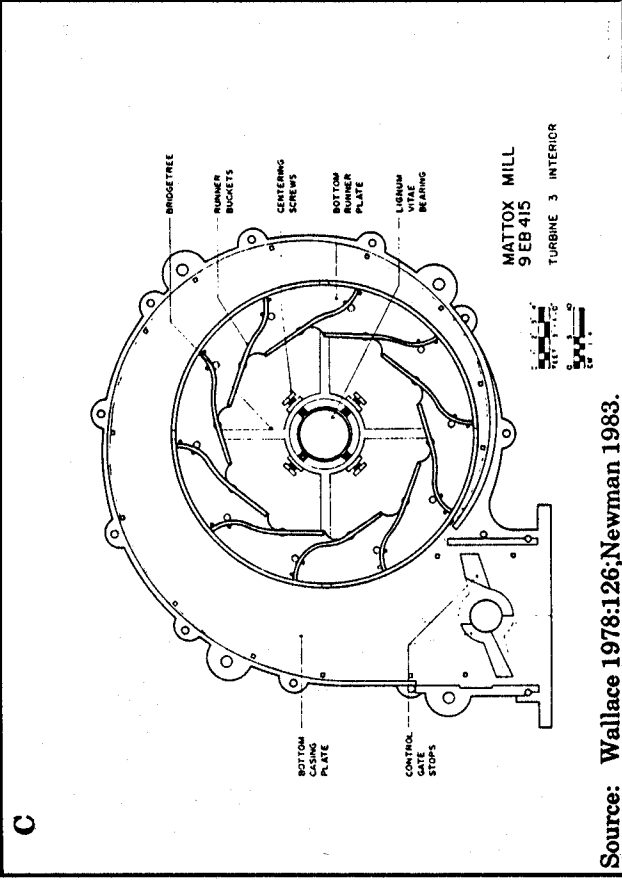
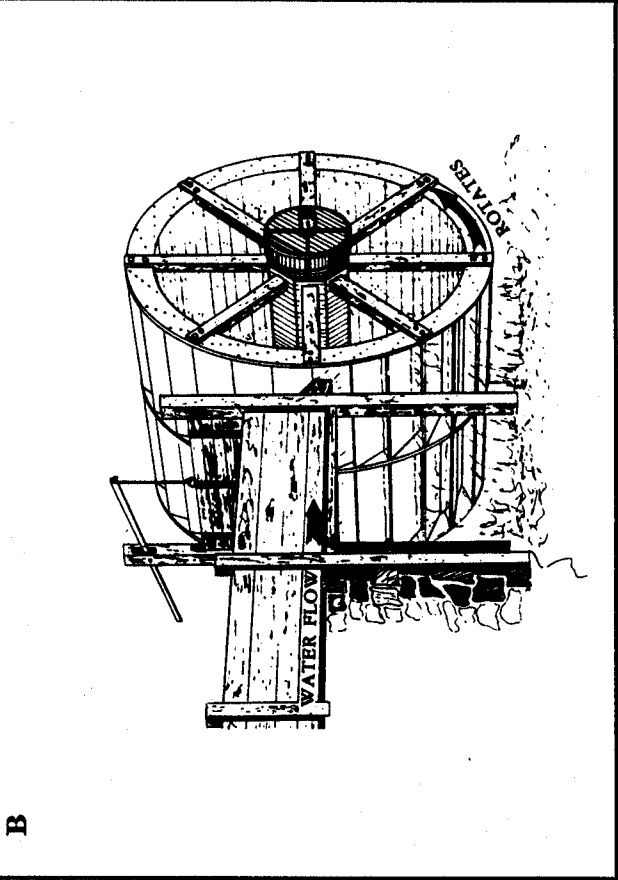
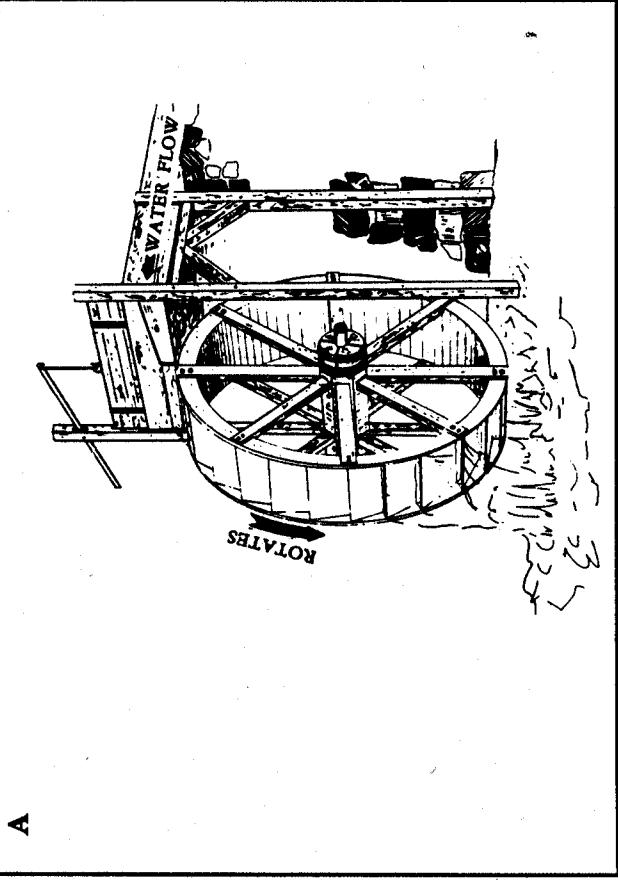
The water wheel was the central focus of the water system (Wallace 1978:125-125) :

These water wheels which, in their slow and ponderous revolutions, turned the gears that communicated power to the machinery in the mill, were themselves driven by the weight of the water delivered to them by a more or less elaborate hydraulic system. Some were "overshot" wheels: that is to say, that water was brought over the top of the wheel in a wooden sluice, to pour down the front into wooden buckets built into the outer rim of the wheel [Figure 104a]; others were "breast" wheels, revolving in the opposite direction, moved by water delivered to the back of the wheel at about middle height [Figure 104b]. It was the weight of the water that turned the wheel, not its impact. At the bottom, the water fell out of the buckets into the wheelpit and thence flowed out into the tailrace.... The wheels typically were 10 to 15 feet in diameter and 3 to 4 feet in width, and were left exposed or shielded only by flimsy sheds.

The breast wheel, a type of undershot wheel, was considered to be inefficient except in low head situations where an ample supply of water was available (Newman 1984:5). Other variations of wheel types were also used, such as the pitchback and the flutter wheel.

A vertical head of water of approximately 10 to 15 feet was needed to drive the waterwheel. This fall was created between the point where the headrace diverted water from the creek and the point in the tailrace where the used water was released back into the stream. An estimate of the amount of horse power the system could produce theoretically was "a function of the head and the quantity of water delivered per unit of time" (Wallace 1978:127). In the absence of a waterfall, a sufficient head was achieved by excavating a canal along the creek or stream at a shallower angle than the stream. As the canal proceeded, the water it contained would be progressively higher than the water in the stream. When this disparity in height reached the point where it could accommodate a vertical waterwheel, the wheelpit could be constructed.

One cost cutting device in building a mill was to keep the race comparatively short, which helped to decrease construction costs and the amount of land to be acquired for the mill. As an answer, millwrights and master masons chose to dam the stream, making the water flow constant as it was forced over the top of the dam, and concomitantly, increasing the head. The dams could be of various



Source: Wallace 1978:126; Newman 1983.

Figure 104. Elements of Water Power Technology. A is an overshot wheel;

B is a breast wheel; C is a turbine from Mattox Mill; and D is an example of a crib dam.

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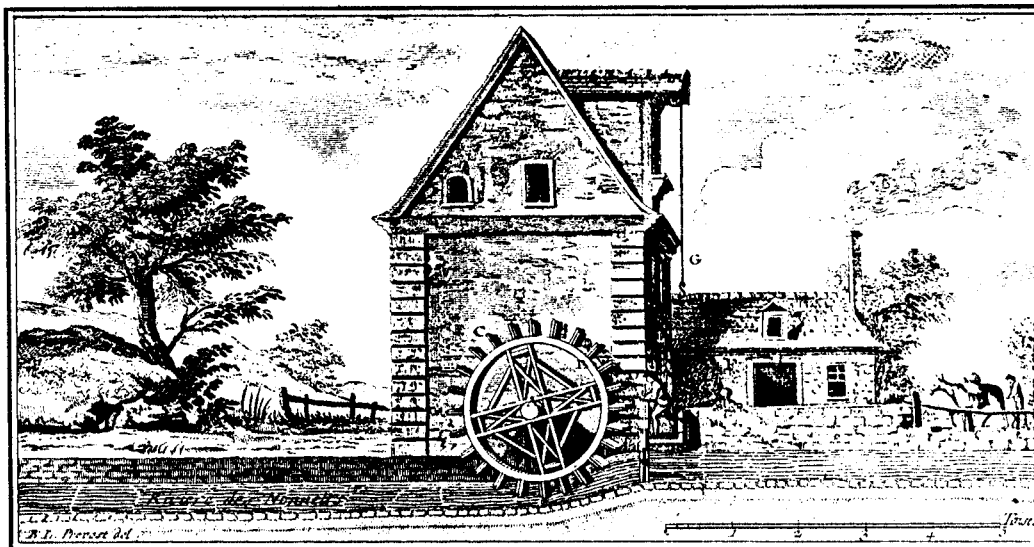
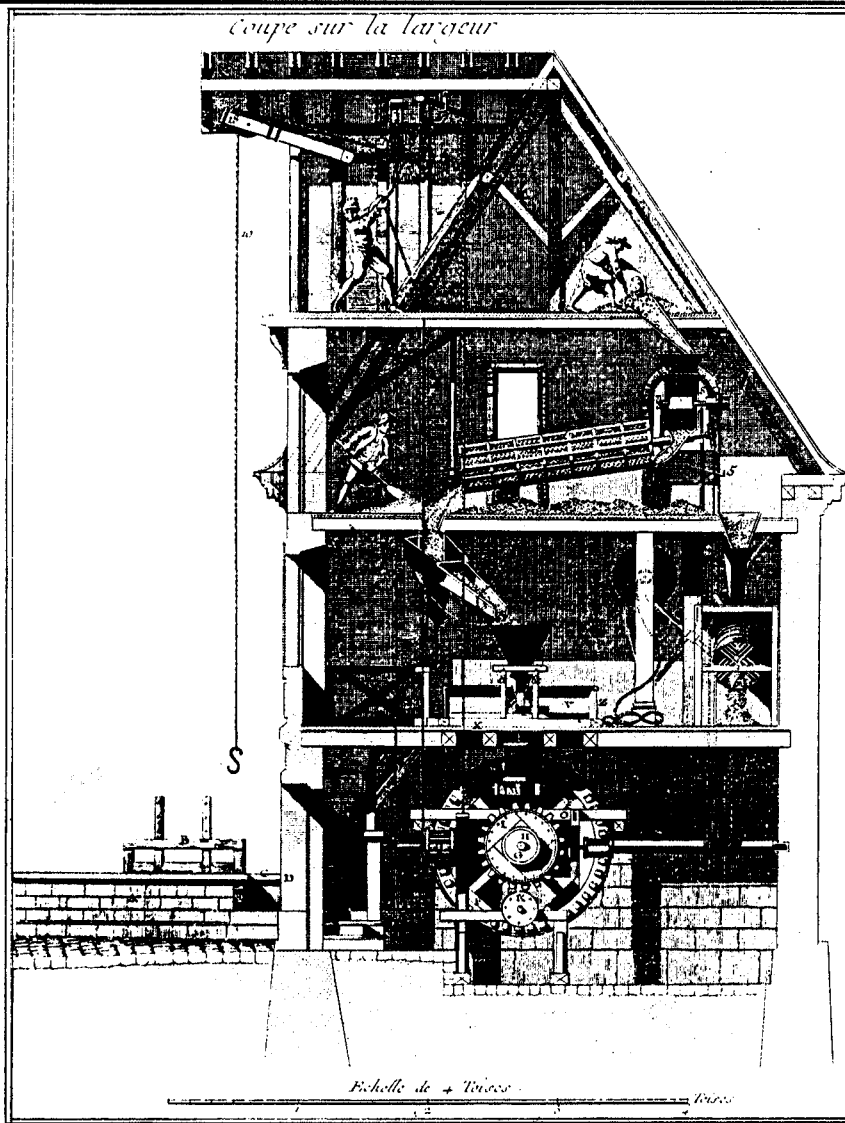
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types of construction. Many were fairly shallow and informally built of planking in a "V" shape. The interior of these crib dams would be filled with rocks (Figure 104d); the dam would be snugly placed flush with a high river bank or rock to stabilize it and also to eliminate the possibility that a new course could be formed around the it (Wallace 1978:128). A wingdam extending from one bank outward to the center of the stream on an angle, rather than a full dam across the stream, was another alternative given the proper environmental conditions. The millrace could be about 10 to 12 feet in width. Gates were placed at the dam site and at the pit to allow some control over how much water could reach the wheel. According to Wallace (1978:128), a head race could vary from 50 yards to a quarter of a mile in length.

The above technology was practiced throughout the nineteenth century where the use of a gravity or impact wheel, the types of wheels discussed above, was deemed energy efficient, although other types of waterwheels were being developed. The 1820s saw the introduction of the reaction wheel or turbine. Water was forced into the turbine by pressure. As the water attempts to find an outlet, it relays this pressure to the paddles, blades, or buckets, causing them to turn. Use of the first reaction wheel in the United States is attributed to Zebulon Parker in 1827. Parker's model was considered to be an early example of the scroll case turbine (Newman 1984:10).

While hailed as an innovation, early turbines were problematical in use. For example, those that used axial or downward flow patterns did not suit the low head conditions universally found in the eastern United States. After some experimentation, the "mixed flow" turbine was introduced. This model combined axial and downward flow creating a spiral discharge of water. These turbines, mass produced and easy to install, were constructed with fewer buckets to prevent clogging. Also, gates which allowed water entry to the turbine could be operated in a partially closed position, making the "mixed flow" turbine suitable for a variety of situations including low head conditions. These qualities made the "mixed flow" turbine extremely popular within the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The scroll case turbine is an example of a "mixed flow" turbine; one of these was found within the study area at the Mattox Mill site (Figure 104c). This model can be best described as a horizontal wheel placed within the interior of a snail shaped case. A control gate allows the water to enter the interior aperture; after the water enters, this aperture decreases in size in the approach to the turbine, building water pressure to move the runner buckets. A bridgetree supports the runner buckets which are forced into motion by the incoming water. A bearing of *lignum vitae* lies in the center of the bridgetree. The water was probably discharged through the center.

With the waterwheel or turbine in motion, power would be communicated to the mill machinery by shafting, which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was built of heavy wood or iron shafts and gearing. A diagram of a mill with an undershot wheel and a mill interior is shown in Figure 105. This example is from eighteenth-century France, culled from Diderot's *Encyclopedia*, (Gillispie 1959) but it does illustrate clearly the system of gears and pulleys within a mill



Source: Gillispie 1958:plates 19 and 20. Courtesy of Dover Publications.

Figure 105. Cross Section and Plan of a Water-Powered Mill.

Note: While illustrative of eighteenth-century examples, similar technology was employed in the project area.

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and the milling of the grain as it moves from floor to floor, from the hopper through the bolter or rotary sifter to the grindstone.

In *The Young Millwright's and Miller's Guide* published in 1850 by Oliver Evans, a power train was described using wooden shafts, gearwheels, pulleys, and belts in order to distribute power throughout the building. This early stab at automation drew support as further innovations, such as the introduction of wrought iron shafting, and later, steel shafting, helped Evan's concept come to fruition. Evan's design still used the traditional milling process; millstones would be used at small merchant mills throughout the nineteenth century. But his major contribution was the introduction of drive belts to be used as elevators to move the grain from floor to floor (Newman 1984:11).

In sum, nineteenth-century water power technology was fairly uniform except in two areas: the wheelpit and the mill interior. In the former, the turbine, after several permutations, replaced the waterwheel in situations where it proved more efficient than a vertical wheel. The interior of the mill changed somewhat in the second half of the century, with the move toward automation, but the traditional methods of grinding were practiced until the twentieth century.

The Mills

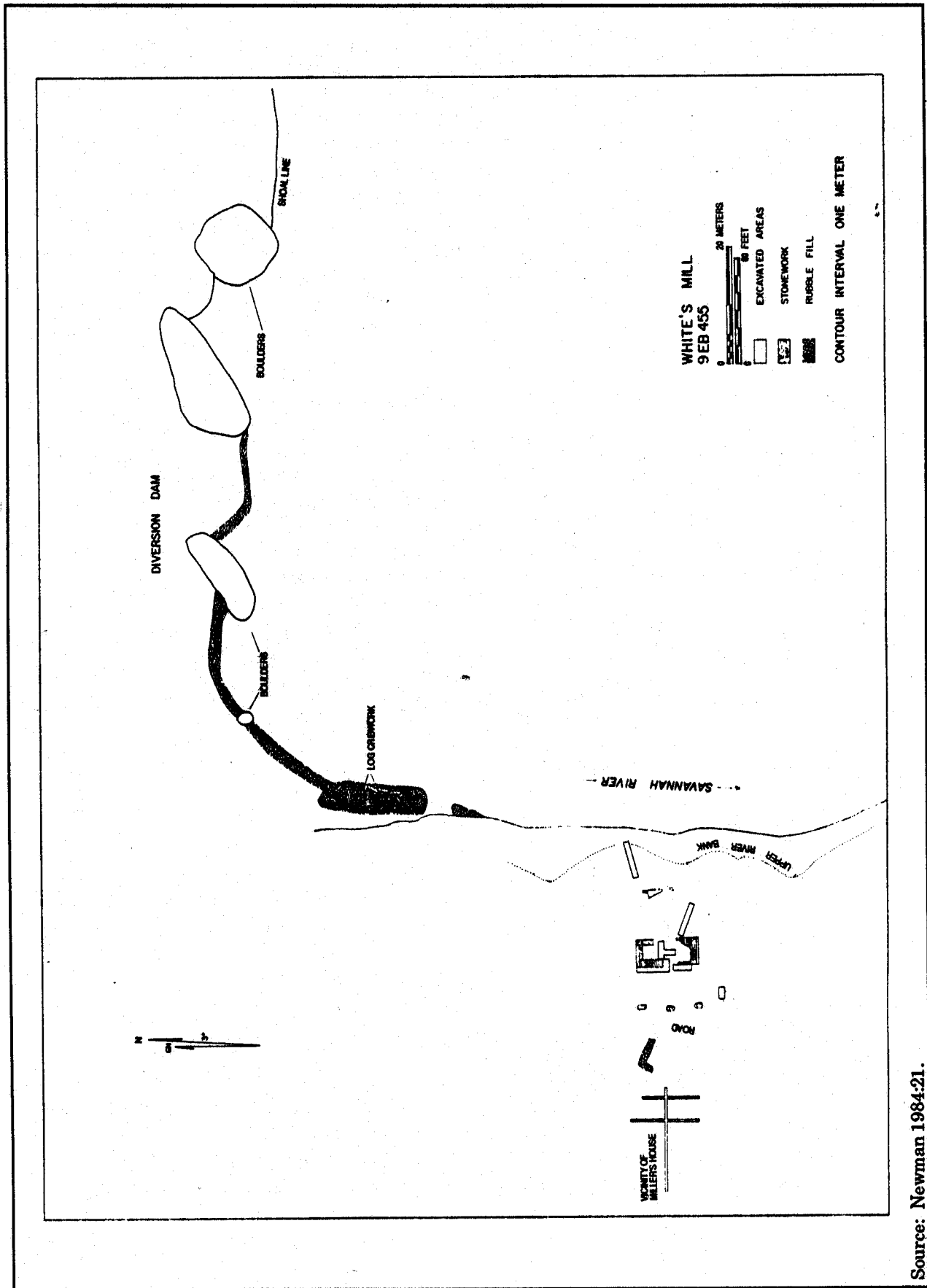
Five of the mills within the reservoir area which were chosen for study were operated during the postbellum period: White Mill, Price Mill, Eureka Mill, Mattox Mill, and the Gray-Heardmont Mill. As pointed out earlier, four of these were located in Elbert County, Georgia, while the fifth, Price Mill, was located on the Rocky River in Abbeville County, South Carolina. White Mill, Price Mill, Eureka Mill and the Mattox Mill were flour and grist mills; Gray-Heardmont was the sole textile factory in this group. The following synthesis outlines the evolution of these mills based on oral historical sources, documentary materials, and archaeological data. The documentary records for some of the mills were sparse. For example, explication of the history of Price Mill suffered from the lack of records for Abbeville County due to a nineteenth-century courthouse fire. Varying preservation had an impact on the archaeological data. Despite these problems, an overall picture of milling emerges from this group which ranges from a typical millseat comprised of simply a mill to a full blown mill complex. While all of the mills were located within one region and were contemporaneous, the variety of mill configurations and technologies represented emphasize that each millseat was uniquely fitted to its environment rather than formulaic in its composition. Finally, at the close of the period a shift from grist and flour milling to textile milling is seen, as entrepreneurs within the reservoir area became enamored with Southern industrialism and the thought of financial profit.

White Mill was extant from the 1820s through 1908. A deed refers to a mill owned by a Zachariah Bowman near the mouth of Coldwater Creek and the Savannah River in 1835 at a "place or town once known by the name of Edenborow but now known by the name of Bowman's Ferry". (Elbert County Deed Book AA:17; in

Newman 1984:19). The fact that the mill was situated at the town site suggests that it was initially supposed to have serviced the milling needs of the community. The mill survived despite the demise of Edinburg in the mid nineteenth century; its situation adjacent to a ferry landing no doubt played into its success. Bowman conveyed the property to Thomas Rouzee in 1844, who subsequently sold the mill tract to William Cleveland in 1857 (Elbert County Deed Book 2:243, CC:546). An historical overview of Edinburg, published as a letter to the editor of the *Elberton Star* on September 20, 1929, stated that William Cleveland, a farmer, operated not only the mill at Edinburg but also a store, a blacksmith's shop, and a ferry. Cleveland died of typhoid fever in 1861 (Worthy 1983:106), but the mill remained in the Cleveland family until the mid twentieth century (Newman 1984:19-20).

The mill site is located on a river terrace on the west bank of the Savannah River approximately 200 m upstream of the mouth of Coldwater Creek. The location was less than ideal for a mill seat given the high bluffs along the river which prevented the construction of a raceway. Yet the mill was built despite these obstacles. Newman (1984:27) suggests that the mill's location within this unsuitable terrain can be attributed to the owner/builder's conceptualization of the mill's intended function -- to service the milling needs of the new town. In this instance, proximity won out over environmental fit. The builder tried to compensate for the topography with the several measures. A diversion dam was constructed of boulders which spanned the river, and directed water to the mill through a timber crib race or sluiceway placed in the river (Figure 106). Large spur type gears found at the site suggest that a gravity wheel, either an undershot or breastwheel, supplied the motive power for the mill throughout the nineteenth century, despite the introduction of the turbine. To adopt turbine technology would have entailed the construction of a higher dam or a millrace. Such an alteration would have been made if the volume of business warranted it, but documentary evidence suggests that White Mill was a marginal operation throughout its existence. It was not listed in the water power survey of 1885 or the 1880 Manufacturers Census.

The mill building proper, which was three stories high and measured 33 feet by 46 feet, was constructed of frame with a granite foundation. Oral sources indicated that a miller's home was located to the west of the mill on a bluff; a walkway connected the miller's house to the mill. Archaeological investigations gave credence to this tradition. A scatter of nails, ceramics, and kitchen-related artifacts was found at this location, suggesting the presence of a domestic structure (Newman 1984:23). The dates for these materials indicate an early- to mid-nineteenth century occupation. This dovetails with the fact that William Cleveland, the owner of the tract from 1857 to 1861, resided a mile away from the millseat; presumably the miller's house predates Cleveland's purchase. The mill remained in operation until the flood of 1908, and its longevity must be attributed to a variety of factors: proximity to a landing, suitable technology and capital outlay given the terrain, and the volume of business which was probably turned out by the mill.



Source: Newman 1984:21.
 Figure 106. White's Mill Site Plan.

Unlike White Mill, the flour/grist mill and sawmill operated by two individuals listed as Price and Burdett in the 1880 census was located at a shoal extremely well situated to generate water power (Newman 1984:34). The beginnings of this millseat are unknown as county documents have been destroyed; the 1880 Federal Census is the first reference to the mill. The latter states that two turbines furnished the motive power (70 horsepower) for the flour/grist mill while a breastwheel was employed at the adjoining sawmill. The flour/grist mill utilized a fall of 12 feet; the sawmill 14 feet. Newman (1984:31) suggests that this disparity in fall and motive power indicates two separate facilities on the shoal, although they were probably using the same raceway. The 1885 *Reports on Water Power* gave different figures for the fall at the millseat; it stated that it was 47 1/2 feet in 1500 of which the mill used 31 feet and "a small amount of power" (Swain 1885:795; in Newman 1984:31). This variance within the data on the fall at the mill may be the result of differing measurement locations or techniques, or may be the sum of the two falls mentioned in the 1880 census. Remains of a raceway were not discovered during the archaeological research, although the position of the mill away from the river indicates that a raceway had been used at the mill. Finally, an informant gave some skeletal data about the mill building indicating that the Price and Burdett mill had been a two story structure with a wooden dam. The mill had to be rebuilt after the flood of 1908 and continued in operation until the 1930s.

The third mill within the study area was Eureka Mill, which operated from the 1820s to 1908. A mill was first constructed at this site on Beaverdam Creek in Elberton County between 1813 and 1828 by members of the Thornton family. Ownership of the mill tract changed hands frequently; eventually, the tract was owned by investors rather than a single family. In 1865 the mill tract, known as the Rucker and Martin Mill tract, was sold to L. H. O. Martin and William and Clarke Mattox for a consideration of \$4,854. John Grogan purchased L. H. O. Martin's share for \$1,500 when Martin died in 1867 (Newman 1984:35-36). Grogan retained the controlling interest in the mill until his death in 1896 (Worthy 1983:182).

The mill was formally known as the company of Grogan and Bruce in 1875 when it was valued at \$9,350 for tax purposes. Broken down, the company's assets included 425 acres of land, \$1,200 worth of merchandise, and \$25 worth of tools. The deed of conveyance to Grogan stated that the mill site included a machinery storehouse, shoe shop, blacksmith shop, and a dwelling house. Further information about the operation is afforded by the 1880 Manufacturer's Census, which noted that the company had a capital investment of \$11,000 and had two full time employees. Two central discharge turbines, six feet in diameter and generating 20 horsepower, supplied the motive power for the mill. These turbines powered three runs of stone (Newman 1984:36).

The documentary evidence shows that the mill received an infusion of capital between 1865 and 1875 as the value of the property doubled within a decade. When Sydney Bruce, Grogan's partner, died, his interest was sold to Mallory J. Thornton, who lived at the mill and supervised the mill operation. Evidently

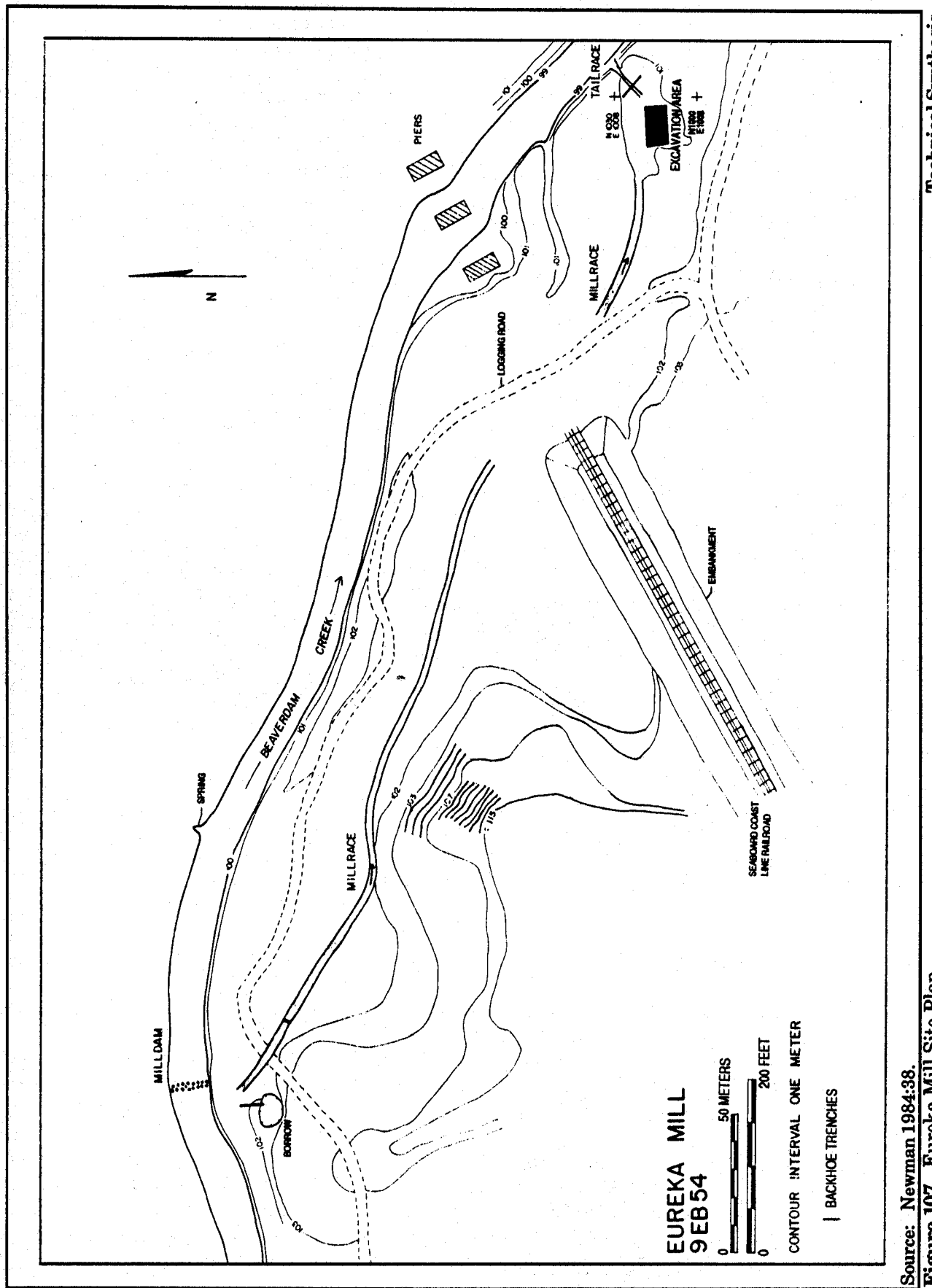
cotton ginning was a primary function of the complex (Worthy 1983:182). This specialization probably led to the expansionary plans of Leila Grogan Hobbs, who purchased her father's interest (5/6th) in the mill tract after his death in 1896 and the remaining (1/6th) interest in 1907. Hobbs intention to convert Eureka into a cotton mill was stalled by the 1908 flood, and the documents do not indicate whether the mills were functioning at all after Grogan's death (Newman 1984:36).

Archaeological investigations elicited further information about the mill site (Figure 107). First, the remains of a milldam of timber crib construction (see Figure 104d) were found approximately one kilometer above the actual mill site. The cribbing was attached to the stream bed with mud sills or pilings. The dam diverted water into an earthen millrace which emptied into the turbine pit at the mill. Excavation of the turbine pit, a rectangular wooden box open only at the headrace end, recovered three turbines. One dates to an 1850s installation and the other two to the post-1865 expansion of the mill. Interestingly, the two later turbines, which were center discharge wheels, had metal shafts and hubs unlike most contemporary examples, which were made out of wood. Newman (1984:53) suggests that this replacement of materials was a cost efficient measure allowing the Eureka millers a compromise between an expensive factory manufactured scroll case turbine and the inefficiency of an all-wooden wheel.

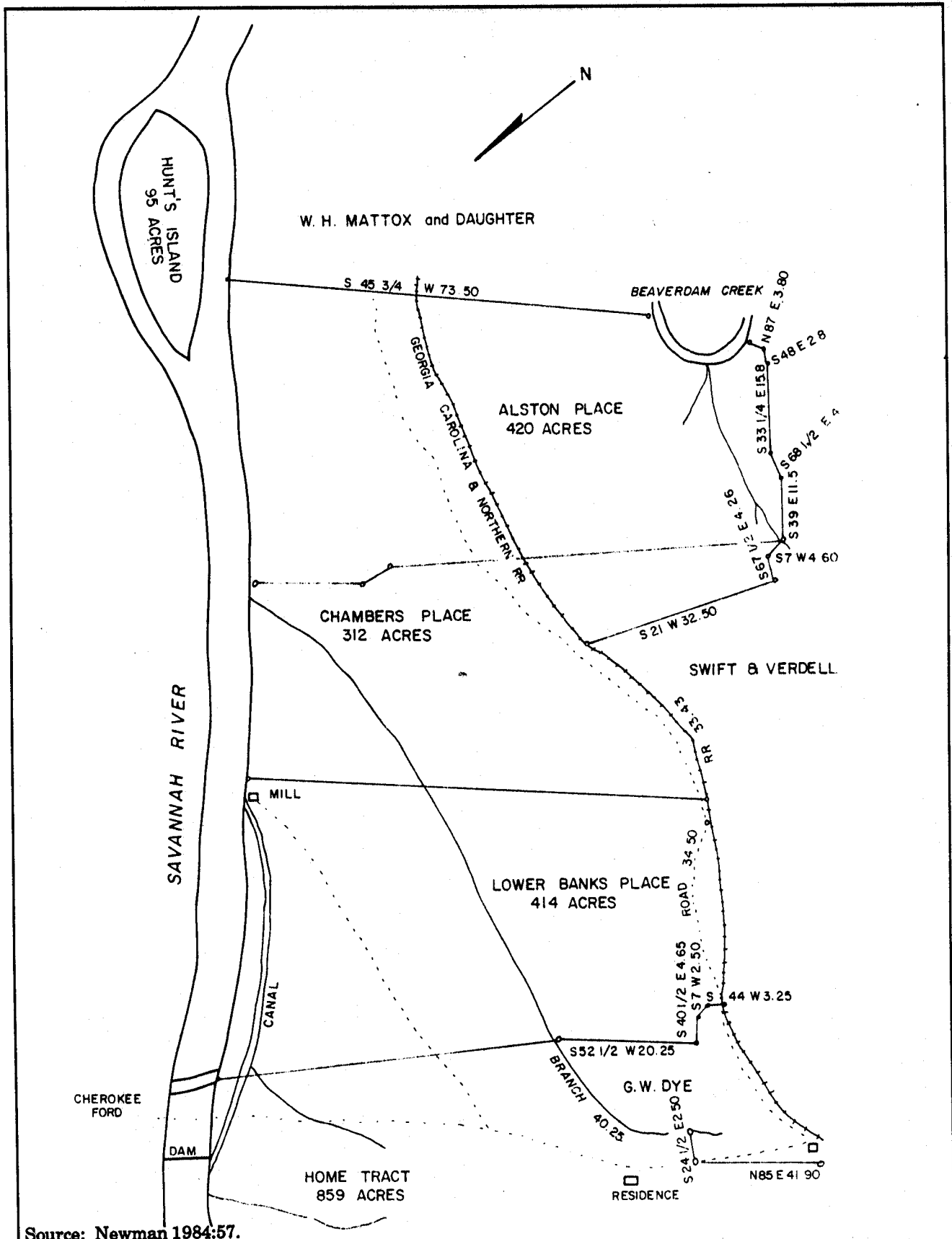
One of the post Civil War investors in Eureka Mill, William H. Mattox, went into the milling business as an adjunct to planting sometime after 1865, when he constructed a grist and flour mill at Cherokee Shoals on the Savannah River in Elberton County. Those shoals received the following recommendation in the 1885 *Survey of Water Power*:

It is stated by persons acquainted with the river that Gregg's and Middleton's shoals would be hard to utilize on account of the high banks, although both have been used to a small extent for saw mills, but that Cherokee Shoal, on the contrary, could easily be used and the whole fall rendered available. There is now a mill at these shoals with a wing 5 feet high, a canal a mile long, and a fall at the mill of 16 feet (Swain 1885:790; in Newman 1984:55).

A plat of his property completed in 1889 shows the relationship between the mill buildings, race, and dam and also Mattox's residence (Figure 108). No other buildings were associated with the mill on the plat and a road leads from the Mattox house to the millseat. Perhaps Mattox felt that a mill complex on the same scale as Eureka or as diverse was unnecessary at the new location. The 1880 Census gives an interior description of the mill, which had two sets of mill stones powered by five turbines. These generated 100 horsepower giving the mill an operating capacity of 200 bushels a day. The documentary record does not indicate whether Mattox's solo venture into milling was a success, but he did expand his milling interests in 1890 with a new cotton mill, the Heardmont Mill. The latter only operated for three months before it was destroyed by fire. Mattox never recovered financially from this and other setbacks, and his property was



Source: Newman 1984:38.
 Figure 107. Eureka Mill Site Plan.



Source: Newman 1984:57.

Figure 108. Property Map for Mattox Mill Area Showing Mill and Mattox's Residence.

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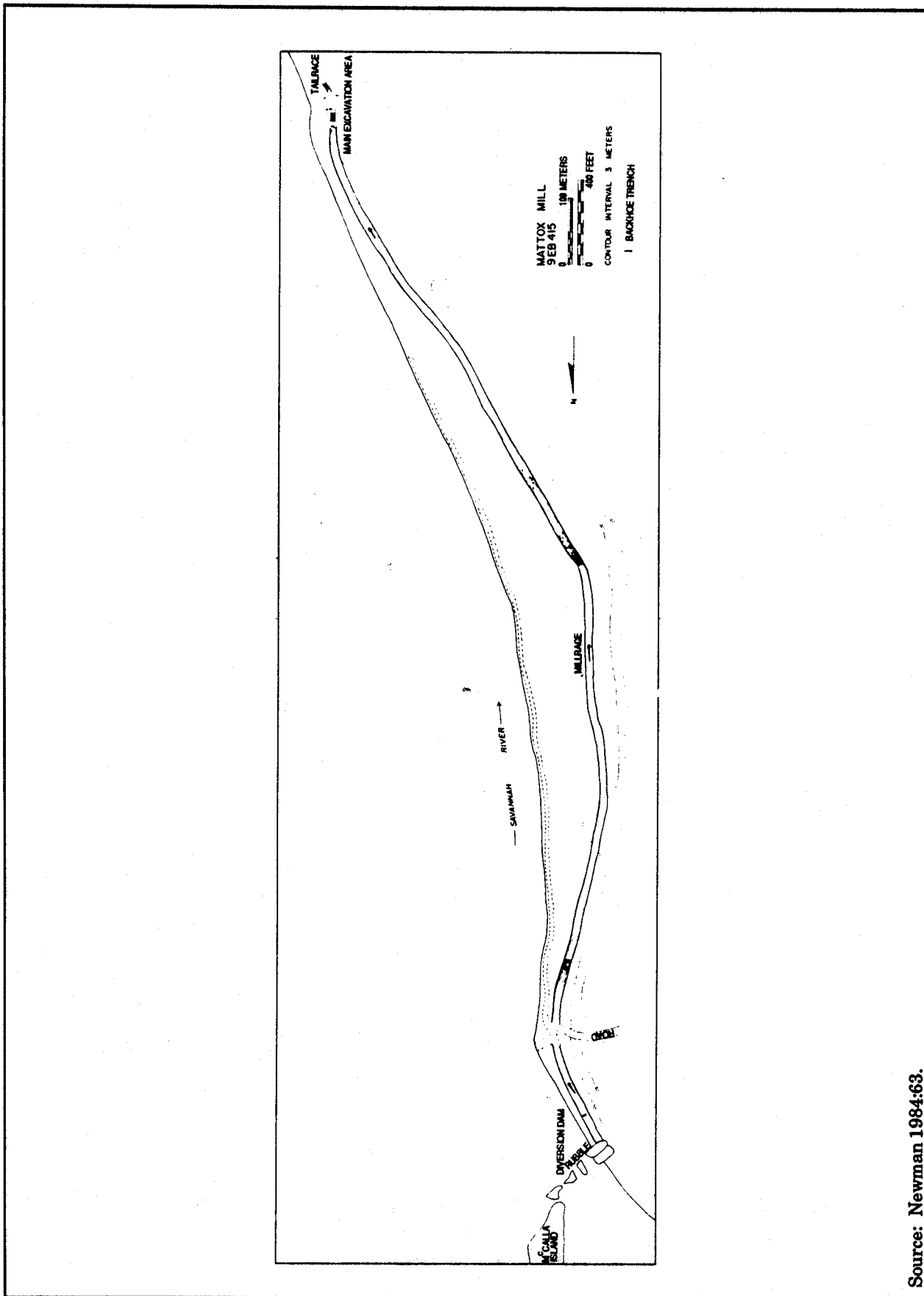
ultimately sold by the Elbert County sheriff. There is no evidence to suggest that the mill was operated after the sale of the land in 1898, and Mattox met his death only at the hands of a family member in 1902 (Newman 1984:55-56).

The general configuration of the Mattox Mill site as well as specific information about its hydraulic system was gained through archaeological excavation. The milldam was a wing dam as described in the water power survey; some remnants of cribbing suggest the remains of a headgate. Its millrace, an earthen ditch, was one mile in length and 30 feet wide in some places along its length (Figure 109). A water chest or turbine pit was uncovered which housed seven turbines. Two of the latter were central discharge turbines, while the remainder were iron scroll case turbines. These iron scroll case turbines would have been installed prior to 1880 given the census information, and the pit was adapted to suit the new turbines rather than rebuilt. The number of turbines indicates that Mattox was running a number of machines at Mattox Mill and the similarity in design suggests one manufacturer for the scroll case turbines.

The final mill under discussion is the Gray-Heardmont Mill which was owned jointly in 1889 by John H. McCalla and William Mattox. This site on Beaverdam Creek historically possessed a grist mill connected to a plantation, although the date of this initial construction is unknown. Members of the Allen family owned it through 1889. Little documentary information emanates from the later period, although the mill does receive mention in the 1885 Reports on Water Power for the Tenth Census. After 1848, the mill became known as Gray's Mill, due to Mildred Allen's marriage to John Gray (Newman 1984:73).

The story behind the Heardmont Mill is dramatic. McCalla and Mattox purchased the site and its water rights with the intention of refurbishing it into a cotton mill. The former was Secretary-Treasurer, and the latter President, of the new venture. Prominent men in the county as well as other millers joined in this financial venture, including: Nathaniel Long, Andrew Cleveland, John Grogan, Eugene Heard, and Jephtha Jones. Mattox was in charge of assembling the machinery, which he purchased in the Northeast. Eight cording machines and spinning frames for 1,000 spindles were acquired so that the company could begin production of cotton yarn from lint cotton which was a by-product of the Elberton Oil Mill. The factory went into production in March of 1890. Little information about the motive power for the mill is known from either historical or archaeological sources, although remnants of the millrace were discernable at the time of the archaeological investigations. The race was approximately 656 feet in length and six feet in depth. After three months in operation, this experimental venture was destroyed by fire when lightning hit the building. As the property was uninsured, all of the investors received a total loss. The millseat remained unused until 1895 (Newman 1984:73-74)..

The data on these five mill sites are diverse and incomplete. Despite the weakness of the sources, an image of milling in the post war period can be gained. First, the mills remained tied to the agricultural economy until the 1890s. Four of the mills under discussion were flour/grist mills of varying size and importance. Of



Source: Newman 1984:63.

Figure 109. Plan of Millrace at Mattox Mill.

these, three had been antebellum millseats. Only the Mattox Mill was constructed in the postbellum period. All of these mills can be broadly compared to the model of a mill complex offered by Jeane (1974), which showed a mill, sawmill and other buildings joined into a service hub for a rural community (Figure 102). While White Mill was demonstrated archaeologically to be composed of a miller's residence and a mill building, the historical data implies that it may have been part of a mill complex including a store, blacksmith's shop and a ferry. Eureka Mill was also diverse in function, incorporating a machinery storehouse, shoe shop, blacksmith shop, and a residence at one time. An infusion of capital between 1865 and 1875 upgraded the motive power for the mill and cotton ginning began to dominate the mill's functions after 1875. The mill operation at Price and Burdett's was also not a single entity; a sawmill was part of that operation. Out of the four operations, only Mattox Mill, a late entry into the milling community in Elbert County, was solely devoted to flour and grist milling, handling 200 bushels a day.

Technologically, these mills demonstrate variety within a tradition rather than a formulaic response to milling. White Mill's continued use of a gravity wheel and a river sluiceway rather than an excavated raceway and turbine shows an accommodation to terrain and the particular milling needs of that site. The other mills show an acceptance of the turbine and the increased efficiency it offered; the turbines recovered were probably produced locally by small foundries rather than imported from the North. Dam types varied. In some instances the entire stream was dammed, in others, such as Mattox Mill, a wing dam served this purpose. Construction techniques ranged from simple diversion dams built of boulders to wood cribbing. Again, a particular technological strategy was wedded to the terrain and the mill's purpose. The length of the millraces was also variable. Eureka Mill's raceway was approximately .62 miles in length, while Mattox Mill had a one mile long race (5,280 feet) and Price and Burdett's race was less than 1/5 of a mile. The great length of the millrace at Mattox Mill was probably necessitated by the terrain. For Mattox, a well-to-do planter and industrialist, land and labor were at his disposal. Hence if the terrain predicated a long millrace to achieve a better head, these means were at his disposal. Finally, it appears that individuals who operated these mills were tied together economically by the end of the period. The Gray-Heardmont venture, which began and ended in 1890, was collaborative, based on the experience of millers such as John P. Grogan, the entrepreneur who revitalized the Eureka Mill; William Mattox, an early investor in Eureka and the owner of Mattox Mill; and Andrew Cleveland, whose family ran the White Mill. For all of these investors this was a move away from grist and flour milling into the industrialism espoused for the New South. While this first attempt at textile production was a failure, later attempts on the same millseat at the turn of the century proved successful.

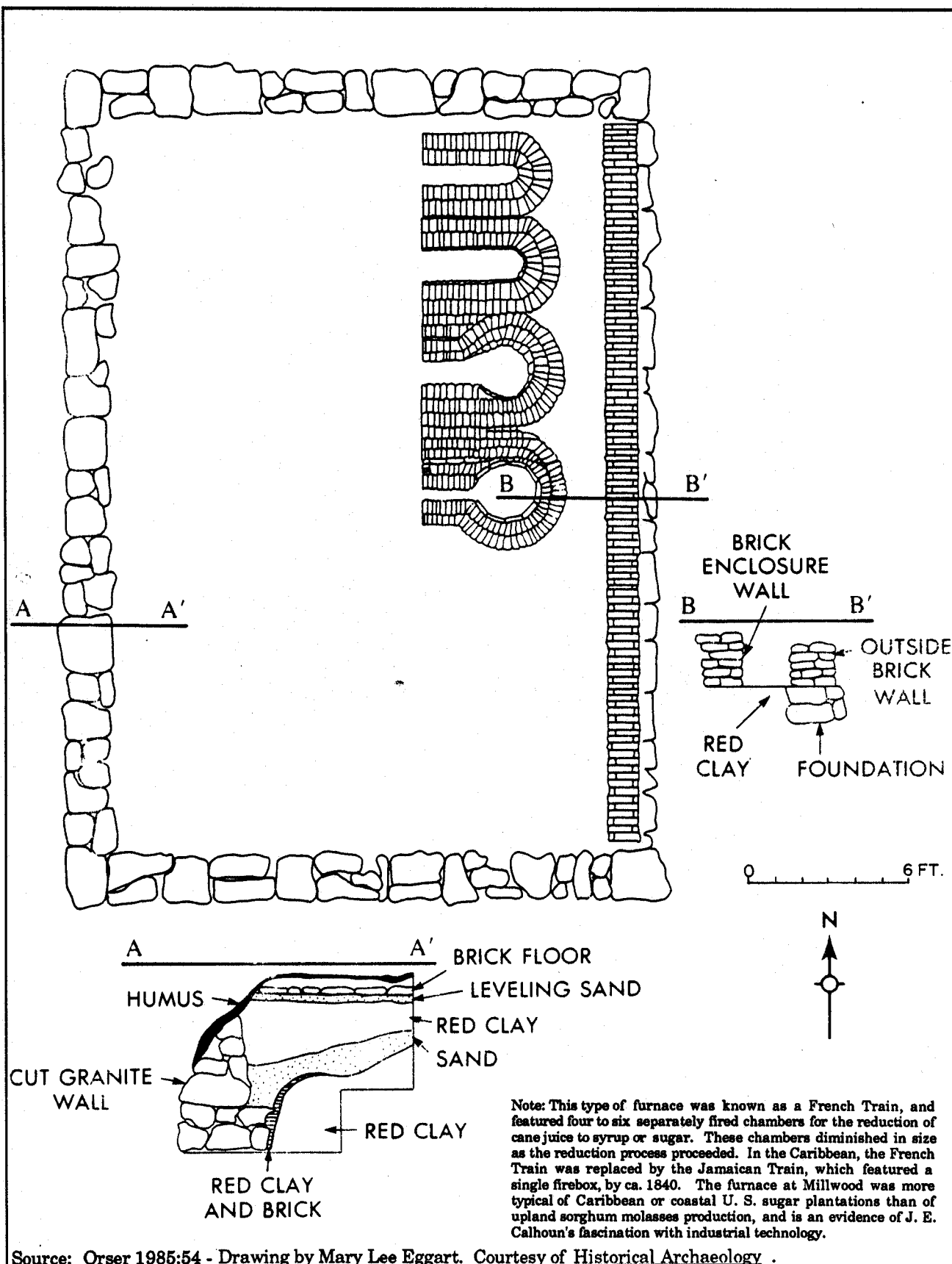
Postbellum industrialization in the project area remained closely wedded to the agricultural production of the region until the closing decades of the nineteenth century. In essence, these mills continued a tradition of regional self-sufficiency established by the plantation economy during the antebellum period, a self-sufficiency necessitated by the relative isolation of the project area. Milling was

not the only locally oriented industrial pursuit of the region. In many ways the project area functioned as a self-contained unit almost until the turn of the century. Other regional industries included pottery manufacture and syrup and molasses production. For example, potter George Chandler of Elbert County was one of a long line of folk potters who operated in the South from ca. 1820 until well into the twentieth century (folk potteries continue to operate in Georgia, although their products are geared more toward craft sales than for home use) (Burrison 1983); Chandler's shop was located south of Pearle Mill (The History Group 1981:206). Molasses furnaces and syrup mills were found on most nineteenth-century plantations and large farms, and examples from the reservoir were uncovered at the Thomas B. Clinkscales Farm (Drucker et al. 1983:74) and at Millwood (Orser et al. 1987:272). The molasses furnace at Millwood exhibited a greater degree of complexity than commonly found, and is worthy of consideration as an example of Calhoun's industrial obsessions.

The molasses furnace at Millwood was identified as Structure 16, the northeastern most structure within Millwood's main compound (see Figure 92). This structure was identified by Orser et al. (1987:272-289) as four keyhole-to-arch shaped brick foundations placed on a brick-floored structure (Figures 110 and 111). A considerable quantity of cotton fiber and seed was located within these features, suggesting to Orser et al. (1987:281) that perhaps "this structure was used in the manufacture of cotton seed oil." However, they noted that cotton seed oil was manufactured in steam ovens, and that the features recorded in Structure 16 did not appear suited to steam heat. A more logical explanation for the function of this structure was that it served as a molasses furnace. Orser (Anonymous 1857; in Orser 1985:61) observed that sorghum cane was introduced to the southern upland in 1855, and that by 1857 "thousands" were reportedly experimenting with the production of syrup, rum, and other sorghum products. By 1860 Calhoun was recorded as the producer of 500 gallons of molasses, and clearly had pursued this industry with vigor. An appraisal of Calhoun's estate at his death in 1889 listed "1 Molasses Mill & Frame," "6 Molasses Boilers," and four barrels each containing 70 gallons of molasses. Oral history conducted as part of the Millwood research also reported molasses production on the site. One informant remembered that (in Orser 1985:61):

There was a mill down there [at the plantation], but they weren't cooking syrup like they cooking these days. They had a great big old thing that held about 150, 200 gallons, and they put [the syrup] in a great big thing and make a fire under it.... They would cook that syrup until it was just about done.... I think they called it a boiler.

What is interesting regarding the molasses furnace at Millwood is its scale and variation from more traditional southern syrup furnaces. On most postbellum farms and plantations, sorghum cane was crushed in a mule-driven press (Figure 112), then cooked in long pans over small rectangular hearths which resembled modern barbecues. This type of production was undoubtedly the one referenced by the comment that "they weren't cooking syrup like they cooking these days." Calhoun's arrangement was known as the "French Train" (Joseph



Source: Orser 1985:54 - Drawing by Mary Lee Eggart. Courtesy of Historical Archaeology .

Figure 110. Plan of the Molasses Furnace at Millwood.

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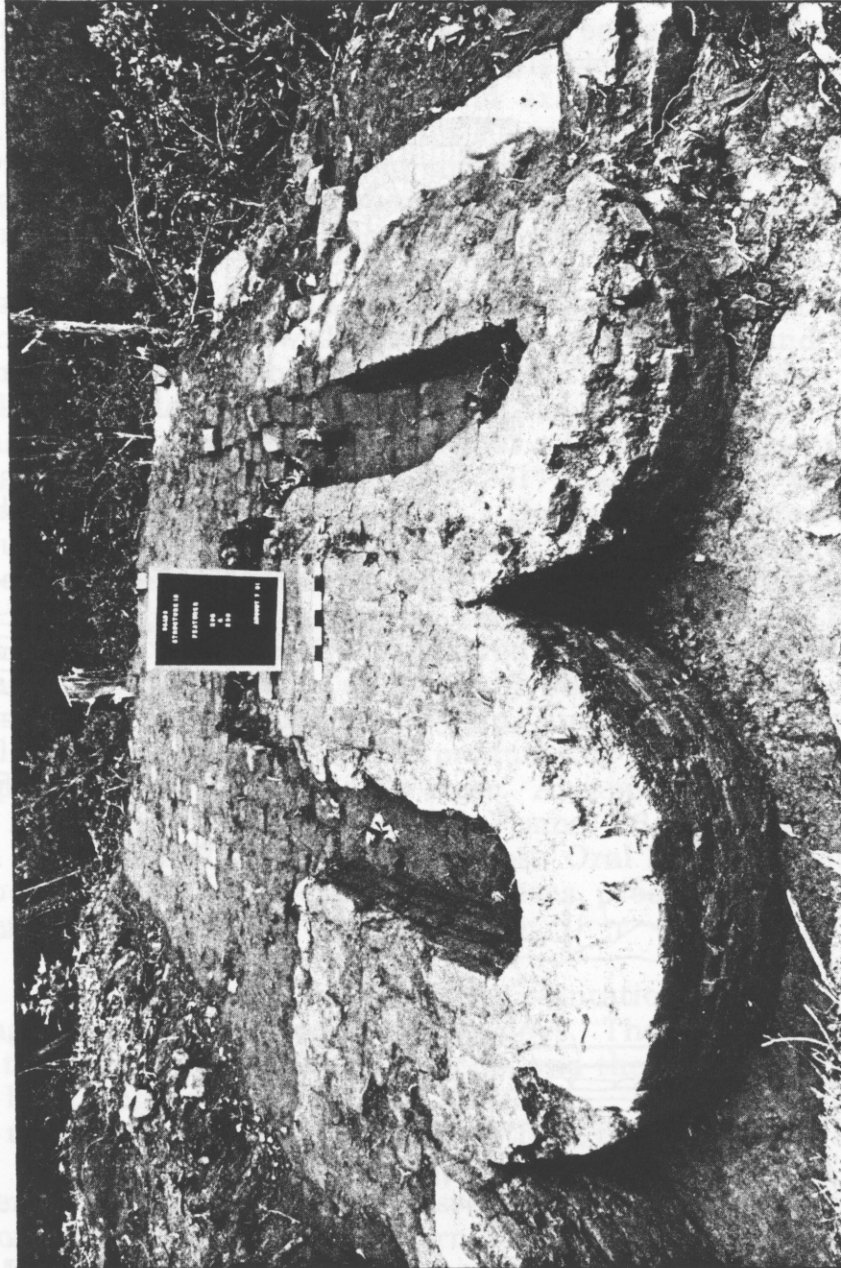
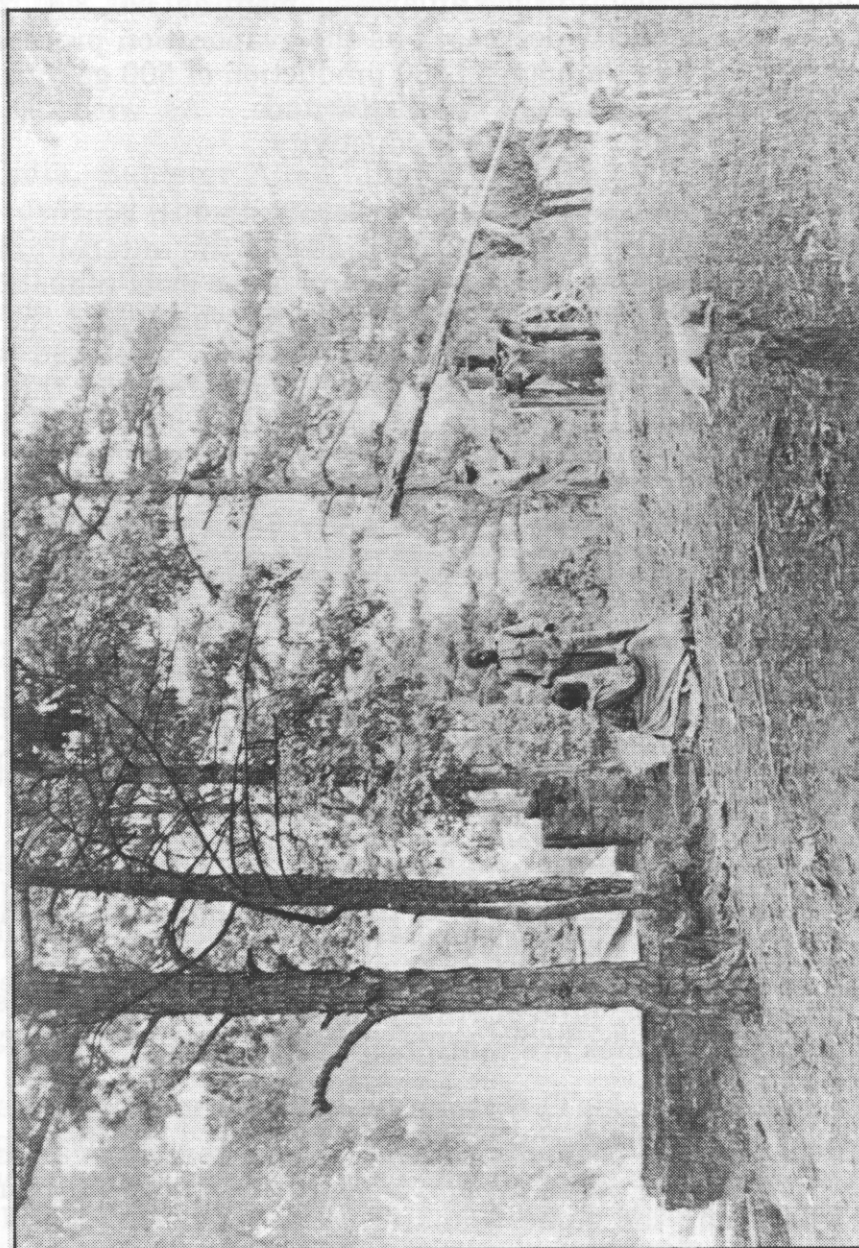


Figure 111. Detail of the Molasses Furnace at Millwood Showing the Northernmost Boilers.



Note: This mule driven press was probably operated by Millwood tenant farmers in the late nineteenth century. Note the rectangular "barbeque-type" oven at the left of the frame. This type of syrup cooker was common throughout the South, and represents the more traditional expression of syrup manufacture in the region.

Source: Orser et al. 1987: 284.

Figure 112. Sorghum Press, Millwood Plantation, ca. 1875.

et al. 1988:91) and was found on large-scale sugar plantations of the Caribbean, Louisiana, and coastal Georgia. Calhoun's use of this form at Millwood suggests a sophistication and familiarity with the technology involved, knowledge that he might have gained during his travels in the Navy, or through his correspondence with other agriculturalists through letters and journals. It is also indicative of Calhoun's unrelenting ambition. Planter Thomas Spaulding of Georgia lists the capacity of the four kettles held in such an arrangement as 320, 300, 200, and 100 gallons respectively (the capacity decreased as the evaporation process proceeded) (Joseph et al. 1988:93). Thus Calhoun's 1860 production of 500 gallons of molasses would account for only five firings of his furnace. As with other pursuits Calhoun's visions were greater than his productivity.

The Russell Reservoir in the second half of the nineteenth century was a more complicated and diverse place than it had been during the antebellum. The sway of the plantation was replaced by towns, mills, and other local industries. Yet the region continued to exist in isolation from remaining world, and the rhythms of its existence were still dictated by an agrarian culture. The land was still the land of King Cotton. In order to develop a greater appreciation for this culture, the world of tenancy must be examined in greater detail.

LANDLORDS, FARMERS, TENANTS AND SHARECROPPERS: THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE OF POSTBELLUM LIFE IN THE RUSSELL RESERVOIR: 1865-1890

While the historical outline developed above illustrates broad trends in the region's history, it cannot provide a detailed view of postbellum agrarian culture, nor can it accurately compare this culture with the preceding plantation society. As noted elsewhere, one of the flaws of Russell Reservoir historical archaeology was the continued occupation of excavated antebellum sites into the postbellum period, and thus the impossibility of segregating antebellum from postbellum archaeological remains. While this facet of the research conducted in the area is detrimental to archaeological comparisons, it benefits the historical time line. The families and figures discussed in the previous chapter: the Calhouns, Harpers, McCallas, Allens, and Clinkscales, appear on the postbellum landscape, and their biographies are continued in this section.

The continuation of the storyline illustrates the similarities and differences between the periods. In the postbellum there was no readily available statistic, such as the ownership of 20 slaves, to separate planters from farmers. "Landlord" does not bear the same connotation as "planter," since even small farmers might rent a portion of their property. Wealth continued to segregate the inhabitants of the area, but the social scale was probably less distinctive than before. The division of plantations into numerous tenant farms clouds the reconstruction of wealth and productivity, since these individual holdings were not listed by owner in the census returns. Despite emancipation, black tenants are as poorly understood as slaves. What history exists for them is culled

primarily from the documents of whites, and from oral history. The oral historical information is mostly derived from more recent times, but it is employed in this section as a means of fleshing out a thinly documented people. *Power Without Power*, the report of oral historical investigations in the reservoir authored by Eleanor Ramsey, Patricia Turner, and Shirley Moore (1986), provides an important correlate to the archaeological and architectural data, and a fifth column to support the interpretations outlined in this section.

Landlords and Farmers

George McCalla, Banister Allen, James Calhoun, Henry Harper, and William Clinkscales entered the War era in different social statuses and following different trajectories. McCalla's and Harper's fortunes were increasing, and each were well established in the planter class. Calhoun's wealth had declined in the last decade before the War and, as the owner of the largest slave population, Calhoun appeared to be most vulnerable to the War's outcome. Banister Allen was a capable if not exemplary planter, and had maintained his position in the middle echelon in the decade before the War. William Clinkscales made a great show of industry, and was certainly a man on the move on the eve of the Civil War. The histories of these five individuals, and their families, in the postbellum period, indicates that the War had a variety of meanings, and that the rise or decline of personal fortunes in the postbellum years was a matter of personal industry and adaptation, and was not pre-conditioned to follow class lines.

George McCalla When last seen, George McCalla had entered the War years as a well-to-do planter, the owner of 85 slaves and 3,000 acres of land. The War exacted a considerable toll on his personal estate. According to his 1865 tax return, McCalla's property had decreased in value from \$31,000 to \$15,000 during the five years of the War (Gray 1983:86). By 1870 his fortune had continued to decline, and in that year his total real estate was only worth \$11,300 (Table 20). Interestingly, McCalla's census return in 1870 was divided into three separate entries. In that year McCalla's eldest son John was away at school, and the second son, Isaac, was superintendent of the farm. It is likely that the plantation had been divided into thirds, with George managing one third, Isaac managing a second, and an unknown party (possibly a tenant) responsible for a third. A total of \$2,600 was paid for wages and board for laborers (Gray 1983:87-88).

By 1880 the McCalla fortune had plummeted (Table 20). George McCalla listed only 10 improved acres in that year, although the value of his real estate was virtually unchanged. Only \$250 was paid for wages and board for employees, and the limited production of the farm (only 75 bushels of corn) suggests that McCalla was only producing enough foodstuffs to supply his family. By that year his eldest son, John, had settled in the Heardmont vicinity of Elbert County and was a prominent businessman, merchant and landowner (he would later be instrumental in the development of the Heardmont Mill), while the second son, Isaac, had married Elizabeth Speed and was listed in the census as a farmer in residence with his in-laws. The four youngest McCalla children continued to live

Table 20: George McCalla's Agricultural Production, 1870 and 1880, from the Census Returns (Gray 1983:87, 89).

	1870		1880	
	N	\$	N	\$
Acres of improved land	340		10	
Acres of woodland	750		1,000	
Acres of unimproved land	1,150		1,833	
Cash value of farm		\$11,300		\$12,000
Cash value of implements/machinery		300		100
Total amount of wages/board paid		2,600		250
Horses	6		3	
Asses and mules	22		1	
Milk cows	8		4	
Working oxen	26		5	
Other cattle	47		27	
Sheep	60		--	
Swine	70		10	
Value of livestock		\$3,400		\$200
Wool (pounds)	--		--	
Butter (pounds)	--		200	
Beeswax (pounds)	--		--	
Honey (pounds)	--		--	
Wheat (bushels)	200		80	
Rye (bushels)	--		--	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,850		75	
Oats (bushels)	--		--	
Cotton (bales)	96		--	
Peas and beans (bushels)	--		--	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	--		--	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	--		100	
Barley (bushels)	--		--	
Hay (tons)	--		--	
Number of bearing apple trees	--		26	
Number of bearing peach trees	--		75	
Amount of wood cut (cords)	--		100	
Value of all forest products sold/consumed	--		--	\$100
Estimated value of all farm productions		\$24,632		\$100

at home. The dramatic decrease of McCalla's improved acreage (from 340 to 10 acres) and agricultural production suggests McCalla's land was either exhausted, sold, or distributed among his children. No documentation was recovered to indicate which of these occurred.

George McCalla died in 1886 and was buried in the family cemetery. An 1894 map of the region (Figure 113) shows "Mrs. M. McCalla" living at the McCalla homesite (referred to by Gray as the McCalla I site), while an "I. H. McCalla" lived at an adjacent site (Gray's McCalla II site). Gray notes that the adjacent Isaac H. McCalla homesite may have originally belonged to his in-laws, the Speeds, since a cemetery across the road from this site features the graves of Ezekiel P. Speed (1814-1881) and Julia A. Speed (1831-1863), Isaac's mother- and father-in-law. Isaac also stipulated in his will that his "home place known as the Speed place" not be sold, supporting this interpretation (Gray 1983:90).

George McCalla had lost most of his personal wealth by the time of his death. His real estate was valued at only \$10,790, and his personal effects at a mere \$75. His land, the only real property of value he owned, was divided among his sons. As executor, Isaac was forced to sell some of this property to pay off his father's substantial debts. While the sequence of events following George's death in 1886 is unclear, it appears that Isaac had acquired the bulk of his father's real estate by 1894, and then set about reconstructing the family's fortunes.

For George McCalla, the years between 1860 and 1890 were harsh. On the eve of the War he had made himself a wealthy planter, the master of 85 slaves and 3,000 acres. Certainly his future looked promising. McCalla never made the adjustment from the antebellum to postbellum era, however. As noted in the previous chapter, a significant proportion of his pre-War wealth was invested in slaves, a policy which rewarded him in the antebellum years but penalized him greatly after the war. It is uncertain from the documentation just how much of George McCalla's indebtedness was carried over from the pre-War era, but it is possible that the increases witnessed in his land and slave holdings were gained on credit, and that these bills could never be adequately repaid in the postbellum years. For George McCalla, the War brought plantation culture to an abrupt end.

Banister Allen Banister Allen met the Civil War as a planter of above-average wealth. The owner of 58 slaves and 1,725 acres in 1860, Allen's fortunes had moderated in the period between 1850 and 1860. These fortunes appear to have improved following the War, and Allen's social and economic status was evidently on the rise in the postbellum years.

There is no record of Banister Allen's affairs between 1860 and 1870, and thus it is unclear exactly how Allen dealt with the passage of the War. It appears from the 1870 agricultural census that his worth declined. In that year his total acreage was roughly the same as in the pre-War years (1,700 acres) although by this time only 300 of those acres were improved. The value of this land had crashed in the interval however, and was now listed at \$1,800 as opposed to a pre-War \$17,270. Livestock and agricultural production indicated similar declines, the value of



Source: Gray 1983:91.

Figure 113. Bullock and Grier Map of Abbeville County, 1894, Showing the Locations of the McCalla Sites and the Harper and Clinkscales Farms.

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livestock decreasing from \$5,544 to \$1,600 and agricultural production declining across the board (24 bales of cotton as opposed to 57 before the War; 800 bushels of wheat as opposed to 1,000 before the War; 800 bushels of corn against a pre-War production of 3,000 bushels). Since the Census listed agricultural production by cultivator, not owner, it is not certain whether Allen had any tenants and if so, how productive they were. His 1876 tax assessment suggests that he may have had several, since in that year he paid taxes on real estate worth more than \$5,000, one of only three Abbeville County residents in this upper tax bracket (Drucker et al. 1983:20-23). This is also supported by the value of his agricultural production in 1870, \$47,211, a figure well in advance of his neighbors. The discrepancy between census and tax returns indicates some of the difficulty in reconstructing the tenant era based on census returns.

Banister Allen died in 1876. If his estate had declined between 1860 and 1870, then at least some restoration of this estate was made after the latter year. Banister left the bulk of his land to his wife, Ann Elizabeth, as well as all of the household furnishings. He also left her the equipment necessary for the operation of the plantation (Will of Banister Allen; in Drucker et al. 1983:120-121):

...all my blacksmith's and plantation tools, including looms, wheels and reels, and all the farming and domestic implements of whatever kind and description, of which I may be seized and possessed at the time of my death; also one cotton gin and band, one wheat-thresher and farming mill: all my stock cattle, hogs, and sheep: my best carriage and harness, my buggy and harness, and two mules to be selected by herself from my stock of mules: also one thousand bushels of corn, eight hundred bundles of fodder, fifteen hundred pounds of bacon, and seventy five bushels of wheat.

Ann Elizabeth also received \$500 by the conditions of the will. Banister's eldest son, Bannister Bolin, received 450 acres of land, one mule, and \$1,200; his son Basil Berrien received all of the land "lying on the East side of the Augusta Road, including and now formerly known as the Carothers and the Mecklin tracts," a horse, a mule, and \$1,200; to his daughter Mary Asenath he left the tract of land known as the "Sturkness Place," containing 220 acres, and \$1,200, and to his son James T. the sum of \$1,200. The will noted that his children Byrd O. Allen and Indiana Barksdale had already received their shares, and made no mention of a bequeath to son Charles P., who was named Executor. Banister Allen left at least \$5,300 and a considerable quantity of land by his will, and obviously was a man of some means.

His inventory accounted for another \$1,607.50 in property, and provides more detail on his material wealth (Table 21). Included in the inventory are home furnishings and possessions, a "Fire Proof Safe" (suggesting Banister must have held some business documents of value, and perhaps cash as well, at his home), a loom, spinning wheels, and miscellaneous farm equipment. The value of home furnishings is in no way comparable with property owned by Lyndsey Harper two

Table 21: 'Bill of Appraisement of the goods and chattels of the late Bannister Allen, deceased, as shown us by Charles P. Allen, Executor of said Bannister Allen, deceased, October 20, 1876' (from Drucker et al. 1983:12-123)

	\$ Cts		\$ Cts
1 Secretary	35 00	Property of Estate not Willed	
1 Bureau	10 00		
1 Center Table & [illegible]	25 00	1 Colts Pistol	5 00
2 Tea Tables	20 00	1 Saddle & Lot Leather	7 00
2 Large Mirrors	6 00	1 Lot old Lightning Rods	2 00
Sett Tables 3 in number	15 00	Old Mare	20 00
Clock, Sofa and Sett Parlor Chairs	15 00	Old Buggy & Harness	10 00
1 Trunk & Small Table	4 00	1 Mule	75 00
Fender, and Irons and Tongs in Parlor	5 00	Old Carriage	15 00
1 Fire Proof Safe	25 00	Wagon	10 00
1 Serving Machine	30 00	Old Wagon	30 00
2 Beds Bedding and Steads	60 00	22 Bales Cotton at 8 1/2 per lb.	
2 Bed Steads	15 00		
1 Lot Bed Clothing & Table	20 00		
Fender Shovel & Tongs	5 00		
Pictures & Candle Sticks	2 00		
3 Chairs, Wash Stand & Bowl	2 00		
Table, glass, & Lot old Trunks	3 00		
Matress and Straw Bed	5 00		
And Irons, Fender Shovel & Tongs	10 00		
10 Chairs	5 00		
Dining Table & Cover	5 00		
Stove and fixtures	20 00		
Side Board & 2 Chests	5 00		
Lot Crockery & Glass Ware	5 00		
Lot Knives & Forks	1 00		
Lot Farming Tools & Sundries	10 00		
Lot [illegible] & Wheat Sowing Machine	5 00		
Lot 2 Large Wash Pots	5 00		
Grind Stone & Tubs	2 00		
Lot Kitchen Furniture	5 00		
Loom, Bed Stead, Spinning Wheels	5 00		
Lot Sundries	10 00		
8 Head Cattle	80 00		
Blacksmith Tools	5 00		
Old Wagon Wheels 7 Irons	1 00		
Buggy & Harness	50 00		
Carriage & Harness	50 00		
90 [illegible] Bridles	10 00		
Willed to Widow	591 00		

and half decades earlier, and suggests a man of moderate wealth. The Allens evidently did not invest heavily in household accoutrements.

Yet while Banister Allen does not appear to have displayed his wealth ostentatiously, he was evidently regarded as one of Abbeville Counties more prosperous citizens. His obituary stated that Allen was "one of the county's oldest citizens" and "regarded as one of the few rich men in Abbeville County" (in Drucker et al. 1983:20). The general community evidently felt that Banister Allen had prospered in the decade after the Civil War.

Banister Allen is an example of the difficulty with which postbellum wealth must be reconstructed, compared to the relative ease with which antebellum wealth is understood. On the basis of his 1870 census return and inventory, Allen would have to be considered only as a modest farmer. His will suggests greater wealth, while his obituary implies he was among the wealthiest citizens of the area. How Banister moved from the upper-middle to upper status between 1860 and 1876 is uncertain, as is the variation in his relative worth from the antebellum to the postbellum. What is evident is that Banister Allen survived the War far better than did his pre-War compatriot George McCalla.

James E. Calhoun James Calhoun entered the war years with a sizeable estate and even greater dreams. In 1860 he owned 2,850 acres and 194 slaves. His slaveholding made him perhaps the most vulnerable of our planters, but Calhoun's experience indicates the War did not have the same meaning for everyone.

Although the War did not physically manifest itself in Abbeville County, Calhoun was aware of the deprivations it wrought. As a prominent and wealthy individual, his assistance was sought by many. In February of 1863 a distant cousin with a husband and sons in the Confederate Army, wrote Calhoun and begged for his aid to "make a crop" so she could pay her debts and purchase food (Mary Calhoun Carvin to JEC, February 27, 1863, JECP; in Orser et al. 1987:754). That summer Calhoun sent food and seed to a neighbor, to help him feed his slaves and plant for the coming year. In August he received a note from an old "school fellow" who had abandoned his coastal South Carolina plantation after the North had taken Port Royal. This old acquaintance sought new lands for himself and his slaves, and although Calhoun offered the use of some of his Pickens District property, his offer was declined as "too great an undertaking for an old man" (James Gregorie to JEC, August 17, 1863, September 2, 1863, JECP; in Orser et al. 1987:755).

Calhoun also noted the effects of the War through the inflated cost of basic food stuffs (a neighbor complained of coffee selling for \$11 per pound in nearby Augusta) (L. Hopkinson to JEC, October 22, 1863, JECP; in Orser et al. 1987:755), and when six of his slaves were requested by the Confederate Engineering Department for service in Charleston, but these were only "minor discomforts" (Orser et al. 1987:755). Orser et al. (1987:755) suggest that Calhoun's fortunes may actually have increased during the course of the War. In February, 1864, for

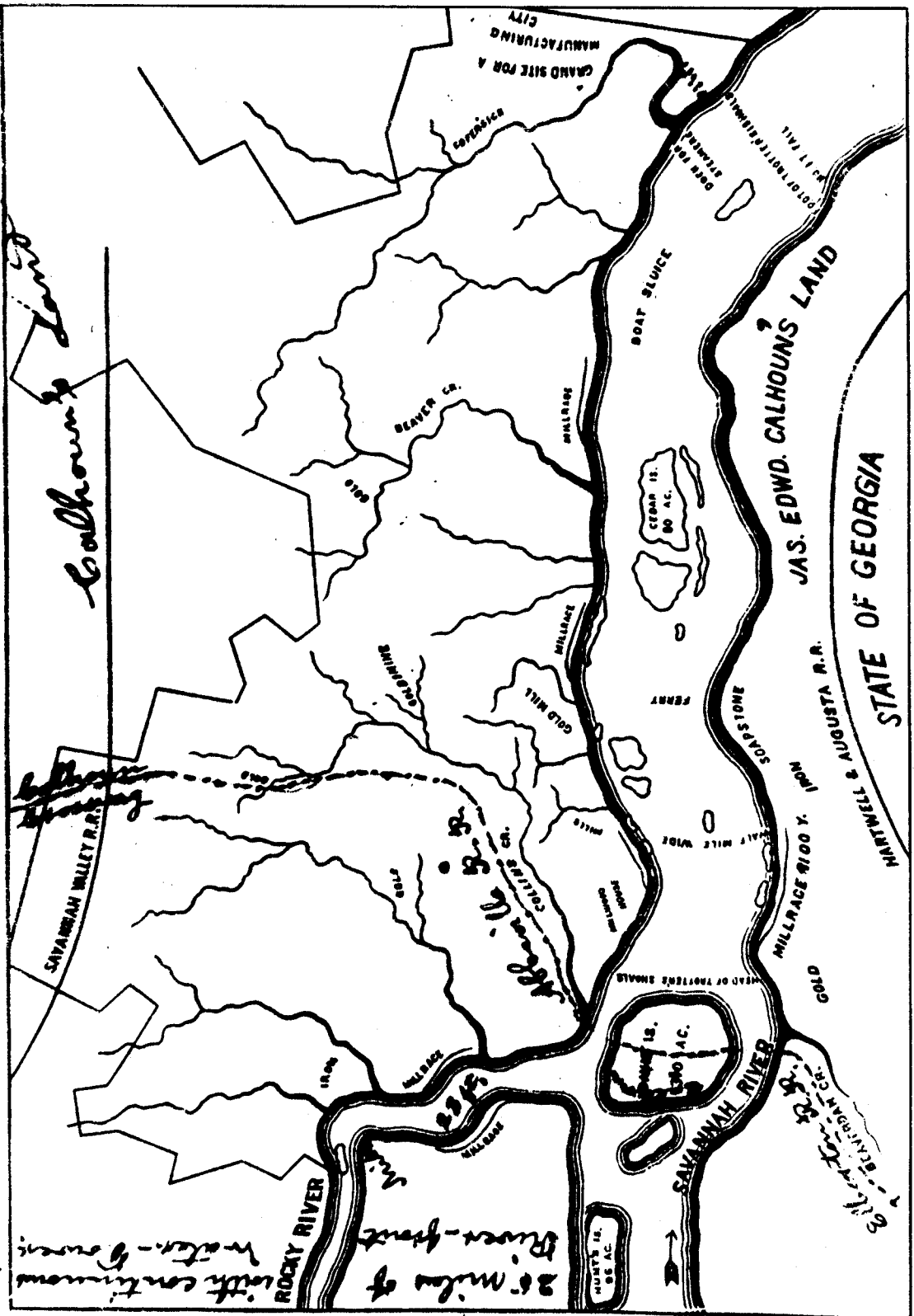
example, he wrote to his nephew Andrew that he was "free of debt," and several months later noted that he anticipated "an extraordinary crop" and was "never before so well prepared" (JEC to Andrew Calhoun, February 27, 1864, May 1, 1864, JECP; in Orser et al. 1987:755). Noting that Calhoun's real estate had decreased from 10,100 acres to 2,850 acres between 1850 and 1860, Orser et al. speculate that this decrease provided Calhoun with capital which he then employed during the War years. By 1867 Calhoun owned 10,194 acres, a 72 percent increase over his pre-War estate. At least until its conclusion, the Civil War appears to have been a time of prosperity for James E. Calhoun (Orser et al. 1987:757).

As noted above, Calhoun negotiated contracts with seven freedmen for the cultivation of his lands in 1867. The productivity of this arrangement is unknown, since for some peculiar reason Calhoun does not appear in the 1870 census of the Abbeville District. His letters indicate that the wartime prosperity had vanished, as he tried to secure loans several times between 1865 and 1867. In 1869 he wrote to an old friend, "My house, which you knew, is rotting over my head, past repair. My losses have been so immense (they still continue) that I cannot afford to build. I can do no more than try to gather enough to enable me to modify one of my outbuildings, that I may have some convenience & more security" (JEC to Mrs. Anna M. Clemson, June 3, 1869, JECP; in Orser et al. 1987:760).

Calhoun's fortunes between 1865 and 1890 are uncertain. The agricultural census of 1880 listed agricultural produce by the cultivator, not the owner, so it is unclear how well Calhoun's tenants prospered. It is also not known when Calhoun abandoned the squad system for a tenant-based agriculture, although this occurred at some point between 1867 and 1880. In 1880 there were 33 tenants identified at Millwood, one third of whom were share renters and the other two thirds cash renters. Thus by 1880 Calhoun was evidently no longer engaged in sharecropping as he had been with the squad system. Ninety-one percent of his tenants owned their own draft animals, which was something of a standard requirement for tenancy. The average size of agricultural plots was larger for share renters (29 acres) than for cash renters (17 acres), and in general the acreage farmed appears to have been a factor of the number of work animals available, since those renters with two or more work animals had an average farm size of 38 acres (Orser et al. 1987:612-613).

Calhoun evidently continued to be one of the major landowners of the region, and in 1880 he owned 9,169 acres which were not in cultivation. And he continued to be engaged in industry, with a saw mill producing 20,000 board feet in 1880. His "gold fever" of the 1840s remained, with some production to show for it; in 1867 and 1875 he contemplated leasing his gold mine (the 1875 request for a lease stipulated that it was conditional on the gold mill working), and in 1869 he sent "a lump of pure gold, from my Mine" as a wedding present to a friend (JEC to Mrs. Anna M. Clemson, July 18, 1869, JECP; in Orser et al. 1987:760). An undated map of Calhoun's estate (Figure 114), apparently prepared as part of some campaign to sell his lands, depicts a "Gold Mill" on the Savannah River, a "Gold Mine," three additional locations for gold, two locations for iron, one for soapstone, five millraces, "mills," a "dock for steamers," two railroads (the

For further Particulars than those herein stated, direct to **JAS. EDW. CALHOUN, Surveyor P. O., Abbeville Co., S. C.**



Part of Jas. Edw. Calhoun's Millpond Estate

Source: Orser et al. 1987:761.

Figure 114. Late Nineteenth-Century Map of James Edward Calhoun's Estate. Note the locations of mills, gold, iron, a goldmine, a gold mill, a boat sluice, a "dock for steamers", and the "Grand Site for a Manufacturing City." Obviously Calhoun's industrial vision was not hindered by old

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Savannah Valley and the Hartwell & Augusta, and a "Grand Site for a Manufacturing City" (JECP; in Orser et al. 1987:761). The presence of the Savannah Valley Railroad dates the map as post-1886. Clearly the grandeur of Calhoun's industrial visions were not greatly abated by the outcome of the War.

James E. Calhoun died at Millwood on October 31, 1889. His will and inventory thus provide a last look at this fascinating figure at the close of our chronological period. Calhoun bequeathed his property to a number of individuals. He willed 150 acres in Elbert County to his "faithful servant Caroline [Walker] Kessler" and her children; an additional 150 acres to Edward Keiser, who had managed his lands for several years, and the remainder of his lands in Elbert and Abbeville Counties (the total acreage is not specified) to a number of relatives. Additional lands held by Calhoun in Oconee and Pickens Counties were left to a second set of relatives (Orser et al. 1987:762-763).

Calhoun's inventory totaled twelve pages, and documented furnishings, personal items, tools, livestock, equipment and other aspects of his material wealth. The inventory suggests that Calhoun no longer had any direct involvement with the agricultural production of his estate, since only two horses, two mules, and three yokes of oxen are listed. Calhoun presumably no longer provided his tenants with draft animals. His personal estate was valued at \$5,128.07, and sold on March 10, 1890, for \$1,644.27 (Orser et al. 1987:763).

At his death Calhoun's landed estate supported 95 tenants. These tenants are not broken out by race, although Calhoun continued to rent land to whites in the postbellum years (whites became the majority of southern tenants by 1930). If labor is considered as a measure of wealth, Calhoun continued to reside among the upper echelon. By comparison, in South Carolina in 1900 only 8.5 percent of landowners had 20 or more tenants. Rents received by Calhoun for these tracts ranged in value from \$2 to \$110, with most in the \$35 to \$70 category. The size of the properties rented was not specified, although Ransom and Sutch (1977; in Orser et al. 1987:763) suggest that one half of all tenant farms in 1880 were in the 20 to 49 acre division. Orser et al. (1987:763) speculate that Calhoun had about 3,000 acres under cultivation through the tenant system.

How did James Calhoun fare in the postbellum period? The answer to that question is a difficult one. Estimates suggest that Calhoun had at least 3,000 cultivated acres in 1890, more than twice the 1,450 improved acres listed on his 1860 Agricultural Schedule. Calhoun also had 95 tenants in 1890, and if each of these consisted of a family of four, then his estate housed nearly 400 individuals, again more than twice Calhoun's maximum labor population from the pre-War years. Yet the value of Calhoun's personal estate was relatively meager, and he complained frequently in 1860s of his debt and impoverishment. Calhoun clearly survived the War in better standing than many of his neighbors, but his social and economic standing appear to have been crippled by its outcome. The War may also have blunted his energies, and in the era of tenancy Calhoun no longer appears to have been concerned with agricultural production. He remained an

ardent industrialist, but in the postbellum era, as in the antebellum, James Calhoun appears to have lacked the resources to realize his dreams.

William Franklin Clinkscales William Franklin Clinkscales was the poorest of our group on the eve of the Civil War, the owner of 420 acres and eight slaves. His fate in the years after the War suggests that the postbellum economy did not separate the poor from the wealthy.

William Franklin Clinkscales emerged from the Civil War with his landholdings intact, although worth considerably less money than in 1860. The 1865 tax record book for the Abbeville District indicates the Clinkscales owned 460 acres (a slight increase over his 1860 holdings), but that the value of this land was now approximately half what it had been before the War. These figures were unchanged by 1870, when the Agricultural Census reported Clinkscales' farm productivity (Table 22). In that year Clinkscales produced modest amounts of wheat, corn, oats, and cotton, and owned a fair number of livestock. By 1880 his total and improved acreage had both declined, but the value of his farm had increased slightly. Of interest is the crop production in 1880 (Table 22). While Clinkscales was listed as owning only 30 improved acres, as opposed to 160 in 1870, his production of wheat and oats had increased, while that of cotton and corn showed decreases. Clinkscales paid only \$250 for agricultural employees in 1880, and it is likely that 30 acres was as much land as he and one or two assistants could farm.

William Franklin Clinkscales lived until 1906, but his fortune changed little throughout the postbellum years. An industrious farmer with the potential to climb in status, Clinkscales appears to have been as defeated by the postbellum economy as had been many planters, and maintained a living, if not a livelihood, from his agricultural pursuits.

Henry Harper In 1860 Henry Harper owned 42 slaves and 1,400 acres valued at \$21,000. Having recently risen from the ranks of farmer to the status of planter, Harper was well situated to feel the effects of the War.

Harper is the only one of our group to have served in the Confederate Army. He enlisted in September of 1861 and was mustered in as a Captain at Camp Butler. The first quarter of 1862 found him stationed at Tomotley near Beaufort, South Carolina. He was granted a leave of absence to return home in the summer of 1862, and apparently received some injury while on his journey home which kept him away from his post for much of that year. By September of 1863 he was promoted to Major, and assigned to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia near Petersburg. Harper likely faced combat during several of the battles between Lee and Grant which occurred during this campaign, as Grant maneuvered to dislodge Lee's army (Gray 1983:72).

Harper was captured at Malvern Hill in July, 1864, and sent to the Old Capital Prison in Washington, D. C., and subsequently to the prison at Fort Delaware. On

Table 22: William F. Clinkscales' Agricultural Production, 1870 and 1880, from the Census Returns (Gray 1983:32, 33).

	1870		1880	
	N	\$	N	\$
Acres of improved land	160		30	
Acres of woodland	90		170	
Acres of unimproved land	210		230	
Cash value of farm		\$3,500		\$4,400
Cash value of implements/machinery		50		70
Total amount of wages/board paid		800		250
Horses	2		3	
Asses and mules	2		2	
Milk cows	6		6	
Working oxen	4		2	
Other cattle	10		10	
Sheep	25		7	
Swine	25		8	
Value of livestock		\$800		\$365
Wool (pounds)	--		8	
Butter (pounds)	--		150	
Beeswax (pounds)	--		10	
Honey (pounds)	--		50	
Wheat (bushels)	85		130	
Rye (bushels)	--		--	
Indian corn (bushels)	500		300	
Oats (bushels)	60		200	
Cotton (bales)	14		8	
Peas and beans (bushels)	--		--	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	--		10	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	--		15	
Barley (bushels)	--		--	
Hay (tons)	--		--	
Number of bearing apple trees	--		120	
Number of bearing peach trees	--		20	
Amount of wood cut (cords)	--		30	
Value of all forest products sold/consumed		--		\$30
Estimated value of all farm productions		\$1,780		\$1,150

July 24, 1865, after signing an oath of allegiance to the U. S., Henry Harper was released from prison to return home (Gray 1983:72).

Harper emerged from the War with most of real estate intact, although greatly devalued. The 1865 Abbeville County Tax Record lists him as the owner of 1,100 acres worth \$8,800, and also reported cotton on hand valued at \$6,240. These numbers remained relatively constant through 1870. According to the Agricultural Schedule of the 1870 Federal Census (Table 23), Harper produced sizable quantities of corn, oats, wheat, and cotton, with total farm production valued at \$5,100. Interestingly, no wages or board are listed in the 1870 census, despite the fact that Harper would have needed assistance to produce the crops outlined above. Some of this aid may have been provided by his two teenage sons, although there were probably tenants on the farm as well.

In 1878 Henry Harper was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives, where he served until 1880. This fact may in part explain the substantial decreases witnessed by his 1880 Agricultural Schedule (Table 23). The value of Harper's land fell from \$8,000 to \$2,600; the value of his agricultural production showed a similar decline, from \$5,100 to \$700, and his crop production followed suit. Harper had lost 600 acres in the interim, and from the appearances of the 1880 census was in a state of financial difficulty. He died in 1886, and no will or inventory was found for either he or his wife, who died in 1891. Thus the last glimpse of Henry Harper, the 1880 Census, suggests that like George McCalla, his wealth had sharply declined by this time.

Summary The outcome of the Civil War meant different things to the five families outlined above. Their histories suggest that the rise and fall of agricultural fortunes was more tenuous in the War's aftermath than before, and that decreases were more likely than increases. Only one of the five (Banister Allen) appears to have improved his fortunes in the years following the War, and the available documentation makes it difficult to say whether this rise in social status is indicative of a true increase in financial worth. James Calhoun was clearly well-off at this death, and his frequent complaints of impoverishment and roofs rotting over his head must be taken in light of Calhoun's character, which emphasized the impediments to his industrial schemes. For Calhoun the War certainly appears to have had a psychological effect, and after initial negotiations with freedmen for the management of his estate, Calhoun appears to have abandoned his interest in the agricultural production of Millwood, hiring, in his latter years, a manager to handle this aspect of his affairs. For George McCalla, Henry Harper, and William Clinkscales, the War clearly represents a down-turn in their economic affairs. McCalla in particular steadily lost wealth after the War, while Clinkscales and Harper managed to maintain some equilibrium in their decline.

It is impossible to measure the productivity of land and labor for these individuals, as was done for the antebellum period, since we have no statistics on the land under the care of tenant farmers. But, it is possible to gauge transitions in their wealth and real estate. Table 24 outlines the statistics for McCalla, Allen, Clinkscales and Harper for 1870 and 1880 (since Calhoun was not recorded in the

Table 23: Henry Harper's Agricultural Production, 1870 and 1880, from the Census Returns (Gray 1983:72, 74).

	1870		1880	
	N	\$	N	\$
Acres of improved land	300		100	
Acres of woodland	400		350	
Acres of unimproved land	400		50	
Cash value of farm		\$8,000		\$2,600
Cash value of implements/machinery		200		150
Total amount of wages/board paid		--		--
Horses	5		2	
Asses and mules	5		--	
Milk cows	10		1	
Working oxen	4		2	
Other cattle	15		6	
Sheep	25		--	
Swine	15		15	
Value of livestock		\$1,500		\$280
Wool (pounds)	--		--	
Butter (pounds)	--		300	
Beeswax (pounds)	--		50	
Honey (pounds)	--		400	
Wheat (bushels)	100		140	
Rye (bushels)	--		--	
Indian corn (bushels)	1,000		--	
Oats (bushels)	200		600	
Cotton (bales)	32		--	
Peas and beans (bushels)	--		40	
Irish potatoes (bushels)	--		50	
Sweet potatoes (bushels)	--		300	
Barley (bushels)	--		40	
Hay (tons)	--		--	
Number of bearing apple trees	--		--	
Number of bearing peach trees	--		50	
Amount of wood cut (cords)	--		50	
Value of all forest products sold/consumed		--		\$50
Estimated value of all farm productions		\$5,100		\$700

Table 24: Land and Wealth in the Russell Reservoir - A Comparison of the Holdings and Agricultural Production for the McCalla, Allen, Clinkscales, and Harper Families, 1860 to 1880

	<u>McCalla</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Clinkscales</u>	<u>Harper</u>
1870				
No. Improved Acres	340	300	160	300
No. Unimproved Acres	1,900	1,400	300	800
Value of Real Estate	\$11,300	\$1,800	\$3,500	\$8,000
Bales of Cotton	96	24	14	32
Bushels of Corn	1,850	800	500	1,000
Value per acre (all acreage)	\$5.04	\$1.58	\$7.60	\$7.27
Value of Farm Production	\$24,632	\$47,211	\$1,780	\$5,100
Farm Prod. Value/Total Acres	\$10.99	\$27.77	\$3.86	\$4.63
Farm Prod. Value/Impr. Acres	\$72.45	\$157.37	\$11.12	\$17.00
	<u>McCalla</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Clinkscales</u>	<u>Harper</u>
1880				
No. Improved Acres	10	--	30	100
No. Unimproved Acres	2,833	--	400	350
Value of Real Estate	\$12,000	--	\$4,400	\$2,600
Bales of Cotton	0	--	8	0
Bushels of Corn	75	--	300	0
Value per acre (all acreage)	\$4.22	--	\$10.23	\$5.77
Value of Farm Production	\$100	--	\$1,150	\$700
Farm Prod. Value/Total Acres	\$0.04	--	\$2.67	\$1.55
Farm Prod. Value/Impr. Acres	\$10.00	--	\$38.33	\$7.00
	<u>McCalla</u>	<u>Allen</u>	<u>Clinkscales</u>	<u>Harper</u>
Percentage of change 1860 to 1870				
No. Improved Acres	-57%	-62%	+6%	-25%
No. Unimproved Acres	-14%	+51%	+4%	-20%
Value of Real Estate	-63%	-89%	-44%	-62%
Percentage of change 1870 to 1880				
No. Improved Acres	-97%	--	-81%	-66%
No. Unimproved Acres	+49%	--	+33%	-56%
Value of Real Estate	+6%	--	+25%	-67%
Value of Farm Production	-99%	--	-35%	-86%
Farm Prod. Value/Impr. Acres	-86%	--	+244%	-58%

1870 Census, he is not included in this comparison). The War appears to have affected all four similarly with regard to the decline in the value of their lands. Property losses ranged from 89 percent (Banister Allen) to 44 percent of the pre-War value (William Clinkscales). McCalla, Harper, and Allen lost land during the War, with McCalla and Allen losing more than half of their improved acreage, while William Clinkscales recorded a modest gain in his total acreage. The value of farm production in 1870 varied greatly among these estates, from Banister Allen's \$47,211 to William Clinkscales' \$1,780. There is no indication from the census returns why Allen's estate fared so well, and comparing his production of corn and cotton with those of his neighbors (Allen was next to last in both categories) suggests that this figure may have included his share of produce grown by tenants, and that tenancy, not recorded on his Agricultural Schedule, provided the bulk of Banister Allen's wealth.

Banister Allen was dead by 1880, so the change in his fortunes between 1870 and that year cannot be gauged. McCalla, Clinkscales, and Harper all witnessed substantial decreases in their improved acreage during this period, ranging from 97 percent of McCalla's improved land to 66 percent of Harper's. The value of McCalla's and Clinkscales' land increased slightly, through acquisitions of unimproved land, while the value of Henry Harper's real estate dropped by 67 percent. The value of farm production for both Harper and McCalla declined sharply, Harper losing 86 percent of his 1870 farm value. Some of this decline may have been a product of his tenure in the House of Representatives in 1880. George McCalla's decrease, 99 percent of the 1870 value, can only be accounted for by generally declining fortunes. William Clinkscales' loss was more moderate, and Clinkscales witnessed a sharp increase in the value of his farm production per improved acreage during the period from 1870 to 1880.

These statistics, although tenuous, suggest that Allen, McCalla, and Harper were moving away from a direct involvement in agricultural production. This move may have in part been precipitated by their age, and by Henry Harper's political career, although it may also reflect a more managerial relationship, with farm produce by tenants not listed in the agricultural census. Clinkscales maintained his position as farmer and a direct role in agricultural productivity. The divorce of these individuals from the land, a separation discussed above in regards to James Calhoun, helps explain the poor land practices and soil exhaustion which contributed greatly to the agricultural depression of the twentieth century.

Tenants and Sharecroppers

In many regards it is more difficult to portray the lives of tenants and sharecroppers, particularly in the nineteenth century, than it is to illuminate the lives of slaves. Both were anonymous inhabitants of the landscape. Slaves at least were a political and social concern, a southern quirk, a subject for comment and consideration by regional and national journalists. Tenants and sharecroppers are much less visible in the literature. The outline of tenant life discussed below

is thus drawn from contemporary and historical references to tenancy in the project area, in order to provide as detailed a view as possible.

As noted above, the history of tenancy is marked by two phases, an initial continuance of plantation management and organization, under wage relations or through the squad system, and the subsequent dispersal of tenancy to individually occupied and managed agricultural tracts. This dispersed occupance gave the freedman the qualities he desired (Prunty 1955:470; in Brooks 1978:133):

...his own house adjacent to his own cropland, his cultivating tools nearby instead of in a separate shed, a minimum of supervision plus freedom to work where, when, and as he pleased, and he wanted use and control of the mules.

While beneficial from a social perspective, this dispersed occupance did not provide comparable economic returns to either the tenant or landlord. Dispersed occupancy debilitated the overall management of the plantation. Labor, both human and animal, was scattered across the landscape; soil conservation, crop rotation, and general improvements to the plantation vanished under a system of every man for himself; planters lost interest in the condition of the estate and became concerned only with the productivity of individual parcels; tenants viewed the various planters as competitive employers, and moved if their situation could be improved. Paternalistic relations eroded under this system of migratory labor.

A 1936 study of tenancy in the South provides a description of tenant life which certainly bears a resemblance to the conditions of the nineteenth century (Woofter et al. 1936:xxvii-xxviii; in Brooks 1978:134):

Fuel and house rent are part of the tenants prerequisites but the houses furnished are among the poorest in the Nation. Unpainted four-room shacks predominate. Screening is the exception rather than the rule and sanitation is primitive. In a study of farm housing in the Southeast in 1934, it was found that wells furnished the source of water for over 80 percent of both owner and tenant dwellings.

The low income for large families provides only a meager subsistence. About one-third of the net income is in the form of products raised for home consumption - a few chickens and eggs, home killed pork, syrup, corn meal, cow peas, and sweet potatoes. These food items are usually available only in late summer and fall.

During the months when the crops are cultivated, the tenant uses another third of his income, at the rate of about \$13 per month for food - mostly flour, lard, and salt pork - and also for kerosene, medicine, and such clothing purchases as cannot be postponed till fall. Another third is spent for clothing and incidentals, usually after the fall "settlement." Thus, by winter, resources are exhausted

and "slim rations" begin. Clothing, usually purchased once a year, is of the poorest quality. Often the children do not have sufficient warm clothing to go to school.

Few of the tenants in this study had gardens and only 55 percent had cows. The effect of poor housing and meager diet was reflected in the health of the families studied. The lack of balance in the diet is largely responsible for pellagra and the digestive disorders that are prevalent in the South. The lack of screening makes the control of malaria difficult.

Labor organization in the tenant economy varied with the size of the plantation and the management philosophy of the planter, but generally two systems appear to have prevailed: "through-and-through" cultivation and "individual" cultivation. Under the former, all sharecroppers worked together to plow, furrow, plant, and fertilize the agricultural fields. The land was then "laid off" into individual units, which were then cultivated and harvested. This system offered a number of advantages over "individual" organization, not the least of which was the collective conduct of the most time- and labor-consuming aspects of planting. As one farmer recalled the conditions of the early twentieth century (in Prunty 1955:468):

Common practice... then was to prepare the seedbed by breaking with a six inch turning plow pulled by an eight hundred pound mule, and harrow with a light peg harrow. When ready to plant, the drill was opened by a bull tongue on a light plow stock operated by a mule and a man. This was followed by two men carrying two kinds of fertilizer in buckets and dropping it in a trench [by hand]. They were followed by a man dropping velvet beans and another dropping corn. The fertilizer and the seed were then covered by a light spring tooth cultivator pulled by a mule, and a man, and cultivating was done by tools which covered one half row at a time.

Under the individual system plots were managed, plowed, cultivated, and harvested by separate family units. This system characterized tenant renter occupations, and also occurred on a minority of sharecropper sites (Prunty 1955:468-469).

While tenancy and poverty were equivalent for the majority of tenant farmers, some social and economic mobility was offered under this system. Tenancy offered the opportunity for advancement only through a combination of knowledge, industry, and a certain amount of luck. Janie Hampton describes the skill and knowledge her father, a Millwood tenant, brought to his agriculture (Ramsey et al. 1986:79-82):

... [there] really wasn't anything around the farm he couldn't do. He used to get farmer's magazines... he was just apt at learning things... He had an orchard... He had different kinds of peaches. He had red peaches, then he had a real sweet white peach. And then

he had apricots, plums. He used to graft trees and make them grow, you know, mixed fruits.

He used to go back and forth around to different people and doctor on the animals.... He knew when to plant certain things that grew underground. It was a certain moon that you plant those on. And things that grow above, the ground, things that you freed from the stalk and then there was some produced things to be picked... There's a significance in it. And there is a certain time if you kill your hog and your meat will be dry... And there's certain times you kill it and chew it and the meat will be good and tender and everything. And the fat will come from it. And then there is a lot in feeding an animal. When you get an animal ready for the table, the market, there is certain things you feed him and certain ways and it will turn out.

Hampton's knowledge and skill allowed him to acquire sufficient funds to purchase his own plot of land. As his daughter noted, once Millwood's manager learned that Hampton had purchased his own property, conditions were made more difficult for him as a Millwood tenant (Ramsey et al. 1986:83):

People knew that he had bought. And they figured he was planning on building and they just wouldn't be but so nice to you if they thought you was trying to help yourself.... They took more rent from you than you was supposed to [pay]... whatever they said you owed you just had to pay it.

Hampton's situation reflects the adversity which black tenants faced. Not only were the conditions of tenancy inclined against blacks acquiring wealth and personal property, but the attitudes of whites were also opposed to their economic success. W. T. Smith recalled that "They [the whites] didn't wanna see colored folk with nothing but a pair of patched up white overalls. Some of them don't want to see you with a new pair of overalls on" (Ramsey et al. 1986:14). Since whites possessed political power, they also possessed the leverage to pry land away from blacks. A particular example of such misappropriation regards the heirs of George Washington Dye. Dye was an Elbert County planter who fathered eight children by his black mistress, Lucinda. At his death some time after 1865 Dye left his entire estate to his mistress and children. While some of this estate was maintained by his heirs, the bulk was expropriated by whites through extralegal, and perhaps illegal, means (The History Group 1981:123, 250). As Edward Brownlee noted, "they didn't get it because the administrators met and thought that it was terrible for white people to give land to Negroes -- so they took as much of it as they could -- if they didn't take it all then, they took it later" (Ramsey et al. 1986:9).

Blacks had few avenues of recourse against this system. There were minor ways of improving their share of the crop; for example, Rufus Ballard noted that "You could weigh a bale of cotton there today and lay it out at night and take it to town

tomorrow and it might gain five pounds due to moisture" (Ramsey et al. 1986:14), but in general tenancy was divided on racial lines and blacks had little success in pitting whites against one another. Ramsey et al. (1986:14) note that some blacks in the project area sold cotton by the basketful, not reporting these earnings to the landlord, but such practices were unlikely to make much of a difference against the greater inequities of tenant agriculture.

Tenancy is best distinguished from the plantation by its dispersed settlement, the impoverishment of the land, and the different management strategies which it produced. It is also the best documented period in the historical archaeology of the reservoir. Brooks (1978:135) notes that 145 (70%) of the 205 historic sites located in the reservoir contained artifacts diagnostic of the postbellum period. The archaeology and architecture of the Russell Reservoir provides additional descriptive material on the nature of tenant life and culture.

Settlement

Perhaps the key distinguishing trait of tenancy versus plantation agriculture was the dispersed nature of the former's settlement pattern. This change in spatial organization was noted by planters and others in the years immediately following the War. In 1881 David C. Barrow published an article in *Scribner's Monthly* which attempted to explain how the "labor relations of the two races are adjusting themselves and working out a solution of the dreaded 'negro problem' in a practical way" (1881:830; in Orser and Nekola 1985:68). Barrow noted that plantation settlement had shifted from linearly organized quarters to a dispersed occupation, and that this shift had provided "more elbow-room." He suggested that "the transformation has been so gradual that almost imperceptibly a radical change has been effected," (1881:831; in Orser and Nekola 1985:68) indicating that the dispersed settlement had occurred between 1865 and 1881, but not immediately after the War.

As Barrow (1881), Orser and Nekola (1985), and Orser et al. (1987) have noted, the transformation from a nuclear plantation settlement to a dispersed tenant occupation was probably not direct, and several interim stages were likely to have existed. Immediately following the War freedmen continued to occupy village quarters, as these provided the only available housing in an impoverished situation. The squad system, a dispersed occupation consisting of groups of 10 to 20 workers housed and employed as a unit, occurred on some plantations in the immediate postbellum period. This settlement form may not have been found on all plantations, as it was best suited to those which employed a conglomerate settlement pattern prior to the War. In this scenario, the satellite villages of the conglomerate settlement would have served as the basis for squad housing, and in essence the earlier labor organization of the plantation would have continued. In such circumstances neither the gang nor squad organization and settlement would have marked a distinctive break from earlier plantation labor and spatial arrangements. It is possible that some plantations began as nucleated settlements, then constructed squad villages, and finally evolved into dispersed occupations, but such a transformation would have been costly, representing two

as opposed to one rebuilding sequence. The historical and archaeological documentation to date is too sparse to provide a detailed reconstruction of settlement shifts in the postbellum period, but if the interpretation presented above is correct, then squad labor organization would be expected for plantations which employed a conglomerate spatial organization, and not on those who were nuclear in settlement.

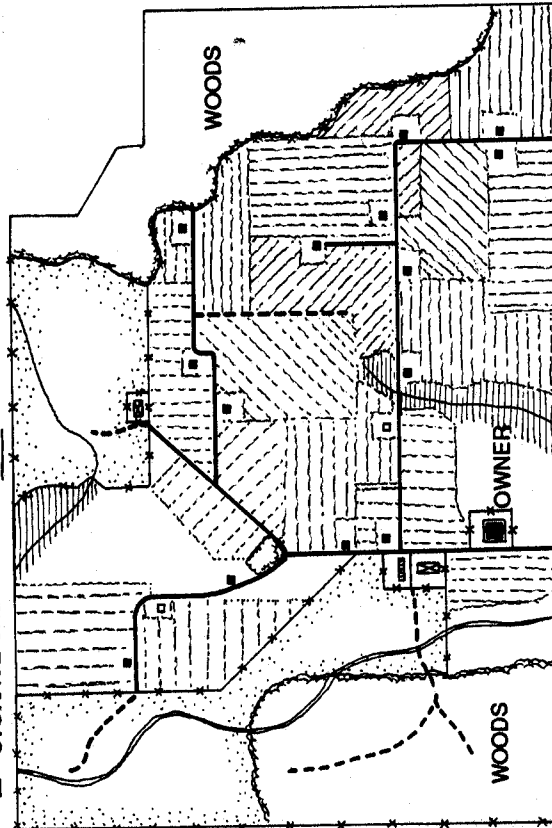
Although the shifts are not well defined (as Barrow notes, they may have been imperceptible at the time), the dispersed settlement pattern which typifies tenant agriculture appears to have occurred during the 1870s. The time elapsed between the gang or squad organization and the dispersed organization reflects a number of variables. Important among these was the give and take of negotiations between planters and freedmen as each tried to establish the parameters of the new agricultural order. It is evident that the freedmen desired isolation and self-supervision under the new system. Such a labor distribution was not economically advantageous for planters in the years immediately following the war, since dispersed settlement meant the construction of new dwellings, the clearing of new fields, and other associated costs. Within five to ten years following the conclusion of the War, however, such settlement shifts would have offered economic incentives. By this time older fields would have been nearing exhaustion, and would have required replacement, while slave dwellings, especially those made of log, would have been in need of repair. Thus a shift to a dispersed settlement pattern during the first half of the 1870s may have served planters' goals equally as well as freedmen's.

Prunty (1955:467-482) distinguishes between two types of postbellum tenant settlement: the "cropper" type and the "tenant-renter" type (Figure 115). The primary difference between these spatial arrangements was the ownership of cultivating equipment and motive power (tools and mules). In the cropper system, as outlined above, these resources were provided by the landlord, and hence were housed either adjacent to his home or at a centrally convenient place. Under the "tenant-renter" system these items were provided by the tenant. Each settlement loci thus acted as an independent farm, and Prunty (1955:475) notes that agricultural plots were generally larger under this system than with the cropper system. Prunty provides statistics indicating that sharecroppers were responsible for 30 to 40 acres of land, and tenant-renters for approximately 65 acres (Prunty 1955:469, 474).

Orser and Nekola (1985) attempted to understand Millwood's postbellum tenant settlement pattern by analyzing the relationship between the distribution of tenant structures and a number of environmental and cultural variables. Structures employed in their analysis included those identified from a 1932 Soil Survey Map of the Millwood vicinity (Figure 116). A total of 66 homesites were identified, of which 53 were within the boundaries of the Calhoun estate as they existed in 1932. Their analysis suggests that the "typical" Millwood tenant structure was located at an elevation of 475 feet above mean sea level, and on soils with a medium agricultural and woodland potential and a high pasture potential. The typical farm was situated on a slope with either a south, southeast, or

**THE SOUTHERN PLANTATION
FRAGMENTED CROPPER TYPE
(Diagrammatic)**

- CROPPER HOUSE
- VACANT HOUSE
- ▨ MULE BARN
- ▩ STORAGE SHED
- ▧ PASTURE
- ▨ CROPLAND
- ▩ IDLE
- ▧ WASTE



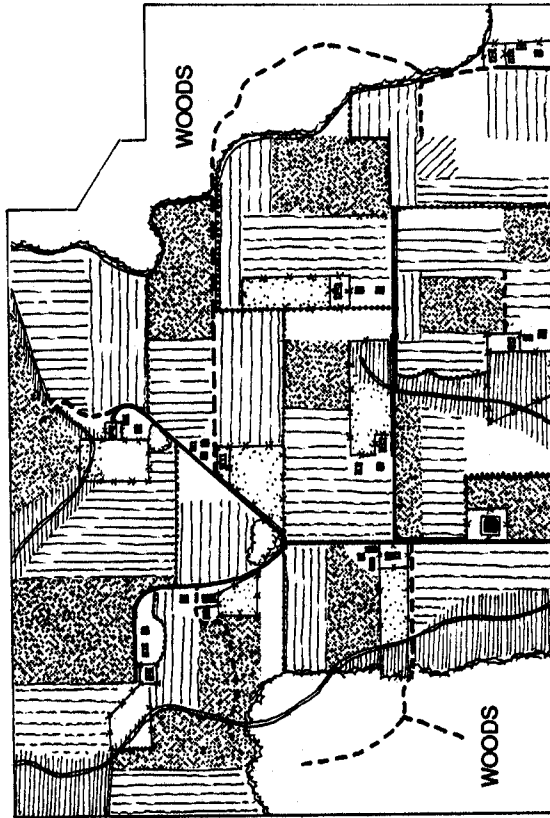
TOTAL ACREAGE : 907

PASTURE - 162 WOODLAND - 214
 CROPLAND - 402 IDLE LAND - 63
 WASTE LAND, HOUSESITES & BARNLOTS - 66
 ROADS & LANES - 4.25 MILES, TOTAL

EACH CROPPER SUB-UNIT REPRESENTED BY LINES AT DISTINCTIVE ANGLE

**THE SOUTHERN PLANTATION
FRAGMENTED TENANT-RENTER TYPE
(Diagrammatic)**

- OWNER
- TENANT HOUSE
- ▨ MULE BARN
- ▩ STORAGE SHED
- ▧ PASTURE
- ▨ ROW CROPS (COTTON & CORN)
- ▨ ROTATION CROPS (LESPEDEZA & SMALL GRAINS)
- ▩ IDLE
- ▧ WASTE



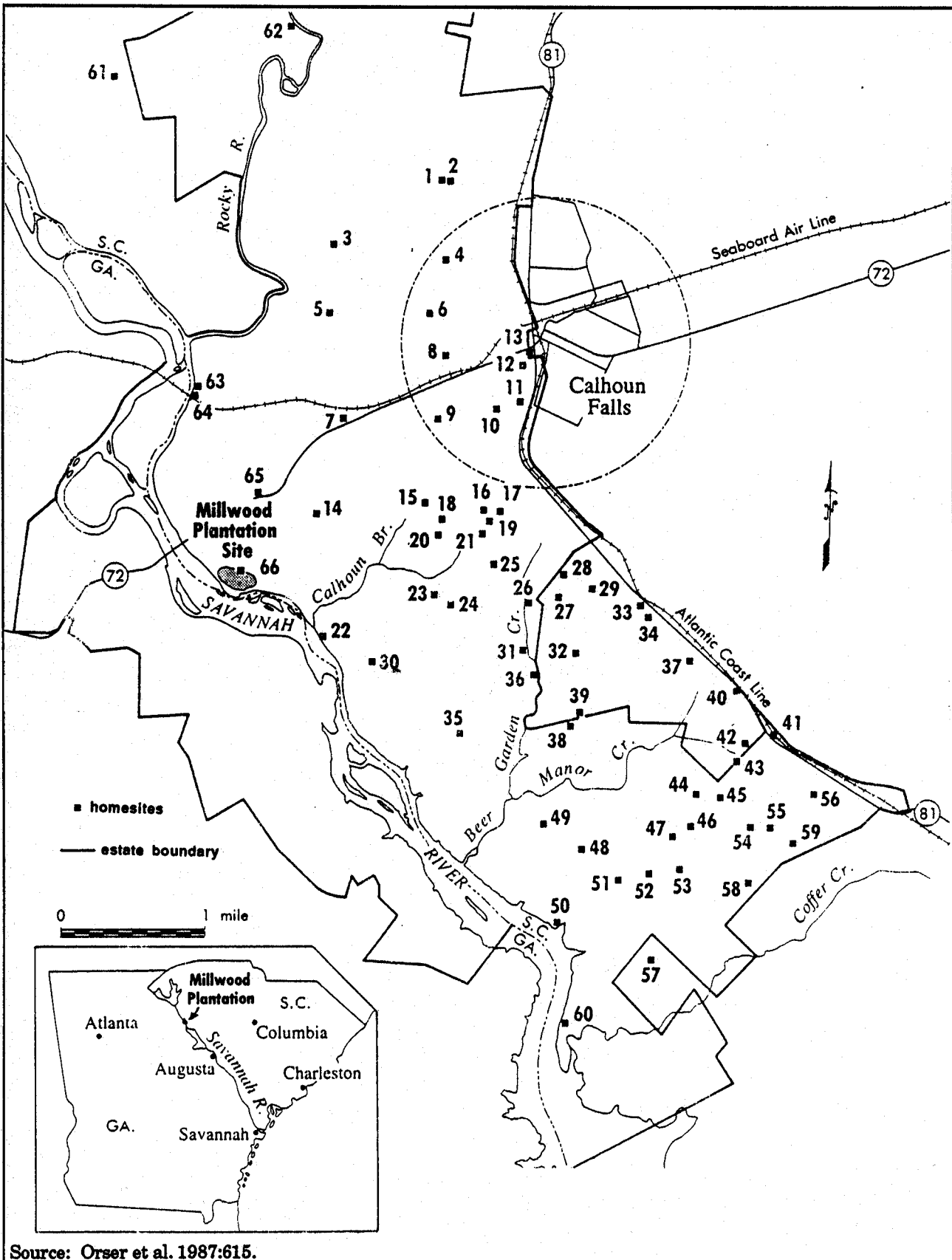
TOTAL ACREAGE : 907

PASTURE - 55 IDLE LAND - 36 WOODLAND - 214
 WASTE LAND - 77 HOUSESITES & BARNLOTS - 36
 ALL CROPLAND INCLUDING ROTATION - 489
 ROADS & LANES - 5.0 MILES, TOTAL

..... TENANT UNIT BOUNDARY SAMPLE TENANT UNIT - 65.5 ACRES

Source: Prunty 1955.

Figure 115. The Cropper and Tenant-Renter Settlement Patterns, as proposed by Prunty (1955).



Source: Orser et al. 1987:615.

Figure 116. The Location of Dwellings on the Calhoun Estate, 1932, Based on the Soil Survey Map.

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southwest aspect; was less than .3 miles from an intermittent stream, and less than .5 miles from a stream confluence; was .5 to 1.5 miles from the nearest road or railroad; and less than .3 miles from its nearest neighbor (Orser and Nekola 1985:81).

These characteristics mesh well with criteria outlined by Keber (1979) for determining farmstead settlement location in western North Carolina. Keber (1979:198; in Smith et al. 1982:214) outlined six major farmstead site settlement determinants: (1) proximity to gravity flow water (98.5 percent of Millwood tenant structures were less than .3 miles from the nearest stream); (2) aspect; (3) protection from westward wind; (4) accessibility to roads (84.5 percent of Millwood tenant structures were less than 1.5 miles from the nearest road); (5) light slope requiring little ground preparation; and (6) proximity to tillable land. Smith et al. (1982:214) note that a southern aspect was prominent among their study sites, and provided additional warmth during the winter months; 44 percent of Millwood tenant structures faced south. Protection from a westward wind was provided by natural topography and aspect, and the former variable was not measured by Orser and Nekola (1985). Millwood tenant structures were sheltered from northern exposures, with only 33 percent of these sites having a northern slope aspect (Orser and Nekola 1985:80-81).

Settlement studies for historic sites, particularly those based on environmental variables, may be more complicated to understand than comparable prehistoric settlement models. In a study conducted for nineteenth-century farmsteads in the War Eagle Creek drainage of Arkansas, Joyce (1981:14) argued that historical archaeological settlement analyses must account for a broader definition of settlement. Specifically, she noted that:

The selection of units of analysis should be geared toward the questions being asked. With property ownership the universe is the total purchasable region; whereas with the individual structure the universe is the purchased or claimed property. The confusion arises because settlement is viewed as a structure or activity center which generates physical remains, rather than a physical space which included fields, woods, and improvements. The latter view probably more closely approximates the emic view of "settlement."

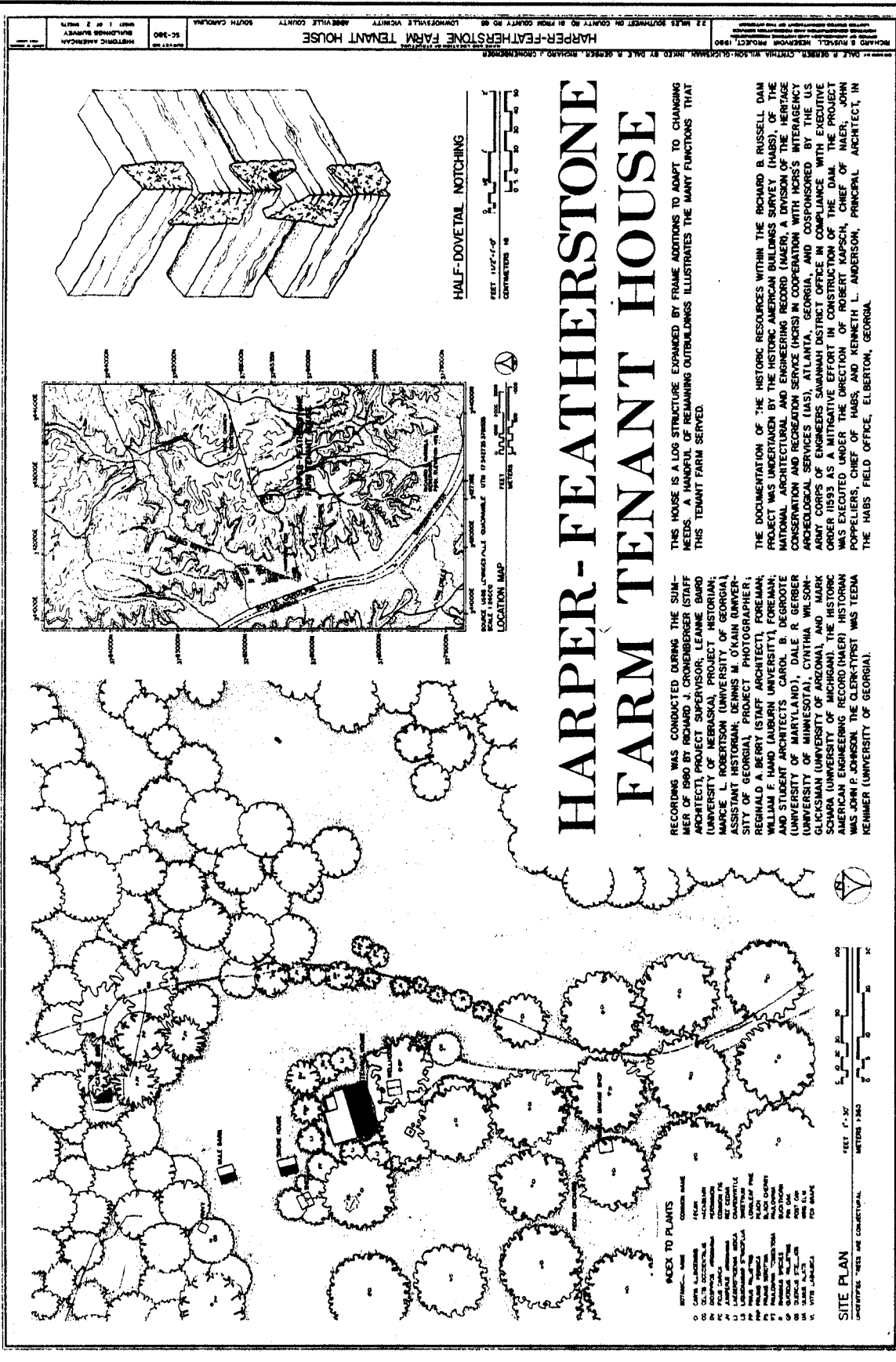
Joyce went on to point out that historic structures are frequently associated with the least productive soils, thus maximizing the agricultural potential of the purchased property. She proposed that site locations were those best suited to access agricultural fields, potable water, and roads, and those which provided ideal climatic conditions: southern exposure and shelter from northern and westward winds. Community also played an important role in the location of rural sites.

Joyce (1981) observed that kinship appeared to be a critical settlement determinant for historic sites, and Smith et al. (1982) echo this view with the results of their work from Tishmingo County, Mississippi. In the War Eagle Creek drainage,

settlers chose less preferable lands if they provided greater proximity to kin. The importance of kinship during the initial settlement of the Russell Reservoir area has already been discussed. However, it is difficult to gauge the influence of kinship and other social relations on tenant settlement. Tenants were limited to small agricultural plots (roughly 30 to 75 acres) chosen and distributed by the landlord, and kinship and other social concerns (ethnic affiliation, church membership, etc.) would not have been as likely to have played a role in tenant settlement patterning. Joyce's research also suggests that environmental models are inappropriate for certain historic settlements, since historic settlement, in the archaeological record, is reflected by structure locations and not by the presence of agricultural fields. While Orser and Nekola's (1985) analysis shows that only 26 percent of Millwood tenant structures were located on land with high agricultural potential, this may be a factor of the soils available at Millwood, and not a true reflection of settlement concerns. Tenant settlement was probably more environmentally structured than the contemporary farmstead distribution discussed by Joyce, however, since tenants farmed smaller plots chosen by planter landlords, and were thus more closely associated with their agricultural fields. A fruitful line of inquiry for future studies of tenant settlement will be to determine whether settlement was organized by kinship connections in the tenant economy.

The internal structuring of tenant farms differed from those of owner-operated farms only in the number and diversity of structures. Sharecropper homesites would be expected to contain a dwelling and one or two support structures, such as a chicken coop or storage shed. Tenant sites would probably add a barn to this assemblage. The Harper-Featherstone Farm Tenant House (Figure 117) presents a more elaborate range of structures, consisting of a dwelling, smokehouse, mule barn, cattle pen, wellhouse, and "bango making shop." The dwelling apparently originated as a single-pen log structure, and may be of antebellum origin. Most of the outbuildings were added to the property in the twentieth century by the Morrow family, who were tenants at this site from 1912 to the 1970s. Thus the diversity of structures at this site is probably a product of the long tenure of this particular family as tenants, and is not a true characteristic of the tenant farm's spatial arrangement.

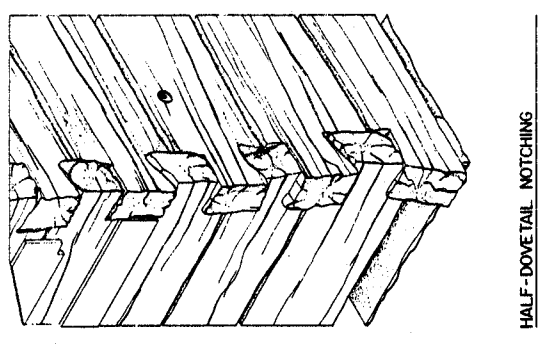
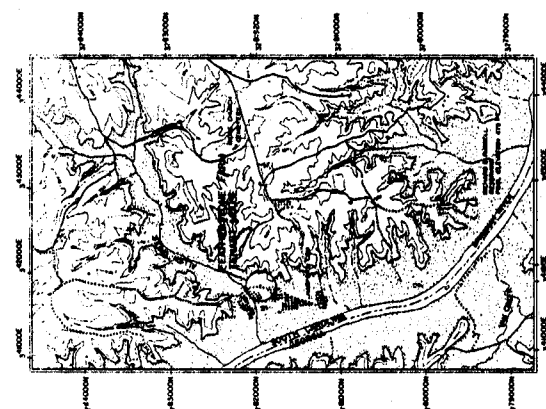
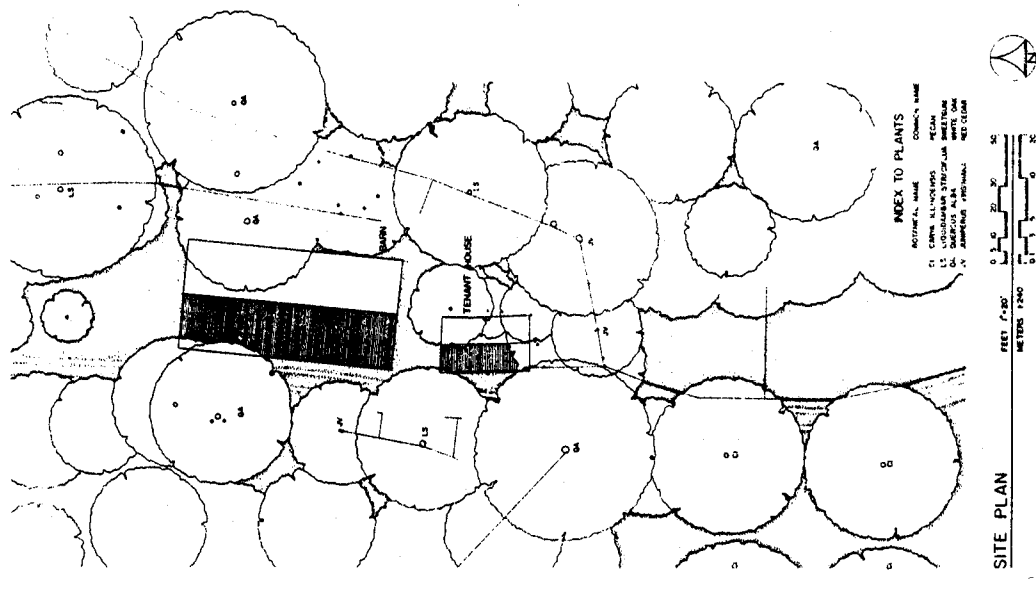
The Featherstone Farm Tenant House (Figure 118) represents a more simplistic organization in keeping with the parameters of tenant agriculture. The complex consists of two structures: the tenant house and a barn. The tenant house is constructed of log (see below), and appears to have been moved to this location from a previous spot. HABS historian LeAnne Baird speculated that this structure may have originally been built as a slave dwelling and later removed to the Featherstone Farm (in Worthy 1983:226). Such repositioning of slave dwellings has interesting implications for the shift from nuclear or conglomerate plantation settlement to the dispersed arrangement of tenancy, since it implies that this transition may have been made before structures had deteriorated and required replacement. The close positioning of the Featherstone Tenant dwelling and barn indicates something of the functional nature of both human and animal



Source: Worthy 1983:271.

Figure 117. Harper-Featherstone Farm Tenant House Site Plan. Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.

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FEATHERSTONE FARM TENANT HOUSE

RECORDING WAS CONDUCTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1980 BY RICHARD J. CRONENBERGER (STAFF MEMBER OF THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDING SURVEY (HABS)), UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, LEANOR B. BARD (UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN), LEE M. BOSTON (UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN), MARK E. ROBERTSON (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA), ASSISTANT HISTORIAN, DENNIS M. O'KAM (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA), PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHER, REGINALD A. BERRY (STAFF ARCHITECT), FOREMAN, WILLIAM F. HEND (AUBURN UNIVERSITY), FOREMAN, AND STUDENT ARCHITECTS CAROL B. DEGRONTE (UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND), DALE R. GERBER (UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA), CYNTHIA WILSON-GLICKSMAN (UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA), AND MARK SCHARA (UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN). THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDING SURVEY (HABS) PROJECT WAS EXECUTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ROBERT KAPSCH, CHIEF OF HABS, AND KENNETH L. ANDERSON, PRINCIPAL ARCHITECT, IN THE HABS FIELD OFFICE, ELBERTON, GEORGIA.

THE DOCUMENTATION OF THE HISTORIC RESOURCES WITHIN THE RICHARD B. RUSSELL DAM PROJECT WAS UNDERTAKEN BY THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDING SURVEY (HABS), OF THE NATIONAL ARCHITECTURAL AND ENGINEERING RECORD (NAER), A DIVISION OF THE HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND RECREATION SERVICE (HCRS) IN COOPERATION WITH HCRS'S INTERAGENCY ARCHEOLOGICAL SERVICES (IAS), ATLANTA, GEORGIA, AND COSPONSORED BY THE U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS, SAVANNAH DISTRICT OFFICE IN COMPLIANCE WITH EXECUTIVE ORDER 11933 AS A MITIGATIVE EFFORT IN CONSTRUCTION OF THE DAM. THE PROJECT WAS EXECUTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ROBERT KAPSCH, CHIEF OF HABS; JOHN POPPELLIERS, CHIEF OF HABS; AND KENNETH L. ANDERSON, PRINCIPAL ARCHITECT, IN THE HABS FIELD OFFICE, ELBERTON, GEORGIA.

THIS LOG STRUCTURE ILLUSTRATES VERNACULAR BUILDING TECHNIQUES IN THE UPPER SAHANN MAH RIVER REGION.

Source: Worthy 1983:232.
Figure 118. Featherstone Farm Tenant House Site Plan.
 Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.

Technical Synthesis
 Cultural Resources Investigations
 Richard B. Russell Reservoir

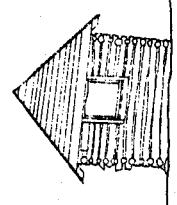
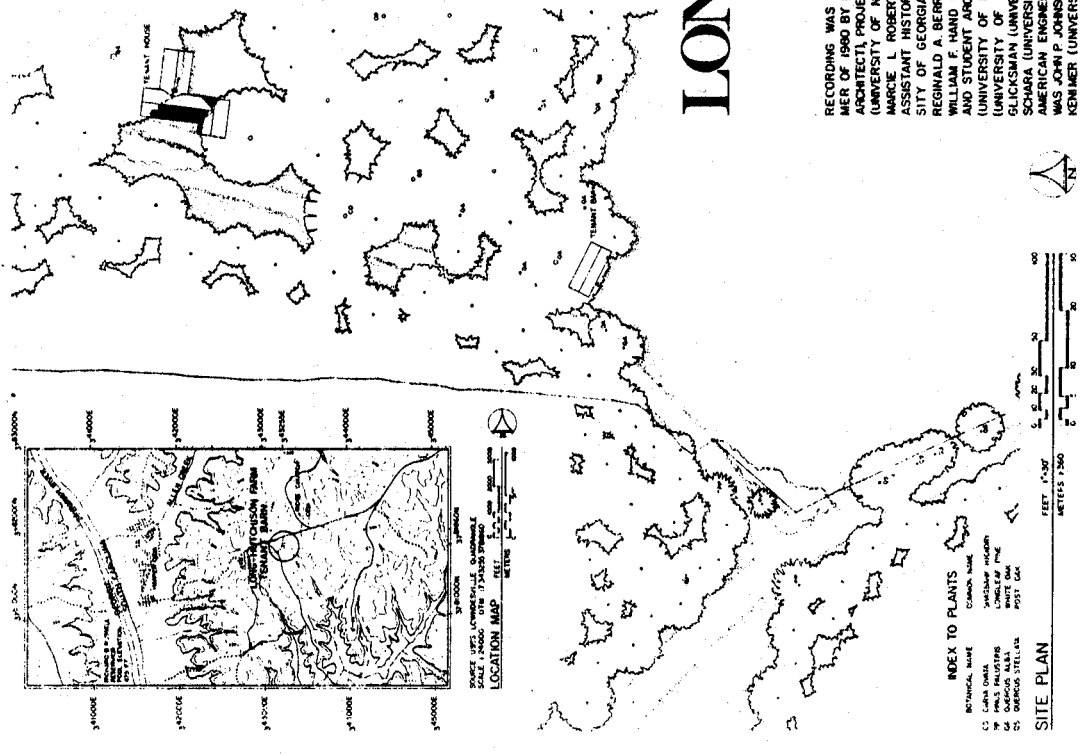
laborer within tenant agriculture, while the relative size of these structures provides an illustration of the degraded status to which tenants were assigned.

The Long-Hutchinson Tenant Barn site (Figure 119) consists of a dwelling and barn. The spatial arrangement of this farm indicates an intermediary position between the Harper-Featherstone site and the Featherstone farm. The tenant house is situated at a reasonable distance from the barn (approximately 50 m), and is a considerably larger structure than found at either the Harper-Featherstone or Featherstone sites. The scale of the home is not in keeping with standard tenant housing, however, as this structure was originally built and occupied by one of the Hutchinson sons, and only relegated to tenancy in the early twentieth century.

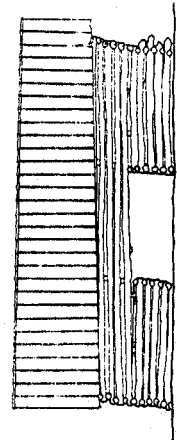
The spatial patterning of plantations evolved from nuclear or conglomerate clusters of facilities to the dispersed arrangement of tenancy. While this dispersed settlement suggests a random distribution of human resources, it was underlain by the management ideals and strategies of the planter/landlord. If farmed on a sharecropper basis, support structures such as mule barns and tool sheds occupied central locations in this settlement. If farmed by renters, each location functioned much as an independent farm, although without the range of associated structures found on owner-operated farms. The dispersed settlement was not without logic or reason, and marked the planter/landlord's effort to make use of the maximum available cropland. Patterning, such as that of the Millwood tenant structures (Figure 116), suggests concentrations in areas of agriculturally superior soils (such an area might be the space between Coffey Creek and Manor Creek at Millwood), with a relatively even spacing of structures within this area. This transition from plantation to tenant settlement patterning suggests that the the natural order and structure of the antebellum phase was replaced by a more management-oriented philosophy in the postbellum.

The spatial relationship of agricultural structures is only one aspect of settlement analysis. Archaeologists are also concerned with the manner in which the surrounding landscape is used. Drucker et al. (1983) noted that the intense topographic relief of the piedmont contributed to a particular pattern of refuse disposal. This pattern, dubbed the "Piedmont Refuse Disposal Pattern" (Drucker 1979; Drucker, Anthony and Harmon 1979; Drucker and Anthony 1982) was characterized by the following traits (Drucker et al. 1983:106-107): (1) Routine maintenance and cleaning of the immediate household area, with at least the front and sides of the dwelling swept, and large food scraps disposed of in animal pens or garden areas. (2) The accumulation of refuse in heaps or middens, sometimes for the intentional subsequent removal and disposal in gullies or ravines. (3) The disposal of refuse along hillsides for housesites established adjacent to slopes. Drucker et al. (1987:107) note that these practices have several implications for the archaeological investigations of piedmont sites. First, the total artifacts recovered from areas around structures will probably be sparse, since these areas were routinely cleaned. Second, these assemblages will be biased toward architectural materials, which would be deposited after the abandonment of such sites, while domestic remains would be expected to be

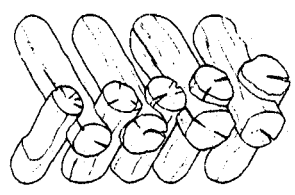
LONG-HUTCHISON FARM, TENANT BARN
 1 MILE SOUTH ON COUNTY RD 123 FROM COUNTY RD 88 LOWMEYERSVILLE VICTORY ABBEVILLE COUNTY SOUTH CAROLINA
 5C-2638
 HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDING SURVEY
 SHEET 1 OF 1 SHEETS



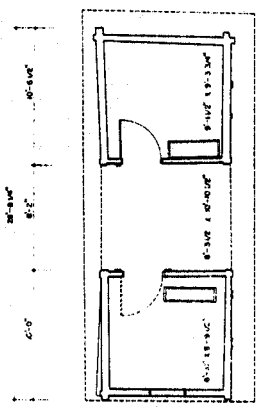
WEST ELEVATION
 SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"



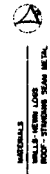
SOUTH ELEVATION
 FEET 1/4" = 2'-0"
 METERS 1/4" = 1'-0"



DOUBLE SADDLE NOTCHING
 SCALE 1/2" = 1'-0"



FLOOR PLAN
 SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"



LONG-HUTCHISON FARM TENANT BARN

RECORDING WAS CONDUCTED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1980 BY RICHARD J. CRONENBERGER (STAFF ARCHITECT), PROJECT SUPERVISOR, LEANNE BAIRD (UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA), PROJECT HISTORIAN, MARCE L. ROBERTSON (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA), ASSISTANT HISTORIAN, DENNIS M. O'KAIN (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA), PROJECT PHOTOGRAPHER, REGINALD A. BERRY (STAFF ARCHITECT), FOREMAN, WILLIAM F. HAND (AUBURN UNIVERSITY), FOREMAN, AND STUDENT ARCHITECTS CAROL B. DEGROOTE (UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND), DALE R. GERBER (UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA), CYNTHIA WILSON-SLICKSMAN (UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA), AND MARK WILSON (UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA). THE PROJECT WAS FUNDED BY THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDING SURVEY. THE HISTORIAN WAS JOHN P. JOHNSON. THE CLERK/TYPIST WAS TEDRA KEMMER (UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA).

THIS FARM FEATURES AN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY BARN CONSTRUCTED OF ROUND LOGS JOINED WITH SADDLE NOTCHING. THE BARN IS IN A DOGROT PLAN, WITH A CENTRAL OPEN AISLE ON THE FIRST LEVEL AND A SECOND-STORY LOFT. THE HOUSE ON THIS FARM IS A LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRAME STRUCTURE.

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Source: Worthy 1983:279.
 Figure 119. Long-Hutchinson Farm Tenant Barn Site Plan.
 Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.

removed from the area. Third, primary refuse deposits will occur on the periphery of site occupations, and primary and secondary deposits on adjacent slopes and at the base of adjacent gulleys and ravines. Finally, refuse cannot be directly associated with the nearest dwelling, since Drucker et al. (1983:107) note that a stated objective of the transportation of trash is to "get it away from our property," and hence dumping debris on someone else's land is an acceptable disposal practice. These observations are of considerable utility to historical archaeological studies of Piedmont upland sites, and explain the high percentage of architectural elements noted in pattern studies at such locations (Gresham and Wood 1986).

In summary, the internal arrangement of postbellum tenant and sharecropper farms varies from those which were virtually indistinguishable from owner-operated farms, to those which were marked by a more restricted variety in terms of the structures present, to those where the tenant laborers were treated no better, if not worse, than the livestock. The latter represents the most functional representation of a tenant farm, as a point which housed men and animals for agricultural cultivation. The range of forms indicates that, as in the antebellum, some men were better landlords than others, and the quality of life depended on whose farm was being worked. The variation among tenant structures, and the contrast of this variation with the dwellings of whites, highlights the social range of the project area in the late nineteenth century.

Architecture

The architecture of the postbellum period marks a continuation of antebellum trends, with one general shift in regional patterns: the replacement of log architecture with balloon-frame construction. This transition was made possible by a number of factors, primarily the greater availability of sawn wood, which occurred after the introduction of sawmills to the project area in the 1850s, and the lower cost of nails following the invention of cut nails in the early nineteenth century (Worthy 1983:52). Worthy (1983:31) notes that the postbellum represents the majority of structures inventoried in the project area (due to both population increases and the greater survival of frame architecture over earlier log forms), and that houses of this period are generally smaller than those of the antebellum. While frame was the dominant construction material of the time, five log structures were identified which dated to the postbellum, and Worthy (1983:31) suggests that the notching devices employed for log structures may be a diagnostic index. Specifically, she indicates that v-notching appears to date from ca. 1865 to 1880, and that this was replaced by saddle-notching during the period from ca. 1890 to 1910.

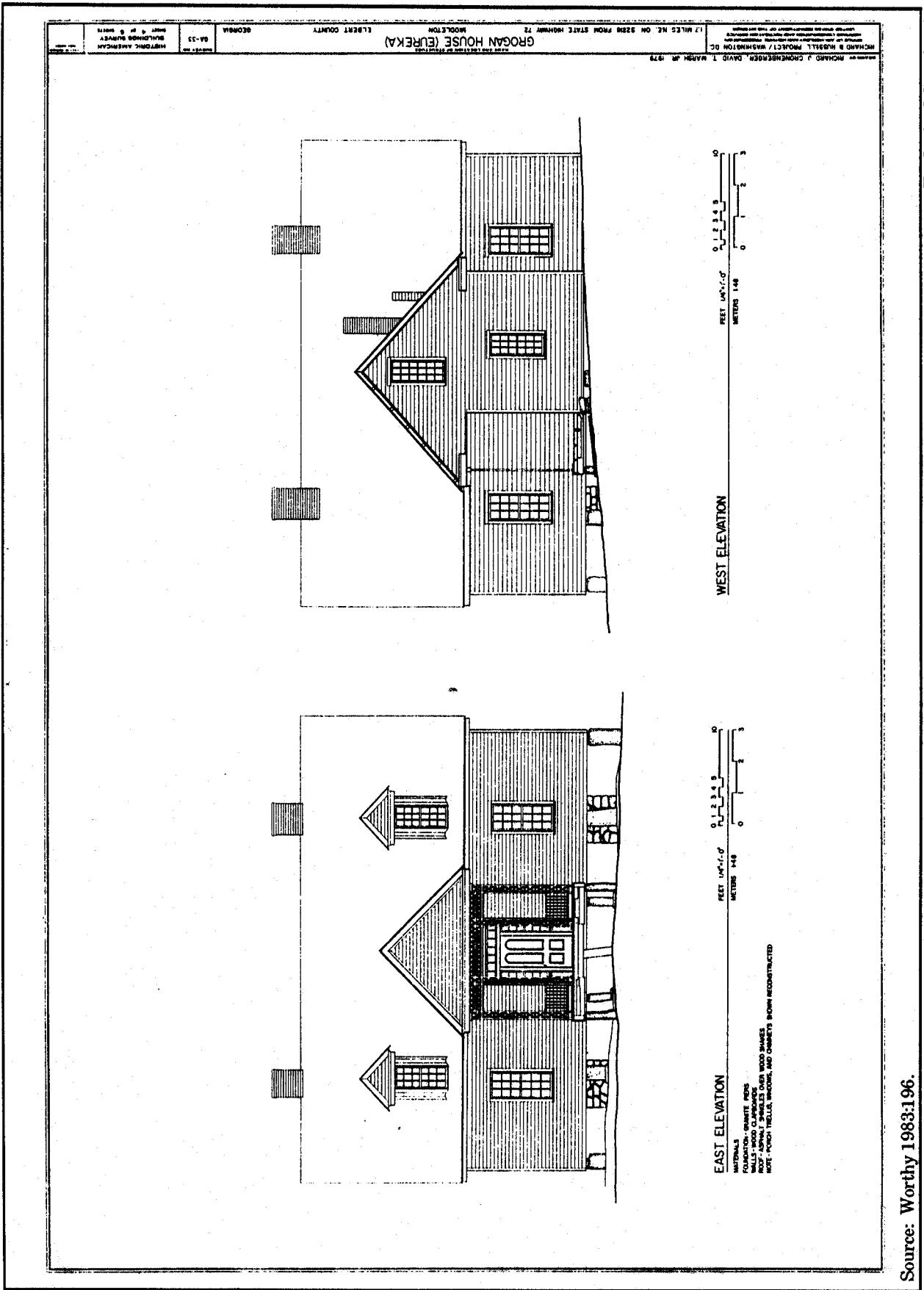
A second shift noted in structures of the period is the appearance of internal, central brick chimneys, and the abandonment of the mud-and-stick or clay chimneys found on low status dwellings of the antebellum. The use of brick suggests this resource was becoming more available in the area in the postbellum period, although Worthy (1983:31) does not explain the adoption of interior

chimneys. Certainly mud-and-stick chimneys were not viable for interior construction, since these frequently caught fire and were actually constructed semi-detached from the exterior wall of structures so they could fall away if on fire, and spare the remainder of the dwelling from the conflagration (McDaniel 1982). The adoption of interior brick chimneys on lower status dwellings may be a matter of economics, since if brick was used, the builders could perhaps only afford the material for a single chimney, and thus placed this chimney where it could heat more than one room.

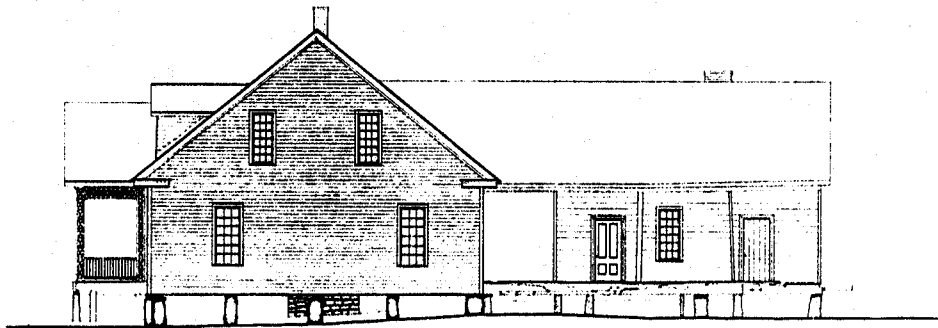
Several structures from this period illustrate the range and variation in postbellum architecture in the area. The Grogan House was apparently constructed at some point between 1870 and 1873 by the Reverend John Henry Grogan, an itinerant minister and miller. Grogan maintained a controlling interest in the Eureka Mill from the 1870s until his death in 1896, which afforded him considerable wealth. His house is Georgian in style, and features a central hallway and attached rear kitchen wing (Figures 120, 121 and 122). Three internal brick chimneys serve the two halves of the main structure and the kitchen annex. The style of this house, and its setting (Figure 123) marks a continuation of architectural practices of status and segregation which originated in the antebellum period. The Grogan House is secluded from the outside world by a protective screening of shrubbery along the Middleton-Ruckersville Road, and provides further social distancing through the use of a portico and through its central hall plan. Interestingly, this structure employs three interior brick chimneys, suggesting that wealth was not a factor in the decision to use interior as opposed to exterior chimneys.

In contrast, the Harper-Featherstone Farm Tenant House (Figure 124) offers evidence of the architectural style and space afforded tenants of the postbellum period. This structure was originally constructed of dovetail-notched hewn logs, and later covered with boards and siding, and the dovetail notching suggests that the building may originally date to the antebellum period. The house consists of four rooms, and features two separate entrances, an indication that it may have been intended for use as a duplex, although these separate entrances may also have provided a segregation of resident and guest. At least three alteration phases are noted in this structure, which initially began as a single-pen log house with external chimney, and includes the later additions of a shed kitchen and of a third room along the lines of the original structure. Unlike the Grogan House, this dwelling is easily accessible by visitors and affords little social separation.

An even more impoverished structure is the Featherstone Tenant House (Figure 125). This dwelling features an original single-pen log structure and an attached frame annex. The dimensions of the original log cabin are 18' 11" by 17' 2 1/2," while the annex measures roughly 12' by 17'. The Featherstone Tenant House offers the least amount of space per occupant of the structures discussed in this section, although an apparent increase over the space provided slaves during the antebellum (see below).

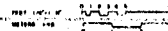


Source: Worthy 1983:196.
 Figure 120. Grogan House East and West Elevations.
 Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.

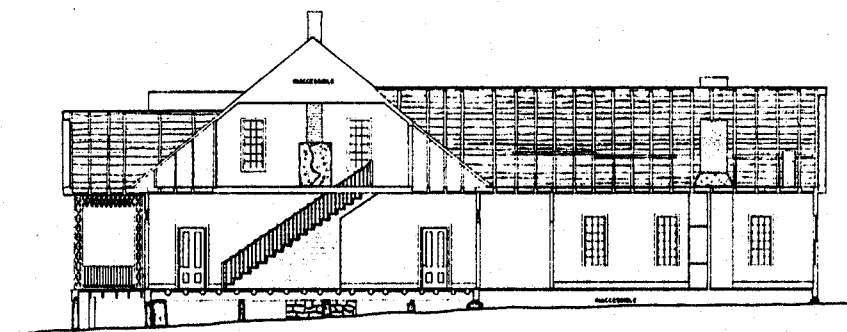


NORTH ELEVATION

MATERIALS
 FRAMING - SHEDDING PINE
 WALLS - BRICK
 ROOF - SHEDDING PINE
 FLOOR - SHEDDING PINE
 NOTE: WINDOW, CHIMNEY, STAIRS, AND PORCH TRILLS RECONSTRUCTED

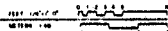


PROJECT NO. 100-100-100-100
 DRAWING NO. 100-100-100-100
 DATE 10/10/10
 SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"
 PROJECT TITLE GROGAN HOUSE (EUREKA)
 COUNTY COUNTY
 STATE STATE



LONGITUDINAL SECTION AA

MATERIALS
 FRAMING - SHEDDING PINE
 WALLS - BRICK AND CEDAR PLANK
 ROOF - SHEDDING PINE
 FLOOR - SHEDDING PINE
 NOTE: WINDOW, CHIMNEY, STAIRS, AND PORCH TRILLS RECONSTRUCTED

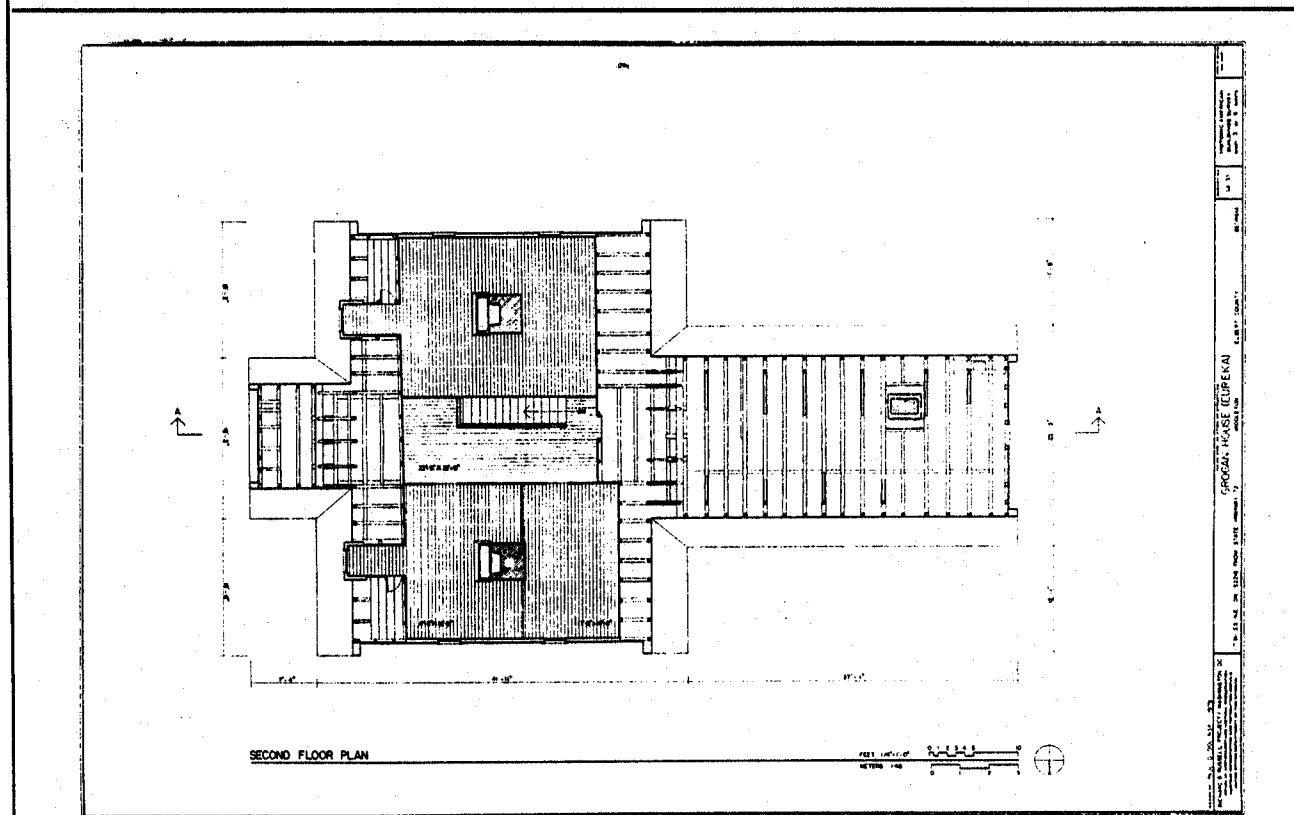
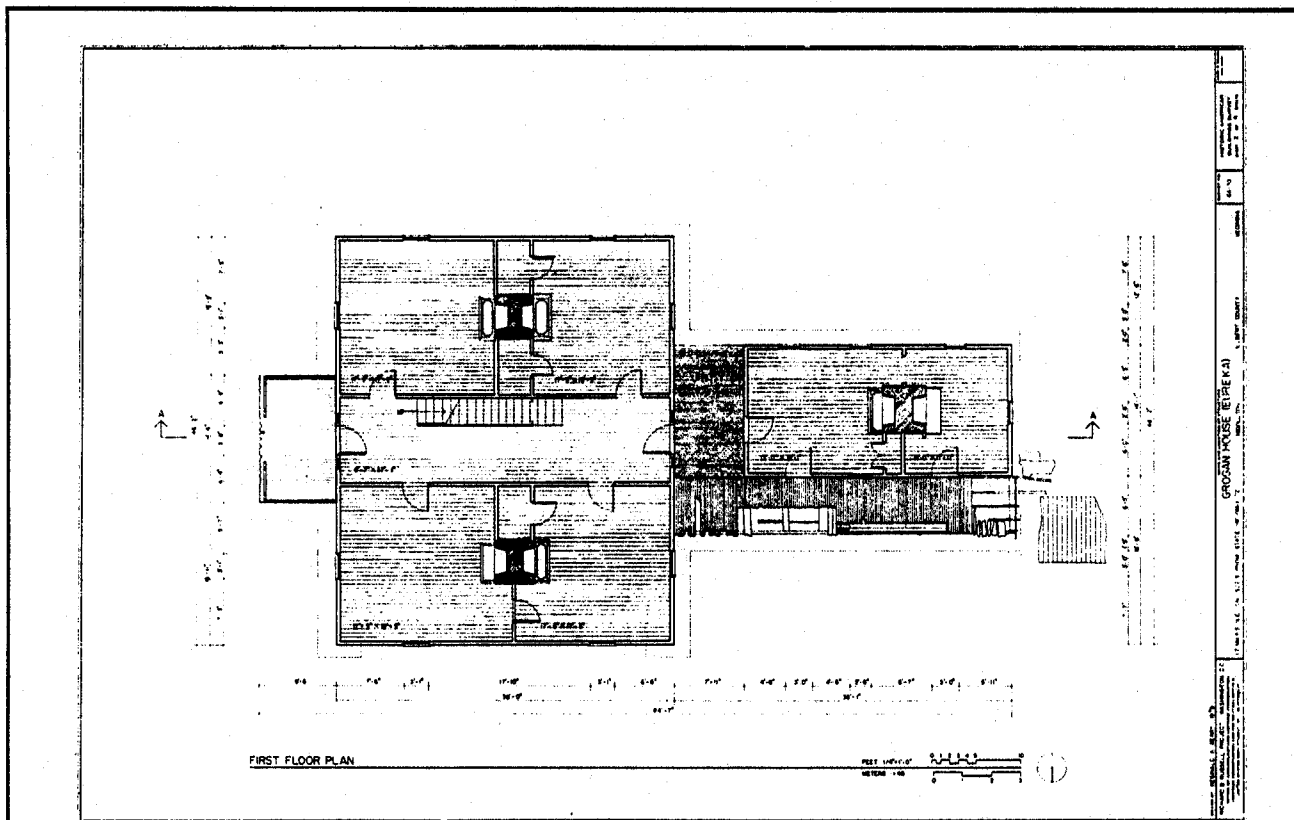


PROJECT NO. 100-100-100-100
 DRAWING NO. 100-100-100-100
 DATE 10/10/10
 SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"
 PROJECT TITLE GROGAN HOUSE (EUREKA)
 COUNTY COUNTY
 STATE STATE

Source: Worthy 1983:197, 200.

Figure 121. Grogan House, North Elevation and Section.
 Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.

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Source: Worthy 1983:198-199.

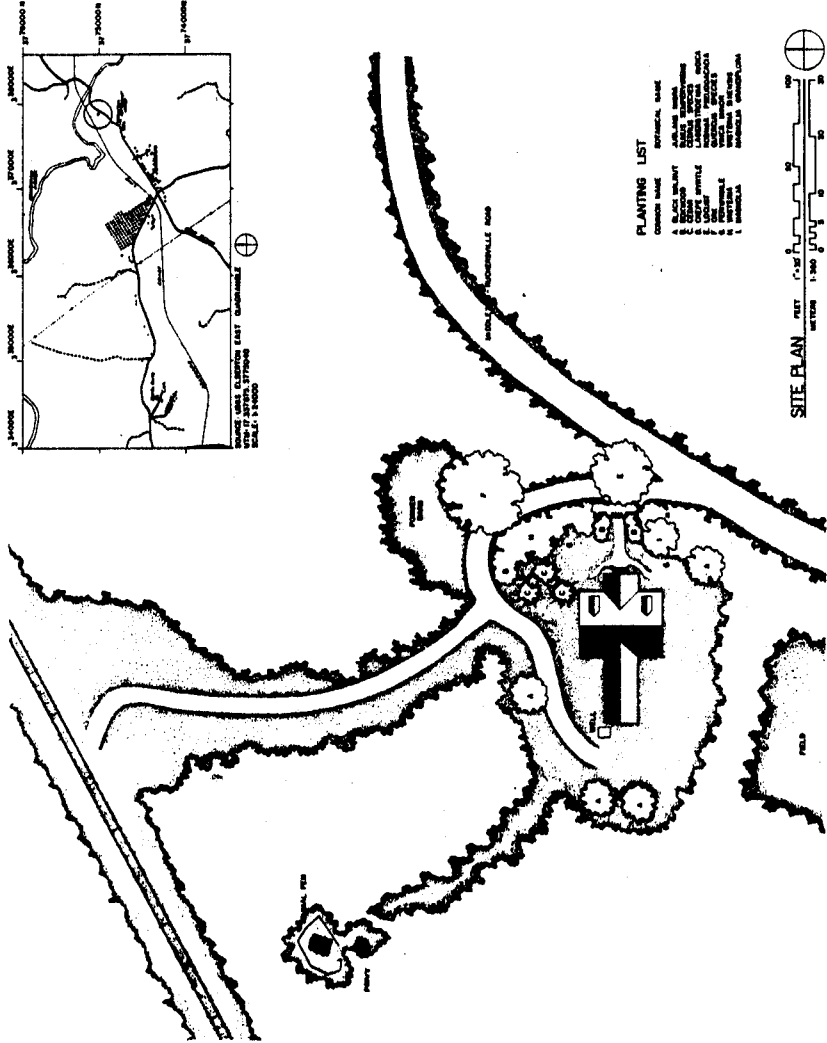
Figure 122. Grogan House, 1st and 2nd Story Plans.
 Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.

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GROGAN HOUSE (EUREKA)

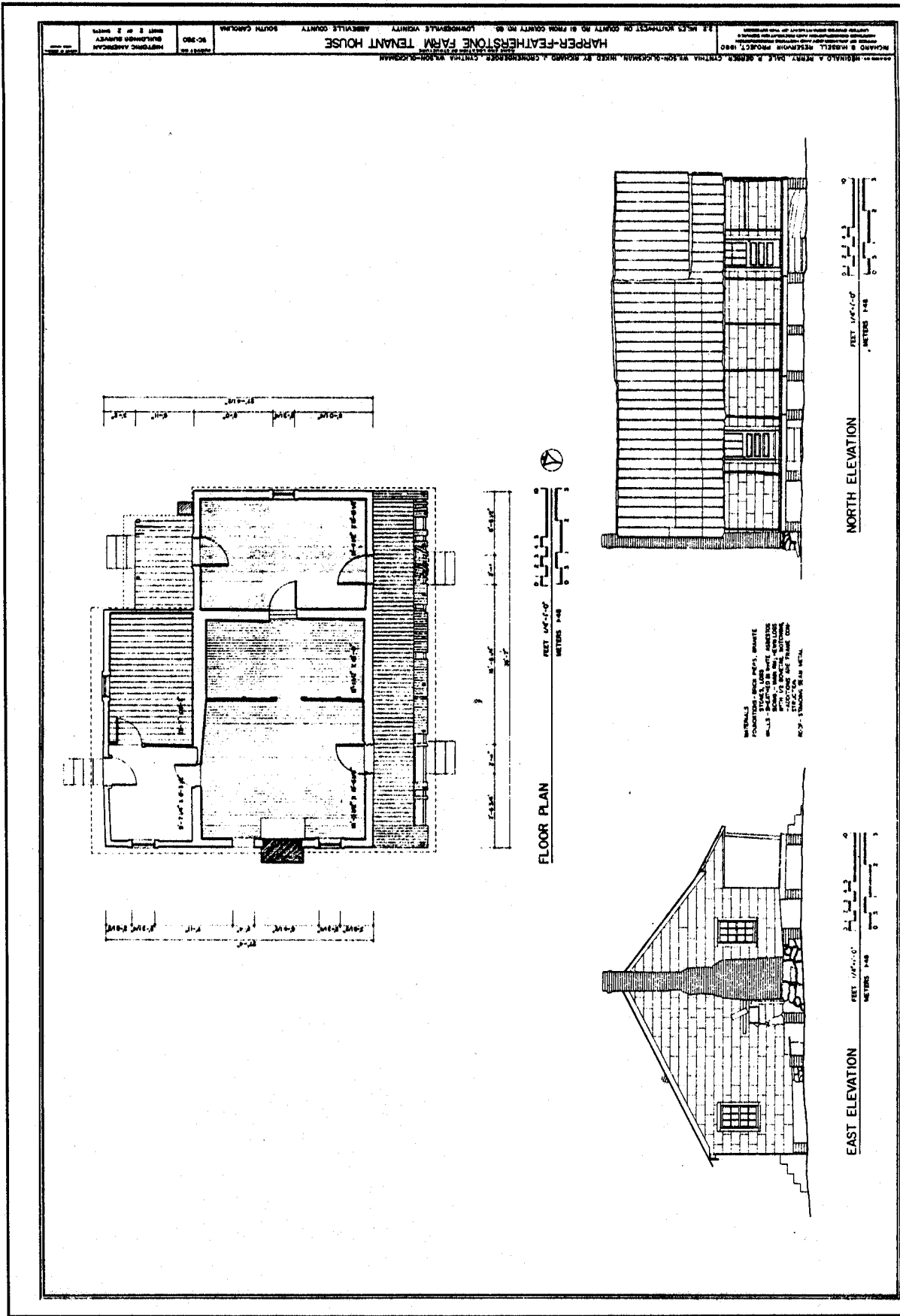
THE GROGAN HOUSE (EUREKA) HAS A CENTER-HALL, DOUBLE-PILE PLAN TYPICAL OF MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY DWELLINGS IN THE AREA. THE CRUDE CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES DISPLAYED IN THE HEAVY HEWN FRAME CONTRAST WITH THE FORMAL PLAN AND LATH AND PLASTER WALLS. THE GRANITE BLOCK FOUNDATION, CHIMNEY, AND FINE HEARTHES REPRESENT THE EARLIEST KNOWN USE OF LOCALLY QUARRIED GRANITE. THE LATTICE WORK PORCH APPEARS TO BE A LATER ADDITION TO THE BUILDING. THE HOUSE WAS OWNED BY J.H. GROGAN, A LOCAL MINISTER AND MILLING FINANCIER. IT WAS CENTRAL TO A COMMUNITY KNOWN AS "EUREKA MILLS" FOR THE NEARBY MILL WHICH WAS ACTIVE UNTIL THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY.

THE DOCUMENTATION OF THE HISTORIC RESOURCES WITHIN THE RICHARD B. RUSSELL DAM PROJECT WAS UNDERTAKEN BY THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY IN COOPERATION WITH THE HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND RECREATION SERVICE'S INTERAGENCY ARCHEOLOGICAL SERVICES, ATLANTA, AND COSPONSORED BY THE US ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS. SAVANNAH DISTRICT OFFICE IN COMPLIANCE WITH EXECUTIVE ORDER 11593 AS A MITIGATIVE EFFORT IN CONSTRUCTION OF THE LAKE. THE PROJECT WAS EXECUTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF JOHN C. POPPELERS, CHIEF, AND KENNETH L. ANDERSON, PRINCIPAL ARCHITECT OF HABS. THE EMERGENCY RECORDING WAS CARRIED OUT DURING THE FALL OF 1979 BY THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY WASHINGTON D.C. OFFICE: PROJECT SUPERVISOR, RICHARD J. CRONENBERGER, STAFF ARCHITECTS REGINALD A. BERRY (HOWARD UNIVERSITY), DAVID T. MARSH, JR. (HOWARD UNIVERSITY), AND STAFF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT, PAUL D. DOLINSKY.



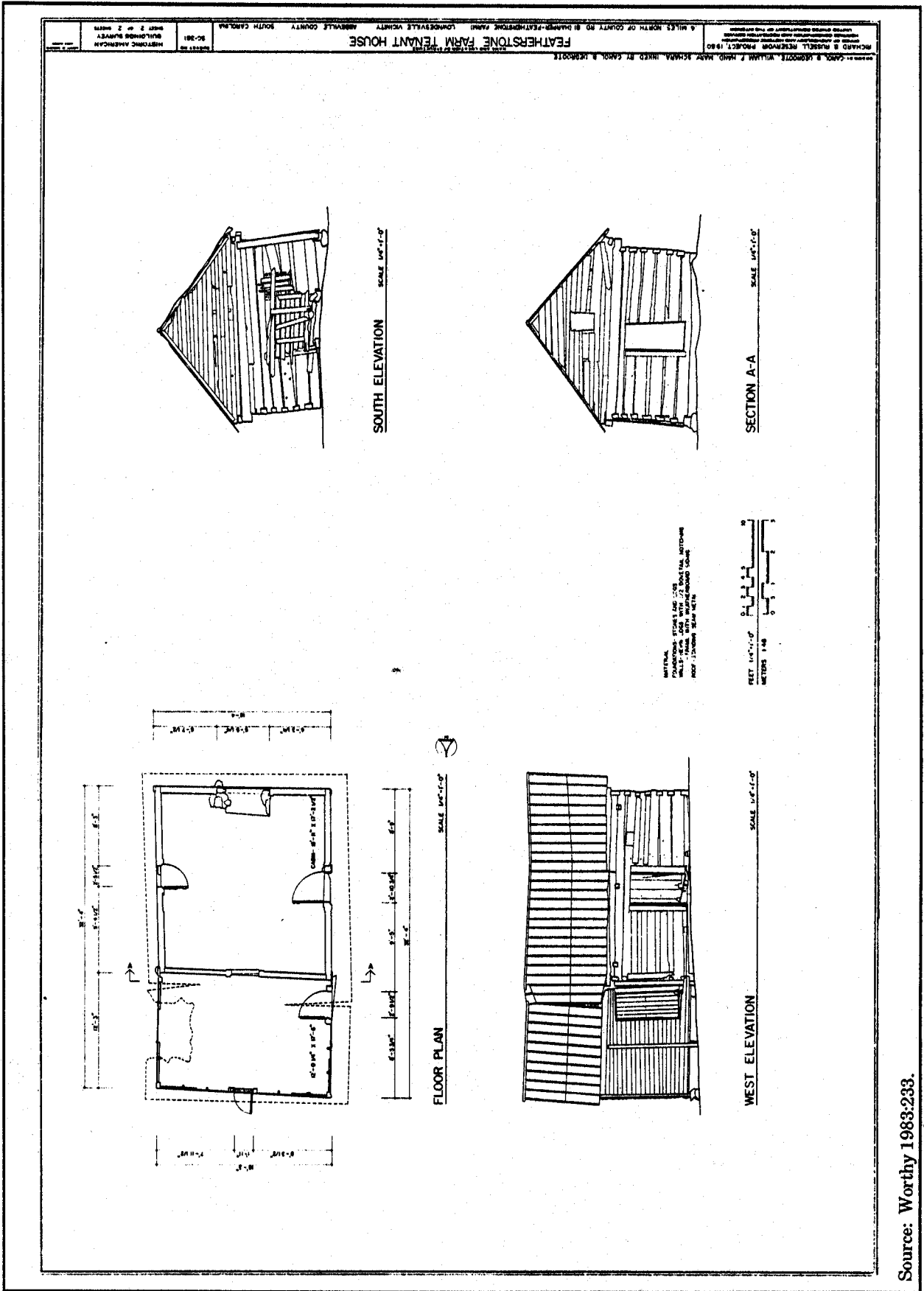
Source: Worthy 1983:195.

Figure 123. Grogan House Site Plan.
Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.



Source: Worthy 1983:272.

Figure 124. Harper-Featherstone Farm Tenant House, Elevations and Plan. Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.



Source: Worthy 1983:233.

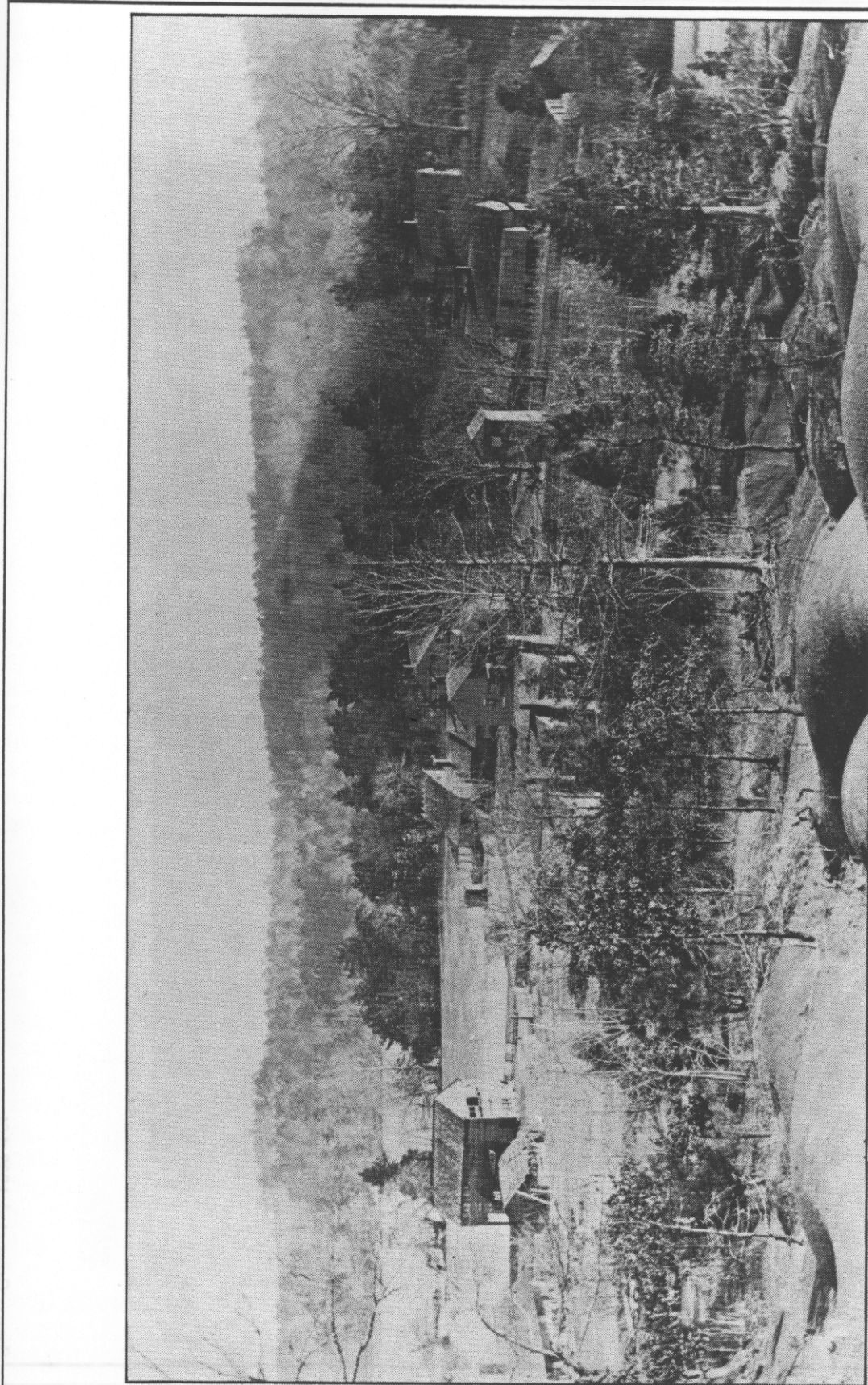
Figure 125. Featherstone Farm Tenant House, Elevations and Plan. Drawing prepared for the Historic American Building Survey.

Technical Synthesis
 Cultural Resources Investigations
 Richard B. Russell Reservoir

Visual images of postbellum architecture indicate the rugged, functional nature of most structures found on farms and plantations. A panoramic view of Millwood plantation, taken in about 1879, provides an illustration of this plantation in the postbellum (Figure 126). Millwood continued to possess a considerable number and diversity of structures. The panoramic view shows a concentration of barns and sheds to the far right, an apparent owner/manager complex in the rear center, three linearly arranged dwellings in front of the owner/manager complex (the linear organization suggests these may be remnants of the slave quarters at Millwood), and a variety of service structures to the left. Also of interest in this photograph is the severe erosion apparent in the foreground. A closeup of the plantation (Figure 127), probably taken several years earlier, shows a concentration of service structures around a well, with barnyard animals, a dog and a piglet, running loose among these buildings. A postcard from 1901 (Figure 128), entitled "TYPICAL NEGRO CABIN AT MILLWOOD, S.C.," shows a tenant family, apparently the Cuff Walker family, in front of a small frame cabin raised on a stone foundation. Finally, two views of the Long-Hutchinson tenant house (Figure 129) provide images of a more well-to-do tenant architecture, although it should be considered that this structure was originally built for one of the Hutchinson sons, and not as a tenant structure.

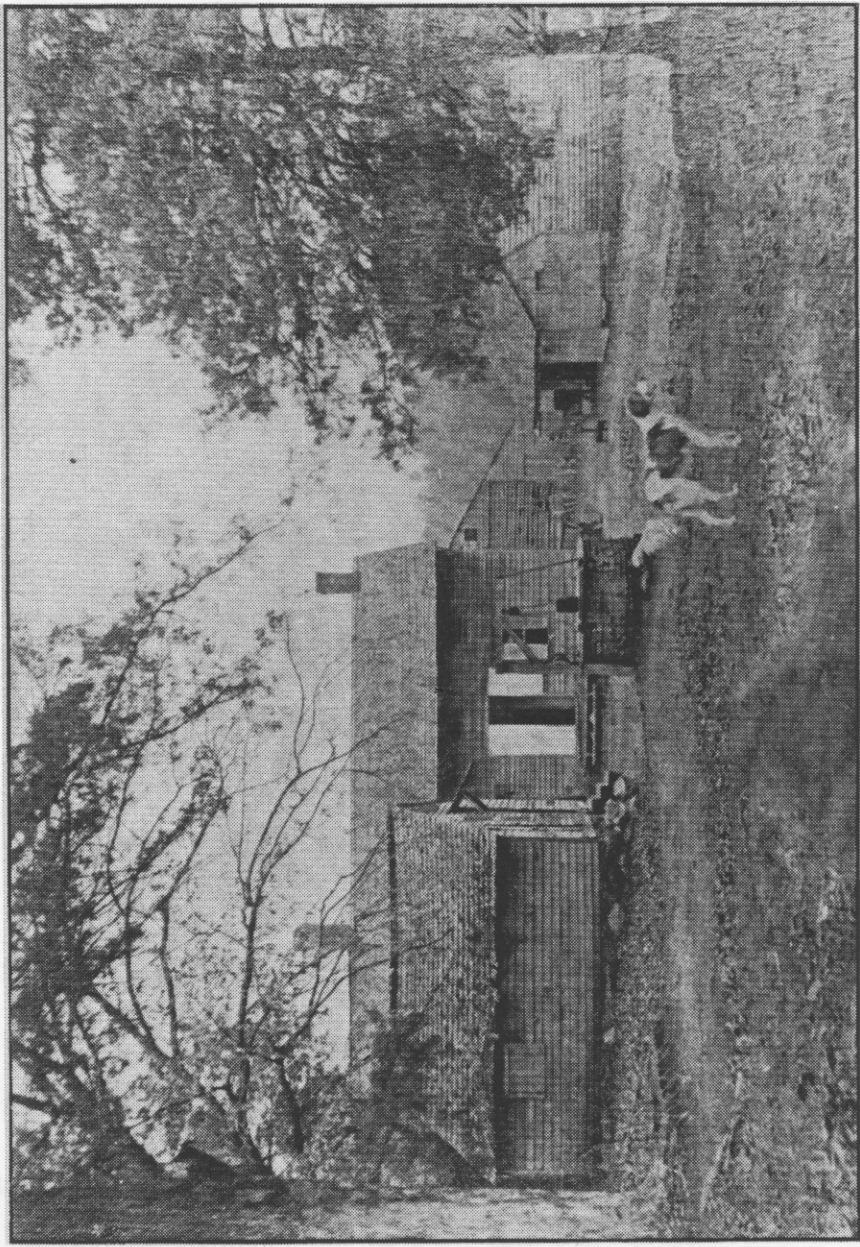
This perspective on the postbellum architecture of the region suggests that in the postbellum nearly all classes built in the same medium, frame, and thus construction material did not distinguish social status. Status was indicated by architectural style (the use of formal facade treatments, structured as opposed to organic plans, and by the presence of hallways, porches, and other devices to provide social segregation), in the decorative treatment of structures (the Grogan House was apparently the only one of the structures outlined above which was painted), and in the amount of space provided per occupant. Orser et al. (1987:609) outlined the living space provided for various social classes at Millwood, and their structure is expanded here (Table 25) to include the Grogan House, Featherstone Tenant House, and Harper-Featherstone Tenant House.

These statistics indicate that the housing conditions of tenants improved greatly over those enjoyed by slaves, with an increase of approximately 90 square feet per inhabitant, but that even with these increases planters and landlords continued to maintain a far greater amount of space than provided to their tenants; roughly six times the amount of space per inhabitant. It is also of interest to note that the two Millwood tenant structures were originally occupied as slave cabins, and that these provided the least amount of interior space. Both the Featherstone and Harper-Featherstone Tenant homes began life as single-pen structures (with floor space similar to that provided the Millwood slaves) and were later enlarged to their recorded dimensions. This contrast suggests that it was perhaps tenants themselves who expanded their living quarters, and that such increased space does not necessarily represent any greater benevolence on the part of planters and landlords.



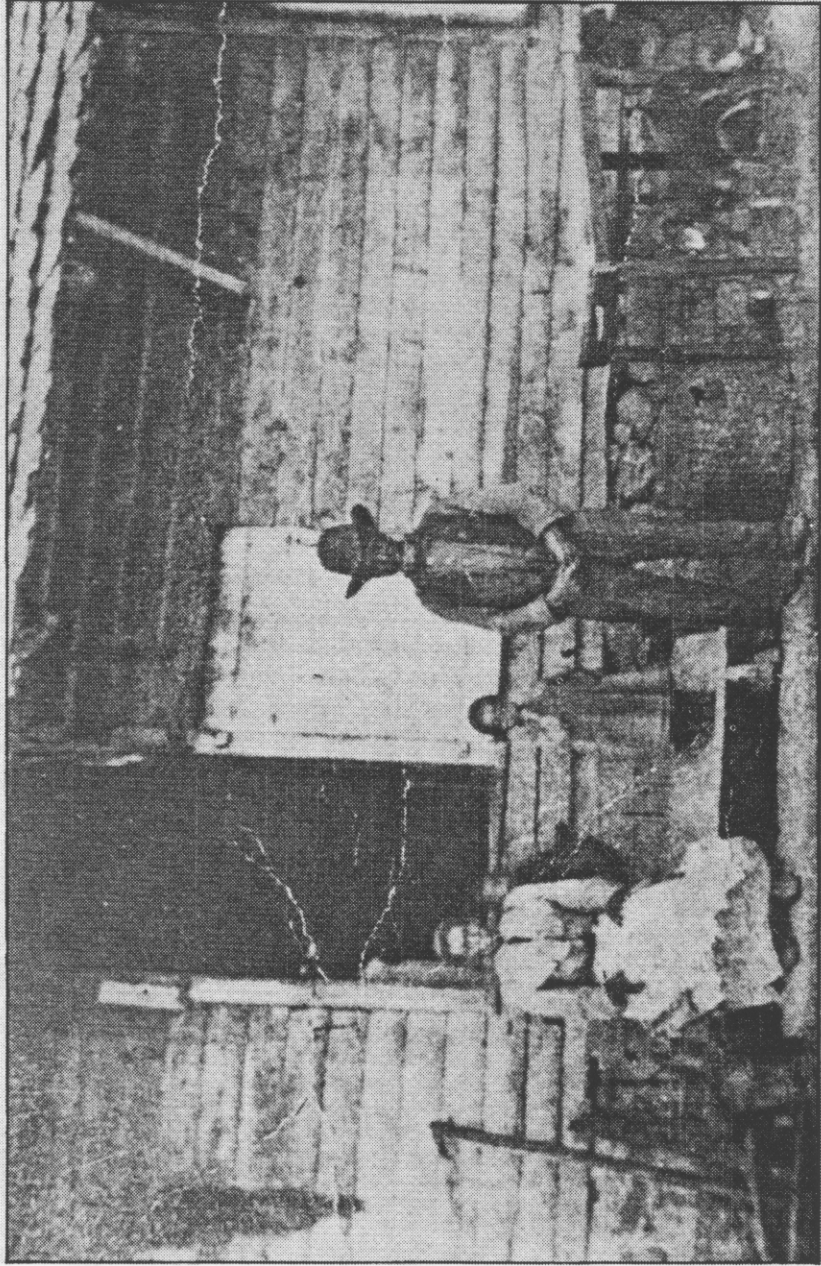
Source: Orser et al. 1987: 153

Figure 126. Panoramic View of Millwood Plantation, ca.1879.
Note severe erosion in the foreground.



Source: Orser et al. 1987: 161

Figure 127. Detail of Millwood Plantation from ca. 1875.



Source: Orser et al. 1987: 302

Figure 128. Picture Postcard from Millwood, ca. 1909.
 Note: Caption reads TYPICAL NEGRO CABIN AT MILLWOOD, SC.



Source: Worthy 1983:277.

Figure 129. Long-Hutchinson Tenant Home.
Photographs for the Historic American Building Survey.

Table 25: The Living Space Provided by Social Class in Different Dwellings from the Russell Reservoir (from Orser et al. 1987:609 and Worthy 1983)

GROUP	FAMILY SIZE	SQUARE FOOTAGE	SQ. FT./PERSON
Millwood Planter/Owner	1.0	773.0	773.0
Millwood Overseer/Manger	4.0	539.00	134.7
Millwood Slave/Tenant	5.2 ¹	224.00	43.1
Millwood Slave/Tenant	5.7 ²	224.00	39.30
Featherstone Tenant House	4.4 ³	540.75	122.89
Harper-Featherstone Tenant House	4.4 ³	582.40	132.36
Grogan House	5	3239.38	647.87

1. Based on Fogel and Engerman (1974)
2. Mean size of Millwood slave families based on 1860 slave schedule
3. Mean size of tenant families reported by Woofter (1936)

Archaeology

As noted in the previous chapter, the continued occupation of antebellum sites into the postbellum period prohibited the clear separation of archaeological materials from the pre-War period from those which were deposited in the War's aftermath. Thus the historical archaeology of the Russell Reservoir cannot address questions of a chronological nature. The archaeological research did distinguish a variety of social and occupational statuses. Since the relationships between these changed only slightly between the antebellum and postbellum (slaves may have gained their freedom, but the economic and social relationship of slaves to planters and of tenants to landlords were similar relationships), the archaeological research offers an opportunity to compare and contrast the material worlds of whites and blacks, of planters and tenants, in the project area in the postbellum period.

The nature of the historical archaeology undertaken for the Russell Reservoir varied significantly in purpose and results. Gray's (1983) work was intended to examine the internal distributions of materials from several recently burnt domestic structures, and thus does not provide significant contributions to our understanding of postbellum archaeology. Drucker et al.'s (1983) research was of a more preliminary nature, and yielded only limited returns with which to consider postbellum agricultural dynamics. The most well-developed research, in terms of both scale and research design, was the work conducted by Orser et al. (1987) at Millwood Plantation, and this forms the body of the discussion presented below.

Social Status and Archaeology: The Material Correlates of Wealth and Ethnicity in Agrarian Culture The archaeological identification and examination of status through the material record has proven to be one of the more intriguing aspects of

plantation and agricultural archaeology. As Otto (1980) notes, it is the cross-cutting nature of social status in Southern culture which makes the archaeological discussion of status such a fascinating topic. For example, status can be considered on racial lines (whites: blacks), as a measure of social organization (managers: supervisors: workers), or as elites versus non-elites (owners: employees) (Otto 1980:8). Otto's (1975) work at Cannon Point, an antebellum coastal Georgia plantation, suggested that economic status could be detected in comparative worth of ceramics; that ethnicity could be read from vessel forms and associated foodways; that racial status could be interpreted from the commonality of white-occupied architecture versus that of slaves; and that elite - non-elite separation was legible in subsistence remains. Otto's results continue to be a focal point of plantation archaeology, and in general have received only limited support from additional studies of antebellum coastal plantations. Prior to Orser et al.'s research at Millwood, these interpretations had not been applied to either the upcountry or the postbellum.

Orser et al. (1987:685) focused their research on status and the archaeological record primarily on the postbellum period, since these materials represented the most secure archaeological contexts on which to base their interpretations. Ten structures were selected as representing groupings of tenant/non-tenant occupations. Structure 1 (Calhoun's residence), Structure 6 (possibly the original residence of Calhoun), Structure 7 (a guest house), and Structure 8 (the overseer/manager's house) comprised the non-tenant assemblage, while Structures 2, 10, 11, 17, 19 and E were selected as tenant occupations. Structures 10, 11, and E are the three linearly arranged dwellings noted in the panoramic view of Millwood, above, and thus may have originally served as slave cabins, while Structure 2 was occupied by Caroline Walker, Calhoun's long-time personal servant and presumably a person of higher status than the tenants.

Orser et al. (1987:685-702) considered the distribution of a number of material objects to determine which of these potentially reflected socio-economic status. Their work indicated there were several material correlates of status. The frequency of container glass by function appeared to be one measure of status at Millwood. Dividing the container glass into four categories: liquor, medicine, tableware, and unclassified, they noted that liquor glass occurred with greater frequency among the non-tenant structures than within assemblages associated with tenancy (Figure 130). Liquor glass contributed from 22.6 to 31.9 percent of the assemblages of the non-tenants, for an average of 26.1 percent, while consisting of only 7.1 percent of the tenant's container glass refuse (Orser et al. 1987:687). Interestingly, the sole tenant site with a high percentage of liquor bottles (in fact the highest percentage of either the tenant or non-tenant structures) was Structure 19, which is the only one of the tenant structures not located in Millwood's main compound (see Figure 92). This suggests that what Orser et al. may have measured in the container glass distribution was not status, but social control; tenants living near Calhoun may have moderated their drinking, or conducted it out from under his watchful eye (perhaps at the residence of Structure 19), while those with further distance from Calhoun were less restricted in their behavior.



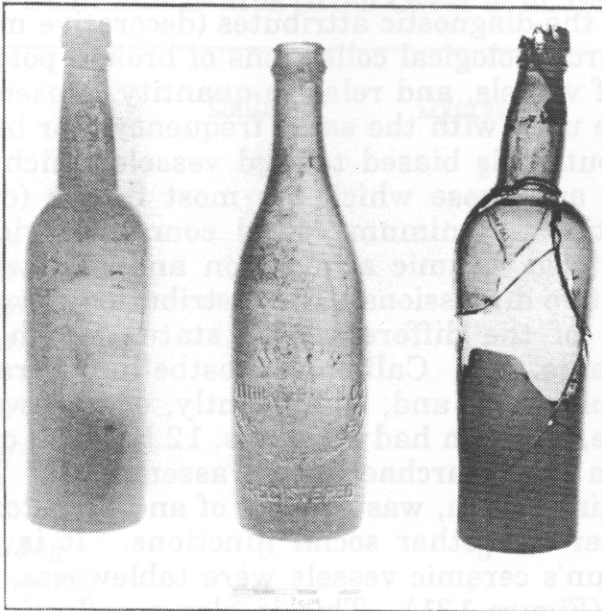
Source: Orser et al. 1987: 176

Figure 130. Mold-made Green Bottle from Structure 2, Calhoun's Antebellum Residence.

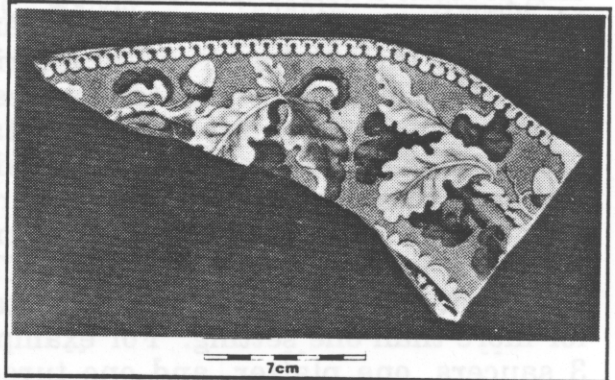
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Other non-ceramic artifacts were of less interpretive value as indices of socioeconomic status. Architectural elements reflected a relatively comparable distribution when non-tenant structures were compared with those of tenancy, although window glass did occur at a higher frequency on non-tenant sites (25.1 percent of all architecture) than on tenant sites (8.5 percent of all architecture) (Orser et al. 1987:691). This may reflect a continuation of antebellum conditions, in which slave and other lower status dwellings did not have glazed windows. The distribution of buttons by material surprisingly did not indicate status. Otto's (1975) research had indicated that bone buttons were associated with slave assemblages, but at Millwood this was not the case (Figure 131). The most frequent material for the tenant and non-tenant structures was glass/porcelain, while metal was the second most frequent for both. Otto (1975:250) notes that the popularity of glass and porcelain buttons increased after 1840, and this may explain the variation between Millwood's assemblage and Cannon Point's. It is expected that status would be better indicated by the decorative treatment of buttons than by raw material, since this aspect was more likely to have determined the cost of a button after the mid-nineteenth century. Finally, the distribution of personal artifacts at Millwood did not indicate significant variations between the tenant and non-tenant structures. The non-tenant sites had a slightly higher percentage of recreational materials than the tenant sites (63.6 percent as opposed to 50 percent), while the tenant site percentages of cosmetics and adornments were somewhat greater than those of the non-tenant structures (23.7 percent to 12.1 percent and 15.8 percent to 9.1 percent respectively), but these variations were not distinctive enough to be considered as status markers (Orser et al. 1987:698).

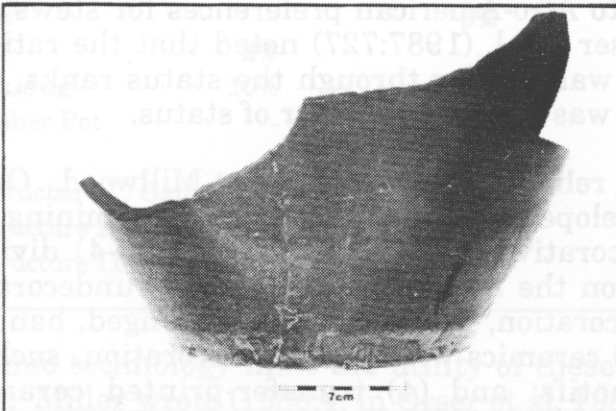
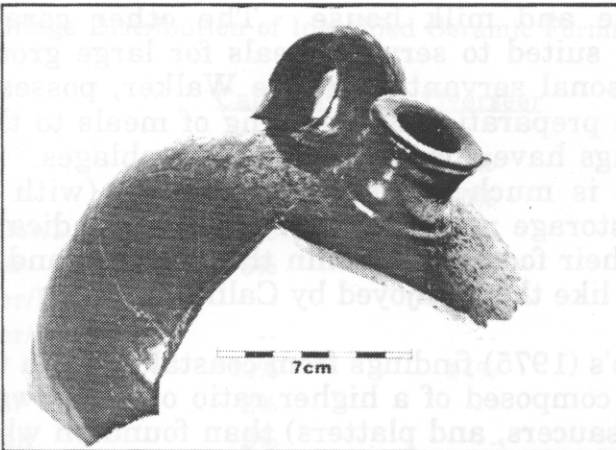
Ceramics much more clearly delineated social status. Orser et al. (1987) measured the correlation between ceramics and status by a number of indices. For example, they noted that the number of vessel types present in a structure's refuse offered a rough seriation of the statuses expected at Millwood: Structures 1 and 6 (Calhoun's postbellum and presumed antebellum residences) had the most types present (each with 29); followed by Structure 2 (Caroline Walker's, Calhoun's personal servant, residence) with 24 types; Structure 8 (the overseer's house) with 20 types; Structure 17 with 19 types (the presence of so many types at Structure 17 may be misleading, since this structure burnt and thus probably captured a greater variety of material culture than found at the other tenant structures); and Structure 7 (the guest house) with 8 types. The remaining tenant houses, structures 10, 11, 19 and E, averaged slightly less than five types each (Orser et al. 1987:711-713). This seriation was also reflected by the number of vessels present at each of these structures. Based on minimum vessel counts from the ceramic artifacts recovered, and using only those vessels with identified forms, the two Calhoun residences had the most vessels (55 and 54), followed by the overseer's house (29 vessels) and Structure 17 (23 vessels; as noted, the recovery of materials from this structure was skewed by depositional circumstances). Caroline Walker's house and the guest house also had a relatively high frequency of vessels in their assemblages (15 and 10 respectively) while the remaining tenant houses are all characterized by impoverishment in the number of vessels represented, ranging from five at Structure 19 to one at



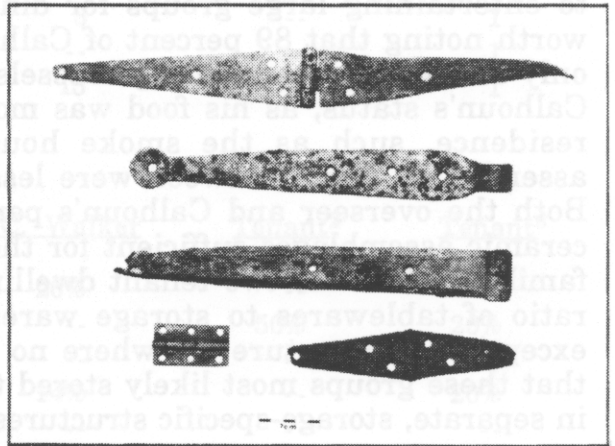
I. Bottles.



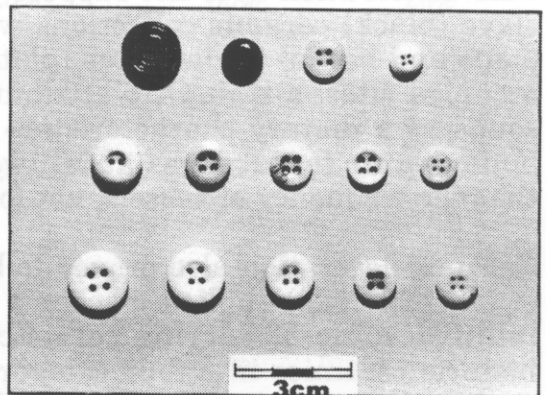
II. Blue transfer-printed pearlware.



IV. Albany slip and alkaline glazed stoneware.



III. Hinges.



V. Glass and porcelain buttons.

Source: Orser et al. 1987: 463, 478, 484, 490, 502.

Figure 131. Historical Artifacts from Millwood.

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Structure E (Orser et al. 1987:720-722).

Minimum vessel analyses are based on the diagnostic attributes (decorative motif, morphological characteristics, etc.) of archaeological collections of broken pottery, and present a reflection of the types of vessels, and relative quantity, present at historic sites. Since not all vessels are used with the same frequency, nor break as easily, the minimum vessel distribution is biased toward vessels which are most often used (such as tablewares) and those which are most fragile (cups, saucers, etc.). Despite these limitations, minimum vessel counts provide a means of partially reconstructing historic ceramic acquisition and use, which can be of interpretive value in comparative discussions. The distribution of vessel forms from Millwood indicates some of the differences in status which are reflected by ceramic assemblages (Table 26). Calhoun's postbellum ceramic collection is composed primarily of tablewares, and, significantly, of tablewares for more than one setting. For example, Calhoun had 23 plates, 12 bowls, 3 cups, 3 saucers, one platter, and one tureen in his archaeological assemblage. This distribution suggests that Calhoun, a single man, was capable of and accustomed to entertaining large groups for dinner and other social functions. It is also worth noting that 89 percent of Calhoun's ceramic vessels were tablewares, and only 11 percent were storage vessels (Figure 131). This is also a reflection of Calhoun's status, as his food was most likely stored in other places besides his residence, such as the smoke house and milk house. The other ceramic assemblages from Millwood were less suited to serving meals for large groups. Both the overseer and Calhoun's personal servant, Caroline Walker, possessed ceramic assemblages sufficient for the preparation and serving of meals to their families, while the two tenant dwellings have sparse ceramic assemblages. The ratio of tablewares to storage wares is much lower for these sites (with the exception of Structure 10, where no storage vessels were recovered), indicating that these groups most likely stored their foodstuffs within their homes, and not in separate, storage-specific structures like those enjoyed by Calhoun.

This distribution does not support Otto's (1975) findings from coastal Georgia that slave (black) ceramic collections were composed of a higher ratio of hollowwares (cups and bowls) to flatwares (plates, saucers, and platters) than found on white-occupied sites, a trait Otto attributed to Afro-American preferences for stews and soups as a dietary characteristic. Orser et al. (1987:727) noted that the ratio of hollowwares to flatwares at Millwood was similar through the status ranks, and that the frequency of vessels, not form, was a better indicator of status.

Ceramic decoration also proved to be a reliable index of status at Millwood. Orser et al. (1987:728) applied a scheme developed by Miller (1980) for determining the relative value of varying ceramic decorative motifs. Miller (1980:3-4) divided historic ceramics into four categories on the basis of decoration: (1) undecorated wares; (2) ceramics with minimal decoration, i.e. shell-edged, sponged, banded, annular, and finger painted wares; (3) ceramics with painted decoration, such as hand-painted flowers or Chinese motifs; and (4) transfer-printed ceramics (Figure 131). As Orser et al. (1987:728) note, Miller's divisions were created for materials from the first half of the nineteenth century, and changes in

Table 26: The Distribution of Ceramic Vessel Forms at Millwood Plantation by Socio-Economic Status (from Orser et al. 1987:720-721).

	<u>Calhoun¹</u>	<u>Overseer</u>	<u>C. Walker</u>	<u>Tenant²</u>	<u>Tenant³</u>
Cup	3	2	4	--	--
Bowl	12	10	--	2	1
Cup/Bowl	6	--	--	--	--
Saucer	3	7	2	--	1
Saucer/Bowl	--	--	--	--	--
Saucer/Plate	--	--	--	--	--
Plate	23	4	4	2	1
Platter	1	--	1	--	--
Tureen	1	--	--	--	--
Crock	--	1	--	--	--
Jug	1	--	1	--	--
Crock/Jug	5	5	3	--	1
Chamber Pot	--	--	--	--	1
Unidentified	24	1	15	--	1

Percentage Distribution of Identified Ceramic Forms

	<u>Calhoun¹</u>	<u>Overseer</u>	<u>C. Walker</u>	<u>Tenant²</u>	<u>Tenant³</u>
Cup	5%	7%	26%	--	--
Bowl	22%	35%	--	50%	20%
Cup/Bowl	10%	--	--	--	--
Saucer	5%	24%	14%	--	20%
Saucer/Bowl	--	--	--	--	--
Saucer/Plate	--	--	--	--	--
Plate	42%	14%	26%	50%	20%
Platter	2%	--	7%	--	--
Tureen	2%	--	--	--	--
Crock	--	3%	--	--	--
Jug	2%	--	7%	--	--
Crock/Jug	10%	17%	20%	--	20%
Chamber Pot	--	--	--	--	20%

1. Structure 1, Calhoun's postbellum residence

2. Structure 10

3. Structure 11

ceramic technology limit the utility of these groupings for late nineteenth-century sites. Miller wrote (1980:4; in Orser et al. 1987:728):

The above four categories are especially valid for the first half of the nineteenth century... Beginning in the mid-1850s, a major change

takes place in ceramic prices and tastes. Until that point, undecorated wares were the cheapest type available. By the mid-1850s price lists and bills begin listing large quantities of undecorated white ironstone or white granite. Prices for this new type are often equal to prices for transfer-printed vessels of the same form and size... From the mid-19th century there appears to be a weaker relationship between final cost of vessels and their decoration. An analysis of the movement of undecorated ironstone into a position of status comparable to transfer-printed wares would provide an interesting insight into ceramic marketing at mid-century.

Thus decorative motifs for Millwood's postbellum assemblages should not be expected to as clearly segregate social statuses as they would for antebellum assemblages. Orser et al. (1987) applied a modified version of Miller's (1980) categories, lumping Miller's second and third groupings as minimally decorated wares, and adding decalced ceramics to transfer-print for a category of extensively decorated wares. The distribution of these ceramics at the Millwood sites discussed above is shown in Table 27.

Table 27: The Distribution of Ceramic Decorative Groups at Millwood Plantation by Socio-Economic Status (from Orser et al. 1987:720-721).

	<u>Calhoun</u>	<u>Overseer</u>	<u>C. Walker</u>	<u>Tenant</u>	<u>Tenant</u>
Undecorated	57.52%	54.41%	60.53%	83.33%	83.33%
Minimal Decoration	6.55%	14.71%	14.47%	--	--
Extensive Decoration	35.93%	30.88%	25.00%	16.67%	16.67%

This distribution follows the general patterns predicted by Miller's (1980) research. The low status tenant sites have the highest percentage of undecorated ceramics, while Calhoun's residence possessed the greatest quantity of extensively decorated wares. Caroline Walker's ceramic collection was intermediate between Calhoun's and those of his tenants, reflecting her status within the Millwood community.

Orser et al.'s (1987:739-740) research into the recognition of status in archaeological assemblages indicates that this is much more complex task for the postbellum (and upcountry) than for the antebellum, lowcountry plantation studied by Otto (1975). Several artifact classes from Millwood appear to serve as status indices. The percentage distribution of liquor bottles among all container glass was much higher among the non-tenant sites than among the majority of tenant sites, and Orser et al. (1987) suggest that: "...liquor consumption... will be more prevalent among higher social classes who have the means to procure liquor and who have more frequent social interactions beyond the bounds of their immediate families." This cannot be totally accepted as a status index, however, as the highest percentage of all Millwood sites with a known status was found at

Structure 19, a tenant structure located outside Millwood's main complex. Although tentative, these data suggest that the distribution of liquor bottles may reflect social control, and not status. We have already noted freedmen's desire to escape from under the planter's watchful eye following emancipation. The evidence from Millwood suggests that those tenants who lived in proximity to Calhoun continued to modify their behavior to meet his requirements, while greater freedom was enjoyed by tenants who had established separate residences. It should be noted that this interpretation receives support from the data on unidentified occupant structures. This group is composed of five structures which possessed chimneys, and hence most likely served as dwellings, but for which no historical or oral historical information was recovered to reveal who their occupants were. Given Millwood's postbellum functions, tenants are the most likely candidates. Of these five structures, two (Structures 14 and 27) are located in the main house compound, while the remaining three (Structures 21, 23, and 24) are located at a considerable distance outside this compound. Liquor bottles provided only 2.25 percent of the container bottle glass for the two structures within the compound, whereas this group contributed 54.93 percent of the bottle glass from the distant structures (Orser et al. 1987:688). The archaeological correlation between social control, proximity, and alcohol consumption among postbellum tenant occupations should receive greater attention in future postbellum studies.

Ceramics proved to be the best indicators of social status at Millwood. However, the relation of ceramics to status appears to have been different on postbellum sites from relations posited for the antebellum. The research at Millwood suggests that the number of types, number of vessels, and to a lesser degree, decorative motifs, are all status indices, and that high status sites should be expected to possess more numerous types and vessels than those sites of lower status.

Interestingly, the research at Millwood documents the continuation of planter paternalism. Caroline Walker, Calhoun's personal servant, was of a considerably higher status than other Millwood tenants based on the analyses presented above. The historical information does not exist to determine what variation existed between Ms. Walker's wages and those of Millwood's tenants, but it is unlikely that wage variation alone explained the degree of difference between her ceramic assemblage and those of other tenants, since Caroline Walker was nearly equivalent to Millwood's overseer in status, based on the archaeological interpretations, but certainly did not receive an equivalent salary. It is likely that many of the ceramics in Ms. Walker's possession came as gifts of Calhoun, perhaps at times when he purchased new ceramic sets, and this paternalistic treatment could explain both the number of vessels found at Ms. Walker's site, and the relatively high percentage of decorated wares.

Considering Otto's (1975) social dichotomies, based on his coastal Georgia research, it is clear that the postbellum upcountry agrarian culture was substantially different from that of the lowcountry and antebellum. Otto noted several social dichotomies in the material record at Cannon's Point. Housing suggested a racial separation, as whites (planter and overseer) were housed in

substantial frame or brick structures, and blacks (slaves) in log or tabby dwellings. This dichotomy does not apply to the postbellum, as construction material did not distinguish between racial or social status, and size was not a sufficient variable to distinguish between black and white occupations (the overseer's house at Millwood is comparable to the Harper-Featherstone and Featherstone tenant houses in square footage). Ethnicity, interpreted by Otto (1975; 1980) from the ratio of hollowwares to flatwares, does not appear in Millwood's postbellum assemblage, as this ratio is comparable for the various status groups at Millwood. Only socio-economic status, interpreted by Otto through the use of more decorated ceramics by the planter class, can be read at Millwood, and Orser et al.'s research indicates that quantity, more than decoration, is a reflection of social status in the postbellum.

Summary and Conclusions

That agricultural southern culture changed in the period from 1860 to 1890 is unquestionable. The abolition of slavery was a fundamental turning point in southern history. But the changes between the antebellum and postbellum society in the project area were not as dramatic as might be expected. King Cotton continued; the regional economy maintained its position as a regional economy, and its isolation from broader networks; agricultural rhythms dominated daily life. If a single aspect summed up the transition from the plantation economy to tenancy, it would have to be the dispersed settlement pattern of the tenant economy. This settlement shift is eloquent in what it reveals of freedmen's and planter's desires. Planters wanted, and maintained, power: political, economic, and social. Freedmen needed, and achieved a measure of independence. It was white supervision which was most resented by the region's black population, just as the white population resented the Federal threat to their social and economic standing. Tenancy marks a compromise which partially fulfilled the objectives of both groups. It also marks a system which slowly ate away at the life line of the agrarian culture, weakening the southern soil. As a compromise, it would be short lived.

The four decades between 1890 and 1930 witnessed far greater changes in the regional culture than occurred between 1865 and 1890. It marked the entrance of the area into the national economy, the expansion of industry and agriculture, and regional collapse and fragmentation as agrarian culture succumbed to soil erosion and an insect known as the boll weevil. These four decades are critical decades in the history of the region, and form the basis of our next chapter.