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Initial Historic Overview of the Savannah River Plant, Aiken and Barnwell Counties, South Carolina

Richard D. Brooks

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INITIAL HISTORIC OVERVIEW
OF THE
SAVANNAH RIVER PLANT,
AIKEN AND BARNWELL COUNTIES,
SOUTH CAROLINA
by
Richard D. Brooks
Research Manuscript Series 170

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Prepared by the

SAVANNAH RIVER ARCHEOLOGY LABORATORY
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Preface

There are five important reasons for undertaking this historic overview. First, it provides a historic literature review of the Savannah River Plant area to serve as a foundation for all other historical archeology in the area. Second, it is a basis upon which to evaluate historic sites in terms of time periods and activities. Third, it gives the program an idea of what type of historic sites to expect. Fourth, it provides the archeological research program on the Savannah River Plant with many points from which to start specific research into the area's history. Finally, it provides a foundation for historical archeological research designs. The research designs will be formulated for use in the general survey of the Savannah River Plant as well as for specific survey areas as the need arises.

As will be noted by the reader this overview begins by looking at the southeastern portion of the United States during its initial European contacts. Specific information about the Savannah River Plant is not available until circa 1750 when the first actual settlement of the area began. The overview becomes more specific as it chronologically advances toward the present as more specific information becomes available.

The termination of archeological research on the Savannah River Plant will result in a final *Historic Overview of the Savannah River Plant*. There are eleven different areas in which the historic overview will be expanded: first, a picture of the historic Indians in the area; second, the importance of the Savannah River as a frontier/border in the late 17th and early 18th centuries; third, a more comprehensive history of Fort Moore and Fort Prince George; fourth, a detailed look at the early settlement of the middle Savannah River Valley; fifth, Colonial period land use patterns from 1715 to 1776; sixth, antebellum land use from 1783 to 1860; seventh, post-bellum land use from 1870 to 1950; eighth, histories of the towns that once existed on the Savannah River Plant area; ninth, a more detailed and concentrated history of the area; tenth the history of the sites located on the plant; finally, an economic model of settlement history for future research in the Aiken/Barnwell area.

The *Initial Historic Overview of the Savannah River Plant* has certain limitations and should not be considered as the last word about the history of the area. This history was undertaken to perform specific tasks, which are explained below. This overview will be a significant tool in formulating future historic/archeological work on the Savannah River Plant.

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INITIAL COLONIZATION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ATLANTIC COAST

Ayllón

Twenty-nine years after Columbus "sailed the ocean blue" and discovered the West Indies, one of the first recorded Europeans set foot on the Carolina coast. Although a map showing the mainland north of Cuba existed in Lisbon in 1502, it showed capes and rivers, but the area can be attributed to no known exploration (Shea 1886: 231). It is known, but again cannot be attributed to any specific explorer, that between 1500 and 1502, there were several navigators who apparently sailed from the vicinity of Pensacola Bay around Florida's peninsula northward to either the Chesapeake or the Hudson River (Shea 1886: 323). There were, to be sure, other explorations of the new land after 1502, but the most important of these were the explorations of Ponce de León and Garay who explored extensively the coast of Florida (Shea 1886: 232-238).

The area north of Florida's St. Johns River was still to be explored. The credit for this exploration belongs to Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, a superior judge of Española. After applying for the necessary licenses in 1521, he hired Francisco Gordillo to command his ship. Gordillo's orders were to sail north through the Bahamas to the continent and sail along the coast looking for possible lands to colonize. Unfortunately, Gordillo met with a slave trader named Pedro de Quexós in the Lucayeulos Islands. Quexós had been unsuccessful in his quest for slaves among the Bahamans and suggested to Gordillo that they sail the coast together. They reached land in latitude 33° 30' and sighted a considerable river which they named St. John the Baptist (most likely the Pee Dee River). When they landed, the Spaniards cultivated friendship and trade with the Indians. Within days, however, the Spaniards set sail for Española with 150 Indians, half of which died during the voyage. Quexós considered the Indians as slaves, but Ayllón demanded they be returned to their native land. One Indian, Francisco Chicora, stayed in Española to learn Spanish customs.

After listening to the tales that Francisco told about his land, Ayllón decided to take him to Spain and obtain a license to establish a colony. In 1523 Charles V granted Ayllón this license. He was to become governor of any lands he might discover, to gain ownership of an estate 15 leagues square (1,000,000 acres) and to explore northward for 800 leagues to discover the straits leading to the Orient. He had to undertake this project at his expense; the only royal expense would be for friars who would undertake the Christianizing of the local Indians. When Ayllón returned to the West Indies, he was called upon for royal service and had to have his license extended. In 1525 he sent Quexós back to establish friendly relations with the Indians and to explore northward 250 leagues. Quexós returned to Santo Domingo in July, 1525, with one or two Indians from each province to be trained as interpreters.

In 1526 Ayllón readied his expedition and set sail in June with four

vessels. The ships carried approximately 600 persons of both sexes for settlement. They reached land at 33° 40', approximately the Cape Fear River, and tried to land. Unfortunately, one ship wrecked, but most of the crew and passengers were saved. Ayllón named the river Jordan but decided that it was unsuitable for settlement. He split the party: some sailed westward, while the rest traveled by land, on foot and by horse. Ayllón traveled along the coast until he reached a river, calling it Rio Gualdape, where he decided to establish the colony. The colonists built their houses along the bank of the river with black slave labor. This is the first recorded instance of black slaves in North America.

Most of the land the settlers built on was low and swampy with malarial mosquitoes. Malaria struck the Spanish killing many settlers, including Ayllón, who died on October 18, 1526.

Before Ayllón died, however, he chose his nephew to be the new Governor, but his nephew was in Puerto Rico at the time. In his stead, the temporary leadership went to Francisco Gómez. Soon thereafter, dissension broke out among the Indians as well as the Blacks, and more settlers were killed. Permanent leadership was then established under Gómez. The settlers, however, abandoned the settlement of San Miguel de Gualdape and returned to Santo Domingo. Only 150 of the original settlers returned to Santo Domingo (Shea 1886: 239-241; Bolton 1921: 15-18; Lowery 1959: 160-168; Quattlebaum 1956; Johnson 1923; Wallace 1934: 26-31; D'anghera 1912).

Many questions remain unanswered in regard to the Ayllón settlement. Two questions stand out as being most important. First, the location of River Jordan: it has been speculated that the river could be either the Cape Fear River or the Santee River. The second question is the location of the Ayllón settlement San Miguel de Gualdape. Previously published accounts tend to place it in the region of Winyah Bay. Unpublished material, however, leans to a location south of the Savannah River (Paul Hoffman, personal communication, April 17, 1980). Archeological investigations of these areas, when they are decided upon, will reveal Ayllón's actual location. Spanish artifacts and a substantial cemetery will be the key factors in locating it. The Ayllón settlement of San Miguel de Gualdape is of primary importance to American history as the first attempted settlement in the New World.

De Soto

On April 20, 1537, Hernando De Soto received from Charles V the Governorship of Cuba and became the *adelantado* of Florida, requiring him to conquer and occupy Florida within the year, erect fortresses, and carry over at least 500 men to settle and hold the country. De Soto sailed from Spain in April, 1538, with 9 ships and 600 men. After his arrival in Havana, he sent Juan de Anasco to reconnoiter the coast of Florida before choosing a suitable place to land his small army. De Soto landed his troops in the Tampa Bay area on May 30, 1539. De Soto left his camp garrisoned with 50 footmen and 30 horses and set out to explore and conquer Florida on August 1. Unfortunately, De Soto had no respect for the Indians, and on his march

march for the next three years, he captured and killed them when it suited his purpose. De Soto marched up the coast of Florida seeking the wealthiest of the Indian kingdoms in his quest for gold and other valuables. By the time he crossed the Suwanee River, he heard of and proceeded toward a rich kingdom near the Apalachicola River.

On DeSoto's march toward the Apalache villages, he had several encounters with Indians, killing many hundreds; his troops suffered, many killed and wounded. This march, which lasted three months, depleted his supplies, and by the time he reached the first of the Apalache villages, his men were glad to be eating watercress and palmetto leaves. It was mid-October when they finally arrived in the Apalache territory near Tallahassee. Because the Indian fields were in harvest, De Soto decided to winter there. He sent for the men left in Tampa Bay and for more supplies from Cuba.

De Soto discovered the possibilities of Pensacola Bay area but decided to head northeast to a rich realm the Indians had told him about. De Soto set out in March, 1540, and a month later, he reached the Altamaha River. Although the tribes here showed signs of greater civilization than previous tribes, giving food to his men, he still treated them cruelly. Toward the end of April, De Soto finally reached the Province of Cofitachique and was royally welcomed by its chieftainess. She presented De Soto with a string of pearls and a Spanish dagger. De Soto, caught up in his quest for riches, siezed the chieftainess, desecrated the temple that contained a large quantity of pearls, and headed north toward the mountains. He marched toward Guale, another alleged rich realm, and spent the next two years marching toward and beyond the Mississippi River, conquering and capturing Indians along the way.

Finally, giving up his quest for El Dorado after losing 250 of his men to Indian attacks, disease, and freezing winter, he decided to return to the Mississippi River, head to the Gulf and return to Cuba. On May 21, 1542, De Soto died of a fever and his body was committed to the Mississippi River for burial.

Before his death, De Soto named Luis de Moscoso as his successor. Moscoso decided to reach Mexico by land, but by the time they reached the Brazos River in Texas, winter had come and they decided to return to the Mississippi River. They reached the mouth of the Arkansas River, where De Soto had died, and built several boats to take them down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico where they could sail for Mexico. By September, 1543, 310 men of the original 600 finally reached the mouth of the Panuco River, Mexico (Smith 1922a, 1922b; Shea 1886; De Soto Commission 1939).

Much archeological and historical research needs to be undertaken to trace the exact route of De Soto from Florida to Texas. Some work has been done in Florida with significant results on datable artifacts in the Tampa Bay area (Goggin 1954). Other work in the Southeast includes a study undertaken in the Tennessee and Coosa River Valleys, trying to suggest a new route through this area with the use of 16th century trade goods datable to 1540-1560 (Smith 1976). The results to date appear to be reliable.

There are three distinct theories that apply to the location of Cofitachique in South Carolina. One, proposed by Swanton (1939), has the location of Cofitachique on the Savannah River at Silver Bluff below Augusta, though research is still ongoing in this area. However, tentative artifact analysis has produced no European artifacts of the 16th century. The second theory, presented by Ross (1930), places Cofitachique near Columbia, South Carolina. Using material from De Soto, Pardo, Boyano, and Woodward, Ross presents a convincing argument as to the location of the town. Unfortunately, there are no artifacts to support her view. The third view, presented by Baker (1974), places the town on the upper Santee River, using much the same evidence as Ross, only placing it downriver from Columbia. Again, unfortunate circumstances cloud the issue because most of the upper Santee River is located under Lake Marion, and artifacts to date do not justify the assumption. However, Ross's and Baker's theses that Cofitachique is located somewhere on the upper Santee drainage, including the Wateree and Congaree Rivers, have as yet to be disproved archeologically and historically. This area abounds with sites that have not been excavated or recorded. Certainly the description of the mounds at Cofitachique fits better in the area around the upper Santee than they do at Silver Bluff. Bartram (1958) wrote in the 1770s that there were several mound remnants at Silver Bluff. The Savannah River is known to overflow its banks, and several mounds upriver from Silver Bluff have been washed away. There has been a mound reported in the woods near the river that has yet to be professionally examined. These ideas are still much disputed, but only with further research will the question be settled.

French Colonial Attempts

In May of 1561, Angel de Villafañe, with three vessels and less than 200 men, reached Port Royal Sound and the area of Santa Elena, named presumably by Ayllón or one of his captains. Villafane took possession of the area in the name of the King of Spain. However, he found no soil suitable for farming and sailed north up the coast of Carolina. It is also possible that Villafañe, and what was left of his crew, visited the Chesapeake Bay area.

In September, 1561, the King of Spain declared that there would be no further attempts to settle the New World. This was done in view of what had happened to Ponce de León, Ayllón, De Soto, and other Spanish explorers of the Gulf Coast and southeastern states.

French Admiral Gaspar de Coligny, however, arranged with the King of France and Catherine de Medici to plan a French settlement in the very area that Villafane declared unsuitable.

In 1561, Admiral Coligny received permission from the French King to colonize Spanish Florida, after having been driven out of Brazil by the Portuguese. Coligny, being a Protestant, felt this would be an excellent opportunity to plan a Huguenot colony. He hoped that the colony would be strong enough to withstand any attempted attack by the Spanish. He chose

the man he felt was most competent to oversee the development of the colony, Jean Ribaut. Ribaut sailed on February 18, 1562, with two ships and sighted the Florida coast on April 30. Ribaut landed on the shore of the St. Johns River, named it the River of May, and erected a pillar, claiming the land for France. Ribaut then sailed north to the Port Royal Sound area, where he erected Charlesfort, a fortified house of wood and earth with four bastions and eight cannons. During June, Ribaut set sail for France. He left behind approximately 30 settlers, and promised to return with more settlers and supplies within 6 months. Unfortunately, circumstances did not permit Ribaut to return for almost two years.

By that time, the captain in command of Charlesfort had become an unbearable tyrant to the colonists and was killed by one of the settlers. The Indians of the area had been extremely kind and provided food to the men. The colonists decided they would no longer stay at Charlesfort. Apparently, they planted no corn or other foodstuffs, so they were almost wholly dependent on the Indians. The Indians helped the French as much as they could in hopes they would leave. In particular, the Indians supplied the Frenchmen with bark rope to rig a ship. The settlers gathered as much food and supplies as possible with the Indians' help. When they were ready, they set sail leaving one of their countrymen behind at his request.

In 1563, Philip II, King of Spain, ordered the Governor of Cuba to destroy the French fort and its markers. The Governor commissioned Captain Manrique De Rojas to accomplish the task. In 1564, De Rojas sailed to every major river along the coast searching for the French. When he reached latitude 32° 15', he met some Indians who informed him that a Frenchman had remained behind. The Frenchman, Guillaume Rouffi (Rufin in the "Spanish original"), 17, was closely questioned about the French presence in Spanish Florida. After the questioning, Rouffi led the Spanish to Charlesfort. The Spanish burned the city and took the pillar Ribaut erected with them. Rouffi was taken back to Cuba with Captain De Rojas.

Relief was finally sent to Charlesfort in 1564, but by then, the survivors from Charlesfort had sailed toward France, only to be rescued by the English. Ribaut went to England, and Coligny chose one of Ribaut's lieutenants to return to Florida for another settlement attempt. Rene Laudonnière was placed in command of the three ships chosen to make the voyage. Not only were Coligny and the French Huguenots involved with this venture, but both the French King and Catherine di Medici invested in this voyage also. Laudonnière's instructions were to colonize without provoking the Spanish. With 250 colonists, the tiny fleet set sail on April 22, 1564, reaching the Florida coast on May 22. On May 25, Laudonnière landed at the mouth of the River of May, found Ribaut's pillar, and, acknowledging the friendliness of the natives, began constructing Fort Caroline (Fig. 1). Once again, the colonists planted no crops, preferring to search for gold and silver. In July, Laudonnière returned to France. Against orders from both Laudonnière and di Medici not to provoke the Spanish, a number of the colonists mutined, taking several ships that the colony had constructed, and capturing Spanish ships. The Governor of Jamaica was held for ransom. Upon Laudonnière's return to Fort Caroline, the mutineers were hung. The colonists became disgruntled and began constructing a ship to return to France. Before they completed the ship, however, four English ships were sighted under the com-

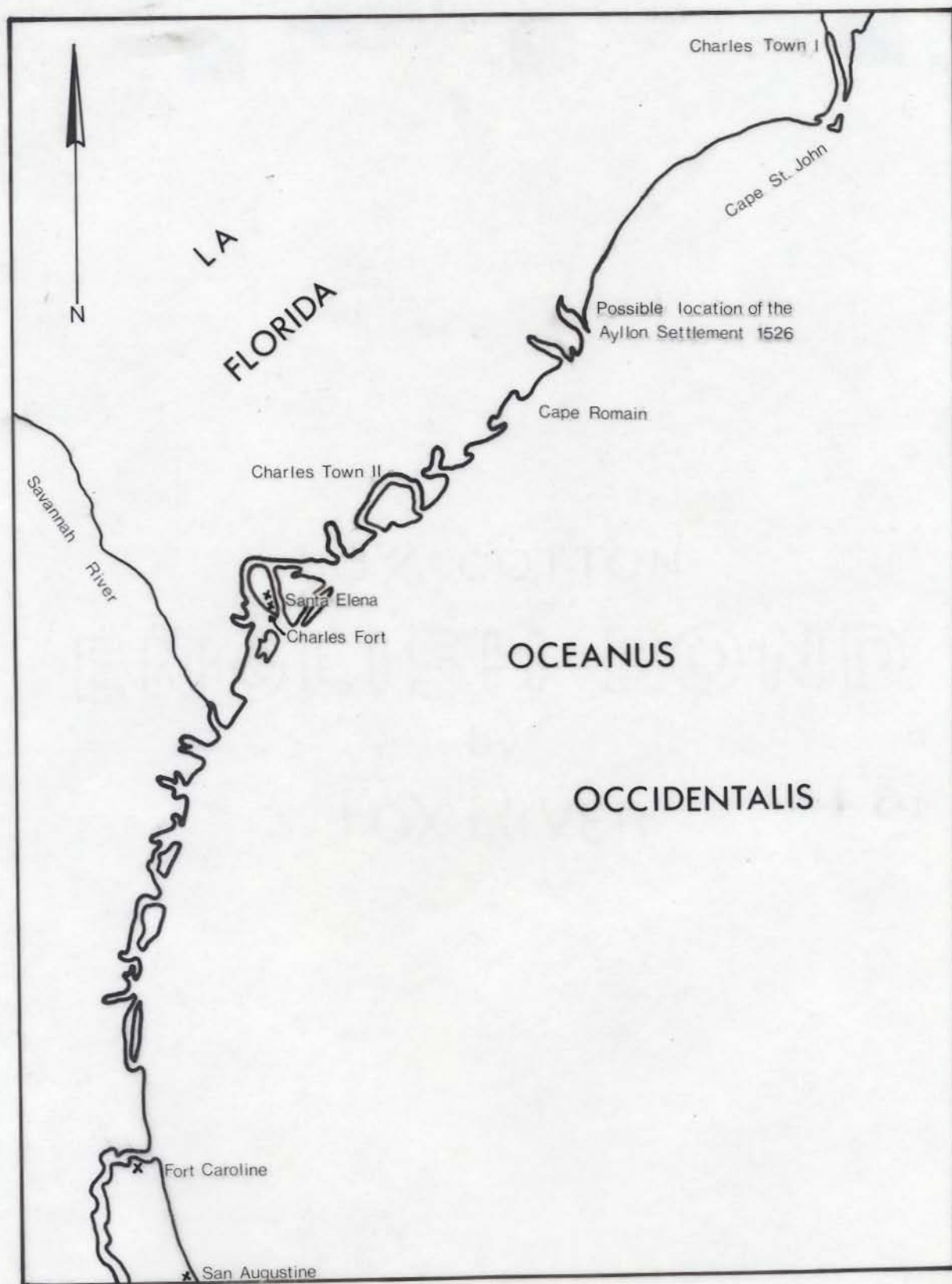


FIGURE 1. The Southeast Coast, 1520-1670.

mand of John Hawkins, who had been guided there by one of Ribaut's former sailors. By this time, Fort Caroline was half dismantled in order to use the lumber for the ship. Hawkins offered to take the French back to France, but Landonnière declined the offer and traded his artillery for a ship and supplies. Hawkins sailed and the colonists were left to finish outfitting their ship.

Admiral Coligny offered command once again to Ribaut on his return from England. With 7 ships and 300 colonists, Ribaut set sail on the May 10, 1565. He arrived at Fort Caroline the same day that Laudonnière was ready to set sail, August 28th. Unfortunately, three days earlier, the Spanish had been sighted off the coast of Florida. On September 4, 1565, the Spanish commander, Pedro Menéndez D'Avilés, opened fire on the French fleet. The French fleet, grossly undermanned with the majority ashore, was barely able to escape the Spanish. Menéndez turned his fleet south, looking for a natural harbor to land his men and supplies. When the French ships returned, Ribaut commanded all the sailors and a majority of the soldier/colonists to board the ships in order to chase the Spanish fleet. Ribaut set sail on September 10, leaving Laudonnière in command of the garrison to protect the women and children.

Menéndez had, by this time, found the harbor he was looking for and claimed the land for Philip II of Spain. He ordered some of his men to begin construction of St. Augustine, the first permanent European settlement in North America (Fig. 1). Menéndez also decided that the majority of the French would be at sea searching for his base of operations and would not expect a land attack. After consulting with the natives and several French deserters, Menéndez set out overland in search of Fort Caroline with 500 men. Despite heavy rains and swollen creeks, they were able to make the march in three days, completely surprising the garrison. Menéndez and his men killed 132 of the Frenchmen before they could organize any resistance. Laudonnière and about 50 others escaped.

While Fort Caroline was attacked by Menéndez, the French fleet, under Ribaut, was having weather problems and most of his fleet was shipwrecked within 10 miles of St. Augustine. Menéndez searched for the French, and upon finding them, persuaded the French to surrender, whereupon he promptly had them all killed. According to witnesses, Menéndez killed about 800 Frenchmen between September 20th and October 12th. Ribaut was among those killed.

It was six months later by the time the French King Charles IX and Catherine di Medici heard of the murders of their colonists; however, they decided not to take any strong action against the Spanish. There was one man, however, who had enough hatred for the Spanish to take it upon himself to gather the men and supplies to attack the Spanish in St. Augustine. He was the French Catholic, Dominique de Gourgues. With 3 ships and 180 men, he reached the Florida coast in April 1568. Gourgues was able to gain the Indians as allies in the attack on the Spanish by using one of Laudonnière's trumpeters as an interpreter. In the year and a half since the massacre, Menéndez had rebuilt Fort Caroline renaming it San Mateo, and had built two other small forts. Gourgues, with the help of his Indian allies, was able to capture San Mateo as well as the two other small forts. Those not killed

in the fighting were taken to the same spot and hung where Menéndez had hung the Huguenots. Gourgues then set sail for France committing several acts of piracy along the way. The French King, while officially displeased with the acts of Gourgues, was unofficially pleased with what he had accomplished (Wenhold 1959; Bennett 1964; Bennett 1974; Ribaut 1964).

Pardo Expeditions

Santa Elena was probably named by Ayllón in 1526, but it was not occupied until 1566. In 1566, Menéndez sailed up the coast of Guale making treaties with the Indians and trying to Christianize them. After completing a treaty with the local chief in the Santa Elena Harbor area, he chose a location free from immediate Indian contact and constructed a small fort named Fort San Felipe. In June of 1566, Philip II sent Menéndez 1500 men and 18 ships to help keep the French out of Spanish North America (Ross 1925). With some of these new troops, Menéndez ordered Juan Pardo to complete preparations and to begin his expedition into the interior of the new land from Santa Elena by November, 1566. The three major goals of the expedition were to "seek alliance with the natives, spread the Gospel...and open a borderland trail all the way from Santa Elena to Zacatecas" (Ross 1930: 269). Fifty leagues from Santa Elena in a west by north route, Pardo found the Cofitachique visited by De Soto in 1540. Pardo pushed on into North Carolina to the Indian town of Xualla, where he built a fort and garrisoned it with 30 men, leaving Sergeant Hernando Boyano in command. Pardo continued to the town of Guatari, leaving four soldiers to instruct the natives in Christianity. Pardo received word that the French were preparing to strike Santa Elena and he retraced his trail leaving the forts manned. Pardo was kept in Santa Elena until September 1567.

Boyano, meanwhile, was having problems with a mountain chieftain named Chisca (Ross 1930: 277). Boyano requested permission to attack the Indians. By the time Pardo sent Boyano permission to advance against the rebellious Indians, Boyano had another challenge after defeating Chisca. Again, Boyano carried the attack to the Indians, completely surprising them. Accounts state that as a result of the two battles, 2,500 Indians were killed while the Spanish suffered no casualties. Boyano was near the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River when he received Pardo's approval. He proceeded to the Indian town of Chiaha in Georgia where Pardo caught up with him. Pardo led the expedition to Chalaume where his alchemists declared was a hill of silver. Unfriendly Indians kept Pardo from continuing further, but his interpreter had made it to Coosa and back. Juan de Ribas, the interpreter, declared that Coosa was the largest town on the trail and that there was evidence that other Spaniards had passed through Coosa.

Pardo retraced his steps to Santa Elena. Along the way, he built fortifications and garrisoned them with Spanish soldiers at Chiaha, Carichi (western North Carolina) and Guatari. Unfortunately for the Spanish, interest in the back country forts waned and the forts were soon abandoned from lack

of support. The exploits of Pardo and Boyano grew, however, with each telling stories of gold, silver and diamonds (Lowery 1959b; Ross 1925, 1930; Salley 1925). In 1925, Johnson (1925) verified the existence of Spanish mining operations in North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia. None of this "evidence" can now be confirmed without an extensive survey of the region. It seems that those reports are somewhat "colorful."

Three forts were built at Santa Elena: San Felipe I and II and San Marcos (South 1979, 1980). Research is still continuing both through the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology and the National Geographic Society.

The abandonment of Santa Elena and Fort San Marcos in 1587 did not herald the end of Spanish activity in South Carolina. Several times, the Yamasee Indians revolted against the Spanish priests. With the final abandonment of Santa Elena, Jesuit missions were still active among several tribes in South Carolina and Georgia. There are some accounts of Spanish priests in the area until the early 1700s. Most accounts of English explorers in the Santa Elena area in the 1600s found no evidence of Spanish priests. However, they did find evidence of their crosses (Hilton 1884; Quattlebaum 1956).

French Incursions on Georgia and South Carolina Coasts

From 1560 to 1605, the Spanish secured the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina against incursions of the French. Between 1577 and 1580, two French corsairs kept the Spanish quite busy:

Led by Nicolás Estrozi...and Gilberto Gil...a motley band of French corsairs moved northward out of the Caribbean, and between the years 1577 and 1580 entrenched themselves in a third French fortification on the Atlantic coast, entered into a design with the Georgia-Carolina natives, and planned for the destruction of the Spanish establishments at San Augustin and Santa Elena (Ross 1923: 252).

Spanish governor Pedro Menéndez de Marqués captured the French fort and ended the French threat by Estrozi in 1579. In July, 1580, however, a French ship arrived in Santa Elena Harbor and traded with the Indians only 12 leagues from San Marcos. Marques, sailing from San Augustin with two ships, met and engaged in battle with Gilberto Gil, the French captain, with a final Spanish victory.

The natives of Guale reported 20 French vessels off the coast of Georgia in 1580, several of which belonged to Estrozi. Seeking revenge for the destruction of his fort and ship, Estrozi conspired with the Indians to attack and capture Santa Elena. Marqués, however, learned of the plan in time to suppress the French threat (Ross 1923).

The Frenchmen returned in 1605.

On February 3, 1605, an unidentified craft appeared off the bar of San Augustin and sounded the entrance.... At the bar of San Pedro (Cumberland Sound) the trespassers repeated their maneuvers...But there was an alert friar on Cumberland Island. Faithful to his civil as well as his religious duties, the watchful missionary sent some of his neophytes to examine and interview the strange boat. The Indians discovered that the intruders numbered eight men, and that they belonged to a large French ship that was coasting north toward Santa Elena (Ross 1924: 184).

The friar sent word to the governor immediately. The small boat continued up the coast into the Guale province. The Guale chief, figuring to profit from the French venture, enticed the French ashore and killed the French captain and pilot; four others escaped. The Spanish governor, Abarra, sent a small fleet of piraguas to overtake the small French boat and destroy it. Ybarra then learned that the larger French vessel was in the Savannah River trading with the Indians. He sent out a small ship with 20 soldiers to capture it. A Spanish frigate then entered the San Augustin harbor and Ybarra refitted the ship and sent 30 soldiers, commanded by Captain Ecija, to destroy the French. As the frigate was about to cross the bar, another Spanish frigate arrived from Havana. The three Spanish vessels gathered at the Savannah River mouth and surprised the French. Once the battle started, the French realized they could not win and set fire to their ship. The Spaniards put out the fire and towed their prize back to San Augustin.

Ybarra questioned the French prisoners and found they knew as much about the coastal region as he did, and sent them to friendly chiefs for imprisonment. He wrote to the Spanish King requesting permission to explore and conquer the interior to prevent further French incursions.

As a preliminary step the coast must be reconnoitered as far as Cape Roman (Cape Fear) and a way of approach into the interior determined upon. At the same time, all stray Frenchmen must be sought out and removed. For this purpose Captain Ecija was again called into service.

Taking twenty-three trustworthy assistants,...boarded the frigate Asuncion and sailed north on August 2, 1605. He carried instructions to sound the principal harbors, to take descriptions of port entrances, to investigate the most promising waterways into the interior, and to capture any interloper who might be found loitering on the coast (Ross 1924: 190).

Captain Ecija learned of a French vessel when he was sounding the Charleston Harbor area and was in immediate pursuit. He could not find the ship, but did find evidence of the French trading (axes, hoes, knives,

and other iron tools). The Indians had killed two of five Frenchmen after their mother ship had been blown out to sea in a storm; the others were taken prisoner. Eciija obtained two of the captives, learned that the Charleston Harbor fitted the governor's plans, and returned to San Augustin (Ross 1924). For the next 55 years, the coast would be relatively trouble-free for the Spanish until the arrival of the English.

THE EARLY ENGLISH AND SOUTH CAROLINA

Charles I, King of England, using Cabot's voyage along the eastern coast of North America in 1497, granted to Sir Robert Heath on October 30, 1629, a charter to all of America between the latitudes of 36° and 31° from sea to sea naming it "Carolina." This charter was leased to French Huguenot refugees in England to settle a portion of that area. In 1630, the Huguenots sailed from England on the *Mayflower* bound for Carolina. Instead, the ship was forced to land in Virginia (Wallace 1934: 56-57). Heath's charter was declared forfeit by the King when he granted a new charter to the Lords Proprietors in 1663. It was not until 1663 that another charter was granted by Charles II to the Lords Proprietors.

William Hilton was employed by wealthy Barbadians to find a suitable location for colonization. Hilton, on the ship *Adventure*, sailed from Barbados in August, 1663. Sailing into the South Edisto River on September 3, friendly Indians informed them of Englishmen in the area. While they were trying to secure the release of the English from the Indians, they found the ruins of an old fort that Hilton thought to be Charles Fort, which was probably Fort San Marcos. They gathered information from the Indians about the land and the rivers and also learned that Spanish soldiers and priests were in the area. They then continued to sail the coast looking for a place to colonize. Apparently, they could find no suitable harbor until they reached the Cape Fear River where they sailed about 14 leagues and anchored. Hilton then took a longboat and explored the river for about 50 leagues (Hilton 1884). They were greatly impressed by what they found.

In May, 1664, a group from Barbados established a colony on the Cape Fear River that they called the "Charles River" and the colony "Charles Town." Robert Horne wrote a pamphlet in 1666 entitled *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina*. He discussed the attributes of the new English plantation on the "Charles River." Horne related that the colony was engaged in making brick from lime for building purposes, that they produced two crops of Indian corn a year, and that the fruit trees brought with them were doing very well. The plants and trees they brought included indigo, tobacco, apple, pear, lime, lemon, and orange. The new colony offered freedom of religion, freedom to choose their own governors and assembly, and land to each man, woman, child and servant brought over (Salley 1911: 66-73).

The Lords Proprietors selected John Yeamans as Governor of the new colony and he was instructed to locate another site for a colony south of Cape Romain. Governor Yeamans found the Charles Town Colony in October 1665 to be in such a poor condition that he sent to Barbados for food and supplies. Upon his return, Governor Yeamans ordered Robert Sandford to explore the lower coast of Carolina.

Sandford set out on June 14, 1666 and returned within a month. He sent a report to the Lords Proprietors entitled *A Relation of a Voyage in the Province of Carolina, 1666, By Robert Sandford*. Sandford sailed as far

south as Port Royal and explored some distance inland. A local Indian Chief offered his sister's son to Sandford for education in the English ways, and Sandford consented. The ship's surgeon, Dr. Henry Woodward, requested that he be left among the Indians to learn their ways (Salley 1911: 82-108). The Spanish, hearing of Woodward's presence at Port Royal, captured him and brought him to San Augustin. The English buccaneer, Robert Searle, raided the town and released all the English prisoners. Dr. Woodward was taken to the Leeward Islands where he boarded a privateer. Unfortunately, it wrecked on the island of Nevis in August 1669. The Lords Proprietor's fleet stopped there in December, 1669, and Dr. Woodward was allowed to join (Salley 1911: 127). The Lords Proprietor's fleet, led by Joseph West, first settled on the Ashley River at Albermarle Point, then moved to Charles Towne. This was the first serious attempt at English colonization. Despite many early hardships, some of which caused the move to Charles Towne, the new English colony flourished from the beginning.

COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA

Cattle Raising in South Carolina

The first cattle in South Carolina were used at the Spanish colony at Santa Elena in the late 16th century but did not initiate the cattle industry in South Carolina. South Carolina, according to the Lords Proprietors, was to become the agricultural center for the English Colonies and would establish a new market for English finished products. With plantation management, the colony was to grow crops beneficial to England's growth. Crops such as mulberry plants for silk production were to help England become self-sufficient and not dependent upon imports from continental Europe. However, it was soon learned that the products most important to England could not be grown satisfactorily in South Carolina because both climate and soil were not suitable for those crops. Climate was ideal for raising cattle and pigs. Within 30 years from the start of the colony, beef, pork, and deer-skins were the leading exports.

The first English colonists landed at Charles Towne in April of 1670 without any livestock. Sometime during the summer of 1670, Sir John Yeamans purchased 100 head of Virginia cattle (Carroll 1897: 348). Joseph West wrote letters in early September 1670 mentioning that cattle from Virginia had arrived (Carroll 1897: 180, 203). Because the governor and his council were disappointed with the small size of the Virginia cattle, inquiries were made as to the feasibility of the Lords Proprietors shipping Bermuda cattle to Carolina in an attempt to breed larger cattle (Carroll 1897: 180). In a letter dated November 23, 1670, Thomas Colleton wrote Sir Peter Colleton:

I believe that New Yorke will be a better place for Cattle and Horses than Virginia for that wee may buy Cattle their at about 50s per head and Horses much more reasonable than in Virginia and boath them and Cattle much larger (Carroll 1897: 242)...

Stephen Bull wrote a similar letter to Lord Ashley dated March 2, 1671, after an extremely cold winter:

....our cattell and hoggs are in ffarr better case all the winter heere than in Virginia heere is a good duck grasse in the summer and fegg in the winter that cattell wilbee broad fed and dept att very easy rates (Carroll 1897: 275)...

More cattle were requested from the Lords Proprietors because of the ease with which cattle in South Carolina could weather the winter.

Governor West wrote to the Lords Proprietors on March 21, 1671:

Our stock doth thrive very well especially Hoggs which doe increase very fast, being somewhat troubled with them this yeare by reason wee have not time to fence in our planted grounds. The 4 cows I kept for ye use of yr owne Plantation, one of them hath calved, and another is ready to calve, but they are very small Breed, and wilbe but little profitt, except onley for stock. I am informed that there is in New Yorke a very large Breed of Cattell, and yt one Cow will give 2 gallons or more at a meal halfe a dozen such cowes would be a great helpe to our family (Carroll 1897: 297-298).

As seen above, the first Carolina colonists recognized the commercial possibilities of raising cattle. Unfortunately, the Lords Proprietors did not understand their requests and protested, sending only enough cattle for their own consumption. There did not appear to be much more written about cattle for stock breeding in Carolina until 1674. It was apparent in a letter from the Lords Proprietors to the Council, dated May 18, 1674, that they were upset with the colonies' requests for more cattle:

In your letters you have been frequent in the mention of a Stock of Cattle, you say it will enable you to pay your Debts but do you not think if wee bring cattle thither wee who doe not want ground cannot keep them & make the profitt of our charge and Venture as well as others especially it being our designe to have Planters there and not Graziers for if our Intentions were to stock Carolina att that Rate wee could doe better by Baylife and Servants of our own, who would be more observant of our orders than you have been, plant in Townes where we direct Take up noe more lands than what they had use for nor by a scattered Settlement and large tracts of ground taken up and not like to bee planted these many years excludes others from coming neare them and yet complaine for want of Neighbors (Saunders 1886: 222).

This ban against serious cattle raising lasted until about 1680. It is unfortunate that the Lords Proprietors could not foresee the future course of economic events in the colony:

That the commodities that became the principal staples in the early decades of the Ashley River settlement were not contemplated in the original plans. These commodities were barrelled beef and pork; tar, turpentine, and other timber products; and furs obtained from the Indian trade (Gray 1958: 55).

As evidenced in their instructions to Mr. Andrew Percivall dated May 23, 1674, the Lords Proprietors were not against sending cattle for family use, such as beef and milk:

3. You are to enquire the price of cattle at Bermudoes and what number of cattle fit to be transported is to be had there...

5. If you see it convenient you may carry with you some grown Cattle from Bermudoes to Carolina for a present supplye of the family with Milke (Carroll 1897: 441).

Apparently the cattle and hogs were to roam free as instruction 12 includes:

If there be any cleare ground fit for it or in cleareing grounds for provisions and you are to fence in that ground soe as may preserve it from Hogs or Catle (Carroll 1897: 441-442).

By 1680, restrictions against cattle raising had been relaxed out of necessity. Because of the mild winters and abundance of forage, cattle had rapidly increased with each new land acquisition. Many contemporary writers in Carolina recognized the many benefits for cattle raising that were available in Carolina. Maurice Mathews wrote a pamphlet entitled *A Contemporary View of Carolina in 1680*:

The first 5 or 6 years I cannot readily say wee liked, for wee wer in continuall want, few in number, few cattle, and what is worst of all, ignorant what to doe but these four last years wee have had such plenty of provisions that it is to be admired rather than beleaved.

Ther are few except some new comers who want (lack) cattle, There being severall Thousands in the countrey. Wee have no other trouble with them Summer or Winter than to take care that they come home every night that we may have the milk and keep them from running wild. Wee have great store of hogs, having sent to Barbadoes this last winter foure tuns of pork. The wolfe, tygar, and wild catt doe often share with us. However, having plenty of corn wee in two or three year got into a stock, so that the wild beasts dare seldome tutch any of them. Sheep and goats doe Extradinary well here. And its observed that they have no Incident distemper, however, they must be continually watched because of the wolves (Mathews 1954: 157).

The cattle at this time were apparently being watched over by a person specifically detailed for the job, as shepherds watched over sheep and, more specifically, just before and during round-up. The cattle were kept for dairy and beef production for the colonies' use, as were the sheep. Shortly after this time, beef and pork exportation became one of the largest industries in the colony. By 1691 the Council was placing strict regulations on the type of pork and beef to be shipped, size of barrels and packaging. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, Volume II, Acts number 64, 94, 120, 148, 170, 212, and 245, provided the specifics of

these regulations. The Acts were generally entitled "An Act for the Ascertaining the Gauge of Barrells, and for Avoiding Deceipts in selling and Buying Beef & pork, Pitch & Tar." The acts started in 1691 and apparently ended with the 1705 act, as volumes III and IV contained further regulating acts.

Thomas Ashe, in 1682, parroted Mathews' observations adding further information concerning winter cattle forage. Ashe's pamphlet entitled *Carolina, or a Description of the Present State of that Country*, described the condition of cattle raising. In another pamphlet, entitled *An Account of the Province of Carolina* (1682), Samuel Wilson described the ease by which cattle were raised in Carolina. He was the first to note that Carolina cattle were a readily marketable item at a price that competing colonies were unable to match:

many Judicious Persons think that Carolina will be able to sea to supply those Northern Collony, with salted Beef or their shipping, cheaper than they themselves with what is bred amongst them; for, considering that all the Woods in Carolina afford good Pasturage, and the small Rent that is paid to the Lords Proprietors for Land, an Ox is raised at almost as little expence in Carolina, as a Hen is in England. And it hath by experience been found that Beef will take salt at Ashley-River any Month in the Year, and save very well. (Salley 1911: 171-172).

The 1690s not only saw the regulation of beef and pork exportation, but also the enactment of several acts entitled "An Act for destroying of Wild and unmarked Cattle" (Cooper 1837: 62, 73, 106-108). Unfortunately, the first two acts, numbered 69 and 79, were either missing or illegible in the original so that the reasons for them are unknown. Two years after these acts went into effect, an act numbered III entitled "An Act for making sufficient Fences, and keeping the same in repair," dated June 20, 1694, indicated how important cattle raising had become as opposed to crops:

Whereas, divers of the inhabitants of this province, by keeping low and ill fences, where corn and other provisions are planted, have enticed horses, neat cattle and other stock, their coming into the said corn and other provisions, which said inhabitants being evilly minded, do set canes, and other dangerous and indirect means, which have destroyed many horses and cattle for the prevention whereas....That all planters and others of the inhabitants of this province, who do plant corn or other provisions, or any other thing which they would have secured from damage or damages of horses, neat cattle, or any other stock, shall make, have and keep a good strong and sufficient Fence six feet high, about all sorts of provisions, and shall from time to time so maintain and keep the same (Cooper 1837: 81-82).

The act provided that no canes or stakes that may injure horses or cattle were allowed in the enclosures. The owner of the horses or cattle would pay a planter for damages if the stock broke through a sufficient fence. It must be remembered that the population at this time was probably less than 5,000, which distributed sparsely along the coast. Cattle were left to roam free most of the year, except for milk cows, which were milked each night. It was obviously easier to fence in a few acres of corn than several hundred acres of woods and savannas needed for cattle grazing. More than likely, cattle outnumbered the population by 2 to 1 or greater.

Apparently, during late 1695, a severe hurricane struck South Carolina and an act entitled "An Act for the destroying of Unmarked Cattle" numbered 127 was passed on March 16, 1696. The act stated that a large number of trees were blown down by the hurricane making the woods almost impassable; thus, cattle owners were prevented from bringing their cattle to their respective pens and marking them, increasing the number of unmarked cattle. Various people were destroying a large number of these unmarked cattle. To stop this, a certificate had to be obtained to kill unmarked cattle; the certificate could not be sold. Both ears had to be brought in as proof that marked cattle were not killed. At this time, cattle and hogs were marked or branded on the ear (see Salley 1912a and 1912b). This act was in effect for two years to ensure that all marked and potentially markable cattle were branded (Cooper 1837: 106-108).

During this period, horses were a scarce commodity and highly valued, not necessarily for riding, but for racing. Thomas Newe, in a letter to his father dated 1682, stated that the majority of South Carolina's horses came from New England (Salley 1911: 184). These horses were mainly from Rhode Island and were known as Narragansett Pacers. This trade with Rhode Island for these Pacers continued from 1682 to at least 1740 (Fairfax 1931: 171). Other horses, used mainly as work horses, were brought into Carolina by emigrants from Virginia (Fairfax 1931: 172). By 1701 the Council passed an act entitled "An Act to prevent Horses being brought by land from the Northern Settlements into this Government," number 177 (Cooper 1837: 164-165). This act was passed because the horses from Virginia were of an inferior type, and the council wanted to encourage the breeding of a more serviceable horse in Carolina.

Another act was passed in 1703 entitled "An Act for Taking up and killing Wild, unmarked and out-lying cattle." This act, number 213, was initiated to stop wild cattle from drawing tame cattle from their range and destroying the winter forage. Commissioners were appointed, and under them, one man for each 100 head of cattle. They were to round up the cattle, return them, destroy unmarked cattle, and return marked animals to their owners (Cooper 1837: 220-222).

An act entitled "An Act to prevent Stealing of Horses and Neat Cattle" was passed on February 17, 1704. This act stated that all horses and cattle were to be tolled by a justice before a sale and that a fine of 5 pounds would be leveled for neglect (Cooper 1837: 261).

Thomas Nairn (1718: 12) reiterated the promising outlook of the colony to prospective colonists as had the letters and pamphlets in 1682. Cattle

and hogs at this time were still one of the major exports of the colony. According to Nairn, beef and pork were packed and shipped mainly to the Carribean area:

From *Jamaica, St. Thomas's, Currasso, Barbadoes*, and the *Leward* Islands we have Sugar, Rum, Molasses, Cotton, Chocolate made up, Cocoa-Nuts, Negroes, and Money. In return whereof we send Beef, Pork, Butter, Candles, Soap, Tallow, Myrtle-Wax Candles, Rice, some Pitch and Tar, Cedar and Pine-Boards, Shingles, Hoop-Staves, and Heads for Barrels (Nairn 1718).

Apparently night raiders were a problem during 1712 because an act, number 322, entitled "An Act to prevent the malicious Burning of Houses, Stacks of Corn and Hay, and Killing or maiming Cattle," was passed. Punishment for the offense was severe. The felon would be banished for seven years. If the offender returned before that time, he would be sentenced to death and no person could be punished twice for the offense. Triple damages were collected in cases of cattle maiming (Cooper 1837: 521-522).

As the population increased and planters needed more land for crops, the cattlemen had to move further inland. The Yamassee War of 1715 temporarily paralyzed this expansion; however, when Fort Moore was built about 1715-1716, the area along the Savannah River opened up for settlement. The fort, along with the rangers who patrolled the Savannah River, gave new frontier settlers relative safety from Indian attack. Act 433, partially entitled "...for the Better settling the Frontiers of this province," was passed in 1721. It mentioned the Three Runs area of the Savannah River and stated that no person was to raise cattle on the western side of the Savannah. This was enacted so that South Carolina would become better settled and so that settlers on the Georgia side could not readily join forces for their mutual defense at Savanno Town/Fort Moore (Cooper 1838: 122-126).

Peter Purry wrote in his pamphlet of 1731, entitled *A Description of the Province of South Carolina*, that the planters did not have time to look after everything and that, "the last Winter being very Severe, about 10,000 horned Cattle died" (Carroll 1897: 132). In 1743, at least five similar acts were enacted entitled generally, "An Act to prevent stealing of Horses and Neat Cattle, and for the more effective discovery and punishment of such persons as shall unlawfully brand, mark, or kill the same (Act numbers 700, May 7, 1743; 924, May 29, 1762; 963, April 12, 1768; 1224, March 26, 1784). Act 700 states that a justice of the peace may act as the toll master, and that strays are to be advertised for and sold at public auction if not claimed within a year. The penalty was 20 pounds and jail until it was paid. Finally, no slaves were to brand cattle without a white person present (Cooper 1838a: 603-606). Act 924 was basically the same except that horse stealing was made a felony and that strays would be auctioned after six months (Cooper 1838b: 177-179). In Act 963 the penalties for theft changed from loss of an ear and public whipping to 39 lashes for the first offense and death for the second offense. Act 1224 further stiffened the penalty for the first offense to death without benefit of clergy.

Cattle distemper became a very serious problem by 1744. Act 721, "An Act to prevent the further spreading of the Infectious Distemper amongst the Cattle in the Province," was passed, dated March 22, 1744:

distemper--which for some time past, has so violently raged amongst the cattle is in divers parts of this province, still continues, and that same, if not timely prevented, will spread and communicate itself through the whole province (Cooper 1838a: 643).

The act ordered that all sick cattle were to be penned separately from healthy cattle; dead cattle were to be burned. Further portions of the act controlled movement of cattle within the state, particularly not allowing cattle to be transported across the Santee River to the southern portion of the state. On March 22, 1745, the council passed act 725, which was the same as 721, but the former act continued for two years the ban on transporting cattle within the province, especially to the islands (Cooper 1838a: 647-650).

Many inducements were offered to prospective colonists to persuade them to immigrate to South Carolina. "In 1739 the Council assigned each settler on the 'Welch tract' on the upper Pedee tools, livestock, food for one season, and exemption from surveyor's fees on fifty acres"(Gray 1958: 89). An anonymous "Description of the Province of South Carolina" in 1763 stated that "Black cattle are extremely plentiful, many gentlemen owning from five hundred to fifteen hundred head; the beef is best about Christmas" (Carroll 1836: 482). These "Descriptions" of South Carolina were on the whole produced by the council to induce settlers from the northern colonies and the British Isles to come to South Carolina. Many notable families emigrated from Virginia at this time. The family of Tarleton Brown settled on Brier Creek opposite Burton's Ferry. Tarleton Brown wrote in his memoirs:

The range for cattle was excellent; it was a very common thing to see two hundred in a gang in the large ponds. In any month in the year beeves in the finest order for butchering might be obtained from the forest. It was customary then to have large pens or enclosures for cattle under the particular charge or direction of some person or persons; I was informed by one of those who kept a pen at King Creek, that there had been marked that spring seven hundred calves. Our produce for market was beef, pork, staves, and shingles (Brown 1894: 4).

According to Logan, "vast numbers of beeves were annually driven to the distant markets of Charleston, Philadelphia, and even to New York" (Logan 1859: 151-152).

Land use and herding methods employed in South Carolina cattle raising were fairly uniform throughout the state and most portions of the developing Southeast. The industry development "was determined largely by the relationship between population and supply of land" (Gray 1958: 138). As the

farming population increased in an area where herding was being undertaken, the cattle owners had a choice to make: either to move the herd to a less populated district or to stay and develop their animal husbandry methods for a specific area of land. "In many newly settled districts the herding industry preceded the development of systematic agriculture" (Gray 1958: 138). The lower Coastal Plain by the 1750s was almost entirely given over to the production of rice and indigo, forcing the cattle raisers to move their herds further west into thinly settled upper Coastal Plain. "In the plantation districts the raising of stock became subordinate to the production of staples, being carried on largely for domestic consumption" (Gray 1958: 138).

Gray wrote in his *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*:

The expansion of the plantation system into herding regions frequently resulted in a sort of transition economy, which continued as long as farms and plantations were widely scattered. In the coastal plain with its extensive wet lands, even long after settlement there were large areas of range land adjacent to the plantations. While the labor force of such plantations was largely employed in the production of crops, large herds of cattle and hogs were kept in adjacent woods, swamps, or savannahs by methods requiring but little care except the occasional attention of one or two superannuated slaves. In the Carolinas and Georgia, where the production of stock for exportation to the West Indies was a prominent phase of industry in plantation districts, herds of a thousand head of cattle for a single plantation were not uncommon. Ownership was distinguished by brands (Gray 1958: 150).

These brands were to be registered with the government; however, most were not registered (Salley 1912a). (For a list of registered marks, see Salley 1912a and 1912b.) Logan also gives a description of how cattle raising began in an area:

The business of stock-raising, at this period (about the late 1760's), on the frontiers, was scarcely less profitable than it is at present in similar regions of the west; and numbers of enterprising men engaged in it, either personally or through their agents. Having selected a tract, where cane and peavine grass grew most luxuriantly, they erected in the midst of it temporary cabins, and spacious pens. These were used as enclosures, in which to collect the cattle at proper seasons, for the purpose of counting and branding them; and from many such places in the upper-country.... At an earlier day, a *cow-pen* was quite an important institution. It was usually officered with a superintendent, and a corps of sub-Agents...For these a

hamlet of cabins were erected, besides the large enclosures for the stock; all of which, with a considerable plat of cleared land in the vicinity for the cultivation of corn, made quite an opening in the woods; and when all were at home, and the cattle in the pens, a very noisy, civilized scene, in the midst of the savage wilderness.

These rude establishments became afterwards, wherever they were formed, the great centers of settlements founded by the cultivators of the soil, who followed just behind the cow-drivers in their enterprising search for unappropriated, productive lands (Logan 1859: 151-152).

Cattle raising would not be particularly popular in populated areas. Meriwether in *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765* wrote:

Cattle-raising was in many respects a frontier occupation, and occasionally cow pens were established far beyond the settlements. But there was little point in raising beeves so far from a market, for the middle country continued to the Revolution to be thinly settled, and its myraid swamps, especially in such comparatively isolated sections as the Coosaw-whatchie and Edisto Forks, remained the chief cattle ranges (1974: 162).

After the Yamasee War in 1715, the area between Fort Moore on the Savannah River and Orangeburg opened up for settlement. The settlers could now enjoy relative safety from Indian attacks. This area became the frontier, as did other parts of the state until about 1740 when more settlers and townships began claiming land for more intensive farming purposes.

The most promising grazing areas were the savannas and cane swamps west of Orangeburg in the Forks of Edisto, around the headwaters of the Salkehatchie River, and between the Salkehatchie and Savannah Rivers. There were cowpens elsewhere, to be sure, but this was the "classic" cowpen area (Dunbar 1961: 128-219).

Herding methods can be condensed to the following: "to that phase of livestock economy in which large herds were maintained as the sole or principal business, mostly migrating from place to place in search of suitable range" (Gray 1958: 147). The cattle would be allowed to roam free to forage. Many times they would be confined loosely to a large area between two streams, or in a savanna surrounded by woods. At branding time in the spring, the cattle would be rounded and driven into an enclosure called a "cowpen."

Frequently it was merely a temporary enclosure in the woods into which cattle were driven...Occasionally the cowpen consisted merely of the forks of a stream, fenced or ditched across, with an opening for the "drive." This

type was likely to be the temporary headquarters of wandering herdsmen. Sometimes the cowpen was of a more permanent character, resembling the modern ranch, with several Keepers, even then known as "cowboys," who supplemented their activities on the range by raising small patches of corn and other provision crops (Gray 1958: 147-148).

The calves would be branded and those cattle chosen for market would be kept separate while the rest were left to browse until next year's roundup. The market cattle would be either driven to market in Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York, or to the butcher for salting and packing for shipment to the West Indies.

EARLY SETTLEMENT ON THE SAVANNAH RIVER

European settlement of the central Savannah River area began in the mid-1730s with origins in Augusta and New Windsor. The area of New Windsor, opposite Augusta, with Fort Moore at its center, was thinly settled.

Euro-American settlement of the Three Runs area probably began in the 1740s, although the earliest evidence to date suggests the 1750s. The Proprietary/Royal government considered the Savannah River Valley as the Frontier/Border between Spanish Florida and English Carolina from 1670 to the founding of Georgia. Early records show that English fur traders from 1690 used several locations just below Augusta as trading centers with the Indians. The earliest trading center recorded is Savanno Town (later to become Fort Moore), occupied by various tribes, but specifically by Shawnee at different times. The Proprietary/Royal government entreated with many tribes to take up residence along the Savannah River as a buffer to ward off approaching Spanish. In 1670, they negotiated with the Westoes, Yamassee, Yuchi, Appalachians, Apalachicolas, Shawnee, until the final departure of the Chickasaws in 1775. After the Yamassee War in 1715, the government set up a system of frontier forts, two located on the Savannah River (Fig. 2). The first, the Savanno Town named Fort Moore, was located where U.S. 278 crosses the Savannah River. The second was Fort Prince George located at Palachicola Old Town northwest from where S.C. 119 crosses the Savannah River. Fort Moore also served as an Indian trading center until the development of Augusta's Indian trading center and Galphin's trading post at Silver Bluff (McDowell 1955, 1970). Fort Prince George served as an outpost for about 20 years. The main objective of the rangers stationed there was guarding the river. They would sail or row a pirogue up to Fort Moore and down to Savannah (Ivers 1972, 1974; McDowell 1955).

From the time of the first English fur traders in the area, buckskins became a valuable commodity from Cherokee and Creek traders (for a complete picture of fur exports from 1699 to 1762 see Appendix A). The government, in order to keep the Indians friendly, regulated the fur trade (see Appendix B for rates of trade and trade items). Carolina Indian traders did not just trade in Carolina, but pushed westward to trade in both French and Spanish territories in Florida and Alabama. The Carolina fur traders were perhaps the most aggressive traders in North America.

With the founding of Augusta in 1735, the Carolina fur trade began to decline. Settlers brought cattle and farming into the Three Runs area; however, before farming could begin, the land had to be cleared. For a number of years, naval stores, including processed meat, pitch and tar, were the chief exports from the area. Utilizing all of their resources, early settlers manufactured pitch and tar from the timber.

Until the formation of New Windsor township in 1773, there were few

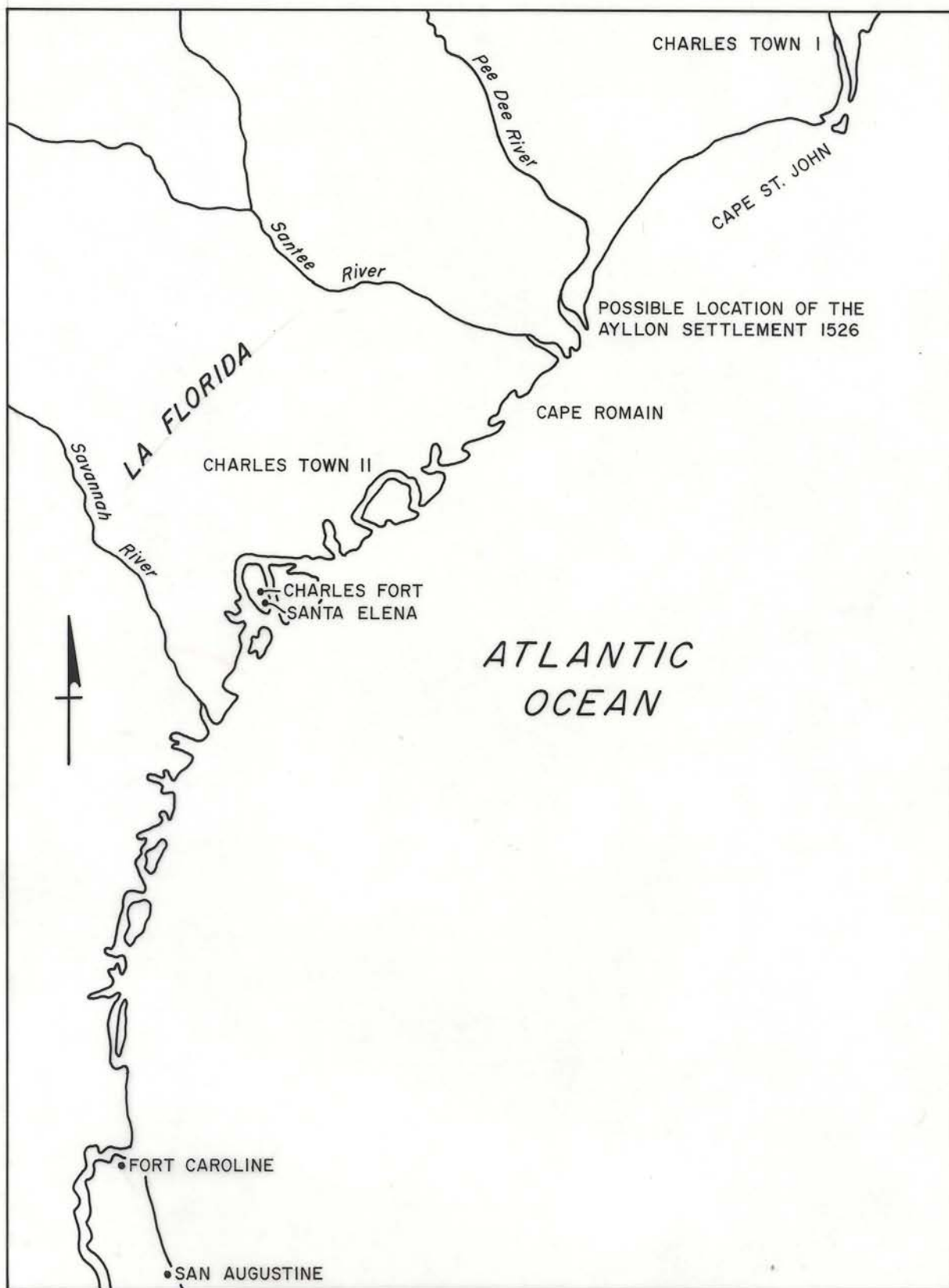


FIGURE 2: Savannah River Settlements 1715-1825.

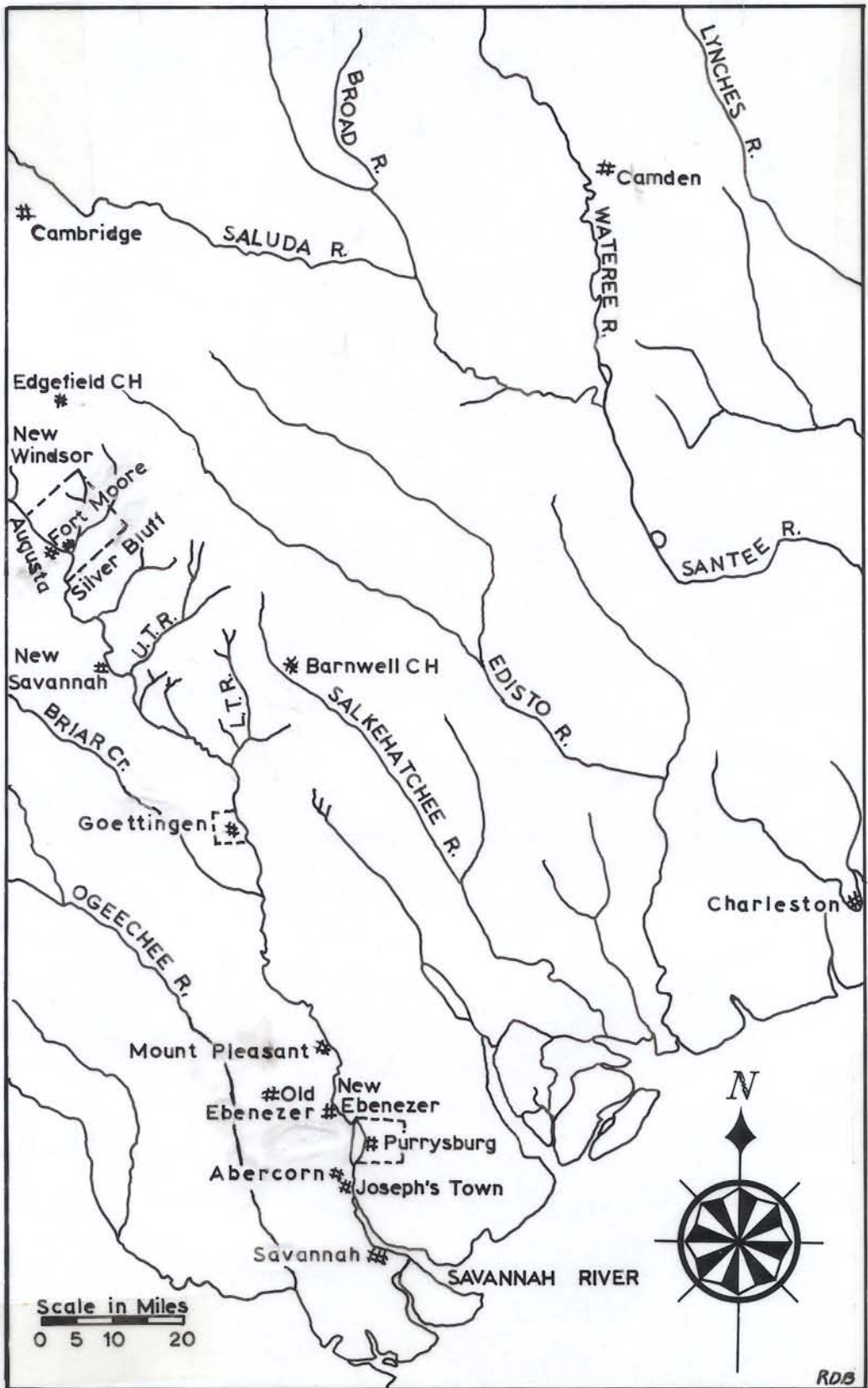


FIGURE 2. Savannah River settlements from 1715 through 1825
 (Sources: DeVorsey 1966; H. S. Tanner 1825).
 (U.T.R. equals Upper Three Runs Creek and L.T.R. equals
 Lower Three Runs Creek).

settlers in the Barnwell/Aiken area near the Savannah River. The Royal government used many methods to bring settlers into the area, including bounties for settlers, free land and pamphlets. Two of the more famous pamphlet writers responsible for many immigrants (mostly from Switzerland) were Johannes Tobler and Jean Pierre Purry. Tobler helped bring settlers to New Windsor, while Purry brought settlers to Purrysburg in the mid-to-late 1730s and after.

Beginning in 1736, a trickle of German-Swiss moved into the area. Johannes Tobler, with his and 50 other Swiss families, set out from Switzerland for Carolina to settle the New Windsor area (Cordle 1939). In 1752, Tobler printed the *South Carolina and Georgia Almanac*. Although not printed every year, it was the first literary adventure in the Carolina back country (Meriwether 1974: 179). This portion of the back country was slowly settled and had its detractions as well as attractions.

New Windsor...had achieved a reputation for ungodliness. Land in the region was not productive, and New Windsor's principal source of income was derived from the Indian trade. George Galphin, who established a base at Silver Bluff a few miles below Fort Moore, carried on a thriving business with the Creeks from about 1750 to the Revolution (Wright 1976: 87).

Indian problems in the late 1750s and early 1760s (the French and Indian War) detracted from the area's appeal. Creek Indians robbed cowpens and drove away settlers and slaves (Meriwether 1974: 73). Indian treaties in the mid- and late-1760s brought peace to the area and settlers came in larger numbers. Settlement in the Savannah River Plant area began along the Savannah River above the swamp on the Sunderland Terrace. From there, settlement advanced along the more fertile zones of the plant; the stream valleys and lowlands went first. The sandy uplands, for the most part, were not settled for another hundred years.

The settlement of Georgia took a somewhat different turn. It was not until Oglethorpe landed at Yamacraw Bluff in 1733 that Georgia began to be settled (McCall 1909: 21). In 1733, a treaty with the Creek Indians granted the Crown "all the lands and territories as we (the Creeks) have no occasion to use" (McCall 1909: 259). The territories specified were "all the lands between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, extending west to the extremity of the tide water..." (McCall 1909: 25). Along the Savannah River, settlement was slow; until the Treaty of 1763, people settled only slightly above Augusta (McCall 1909: 208), as problems with the Creek Indians held the progress to a minimum.

The Revolutionary War was the next hindrance to new immigrants. Although the Savannah River Plant area saw no real action, Augusta was besieged three times by the American forces. In 1781, battles around the plant area included Wiggins Hill and Beech Island (McCrary 1901: 552). Vince's Fort, supposedly on Lower Three Runs Creek, was evacuated by Rebel forces upon hearing of the approach of Tory troops (McCrary 1901: 476). Rebel and Tory groups in the area surged back and forth, burning houses and scaring away others (Brown 1894).

an attack upon the fort...we had better...appraise Capt. Vince of his danger. So mounting our fleetest horses, we sallied forth with all possible speed, and after considerable difficulty, threading our way through the swamps, we arrived at the fort just before the break of day...I then related to him what had transpired at the Big House, of the enemy's numbers, and of his approach towards that garrison, advising him, at the same time, to evacuate the fort as soon as possible, unless he felt assured of his safety...He stated to us that his force consisted of but twenty-five men, expressed great doubts of his ability to defend himself against such a numerous enemy, and thought it policy to adopt my suggestion to leave the fort, which was agreed on, and in a few minutes the fort was left to the mercy of the enemy, who in the course of one hour afterwards made a charge upon it with his full force, confidently expecting a prize; but instead of a prize they had the sore mortification to find that their deep laid scheme and hellish design on this occasion was completely baffled (Brown 1894: 13-14).

Several other skirmishes occurred in the area in 1781. Two were in Aiken County—one at Beech Island, the other at Galphin's Fort--both in conjunction with the American capture of Augusta from the British. Another occurred in Barnwell County in April at Wiggins Hill, and the last took place at Matthews Bluff in Allendale County across from the mouth of Brier Creek. No real battle took place within the Three Runs area, but the actions of the Tories, killings and house burnings, kept the people armed and unfriendly until the end of the war.

There seems to be some contention as to the location of Vince's Fort. One map, drawn about 1900, placed it somewhere along Lower Three Runs. Royal plats and grants of land did not list Joseph Vince, but did list Thomas Vince and Richard Vince as landowners during the war. Richard Vince's 100 acres on Upper Three Runs did not fit the verbal location given by Tarleton Brown. Thomas Vince's 50 acres on Steel Creek also did not fit Brown's description, especially since Barlett Brown, Tarleton's brother, was an adjoining landowner. Thomas Vince's 109 acres at the mouth of Steel Creek on the Savannah River seemed to fit the evidence in two instances. First, Brown wrote that Vince's station was on the Savannah River, and secondly, he had to ride through the swamp to get to the fort because the mouth of Steel Creek is surrounded by swamp. Steel Creek is fairly wide at its mouth and large enough for boats to land from the river. The advantage of being on the river at that point is also strategic, as one can look upriver over a mile and downriver at least a quarter mile. A specifically designed survey should be undertaken for the location of the fort since good documentation does not exist.

ANTEBELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA

The settlement of the back country began with the termination of the Revolutionary War (Ramsay 1809: 576). Based on the supposition that the de la Howe Forest, located in McCormick County, had not been cut since 1790, and given the present forestation of the project area, much time and effort was spent clearing trees and stumps in preparation for the plow. Once the land was cleared, planted, and harvested, the need arose for a mill to grind the grain.

The grinding of corn and wheat was one of the first problems of the settler. Some may have cracked their corn Indian fashion, but others out of reach of a corn mill probably used small steel or iron hand mills... but a mill pond and its corn mill were usually the first evidence that a section had been settled, and it was rare that the settlers were not thus provided with- in five years (Meriwether 1974: 173).

Although farming practices differed greatly, the majority of farmers cultivated large tracts of land with little or no thought of fertilizing or contour farming. The land quickly became worn out and the farmer would either move on to a new farm or open up a new tract of land (Sosin 1967: 173). Eli Whitney, near Savannah, and Robert Watkins, in Elbert County, Georgia, improved older cotton gins (Watkins 1796: 1), helping cotton to become a major cash crop in the pre-Civil War years.

The farmers learned quickly that the land was fertile. John Drayton in 1802 wrote:

Hence, all the art of manuring, and rotation of crops, have hitherto been little attended to; and when one piece of land has been exhausted by culture, another has been cleared of woods, for similar purposes (Drayton 1963: 22).

The early settlers had their best success in farming the bottomlands. Michaux (1973: 42) wrote:

Those that occupy the intermediate spaces (the uplands) are much less so. The latter are not much cultivated; and even those who occupy them are obliged to be perpetually clearing them, in order to obtain more abundant harvests; in consequence of which a great number of the inhabitants emigrate into the western country....

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

Clothes came in two sizes, large and small. And women and men apparently were issued the same kind of shoes (Bennett 1970: 74).

Bennett also wrote that children went around in a state of near nudity until they were old enough to work. The children either were given a tow-linen shirt or an old guano bag or corn-meal bag (Bennett 1970: 74).

With regard to the food rations and cooking for the slaves, Austin Steward, a slave for 22 years wrote:

The slaves on our plantation were provided with very little meat. In addition to the peck of corn or meal, they were allowed a little salt and a few herrings. If they wished for more, they were obliged to earn it by over-work. They were permitted to cultivate small gardens, and were thereby enabled to provide themselves with trifling conveniences. But these gardens were only allowed to some of the more industrious (Steward 1969: 11-12).

Preparation of daily rations in the field would be a problem if each slave would have to cook his own meal. Steward wrote:

It was the usual practice to have one of the old slaves set apart to do the cooking. All the field hands were required to give into the hands of the cook a certain portion of their weekly allowance, either in dough or meal, which was prepared in the following manner. The cook made a hot fire and rolled up each person's portion of the cabbage leaves, when they could be obtained, and placed it in a hole in the ashes, carefully covered with the same, where it remained until done. Bread baked in this way is very sweet and good. But then cabbage leaves could not always be obtained. When this was the case, the bread was little better than a mixture of dough and ashes, which was not very palatable (Steward 1969: 12-13).

Bennett wrote:

Cooking...was also a communal concern. Food was prepared in a common kitchen and sent to the workers in the field. In most cases, however, slaves were expected to cook the evening meal in their cabins. The food,

which was issued once a week, was generally coarse and and lacking in variety. Each adult was given a peck of corn and three or four pounds of bacon or salt pork. Fractional amounts, usually one-half, were allotted to each child in the family. Most slaves supplemented this meager fare by trapping coons and opossums in the fields or by stealing corn from the master's corn cribs and chickens from his chicken coops (Bennett 1970: 74).

There are accounts of punishment for slackness in the field which was usually 39 lashes (the least amount) with a cowhide whip (Steward 1969: 13). Steward reflected on slave owners and punishment:

I must first say that it is not true, that slave owners are respected for kindness to their slaves. The more tyrannical a master is, the more he will be favorably regarded by his neighboring planters; and from the day that he acquires the reputation of a kind and indulgent master, he is looked upon with suspicion, and sometimes hatred, and his slaves are watched more closely than before (Steward 1969: 19).

Masters and overseers were not the only ones who were cruel to slaves. Mistresses often punished slaves:

was a great scold--continually finding fault with some of the servants, and frequently punishing the young slaves herself, by striking them over the head with a heavy iron key, until the blood ran; or else whipping them with a cowhide, which she always kept by her side...The older servants she would cause to be punished by having them severely whipped by a man, which she never failed to do for every trifling fault (Steward 1969: 17).

The slave states during the late eighteenth century instituted the "Patrol," which, in effect, was a white militia to guard the slaves of the neighborhood. The "Patrol" had the power to go anywhere, to stop any slave and to demand his pass if he was away from his plantation. If the slave had no pass then he would be severely whipped by the "Patrol" (Steward 1969: 19-26). The "Patrol" kept close watch over the plantation slaves in order to keep them from escaping, and to keep slaves from rebelling. The South was kept in a constant state of military control by the Patrol. It had the power to keep order among the slaves any way it felt necessary, usually by most violent methods--whipping, and in some cases, hanging (Steward 1969: 19-26). Steward sums up the treatment of slaves stating, "No slave could possibly escape being punished--I care not how attentive they might be, nor how industrious--punished they must be, and punished they certainly were" (Steward 1969: 17).

On most plantations, the slaves worked a six day week, having Sunday as a day of rest and religion (Olmstead 1959: 112; Bennett 1970: 80-81). The southern states spent much time and energy in christianizing their slaves.

The slaves sometimes held their own services and the adopted Christian services became somewhat Africanized (Bennett 1970: 80-81).

Four available accounts of slave quarters gave an idea as to how the slaves lived after laboring in the fields. Olmstead described two plantations he visited, the first in Virginia and the second in South Carolina:

The houses of the slaves are usually log-cabins, of various degrees of comfort and commodiousness. At one end there is a great open fire-place, which is exterior to the wall of the house, being made of clay in an enclosure, about eight feet square and high, of logs. The chimney is sometimes of brick, but more commonly of lath or split sticks, laid up like log-work and plastered with mud. They enjoy great roaring fires, and, as the common fuel is pitch pine, the cabin, at night when the door is open, seen from a distance, appears like a fierce furnace. The chimneys often catch fire, and the cabin is destroyed...Several cabins are placed near together, and they are called "the quarters"...the situation chosen for it has reference to convenience of obtaining water from springs and fuel from the woods (Olmstead 1959: 91-92).

This second description of slave quarters came from the Coastal Plain.

It was a very large plantation, and all the buildings were substantial and commodious, except the negro-cabins, which were the smallest I had seen--I thought not more than twelve feet square interiorly. They stood in two rows, with a wide street between them. They were built of logs, with no windows--no opening at all, except that doorway, with no trees about them, or porches, or shades of any kind (Olmstead 1959: 108).

Steward described his slave cabin in Virginia:

...a small cabin, built of rough boards, with a floor of earth, and small openings in the sides of the cabin were substituted for windows. The chimney was built of stick and mud; the door, of rough boards; and the whole was put together in the rudest possible manner. As to the furniture of this rude dwelling, it was procured by the slaves themselves, who were occasionally permitted to earn a little money after their day's toil was done. I never knew Capt. H. to furnish his slaves with household utensils of any description (Steward 1969: 11).

"'Everything,' an ex-slave said, 'happened in that one room--birth, sickness, death--everything'" (Bennett 1970: 74-75). Olmstead wrote of dwellings other than slave quarters:

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

Cabins, of this class, would almost always be flanked by two or three negro-huts. The cabins of the poorest class of whites were of a meaner sort--being mere square pens of logs, roofed over, provided with a chimney, and usually with a shed of boards, supported by rough posts, before the door (Olmstead 1959: 107-108).

These descriptions are typical of early to late nineteenth century dwelling remains. Available data from sites in the plant area with noticeable foundations present indicated that dwellings measured from 10 by 10 feet to 30 by 35 feet. All had evidence of foundations so that these dwellings, at least, had wood floors.

With few exceptions all these remains had brick chimneys, possibly an indication that there was a brickyard near the plant area. Porches were not always evident but several were noted. For the most part, the dwelling remains were rectangular, and on occasion there would be a room attached to one side. It is unknown at this time whether any of these were slave cabins for they were single occurrences and not groupings. This at least is the indication at present, because the undergrowth at most of these sites was extremely dense and access to these sites was impeded.

Prior to the arrival of a regional rail system, cotton and tobacco were transported to market by river carriers, either pole boats or steam boats. Area farmers probably brought crops to either Point Comfort, near Ellenton, or near Stoney Bluff Landing, near the mouth of Lower Three Runs Creek, for shipment to Savannah (See Fig. 3).

Four basic types of boats plied the Savannah River prior to 1816. The first was the piragua, a small double-masted boat that could also be rowed. The first 10 to 15 years of its existence on the river, it served the colony

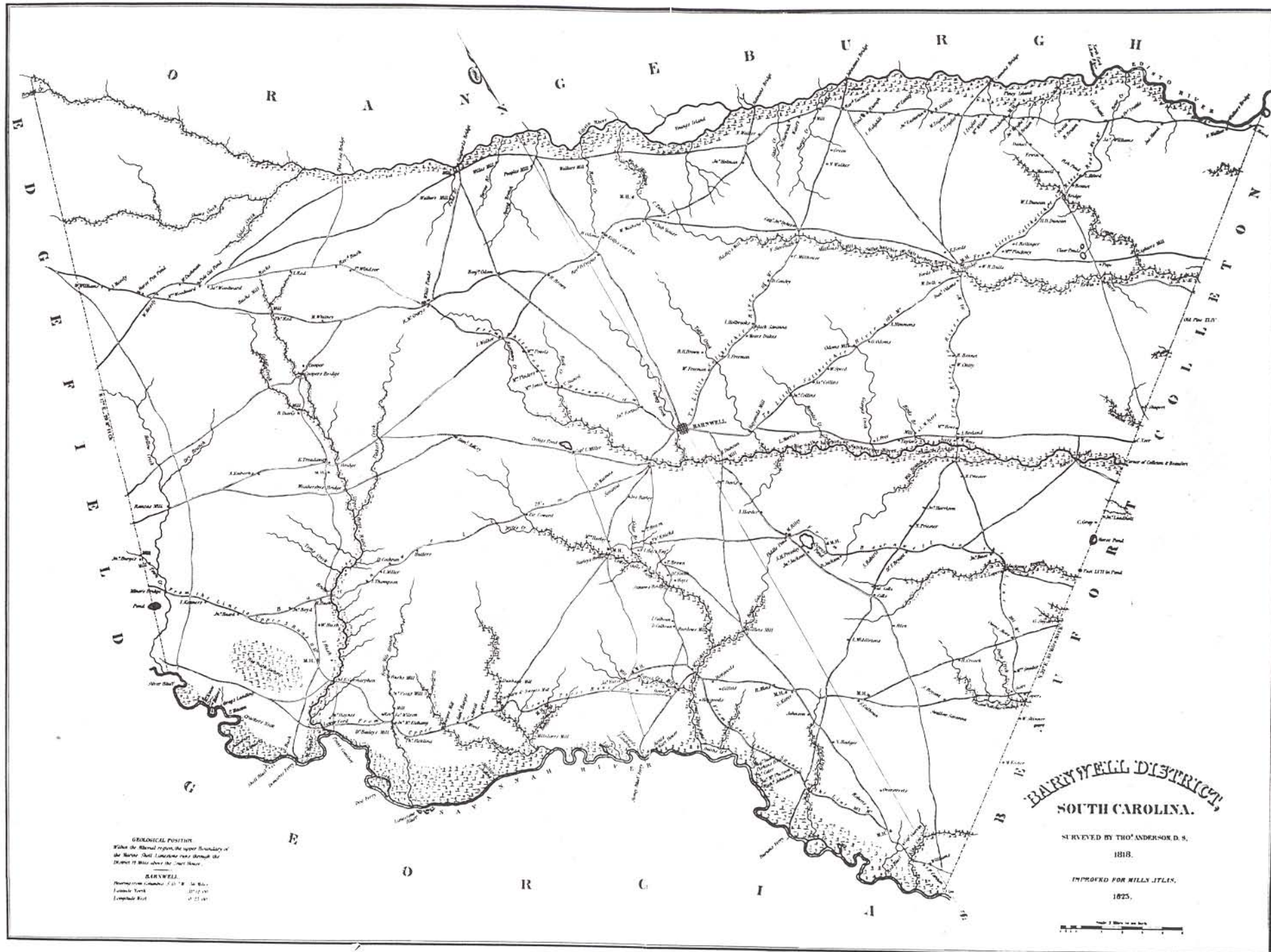


FIGURE 3. Barnwell District in 1825, from Mills' Atlas (1825).

as an inland patrol to warn against attacks by Spanish or Indians (Ivers 1972). After the establishment of Augusta and Savannah similar boats served the Indian trade in Augusta. By 1740, the population of Augusta had grown so that piraguas were not large enough to transport goods up or down stream. The second type of boat that colonists built was larger and was propelled by poles that became known as pole boats. Early cargos were not recorded, but between 1817 and 1835, the *Marine News* reported at least a half million bales of cotton transported from Augusta to Savannah (Rahn 1968: 19). Although no early records remain of river cargoes, there are records for the Port of Savannah. From 1754 to 1773, William Brown, the Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs in the Port of Savannah, listed among others (Rahn 1968):

Barrells of Rice	188,794
Pounds of Indigo	218,864
Pounds of Skins (all types)	3,602,968
Pounds of tobacco	228,084
Feet Timber (all kinds)	19,544,542
Staves	7,782,906
Shingles	31,103,347
Bushels of Corn	92,500

Between 1776 and 1790, most shipping along the river ceased. Neither American nor British forces allowed boats passage, although some smuggling undoubtedly occurred. With an end to hostilities, new settlers entered the valley. Tobacco and rice crops increased substantially and cotton was a new crop to the area.

The third type of vessel in use on the river prior to 1818 was the flat boat, mostly used in the lower Coastal Plain area for hauling rice. The flat boats could haul from several hundred to several thousand bushels at a time, using a pole as the method of propulsion (Rahn 1968; Phillips 1909).

The fourth type of boat, also poled, was known as the "Cotton Box." Rough lumber constituted the boat and from three to seven hundred bales of cotton could be hauled. When it reached Savannah, the boat would be dismantled and the lumber sold (Rahn 1968; Phillips 1909).

William Longstreet and Samuel Howard petitioned both the Georgia and South Carolina state governments for exclusive rights to operate steamboats on the river. By December 1814, the petition was granted. The first Steamboat Enterprise was launched in January of 1816, followed in 1817 to 1819 by 7 others. About 90 Steamboats plied the river between 1816 and 1900. The peak of the steamboat era came prior to the Civil War and the coming of the regional railroads about 1860. According to available records, the steamboats transported at least 2.5 million bales of cotton between 1818 and 1869 (Rahn 1968; Phillips 1909).

Before his death in 1814, William Longstreet successfully added two new applications for his steam motor, greatly increasing the output of both: the saw mill and cotton gin. With the availability of a high speed cotton gin, cotton became king in the South Carolina and Georgia Piedmont and Upper Coastal Plain (Rahn 1968). With the steam-powered cotton gin, transporta-

tion of cotton became a major issue to planters. Transport by horse was out of the question. The cotton boats were carrying all they could and the cotton was still piled high on the Augusta wharves.

Everyone who could plant cotton did so, devoting only the leisure seasons to the tending of food crops. A heavy tide of immigrations set in from the Virginia region, and the cotton output again began to increase by leaps and bounds. The traffic facilities were now (1815) quickly found to be entirely inadequate to the needs. Transportation on a large scale became for the first time a paramount problem (Phillips 1909: 70).

Steamboats helped to alleviate the problems, but their deep draft in times of drought caused many problems. By 1827, cotton-box boats and pole-boats were deeply cutting into the steamboat trade. It was not until 1856 that steamboats changed to a broad beam and shallow draft enabling them to carry more cargo, but by then it was too late; the era of the railroad had started (Phillips 1909: 82). With the onset of heavy river traffic, Charleston's wagon trade with the back country was severely diminished. Charleston businessmen procured a charter in 1827 to build a railroad from Charleston to Hamburg. When it was completed in 1833 it was the longest railroad in the world, with 136 miles of track (Phillips 1968: 147). By 1846, the South Carolina Railroad was carrying 100,000 bales of cotton per year to Charleston, over 90% of which came from the Hamburg Depot. The railroad's total freight income, including the mail, for 1846 was over \$392,000. The number of passengers for the year, between Columbia, Hamburg and Charleston was 64,136 (*Hunts' Merchants Magazine*, Oct. 1847). By at least 1872, there were two passenger and three freight trains between Augusta and Charleston daily (South Carolina Railroad Co., 1872).

The railroads effectively killed all river traffic and brought the downfall of many river towns along the Savannah. In return, the interior of the state developed with small towns and stations at almost every crossroad.

CIVIL WAR ACTIONS IN THE SAVANNAH RIVER VALLEY

The Civil War began with the capture of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, but it was not until the last year of the war that fighting began in the Savannah River Valley. There is little need to rewrite the battles of the Civil War to the time of Sherman's march to the Sea. Following the Chattanooga Campaign, Grant ordered Sherman to advance into Georgia and "to move against Johnston's Army, to break it up, and to get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources..." (Boatner 1959: 30).

The Atlanta Campaign lasted from May 1 to September 8, 1864. Sherman wrote to Grant from Atlanta that "I would prefer to march through Georgia, smashing things to the sea" (Jones 1874: 2). By mid-November, Sherman's Army was ready, and they moved through Georgia. The army was divided into two wings: the right commanded by General O. O. Howard, and the left, General Slocum. Both wings consisted of two corps and totaled about 50,000 men. General Sherman rode with the left wing, while the majority of the cavalry rode with General Howard on the right, commanded by General Kilpatrick (Nichols 1865: 42).

The Confederate defense forces were concentrated around Lovejoy, just south of Atlanta. These forces consisted of about 10,000 Georgia militia commanded by G. W. Smith and 3,500 cavalry commanded by General Wheeler (Boatner 1959: 509; Official Records of the Rebellion XLIV: 411).

The Confederate High Command was bewildered by the Union in regard to their final destination--Augusta or Savannah. The Union forces took two different routes upon leaving Atlanta: the left wing headed toward Augusta along the railroad, destroying it to the bridge across the Oconee River whereupon it turned south to Milledgeville. The right wing went south out of Atlanta toward Jonesboro and marched to the rail junction at Gordan, south of Milledgeville, and met the left wing. Kilpatrick kept Wheeler continually confused by feigning in different directions. At Milledgeville, Kilpatrick was ordered toward Augusta by way of Waynesboro to destroy the bridge over Brier Creek. However, Wheeler pressed the attack until Kilpatrick's forces were turned away from Augusta at Brier Creek Swamp. The Confederate High Command started several rumors that caused the Union Forces to avoid any attempt on Augusta. The rumors basically stated that Generals Bragg, Beauregard, and Hampton, and all their assigned troops, were present in Augusta to guard the powder factory and the cotton mills. Kilpatrick was then ordered on to the vanguard of the Union Army's advance to Savannah. General Wheeler, who played a major part in the rumor success, was ordered to take his command and to distract the enemy as much as possible to give time to the building of the defenses around Savannah. Therefore, the majority of the military action between the Union and Confederate forces between Milledgeville and Savannah was fought between the retreating General Wheeler and the advancing General Kilpatrick (Official Records of the Rebellion XLIV: 406-412; Sherman 1875: 192-193).

The following is the report of General Wheeler to the Confederate command near Savannah detailing his operations against the Union forces on their march to Savannah to the end of the Savannah Campaign.

Report of Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler, S. S. Army, commanding
Cavalry Corps.

Headquarters Cavalry Corps.
Near Savannah, Ga., December 24, 1864.

COLONEL: I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of my command from November 19, 1864, the date General Hardee assumed command:

For several days previous to that date I had been resisting the enemy's advance from Atlanta toward Macon, reporting daily to Generals Bragg, Hood, Hardee, and Taylor, and also to Governor Brown, almost the exact movements and intentions of the enemy. Anderson's brigade had been ordered to report to Maj. Howell Cobb, at Macon, in order that he might place him in position to observe the enemy approaching Macon on the east side of Ocmulgee River. This brigade was placed in position by General Cobb on the Clinton road.

On the 19th I sent Crews' (Georgia) brigade with orders also to report to General Cobb. This brigade, Colonel Crews reports, was placed in position on the Milledgeville road, with instructions, as I afterward learned, to follow and engage any raiding party of the enemy which might move toward the railroad. Toward evening on the 19th I ascertained from my scouts that the main forces of the enemy had crossed the Ocmulgee River above the mouth of the Towaliga, which induced me to move to Macon in person, directing all my command, except Ferguson's and Breckinridge's brigades, to follow me.

On arriving at Macon, about 11 p.m., I found Lieutenant-General Hardee, who had assumed command of the department. He directed me to move at daylight with all my available force, except Crews' brigade, out on the Clinton road and ascertain the enemy's force and location. In obeying this order, and before marching toward Clinton, both my flanks were menaced by small parties of the enemy, which I was obliged to drive off, causing some delay. I then moved on rapidly with my advance guard to Clinton, and found Osterhaus' corps moving through the town. This was not observed until very near the column, owing to a dense fog. Six men dashed into the town and captured General Osterhaus' servant (an enlisted man) within twenty feet of General Osterhaus' headquarters. A regiment of the enemy's cavalry charged us, making the retreat of my small escort necessary. A squad of the enemy's cavalry had pressed in upon my line of retreat between my position and the body of my command. These, however, were soon cleared away by the approach of two of my regiments, which came up rapidly to my assistance. I immediately charged the advancing column of the enemy and drove it back upon their infantry. They then rallied and charged me again. We met this charge, checked

and returned it with success, driving them back toward Clinton.

I now learned from my scouts that the enemy in considerable force were pressing down the road toward Griswoldville. I started promptly with a portion of my command in that direction, and soon met a courier from Colonel Crews with a note from him stating that the enemy's cavalry had moved toward the railroad, and that, pursuant to General Hardee's orders, he was going in pursuant. This left the Milledgeville road open, and fearing some difficulty I moved rapidly to that point. On arriving I found our artillery engaging the enemy's advance and our infantry in the redoubts ready to receive an attack. The enemy had already charged up the road, and four of them had attempted to capture a gun, but had been driven back, leaving an officer (whose horse was killed) in the hands of our infantry. Finding large unprotected intervals between redoubts, I placed Harrison's and Hagan's brigades in line, making the connection complete. After slight skirmishing the enemy retreated a short distance.

Pursuant to orders from General Hardee I moved out during the night, and the next day drove the enemy from Griswoldville, capturing a few prisoners. The next morning I again attacked and drove the enemy for some distance, capturing sixty prisoners, besides killing and wounding a large number.

It now being evident that the enemy were not intending to make any further demonstration upon Macon, I moved on toward the Oconee, which river I reached on November 24 and completed crossing the next day by swimming. A brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Gaines was immediately sent to hold in check a portion of the enemy who were menacing the river near Ball's Ferry, and with the remainder of my command I moved during the night to Station No. 13, on the Central railroad. Scouts and pickets were sent upon all roads by which the enemy could reach the railroad or march in an easterly direction. The following day, pursuant to General Hardee's orders, I moved to Sandersville. The Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps of the enemy had marched from Milledgeville, crossed Buffalo Creek, and were marching upon the town, preceded by cavalry, which had dispersed the local troops, who had attempted to oppose them. I moved out on the lower road and sent a force out on the upper road. After moving three miles we were charged by the enemy, whom we met and checked, and then in turn charged them back for a mile, capturing, killing, and wounding about thirty of the enemy, besides capturing several horses, mules, and one loaded wagon. I immediately sent word to the citizens of Sandersville that the enemy would enter the town the next morning, and I advised them to send off all movable property of value. At dark we established our pickets close to the enemy, and next morning were slowly driven back toward and finally through the town.

At evening I was informed by my pickets near Ogeechee Shoals that General Kilpatrick, with a large force of cavalry, had crossed the river on his way to Augusta. Leaving General Iverson to observe the enemy, I started immediately with my Command, overtaking him about midnight, I immediately attacked and captured his picket, and pushed on to his camp and drove

him back from the main Augusta road and out of his camps, capturing 1 stand of colors, some prisoners, some 50 horses, clothing, blankets, camp equipage, & c., in considerable quantities. The enemy immediately started toward Augusta on the lower Augusta road. On reaching the house where General Kilpatrick had staid I learned that he and his officers had been overheard talking a great deal in private about Augusta. It was the opinion of citizens that his move was intended as a raid upon that place. Being mindful of the great damage that could be done by the enemy's burning the valuable mills and property which were not protected by fortifications, including the factories in the vicinity, the large portion of the city outside of the fortifications, the arsenal and sand hills, I hoped pressing him hard he might be turned from his purpose. I also learned that the night previous he had sent a party of some 500 men to Waynesboro to destroy the railroad bridge, which convinced me that Augusta and not Waynesborough was Kilpatrick's destination, as had the latter place been the point he designed striking he would not have sent a small party there on the preceding day. Notwithstanding the jaded condition of my command, I therefore pushed on rapidly, engaging and defeating his rear guards, whom I found fortified at every favorable point, frequently separated by but 200 or 300 yards. Horses, arms, and prisoners were captured in nearly every engagement.

On reaching Brier Creek Swamp we pressed the enemy so warmly that he turned off toward Waynesborough. During the chase the enemy set fire to all corn cribs, cotton gins, and large number of barns and houses. We succeeded in driving him off in nearly half the instances in time to extinguish the flames and frequently pressed him so rapidly as to prevent a firing a number of houses, thus saving a large amount of property.

I entered the town of Waynesborough with my staff just after dark, and just as the enemy were leaving it. The town was in flames, but with the assistance of my staff and escort we succeeded in staying the flames and in extinguishing the fire in all but one dwelling, which so far burned that it was impossible to save it. I immediately moved on and attacked the enemy, who were engaged in tearing up the railroad. The attack had the effect to stop their work upon the railroad and to keep them in line of battle all night.

About 3 a.m. I sent Humes' division to gain the enemy's rear by turning his left flank, and sent a regiment to gain his rear by moving around his right. Unfortunately the commands failed to get into position. At daylight the enemy withdrew for a short distance unobserved, in consequence of a dense fog. As we advanced upon them they charged our line, which charge we met and easily repulsed. I charged the enemy's flank with Humes' and Andersons' commands, and attacked the front with the balance of my command, driving the enemy from his fortified position, capturing a number of prisoners, arms, and horses, and killing a great many who refused to surrender, and who were shot in the pursuit which ensued. The rout was complete, and General Kilpatrick was himself

very nearly captured. We continued the charge until reaching a swamp, where the enemy had so constructed barricades as to make a very strong resistance. The enemy was soon driven from this position by a flank movement, after which I again charged and routed their entire force, capturing, killing, and wounding nearly 200, and completely stampeding the whole force. His destruction was only prevented by an intervening swamp at Buck Head Creek, which made it almost impossible to approach, and by the failure of the Four-Tennessee Regiment to gain the enemy's rear, for which purpose it had been detached some two hours previous. The bridge over Buck Head Creek had been carefully prepared for burning by Kilpatrick's advance guard, and on our reaching it the torch had been applied and the bridge was in flames, while a terrific fire from the enemy on the other side prevented me from immediately extinguishing the flames. I dismounted the advance brigade and advanced it through the creek bottom to the bank, and finally drove the enemy sufficiently far from the opposite bank to enable a few brave men to work their way across and drive the enemy beyond range. By great energy and hard labor on the part of my men the fire was soon extinguished, and in little more than an hour the bridge was reconstructed and our troops passing over. The passage, however, was very slow, on account of the crude and frail construction of the bridge. After advancing a mile I discovered the enemy's position, and ordered General Dibrell to turn their right flank by moving through a wood which screened the movement.

As night was fast approaching it became important to strike the enemy immediately, although only about 1,200 of my command had crossed the creek. I moved upon the enemy and drove in his pickets. On discovering his line I observed that General Dibrell, in attempting to turn his flank (although he had moved nearly a mile to our left), had, nevertheless, encountered the enemy's line of battle, which extended still beyond his position. Having parts of Harrison's and Ashby's brigades with me, the former being in advance, I placed the Third Arkansas Regiment in line, and the Eight and Eleventh Texas Regiments in column and charged the enemy's position. Nothing could have exceeded the gallantry with which these troops responded to the bugle's call, and hurled themselves upon the enemy, driving his cavalry in confusion and finally encountering the breast-works. This so terrified the enemy as to cause him to flee in uncontrollable confusion. Unfortunately the open ground did not continue, we finally encountered a line so positioned that it could not be approached by cavalry. I ordered Ashby's brigade to turn the enemy's flank and take possession of the Louisville road, upon which the enemy was retreating. Owing to approaching dusk, Colonel Ashby, by accident, got on a road to the left of the one indicated by my order, and notified me that he held possession of the Louisville road. This error enabled the enemy to move off, by scattering through fields and wood without order or organization.

During the night Kilpatrick sought the protection of his infantry, which he did not venture to forsake again during the campaign, no doubt being too much demoralized to again meet our cavalry. Fearing

the enemy might make another attempt to raid or march upon Augusta, I placed pickets at all the crossings of Brier Creek, and located my main force at Rocky Springs Church.

On the morning of December 2, the fourteenth Army Corps and Kilpatrick's cavalry marched upon Waynesborough by the Louisville road. I met and checked them at Rocky Creek. After a warm engagement they moved off to my left and crossed a short distance below on a temporarily constructed bridge, and, by moving through the fields, turned off toward Thomas' Station. This necessitated my falling back.

The following day I moved down and attacked the enemy, driving in their pickets and stopping their destruction of the railroad. Preceiving after night-fall that they had recommenced their work, I again attacked them about midnight, shelling their camp with good effect. At daylight the enemy in strong force marched upon Waynesborough. Most of my command had necessarily been sent some three miles after forage. We quickly concentrated and hastily threw up barricades, while a single regiment held the entire column in check. This rough screen was hardly completed when a general charge was made upon our lines, which was repulsed, with considerable loss to the enemy. A second, third, and fourth charge were made by the enemy, each of which was repulsed or met and driven back by counter charges. Finally their lines of infantry advanced, and, after warm fighting, their cavalry having turned our flanks, we were compelled to fall back, which was done by taking successive positions till we reached the town of Waynesborough. Here we were so warmly pressed that it was with difficulty we succeeded in withdrawing from our position. The moment our lines left our works I directed the Eighth Texas (Colonel Cook) and the Ninth Tennessee (Battalion) (Captain Bromley) to charge the enemy, which was gallantly done, meeting and driving back a charge of the enemy, and so staggering him that no further demonstration was made upon us until we were prepared to receive the enemy at our new position north of the town. During all of the enemy's charges the loss of men and horses must have been severe. According to his own account his loss in men numbered 50 killed and 147 wounded. The enemy remained in town about three hours and then moved down the Savannah road. During all the engagements the enemy's cavalry were at least double my own numbers, and were, besides, re-enforced by one or more divisions of infantry.

Having been notified by the lieutenant-general commanding that the roads toward Savannah had been blockaded by his order, and having sent Lewis' brigade (re-enforced by the Fourth Tennessee Regiment) to fall back before the enemy, I, with the remainder of my command, remained to protect Augusta and to strike his flanks and rear.

On the first day I attacked his rear several times, driving him from his several positions, killing and wounding a great number and capturing about 100 prisoners. During his movement toward Savannah so warmly was he pressed that he blockaded the roads in his rear, frequently building fortifications two or three miles in length, and destroyed all bridges on his line of march. He occasionally attacked us by charging with his cavalry, which was invariably met by counter-charges and driven back in confusion with heavy loss.

In every fight we captured horses, arms, and prisoners.

On the night of December 8, we shelled the camp of the fourteenth Corps with good effect, throwing the corps into confusion and causing it to leave camp at midnight, abandoning clothing, arms, & c. By breaking up the camp during the extreme darkness a great many negroes were left in our hands, whom we sent back to their owners. We also captured three wagons and teams, and caused the enemy to burn several more wagons. The whole number of negroes captured from the enemy during the movement was nearly 2,000.

On the 8th we captured a dispatch from General Slocum to General Davis, giving the proposed location of Sherman's army before Savannah, which afterward proved to be correct. This paper was forwarded to General Hardee. On reaching a point within ten miles of the city, and finding it impossible to do any further harm to the enemy in that position, I moved back and crossed the Savannah River, leaving General Iverson's command to watch the enemy should he move in the direction of Augusta or Western Georgia. On reaching the South Carolina side, I moved down, and placed by Lieutenant-General Hardee in command of the defenses of New River and adjacent landings, and charged with the duty of holding the line of communication from Huger's Landing to Hardeeville. This we succeeded in doing, although the enemy held the South Carolina side of the river with a division of infantry.

After the evacuation of the city, December 20, I removed all the guns and ammunition from Tunbridge and Morgan's Landings and New River Bridge; also, the heavy guns, weighing 9,000 pounds each, from Red Bluff, together with the ammunition.

I omitted to state that during the entire movement of the enemy through Georgia, I kept all my superiors fully informed of the strength and of all the movements of the enemy. At the same time I kept my cavalry from spreading over the country, retarding the enemy by fighting him on all sides and felling trees in his advance. This duty was fully done, and I thank my officers and men for their devotion, gallantry, and the self-sacrificing spirit they have ever exhibited. Every engagement was a success, and the utter defeat and discomfiture of the enemy's cavalry was most signal and complete, notwithstanding his force of cavalry was always superior to mine.

My force never exceeded 3,500 men, and was so distributed in front, rear, and on both flanks that I seldom had more than 2,000 under my immediate command, which 2,000 frequently charged and routed more than double their numbers. The enemy had been falsely informed by their officers that we took no prisoners, which caused him to fight with desperation and to run very dangerous gauntlets to escape capture, which frequently accounts for the large proportions of killed. In every rout of their cavalry, and in the many fights which ensued, they continued to flee, refusing to surrender, notwithstanding the demands of my men in close pursuit. Consequently, no alternative was left but to shoot or sabre them to prevent escape.

During the trip I had parties to move a day or more in advance of the enemy, informing citizens where to run their negroes and stock in order to insure the safety of their property, offering them

every assistance in so doing; but, generally, the citizens were so frightened as to be perfectly helpless. On the enemy's approach, pursuant to orders, I drove off such horses and mules as were exposed to the enemy's view, and have since taken every pains to restore said stock to its owners, generally with success. My command captured about 500 horses, many of which had been taken from citizens by the enemy, and have been returned to their owners when it was possible to do so.

I desire to tender my thanks for the devoted gallantry of my division and brigade commanders. Those whose conduct came especially under my notice were Generals Allen, Humes, Anderson, and Dibrell, and Colonels Ashby, Hagan, Crews, and Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson. General Allen was slightly wounded and had two horses shot under him at Waynesborough; Generals Humes and Dibrell also had their horses shot while gallantly engaging the enemy.

I also tender my thanks to General Robinson, who, while acting as my chief of staff in the temporary absence of his command, was severely wounded while gallantly charging the enemy.

Capt. S. W. Steele and Lieut. M. G. Hudson, aides-de-camp of my staff, were highly distinguished for gallantry and zeal. Lieuts. R. B. Ryan, J. M. Stewart, and Henry Chapman, acting upon my staff, were gallant and efficient.

In closing this report I will state that during the last five months my command has been without wagons or cooking utensils, with orders to subsist upon the country. Its food has been limited to bread baked upon boards and stones and meat broiled upon sticks. It has not been paid in twelve months, and has not had the regular issues of clothing which have been made to the infantry. During this time it has averaged in direct marching sixteen miles a day, and, being without wagons, has been obliged to pack all the forage and rations to camp on horseback, which, together with scouting and duties, would make the average traveling of each soldier at least twenty miles each day. During these five months my troops have been continuously in the immediate presence of the enemy, fighting nearly every day, and with brilliant success, except in a few instances, when small detachments sent off from my command met vastly superior forces.

During these five months my command has captured, killed, and wounded more than its own effective strength. It has captured from the enemy in action and carried off the field 4 pieces of artillery, with caissons and battery wagons, 1,200 mules, over 200 wagons, 2,000 head of beef-cattle, 3,000 cavalry horses with equipments, and over 4,000 stand of arms. It has also captured a great number of the enemy's posts, with large amounts of stores, and has destroyed more railroad used by the enemy--stopping his communications for a longer time and with less loss--than any other cavalry command, although expeditions double its strength have been sent out on that duty. It has also captured and destroyed over a dozen trains of cars, generally loaded with supplies.

As we were continually fighting the enemy, our camps could not be designated before night-fall. Details had then to be sent out to procure forage and rations, frequently making it midnight before

supper could be prepared for my men, and then they were often compelled to be in the saddle before daylight. No men in the confederate states have marched more, fought more, suffered more, or had so little opportunities for discipline; yet they are today as orderly and as well disciplined as any cavalry in the Confederate service.

In our line of march officers and men were met who, in their anxiety to increase their commands, used every exertion to induce my men to desert, frequently offering them promotion and furloughs as a reward for dishonor. Notwithstanding this my command is today stronger and more efficient than it was at the beginning of a continuous campaign of eight months hard, constant, and successful fighting.

I must particularly commend my Tennessee and Kentucky troops, whom, though they say their homes thrown open by the advance of General Hood's army, I brought from the Coosa River to Savannah without a single desertion. After I had the mortification to see a body desert who had been informed they were to be punished without trial for crimes they had never committed.

Respectfully, colonel, your obedient servant,

J. WHEELER,
Major-General

Lieut. Col. T. B. Roy,

Assis. Adj. Gen., Headquarters Department, &c.

(O.R. XLIV: 406-412)

By the time Sherman's troops reached the vicinity of Savannah, the confederates had gathered about ten thousand men for the city's defense, half of which were reserves and militia (Jones 1874: 73). By December 10, the Confederate forces were in place in their newly constructed fortifications and were faced by the Union troops. The infantry corps were in the front of the battle line while Kilpatrick's cavalry covered the Union rear against possible attack. Sherman's supply lines had been cut behind him and he would soon desperately need food for his men and horses. The only reasonable way to obtain these would be to make contact with the Federal fleet, laying just off the coast and out of the harbor. The easiest way to accomplish this was to first take Fort McAllister on the Ogeechee River. The attack came on the morning of December 13th, under the command of General Hazen. By midday, Sherman, who was observing the battle, wired Hazen asking him if he would take the Fort by that afternoon. Upon receiving the wire, Hazen ordered the advance by his entire command and shortly effected its capture. Savannah was now a peninsula surrounded by the Union forces. The Union forces basically had control of the Savannah River and were able to run gun boats along it with little opposition.

The situation within Savannah became worse with each day. By December 19th, the situation was becoming desperate. Union regiments were continually closing in, and the Confederates, to counter this situation, flooded the rice fields to force the Union troops to use the narrow dikes between the fields to make their advances. This in turn, made it difficult and very hazardous to attack Confederate positions. Union attacks along these dikes

and bordering roads were vigorously repulsed and usually not tried again. On December 19th, orders were received from General Hardee to evacuate the city starting after sundown. Valuable items that could not be carried along were thrown into the river. General Wheeler and his cavalry, along with some light artillery, guarded the route of escape and created a diversion. Wheeler's men kept up such a sustaining fire at the Federal troops that they retired behind their fortifications until after the city was evacuated.

Fog prevented the completion of various bridges that had to be constructed in order for the evacuation to be completed. The orders on the 19th were countermanded and the evacuation set for the following night. All precautions were taken so that the Union troops would not discover the attempt to evacuate the city. In particular, ricestraw was placed on the pontoon bridges to deaden the sounds from the wagons. The evacuation was effected without the Union being alerted. By dawn, all pickets were withdrawn and embarked on the Steamer Swan for Screven's Ferry. The artillery was not spiked until the very end for use against any possible attack by the Union. The Confederate troops moved toward Hardeeville, Grahamville, and Pocatigalio, to form a line of defense before Charleston, the next supposed target of Sherman. It was not until about 3:30 a.m. on the 21st that the Union forces realized that the evacuation of the city was underway. By 6 a.m., the Federal troops had pressed into Savannah and captured the town. About 4:30 a.m. the Mayor and a delegation from the City Council approached the Union line and formally surrendered the city. Municipal organization was preserved and little damage was done to the city. General Sherman presented the city of Savannah to President Lincoln as a Christmas present (Jones 1874).

As the Confederates attempted to strengthen their positions before Charleston, the Union troops prepared to advance into South Carolina; the weather turned bad and the Union advance was held up until about January 20th. However, Federal movements began before this. General Ward was ordered to move across the Savannah River, and by January 14th, Ward's division was encamped near the town of Hardeeville. General Slocum, along with Kilpatrick's Cavalry, were ordered to Sister's Ferry but torrential rains held them up for several days (Barrett 1956: 46-47).

Sherman, among many others in the Federal army, held a great animosity against South Carolina, specifically, for two reasons: first, South Carolina was the first Southern state to secede from the Union, and secondly, it had been South Carolina troops that began the war by opening fire on Fort Sumter.

Sherman described his thoughts about the march into South Carolina:

The enemy occupied the cities of Charleston and Augusta, with garrisons capable of making a respectable if not successful defense, but utterly unable to meet our veteran columns in the open field. To resist or delay our progress north, General Wheeler had his divisions of cavalry (reduced to the size of a brigade by his hard and persistent fighting ever since the beginning of the Atlanta campaign), and General Wade Hampton had been despatched from the Army of Virginia

to his native state of South Carolina, with a great flourish of trumpets, and extraordinary powers to raise men, money, and horses, with which "to stay the progress of the invader," and "to punish us for our insolent attempt to invade the glorious State of South Carolina." He was supposed at the time to have, at and near Columbia, two small divisions of cavalry commanded by himself and General Butler.

Of course, I had a species of contempt for these scattered and inconsiderable forces, knew that they could hardly delay us an hour; and the only serious question that occurred to me was, would General Lee sit down in Richmond (besieged by General Grant), and permit us, almost unopposed, to pass through the States of South Carolina and North Carolina, cutting off and consuming the very supplies on which he depended to feed his army in Virginia, or would he make an effort to escape from General Grant, and endeavor to catch us inland somewhere between Columbia and Raleigh? I knew full well at the time that the broken fragments of Hood's army (which had escaped from Tennessee) were being hurried rapidly across Georgia, by Augusta, to make junction in my front; estimating them at maximum twenty-five thousand men, and Hardee's, Wheeler's and Hampton's forces at fifteen thousand, made forty thousand; which, if handled with spirit and energy, would constitute a formidable force, and might make the passage of such rivers as the Santee and Cape Fear a difficult undertaking.

The question of supplies still remained the one of vital importance, and I reasoned that we might safely rely on the country for a considerable quantity of forage and provisions, and that, if the worst came to the worst, we could live several months on the mules and horses of our trains. Nevertheless, time was equally material, and the moment I heard that General Slocum had finished his pontoon-bridge at Sister's Ferry, and that Kilpatrick's cavalry was over the river, I gave the general orders to march, and instructed all the columns to aim for the South Carolina Railroad to the west of Branchville, about Blackville and Midway.

The right wing moved up the Salkiehatchie, the Seventeenth Corps on the right, with orders on reaching River's Bridge to cross over, and the Fifteenth Corps by Hickory Hill to Beaufort's Bridge. Kilpatrick was instructed to march by way of Barnwell; Corse's Division and the Twentieth Corps to take such roads as would bring them into communication with the Fifteenth Corps about Beaufort's Bridge. All these columns started promptly on the 1st of February. We encountered Wheeler's Cavalry, which had obstructed the road by felling trees, but our men picked these up and threw them aside, so that this obstruction hardly delayed us an hour. In person I accompanied the Fifteenth Corps (General Logan) by McPhersonville and Hickory Hill, and kept couriers going to and fro to General Slocum with instructions to hurry as much as possible, so as to make a junction of the whole army on the South Carolina Railroad about Blackville (Sherman 1875: 271-272).

This is a fairly straightforward account by Sherman and his intentions toward South Carolina. Sherman's troops had wrecked havoc in Georgia but

South Carolina was marked for an even harsher fate. This was in part due to her leadership in the secession movement. Although he envisioned his march through South Carolina as "one of the most horrible things in the history of the world...", Sherman was determined to apply total war to the region. This policy of utter destruction was the keystone of his strategy and to put it aside was unthinkable. That South Carolina should experience the complete horrors of war was not a spontaneous creation of Sherman's alert mind. The Palmetto State was to him the "hellhole of secession" and for that reason could ask for little pity (Barrett 1956: 38-39).

As Sherman's troops marched up the Savannah River Valley, they burned and looted the small towns they came to, and left destruction everywhere they passed. The first opposition to the march through the Carolinas was at the Salkehatchie River below Barnwell. While trying to cross the river, the cavalry met with rebel fire from fortified positions across the river. Kilpatrick ordered two regiments to cross downstream and outflank the enemy. With artillery cover, the maneuver was carried out; the bridge the Confederate forces burned was repaired and the cavalry entered Barnwell late on the afternoon of February 6 (Official Records of the Rebellion XLVII pt. I: 858). Later that night, most of the town of Barnwell suffered the fate of other small towns on the march. Towns such as Robertsville and Brighton were burned to the ground. Fortunately, the county records were secured and buried before the Federal troops entered the town.

Shortly after the capture of Barnwell, the Union infantry and cavalry advanced into Blackville and burned it. To this point, Kilpatrick had not met with Wheeler's cavalry and he felt that he could easily defeat him and capture any bridge Sherman desired (Official Records of the Rebellion XLVII pt. 2: 337). Sherman arrived in Blackville about February 10th:

conferred with Generals Slocum and Kilpatrick, became satisfied that the whole army would be ready within a day, and accordingly made orders for the next movements north to Columbia, the right wing to strike Orangeburg *en route*. Kilpatrick was ordered to demonstrate strongly toward Aiken, to keep up the delusion that we might turn to Augusta; but he was notified that Columbia was the next objective, and that he should cover the left flank against Wheeler, who hung around it. I wanted to reach Columbia before any part of Hood's Army could possibly get there. Some of them were reported as having reached Augusta... (Sherman 1875: 274-275).

Although General Wheeler was keeping a close watch on the Union troop movements and informing General Hardee in Charleston about them, he was still uncertain as to what their next objective would be. The best he could possibly do in this situation was to split his forces and hope that he would have time to distract the enemy from whatever direction they should choose. On February 5th, he sent the following dispatch:

Headquarters Cavalry Corps,
Springtown, February 5, 1865 - 8 a.m.

Lieutenant General Hardee, Charleston:

Your two dispatches received. Think we can keep the enemy off the railroad to-day. Enemy on road to Buford's Bridge, five miles from here. Country quite open. Cannot do much by blockading. Have courier-lines to Blackville and to Midway. General Humes, on Rivers' Bridge road, reports directly to Colonel Pickett. I have also directed him to observe Broxton's Bridge and the crossings below. A strong force of infantry is in my front. Up to dark last night no further advance toward Augusta or Barnwell. I have sent detachments of cavalry to take charge all the crossings below Cook's Bridge, on the Edisto, to prevent their destruction before I cross, and to insure their destruction after I cross. Colonel Crews with his brigade occupies the fortifications at Lower Three Runs. I left one regiment at Moores' Ford, on the Salkehatchie.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

(send same to Gen. D. H. Hill, Augusta, Ga.) (O. R. LIII: 401)

Obviously, Wheeler and his cavalry could do no more than harness the enemy and slow his progress until a specific direction could be determined.

Wheeler believed that Sherman ordered Kilpatrick to attempt to take Aiken and then perhaps Augusta. However, this was a feint to disguise Sherman's actual intention of attacking Columbia. The following are dispatches, in chronological order, describing the action in and around Aiken from General Wheeler. These dispatches are the only direct evidence of action in the Aiken County area and are therefore an important aspect of the area's history.

Aiken, February 10, 1865--3:15 p.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

I have just arrived at this point after a hard ride of thirty-five miles, and find that General Allen has posted you regarding the movements of the enemy. A part of General Humes' command will be here to-night. If the enemy do not advance upon me I will advance on him to-morrow morning.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Near Johnson's Turnout, S. C.,
February 10, 1865--4.20 p.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

I have gone three miles below Aiken, and find the enemy are

retiring. My force is not sufficient to pursue. Soon as my troops get up I will pursue and attack. It is absolutely necessary that corn should be sent here by railroad. Will you please send me as much as you can to-night? We have nothing for our horses to eat.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Aiken, February 10, 1865--6.45 p.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

I found enemy near Johnson's Turnout. If there is infantry with this force it is a small number. I hear of a small number I hear of a force to my right. Have sent to get definite information. When I arrived General Allen had but one brigade. Soon as my troops get up I will attack, unless enemy is so re-enforced as to make it impracticable. Think most important thing to be done here is to protect the factories at Graniteville. Can corn be sent me?

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Aiken, February 10, 1865--6.55 p.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

General Deas reported to me this morning that enemy crossed Edisto at Binnaker's Bridge yesterday evening.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Aiken, February 11, 1865--6.45 a.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

Enemy are skirmishing with my pickets. I am formed to attack him as soon as he drives in my pickets. General Humes has just arrived with a portion of his command after marching nearly all night.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Aiken, February 11, 1865--8.15 a.m.

General H. H. HILL,

Augusta:

Please send us some corn as soon as possible. Have the train stopped before it reaches Aiken, and word sent to us so it can be sent for.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Aiken, February 11, 1865--10.40 a.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

Finding the enemy in strong barricades, I determined to provoke an attack from him. He opened upon us with artillery and afterward charged me, and Kilpatrick entered the town, when we charged in several columns and drove him back in confusion, killing, wounding, and capturing a large number. We drove him to and beyond his barricades, where he left a number of arms; but here our ammunition gave out, and we had to halt to reload, having no sabers. We are pursuing, but the twentieth Corps is close at hand, and we have to pursue cautiously. Our loss slight. Kilpatrick commanded in person.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Near Johnson's Turnout,
February 11, 1865--12.50 p. m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

Immediately after reloading we pursued Kilpatrick at full speed to this point, he retreating through the woods without organization. His large numbers rather embarrassed than aided him. A large number of the enemy were killed; our loss very slight. On reaching this point we found enemy (in) strong fortifications with artillery. We attacked their flank, and also demonstrated on their front. As this did not start them out, I am convinced they have been re-enforced. The dismounted men in the works have bayonets, and there are some knapsacks lying in front of their works. Have sent men to their rear to ascertain their force. If I find it is not great will attack. In meantime am getting my command together. Enemy seem to be fortified on every side.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Aiken, February 12, 1865--3.10 a.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

Scouts from enemy's rear report one brigade of infantry or dismounted cavalry at Johnson's Turnout and the rest of the infantry some miles farther down the railroad. This is confirmed by prisoners taken yesterday.

J. WHEELER

Major-General

(Send above also to Major-General Cheatham, at Bath Mills, and General J. A. Smith, at Graniteville.)

Aiken, February 12, 1865--8.15 a. m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

Enemy's pickets remain same as last evening. Another scout reports enemy's infantry foraging at Courtney's Mill, two miles from Johnson's Station, and encamped in that vicinity. Strength of infantry now known.

J. WHEELER

Major-General

(Send also to General Cheatham, at Bath Mills)

Aiken, February 12, 1865--10 a. m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

Enemy are advancing boldly on Aiken. Scouts think with both infantry and cavalry.

J. WHEELER

Major-General

(Send also to Major-General Cheatham, Bath Mills, and General J. A. Smith, Graniteville.)

Aiken, February 12, 1865--12.45 p.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

Enemy are retiring.

J. WHEELER

Major-General

(Send above also to Major-General Cheatham, Bath Mills, and General J. A. Smith, Graniteville.)

Aiken, February 12, 1865--2.15 p.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

In obedience to peremptory orders from Generals Beauregard and Hardee, I moved with most of my forces toward Orangeburg. I have General Allen in command here.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Aiken, February 12, 1865--4.15 p.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

I find the movement upon us this morning was only a slight demonstration. They would perhaps have advanced farther had they found no opposition. I feel quite certain the enemy will make no general move upon Augusta.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Near Merritt's Bridge,
February 12, 1865--11.10 p.m.

General D. H. HILL,

Augusta:

If I am permitted to return to your assistance with my whole force, I think with your infantry we can protect Augusta and save the cotton, though enemy should move upon you with two corps of infantry and Kilpatrick's cavalry. I look upon it as a matter of great importance that we hold Augusta and save the cotton there. No other point is more important to us, except, perhaps, Richmond. After enemy have come close upon our works this side of the river, if you determined to evacuate the city, the cotton could then be burned. If the tar is put upon it the enemy could not save a single bale. We should all feel bad if the cotton is burned when the enemy is fifteen miles from Augusta, if they should not take the city.

Respectfully, general, your obedient servant,

J. WHEELER
Major-General

Aiken, February 12, 1865--2 p.m.

Lieutenant-General HARDEE,

Charleston:

A dispatch from you, and one of the same purport from General Beauregard, received. Am moving with most of my force as directed. Will cross North Edisto at Gunter's Bridge unless information received en route

make it necessary to cross elsewhere. Enemy advanced this morning, but on finding my forces in position, retired just as your dispatch was received.

J. WHEELER
Major-General

(O.R. LIII: 408-411)

With the end of the fighting at Aiken on the 12th, both Kilpatrick and Wheeler moved toward Columbia. The Civil War in the Savannah River Valley was basically over. The stragglers of Sherman's army did much to destroy the valley. All foodstuffs and edible animals were taken by the Union forces. Blackened chimneys stood where houses had once been. It is doubtful that either Sherman or Kilpatrick tried to exercise any control over the destructive forces at work within their ranks.

Sherman marched to Columbia and then into North Carolina. The Confederate government collapsed and General Lee was forced to surrender to General Grant on April 9th, 1865. By mid-May most southern generals had surrendered and the war was at an end. A new era was being ushered in upon the South, one that would drastically change lifestyles and land-use patterns.

As may be gleaned from this brief account of Sherman's march to the sea, and his beginning march through the Carolinas, there was little serious fighting in either campaign, compared to the rest of the war. Much research should be undertaken to understand fully the events of the Civil War in the Savannah River Valley. Archeological research should be undertaken in the valley to investigate towns and estates that were burned during the march. The most important research for the Savannah River Plant area would be the location and excavation of the Confederate earthwork somewhere along the Lower Three Runs Creek. The earthwork is not likely to be impacted, but because it stands as the only earthwork erected by the Confederate command to protect the area south of Aiken and the plantations there, it should be investigated archeologically. Historical research in the valley area has been undertaken but not correlated with a cohesive history of local and regional value. Such a study will aid future generations to recall the war between the states within such a framework.

RECONSTRUCTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA 1865-1876

Following the Civil War came a period that few planters in South Carolina cared for--Reconstruction. As already discussed, the lower Savannah River Valley on the South Carolina side was largely destroyed by Sherman and his troops. In July, 1865, General Carl Schurz visited South Carolina and commented:

The track of Sherman's march in South Carolina, at least, looked for many miles like a broad, black streak of ruin and desolation - the fences all gone, lonesome smoke stacks, surrounded by dark heaps of ashes and cinders, marking the spots where human habitation had stood; the fences along the roads wildly overgrown by weeds.... No part of the South I then visited had indeed suffered so much from the ravages of war as South Carolina (Schurz 1909: 167).

Just how much destruction took place on the present Savannah River Plant property is unknown, and will probably never be known. However, since portions of Sherman's Army spent a short period of time in Blackville and Williston before burning both towns, it would be safe to assume that a majority of the Savannah River Plant land was touched in some way by Sherman's "Foragers." Most low country Rebel soldiers had little to return home to at the end of the war.

In January 1865, General Sherman issued his famous Field Order 15 stating that all of the sea islands from Charleston to Port Royal, and the adjoining lands, to the distance of 30 miles inland, were set aside for the use of the Negroes who had followed his army. With this order, Sherman intended to give to each Black family 40 acres of land and protection by his army. The entire Field Order is included here for clarity and understanding of the problems it caused.

Special Field Order No. 15
Headquarters. Military Division of the Mississippi
In the Field, Savannah, Ga.
January 16, 1865

I. The islands from Charleston south, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the Saint John's River, Fla., are reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of the United States.

II. At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fernandina, Saint Augustine, and Jacksonville the blacks may remain in their chosen or accustomed vocations; but on the islands, and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole

and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people, themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress. By the laws of war and orders of the President of the U. S. the negro is free and must be dealt with as such. He cannot be subjected to conscription or forced military service, save by the written orders of the highest military authority of the Department, under such regulations as the President or Congress may prescribe; domestic servants, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other mechanics will be free to select their own work and residence, but the young and able-bodied negroes must be encouraged to enlist as soldiers in the service of the U. S., to contribute their share toward maintaining their own freedom and securing their rights as citizens of the U. S. Negroes so enlisted will be organized into companies, battalions, and regiments, under the orders of the U. S. Military authorities, and will be paid, fed, and clothed according to law. The bounties paid on enlisted men, with the consent of the recruit, go to assist his family and settlement in procuring agricultural implements, seed, tools, boots, clothing, and other articles necessary for their livelihood.

III. Whenever three respectable negroes, heads of families, shall desire to settle on land, and shall have selected for that purpose an island, or a locality clearly defined within the limits above designated, the inspector of settlements and plantations will himself, or by such subordinate officer as he may appoint, give them a license to settle such island or district, and afford them such assistance as he can to enable them to establish a peaceable agricultural settlement. The three parties named will subdivide the land, under the supervision of the inspector, among themselves and such others as may choose to settle near them, so that each family shall have a plot of not more than forty acres of tillable ground, and when it borders on some water channel with not more than 800 feet water front, in the possession of which land the military authorities will afford them protection until such time as they can protect themselves or until Congress shall regulate their title. The quartermaster may on the requisition of the inspector of settlements and plantations, place at the disposal of the inspector one or more of the captured steamers to ply between the settlements and one or more commercial points, heretofore named in orders, to afford the settlers the opportunity to supply their necessary wants and to sell the products of their land and labor.

IV. Whenever a negro has enlisted in the military service of the U. S. he may locate his family in any one of the settlements at pleasure and acquire a homestead and all other rights and privileges of a settler as though present in person. In like manner negroes may settle their families and engage on board the gun-boats, or in fishing, or in the navigation of the inland waters, without losing any claim to land or other advantages derived from this system. But no one, unless an actual settler as above defined, or unless absent on Government service, will be entitled to claim any right to land or property in any settlement by virtue of these orders.

V. In order to carry out this system of settlements a general officer will be detailed as inspector of settlements and plantations, whose duty it shall be to visit the settlements to regulate their police and general management, and who will furnish personally to each head of a family, subject to the approval of the President of the U. S.. a possessory title in writing, giving as near as possible the description of boundaries, and who shall adjust all claims or conflicts that may arise under the same, subject to the like approval, treating such titles altogether as possessory. The same general office will also be charged with the enlistment and organization of the Negro recruits and protecting their interests while absent from their settlements, and will be governed by the rules and regulations prescribed by the War Department of such purposes.

VI. Brig. General R. Saxton is hereby appointed inspector of settlements and plantations and will at once enter on the performance of his duties. No change is intended or desired in the settlement now on Beaufort Island nor will any rights to property heretofore acquired be affected thereby.

By order of Major-General W. T. Sherman
L. M. Dayton
Assistant Adjutant-General
(Official Records of the Rebellion,
Series I, Volume XLVII, Part 2.
1895: 60-62).

By the time the black slaves heard of this order, the 1865 crop was, for the most part, planted. With the end of the war and the freedom of slaves, a considerable number of planters stood to lose their crops at harvest time. Tens of thousands of slaves left the plantations for the coast to claim their forty acres. This order, perhaps more than anything else the Federal Government did, had a devastating effect on South Carolina agriculture for the next three years. This effect was on the labor force:

The hope of the Negroes that they would receive farms had serious effects upon the labor situation. Freedmen expecting land hesitated to return to the plantation system of farming, either on a wage basis or on shares, and as a result, many refused to make contracts for the resumption of activities on the plantations (Zeichner 1939: 25).

There were many different methods employed to enlarge the labor force, but most proved unsatisfactory and conditions on the plantations were usually unstable.

Nevertheless, many Negroes soon realized the meaning of these "plain principles of political economy" which required them to "work or starve," and thousands of contracts were concluded in 1865 and 1866 (Zeichner 1939: 26).

Even this was not sufficient to help those thousands without jobs or some form of security. During mid-1865, the Freedman's Bureau distributed rations to both Black and White families. Between June 1865 and May 1866, 124,444 Whites received rations as opposed to 987,703 Blacks in South Carolina (Simkins and Woody 1932: 30). By October 1865, President Johnson rescinded Field Order 15, "and all the lands which had been seized under that order required to be returned to their former owners" (Zeichner 1939: 24). By this time the Freedman's Bureau under Commissioner Saxton had distributed 40 acres to thousands of Blacks. But Saxton would not defy the President's orders and he "instructed his subordinates to inform the freedmen that the Bureau had no lands to assign to them" (Abbott 1967: 56).

By 1868, of the 312,000 acres originally confiscated by the Bureau, all but 75,000 had been returned "and this residue was simply dropped from Bureau rolls when the agency closed out its existence in the state at the end of the year" (Abbott 1967: 570). It became clear to the Blacks by 1866 that they would not receive their 40 acres. Some Blacks turned to their former masters for wage jobs on the plantations.

The Freedman's Bureau had the job of overseeing the contracts between labor and management. "Most of the freedmen had no conception of the nature of contracts and many, freed from the compulsion that had to be exercised over them during slavery, left the plantations merely to enjoy their freedom" (Zeichner 1939: 27).

Wages for farm labor varied greatly over the next three years, ranging from \$2-\$18 per month with board during 1865. In 1867 South Carolina paid an average wage of \$100 and Georgia \$125. In 1868 the wages decreased to \$93 in South Carolina and \$83 in Georgia (Zeichner 1939: 29; Brooks 1914: 17). There are three reasons for the failure of the wage system. First, cotton production was not uniformly profitable throughout the South, due to two factors, the most important of which was the fluctuating price of cotton, and secondly, many areas of the Piedmont's and Coastal Plain's soil were depleted of minerals due to poor soil control, lack of crop rotation and lack of fertilizing. Secondly, the general lack of capital made it difficult for the planters to pay money wages. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, was the wage system's inability to give the planter adequate control of his labor. Wage labor was too mobile. It did not guarantee the planter that he would be able to harvest what he planted (Zeichner 1939: 28-29). The Blacks newfound freedom and higher wages in western states often led them to leave the plantations. Many moved to the cities by the thousands, and others moved west (Brooks 1914: 16; Zeichner 1939: 27).

Some planters worked out arrangements with the Blacks that they would share in the profits of the crop, with conditions.

Occasionally the laborer was driven from the plantation without receiving his promised share of the crop. In the Barnwell district of South Carolina, "On some of the plantations the freedmen do not get a share of all the produce, planters withholding the cotton crop on some plea best known

to themselves."... In many cases the laborer was not entitled to receive compensation. This situation was the result of the peculiar economic conditions which arose at the end of the war. The Negro, although possessing his legal freedom, was still dependent on his employer for food, clothing, and other necessities. Before emancipation the planter had issued these supplies free; afterward he either set up his own store on the plantation and charged his hands for the goods they purchased or asked some merchant to supply the provisions on his, the planter's credit. In either case the laborer was charged for the supplies he received, and at the end of the year their cost was deducted from the value of his share of the crop. Frequently the net sum was very small, and sometimes the freedman was considered fortunate if he was able to complete the year's labor without being in debt (Zeichner 1939: 28).

The Freedman's Bureau was created in 1865 to help the Blacks become self-sufficient on farms, to create schools and educate the Blacks, to help both Blacks and Whites return to their homes, to help both have sufficient food and to minister to the ill. The Bureau was usually inadequately staffed and without enough financial resources to perform the duties (Lander 1970: 5). The clothing and food handed out by the Bureau were not free. The Blacks and Whites receiving them were expected to repay the Bureau for what they received. For the most part this was accomplished (Abbott 1967).

The Freedman's Bureau had its critics. To be sure, they did not always do their best, but as Abbott writes:

Though the question of the Bureau's over-all worth is neither simple nor easy to answer, the statistics concerning its work in the south are clear enough. Between the time of its creation and the close of 1868, it issued more than twenty-one million rations, established over forty hospitals, treated nearly half a million cases of illness, provided free transportation to more than thirty thousand persons dislocated by war, and supervised hundreds of thousands of labor contracts. It also sought to transform the landless mass of freedmen into owners of the soil, and though it failed at last, it did succeed in helping some to obtain farms under the Southern Homestead Act. In addition, it gave extensive support to the cause of Negro schooling, working closely with private agencies in maintaining thousands of schools, thereby enabling tens of thousands of freedmen to gain at least the rudiments of an education.

The comparative figures for South Carolina are equally impressive. There, during the three and a half years of its effective operations, the Bureau issued something like three million rations to the freedmen and white refugees of the state, in addition to providing \$300,000 worth of supplies under the crop-lien program of 1868; supplied

medical care to about 175,000 persons, and free transportation to at least 5,000 labor contracts; arbitrated countless thousands of complaints and quarrels between Negroes and Whites; and gave substantial help in maintaining an education system that averaged 85 schools a year with an enrollment of about 100,000 students. Moreover, by its very presence and concern it made an intangible yet important contribution towards helping the Negro to walk in greater dignity as a free man (Abbott 1967: 131-132).

The Freedman's Bureau was one of the few implemented plans that survived the transition from Presidential to Congressional Reconstruction. General Q. A. Gillmore, Commander of Federal troops at Hilton Head, decided he would "establish his authority over the state." First, he informed Governor Magrath that his attempts "to restore the government which had existed under the Confederacy would not be recognized" (Simkins and Woody 1932: 29). Both the Bureau and the Federal troops stationed around the state did their best to keep order and relieve physical distress among the population of both colors.

Not all that the military undertook met with the approval of the population, especially the Whites (Lander 1970: 6). "The wearing of Confederate uniforms was prohibited, and all persons were directed to give up arms in their possession" (*News and Courier*, February 28, 1869). The Field Order 15 by General Sherman was another that would not meet with approval. Seizure of property was perhaps the least liked of military and congressional orders. Simkins and Woody wrote:

The greatest dissatisfaction was manifest over the seizure of property. The Port Royal plantations were sold to satisfy part of the \$363,570.67 tax imposed upon South Carolina under the act of Congress levying a direct tax upon the property of the nation. Since at the end of the war these lands had yielded only \$11,523.61 of the state's apportionment, Charleston and its environs were made subject to the direct tax, and by February 10, 1866, had been forced to contribute \$185,000. Under Act of Congress authorizing the seizure "abandoned property," that is, property from which "the lawful owner thereof shall be voluntarily absent therefrom, and engaged...in aiding or encouraging the rebellion, considerable property was taken possession of when Charleston was occupied, and turned over to treasury again...

The federal cotton policy was very trying on the people. Treasury agents were authorized to seize cotton which had belonged to the Confederate government. But since they were allowed 25 percent on the returns of their catches, they took full advantage of the confusion of the times and the difficulties of establishing titles, seizing much cotton which belonged to private persons. Another hardship was a Federal tax on cotton ranging from two to three cents a pound for a period of three years. In 1866 it was established that this tax was equivalent to an annual tribute of three dollars each on all the inhabitants of the state (Simkins and Woody 1932: 31-32).

Straining under these burdens, the White population decided upon a peaceful solution to their problems. A gathering in Charleston:

Appointed a committee headed by Judge Edward Frost, to go to Washington to ask the establishment of provisioned civil government such as the President had given other Southern states. President Johnson responded graciously to the overtures of the South Carolinians. On May 20, he issued a proclamation extending amnesty to former Confederates who took the oath to support the Constitution and the Union and the presidential proclamations respecting slavery (Simkins and Woody 1932: 33).

President Johnson called three Carolinians into conference and asked them "to submit a list of names by which he might select a provisional governor" (Simkins and Woody 1932: 34). On June 30, President Johnson appointed Benjamin F. Perry as provisional Governor of South Carolina until an election could be held in November. President Johnson and Governor Perry, after several meetings, decided a state constitutional convention should be held in order to incorporate new Federal laws into the state constitution as had been done in other Southern states. The convention was to nullify the Ordinance of Succession, to provide popular election to the Governor, and to repudiate the war debt. The convention convened on September 13, 1865. The Constitutional Convention nullified the Ordinance of Succession, provided for popular election of the Governor and the presidential electors, and abolished slavery. The convention did not repudiate the war debt or act on Black Suffrage. On the question of the nullification of the Ordinance of Succession, there were three dissenting votes, all from Barnwell district and led by A. P. Aldrich. The question of slavery was a touchy subject to the convention; however, the following statement seemed to satisfy all but eight delegates again led by Aldrich: The slaves in South Carolina having been emancipated by the action of the United States authorities, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude...shall ever be reestablished in this state" (Williamson 1965: 72).

Before the convention adjourned, it empowered the governor to appoint two commissioners to study and submit a code for the regulation of "social, economic, and legal relations between Negroes and Whites" (Williamson 1965: 72). After the elections, the new legislators enacted the "Black Code" which severely limited Black rights. In January 1866, General Sickles, Military Commander of South Carolina, declared the code illegal and decreed that "All laws shall be applicable alike to all inhabitants" (Lander 1970: 9). In June 1866, the question of the 14th Amendment came up and, as with all Southern states except Tennessee, the Amendment was defeated. Governor Orr, General Sickles and the legislature did much to alleviate the physical, mental and monetary stress of the population. Not all enactments proved successful, but they did help. "By proclamation of April 2, 1866, the President declared that the rebellion no longer existed..." (Simkins and Woody 1932: 60). The military began its withdrawal and court cases were soon turned over to civilian authority. President Johnson proposed moderate steps in reclaiming the ex-Confederate states to the Union. However, Congress was more powerful, and by mid-1867, stringent penalties were placed upon the South and the era of

Radical or Congressional Reconstruction began. All males, regardless of color, were allowed to vote. This, in turn, led to an almost 2 to 1 majority in the state legislature of Blacks over Whites. Both Congress and the new state legislature proceeded to strip Southern Whites of their former legislative powers. The S. C. Legislature and Governors' office was soon run by corrupt Northern influences that began to strip away the state's powers. The Northern Governors (Scott 1868-1872 and Moses 1872-1874) were corrupt and extravagant with state funds. The Radical Republican government was well organized, and frightened the Black population of the state into believing that the Democrats, or the Union Reform party, were trying to return the state to a pre-war position in regard to Black rights.

It was during 1870 that the Klu Klux Klan came into strength. There were several clashes between the Klan and the Black militia which caused President Grant to send more Federal troops into the state to keep order. The Federal troops began arresting Klan members and disrupting their movement. By 1871, the Klan's strength had all but disappeared. The Radical Republican Party began to split apart and the Union Reform Party had lost most of its strength. Nevertheless, the Republicans won the 1873 election. The split became wider and the Republicans nominated Daniel Chamberlain for Governor in 1874. Some of the Radicals would not support Chamberlain but quite a few Democrats did. Chamberlain won the election but the vote was close. Chamberlain had not been an entirely honest Attorney General but changed and tried to reform the state government. However, the state legislature paid little attention to most of his reforms and continued in their corrupt governing. The *Charleston News and Courier* (December 21, 1875) encouraged the Democratic Party to reform. The Democrats were split about whom they should support, Chamberlain or their own candidate for the 1876 election. For several months, both Democrats and Republicans had their own Governors and Legislature from November 1876 to April 1877. The South agreed to accept the Republican President Hayes for several concessions, the most important being the removal of Federal troops from the South. Since the troops were backing the Chamberlain claim to the government of South Carolina their removal allowed the Democrats to take over the state government. With General Wade Hampton as Governor, the state finally began to make progress out of the corruption left by the Republicans. This brought the end of Reconstruction (Lander 1970: 6-23; Simkins and Woody 1932: 32-146; Williamson 1965: 64-95; Allen 1888; Thompson 1969).

Reconstruction in Georgia

With Sherman's March to the Sea, Georgia suffered considerable physical destruction. The path of destruction was 20 to 50 miles wide from Atlanta to Savannah. This was only a small portion of the state's total area, but included one of Georgia's richest areas. No actual monetary figure can be placed on the destruction, but it could range from 20 to 100 million dollars. The release of Georgia's slave population (462,000 slaves according to the 1860 census) caused a direct loss in capital of 400 to 500 million dollars. Holdings in Confederate Bonds immediately became worthless. This,

and the confiscation and taxation of cotton, impeded the financial recovery of the state and the South in general.

Food and shelter became an overnight problem. By June (1865), peaches, melons, and apples were coming onto the market and provided some variety of diet; hog and hominy were the mainstay of most people (*New York World*, July 11, 1865). Fortunately for the destitute Whites and Blacks, the Freedman's Bureau was available to help with rations. From June 1865 to September 1866, the Bureau handed out 170,000 rations to refugees and 675,000 rations to Freedmen. This amount decreased from September 1866 through September 1867, to 102,000 rations for refugees and 337,000 to Freedmen. By September 1868, only 179 rations to refugees and 161,866 rations to Freedmen were handed out (Conway 1966: 82). As in South Carolina, these were not the only duties of the Bureau, under the capable control of Brigadier-General Davis Tillson. The Bureau also helped to distribute abandoned land to the Freedmen until Sherman's Special Field Order 15 was rescinded by President Johnson. It regulated contracts between White land owners and Black tenant farmers. The Freedman's Bureau also provided hospitals and medical care, established schools for Blacks and directed the military peace-keeping efforts.

The Blacks who left the plantations faced fierce competition from Whites for the few available jobs in the urban areas (Conway 1966: 30-31). Until President Johnson's repeal of Field Order 15, a large number of Blacks went to the coast seeking the free land promised them and usually did no work, believing that the Federal Government would take care of them. This, as in South Carolina, produced a feeling among the White population that the Blacks were thriftless and had no mind for the future. Blacks who could not find jobs, at times turned to criminal methods of procuring items they wanted and items they believed the Whites owed them. Fortunately, Federal troops were available to keep order. The presence of an army of occupation hurt the pride of Georgia's citizens. Hunger for short periods could be coped with but the fear of the Freedman's possible retaliation upon Whites was uppermost in their minds.

...Augusta...where the stationing of Negro troops seemed to be the main burden of complaint. It was considered that their presence there was a blatant encouragement to the free Negroes to indulge in outrage, murder, and robbery.... The attitude in Augusta would seem to have been when in doubt, blame the Negroes (Conway 1966: 27).

Augusta enjoyed a prosperity that was not possible to other areas of the state (*Nation*, January 25, 1866). Where food and other goods were at a premium, Augusta had an abundance. Northern capital was being invested in warehouses, shops and older commercial houses (Conway 1966: 28). Although Augusta enjoyed a modicum of prosperity, surrounding areas did not and could not. Sherman's troops had torn up about 200 miles of railroad track between Atlanta and Savannah. Until repairs could be finalized, by mid-1866, the majority of trains in Northeastern Georgia were contained in Augusta. This hindered the transportation of goods and people, as well as causing a breakdown in communication.

Georgia's financial woes were overwhelming. Governor Brown, before his arrest by Federal troops, was able to authorize Leopold Waitzfelder to go to England to collect monies owed Georgia for previous sales of cotton. While there, Waitzfelder was further instructed to sell all confederate supplies held abroad to serve as necessary capital for reinvestment for the state (Conway 1966: 42).

To get reconstruction underway in Georgia, President Johnson chose James Johnson as provisional Governor, ordered him to call a convention of loyal Georgians together, administer an Oath of Amnesty, and proceed to amend the state constitution. Before being readmitted to the Union, Georgia would have to repeal the acts of secession, abolish slavery, repudiate the war debt, establish equality for Blacks and provide for new elections. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention were conservative and basically anti-secessionists. The convention dealt with the legislature and on November 15, 1865, Judge C. J. Jenkins was elected Governor, along with a new legislature. Although the state legislature did not believe that Blacks could intellectually be equal to Whites, they refrained from passing a "Black Code." They did, however, pass laws forbidding marriages between Blacks and Whites. In the laws passed, they tried to be fair with Blacks, and at least by law, Blacks would be the equal to Whites.

Radical or Congressional reconstruction, as in other southern states, tried to destroy the two party system by exerting its control over the southern states. This was accomplished by giving positions of power to Republicans no matter what their capabilities or color. This action reinforced the strength of the Democratic Party, regardless of color. Radical reconstruction in Georgia was over before events got out of hand as they did in South Carolina. With reluctance, Georgia returned to the Union accepting the controversial amendments to the Constitution (Conway 1966: 229).

RIOTS IN THE SAVANNAH RIVER VALLEY 1874-1876

The First Ned Tennant Riot, July 1874

During Governor Scott's term (1868-1870, Ned Tennant met with General Grant and obtained enough equipment and rifles to outfit completely 8,000 Black militia. In Meriwether Township, Edgefield County, there were two companies of militia organized, one commanded by Captain Ned Tennant. Tennant was rather flamboyant in dress and manner which caused uneasiness among local Whites. On July 4th, 1874, Tennant's Black militia company held a celebration and drill. Not far away was a group of Whites also celebrating the 4th. The loud drumming infuriated some of the younger Whites prompting them to take some action which would be "a warning and frighten him or precipitate trouble of some kind so as to bring on a conflict" (Tillman 1909: 42). While riding home that night, several of the young Whites rode toward Tennant's house and fired their pistols into the door then rode away. A short time later, Tennant called his militia company together by means of a drum beating. Alarmed, the Whites called out the "Sweetwater Sabre Club." The "Sweetwater Sabre Club" was a White organization mostly of young, unmarried men led by ex-Confederate Colonel A. P. Butler. The Club was armed with sabres, pistols, and rifles. The Black militia formed at Tennant's house, near Stevens Creek and the Martintown Road, with the intention of protecting Tennant. However, to the Whites, the militia formed to kill and burn the White neighborhood. Fortunately before blood had been spilled, Rev. Mealing and Dr. Shaw were sent by Butler to ascertain Tennant's intentions. Apparently Tennant had scouts out and learned that he was opposed by two companies of Whites, Butler to the South and another to the north. Tennant claimed that he was just protecting himself, pointing at his door. He then said if the Whites would disperse he would dismiss his company. This ended the first Ned Tennant Riot but increased the uneasy feelings between the two races. In response to this feeling, the White land-owners of Meriwether Township, would not rent land to or employ any member of the Black militia. Tennant, however, was able to rent a plantation and enlist new blacks to replace those he lost (Tillman 1909: 40-46; Simkins and Woody 1932: 485; Simkins 1964: 39-42).

The Second Ned Tennant Riot, January 1875

In early 1875, the home of General M. C. Butler was burned by incendiaries. Circumstantial evidence pointed to Tennant and a warrant for his arrest was issued. This incident was precipitated by a request to Governor Chamberlain by M. C. Butler and several Edgefield citizens to withdraw the arms of Tennant's company and disband them. As the sheriff had no wish to serve the warrant on Tennant alone, the "Sweetwater Sabre Club" called out 20 members to help. The sheriff and posse found no one home and proceeded

to search the woods. A portion of the militia was hiding there and fired at the posse, hitting no one. The posse returned the fire, wounding two Blacks, and the rest fled. The following day more than a thousand Whites joined in the hunt for Tennant. The next day, with much haste, Tennant marched his militia to Edgefield and turned in their arms, which were quickly appropriated by the Sabre Club. On January 28th Governor Chamberlain issued a proclamation disbanding all military organizations including rifle and sabre clubs (*News and Courier*, January 28, 1875). Thus, the second Ned Tennant riot ended (Simkins 1964: 42-43; Simkins and Woody 1932: 485-486; Tillman 1909: 47-50).

The Hamburg Riot July, 1876

Former Senator B. R. Tillman wrote (1909: 15-16) that by 1876 Hamburg consisted mainly of Blacks, mostly criminals, and the town officials were all Black. The Black Militia Company was commanded by Dock Adams, a former servant of I. T. Heard of Augusta (Tillman 1909: 52).

On July 4th, 1876, two White men, Henry Getzen and Thomas Butler, returning home from Augusta, passed through Hamburg. They were driving a carriage down Main Street, which was 150 feet wide, at the same time that Dock Adams was drilling his Black Militia. Adams, instead of letting the carriage pass, gave the order to "Charge bayonets!" As the militia came closer, Getzen and Butler reacted by drawing their pistols and shouting "We will shoot the first man who sticks a bayonet in that horse." It was a tense few moments as a hundred Springfield rifles with bayonets moved closer with several hundred Blacks looking on. However, Adams shouted "Halt" and let the carriage pass. Adams soon dismissed his company and went to General Prince Rivers, Commander of the South Carolina Black Militia and Trial Justice, to swear out a warrant for Getzen and Butler for interfering with his company at drill. After arriving home Butler and his father went to Justice/General Rivers to swear out a warrant for Adams' arrest for obstructing a public highway. The trial was set for the following Saturday. The "Sweetwater Sabre Club" was called out for two purposes: first, to protect Getzen and Butler, and second, to start a riot if one did not ensue. B. R. Tillman (1909: 17) wrote:

It had been the settled purpose of the leading White men of Edgefield to seize the first opportunity that the Negroes might offer them to provoke a riot and teach the Negroes a lesson; as it was generally believed that nothing but bloodshed and a good deal of it could answer the purpose of redeeming the state from Negro and carpet bag rule.

General Rivers, upon learning that the Sabre Club was coming to Hamburg, postponed the trial to prevent trouble. Sensing the temper of the White men, General Rivers promptly left town. General M. C. Butler then sent a message to Dock Adams, who had assembled his company in the Armory above the Sibley Building. The message to Adams was:

he had shown militia with guns were a menace to peace and good order, and that the Whites having lost all patience were resolved to put an end to his outrageous and insolent conduct (Tillman 1909: 18).

Adams refused to surrender his guns and company. He was then told that the Whites would take them. As the Whites surrounded the building, shooting broke out and McKie Meriwether was killed, enraging the White men further. The militia dispersed in darkness for the river. Prior to this, General Butler brought in a small artillery piece loaded with scrap iron from Augusta and fired twice into the front of the Sibley Building near the windows. There being no returned fire, the building was searched. When the militia could not be found, the town was searched and 30-40 Blacks were captured and placed under guard on River Street. The number of Whites had increased substantially, mostly from Augusta. By 8:30, a full moon rose and the search began anew. While the town square was being searched, a Black jumped a fence and ran toward the railroad bridge. Forty to fifty Whites fired at him and missed until he ran into a shotgun blast to the face. The Black was recognized almost at once as the town marshall who had a reputation for clubbing White men. Calm returned when another Black jumped the same fence but was shot by two men from Augusta. Soon after this killing, both General Butler and Colonel Butler left without leaving orders and the mob thinned considerably. Angered at losing McKie Meriwether and having only killed two Blacks and wounding another, James Lanham, James McKie and several others left the crowd and approached Henry Getzen who knew all the Blacks in Hamburg and "was asked to designate those of the meanest characters and most deserving of death" (Tillman 1909: 24). Getzen, a friend of Meriwether's, readily agreed to help. Five of the prisoners were executed and the rest released. The last to be executed, Pomp Curry, was only wounded and was the star witness against the Whites (Simkins 1964: 44-45; Simkins and Woody 1932: 486-487; Tillman 1909: 14-26; Williams 1935: 27-31).

The Ellenton Riot

Most of the following is a colorful account of the Ellenton riot. Benjamin Tillman (1909) was an eyewitness to the action, but his reliability as a reporter is unknown; however, it is the only eyewitness account in print to the author's knowledge. The Ellenton riot began on September 14, 1876 when two Black men tried to burglarize the home of Alonzo Harley. Mrs. Harley and her nine-year-old son were home at the time and surprised the burglars. The two Black men then attacked and beat the woman and her son with a club. Mrs. Harley's and the boy's screams drew Mr. Harley to the house whereupon he pursued the two men. Mr. Harley and several friends obtained a warrant for the arrest of the two men and, after being deputed, went looking for them. They found one of the men, Robert Williams, and he was identified by Mrs. Harley. Mr. Harley, in an outburst of rage, struck Williams who then tried to flee. Williams was shot and wounded and then confessed and named his accomplice, Fredrick Pope. Williams' wounds were dressed while friends of Harley approached Judge Griffin (Black) with sworn affidavits and obtained an arrest warrant for Pope. However, a crowd of Blacks who believed that Williams was innocent and was wantonly killed by the Whites gathered. Griffin, fearing further trouble, appointed Angus P.

Brown, well respected by both races, to carry out the arrest warrant. Couriers rode into the surrounding countryside calling the Whites to gather in preparation for trouble.

Saturday night, Brown quietly organized a posse of 14 men. Sunday morning Brown learned that Pope was at Rouse's Bridge, about six miles from Ellenton, under protection of a large number of armed Blacks. Taking Judge Griffin with him, Brown advanced toward the bridge. Rouse's Bridge spans Upper Three Runs and is approached by a deep and narrow cut. The first men through the cut were fired upon by the Blacks; the posse returned the fire and three Blacks were wounded, one of whom was Henry Campbell. Several Blacks rushed out of the swamp to reinforce the others. The Whites retired to an open field near the bridge. Using a white flag carried by a Black woman into the swamp, a conference with the Blacks was called, but they refused to communicate and the Whites sent her back to ask again. She never returned, but a Black man came from the swamp and said they would talk with six men he named from a list. The six agreed and entered the swamp. The Whites showed their warrant and asked for Pope. The Blacks replied that he was not with them. The Whites, upon hearing this, agreed to disperse if the Blacks would do the same. The Whites dispersed with Brown riding one way, Williams another. The rest of the group rode towards Double Bridge. A Mr. Ashley and two other men were the first to reach the bridge about three hundred yards in advance of the other eleven men. A score of armed Blacks jumped Ashley. Three or four guns were raised at him when Bryant Counsel, a captain of the Black militia company, knocked the guns down with his sword crying, "Don't shoot the man--don't shoot!" He then cried to Ashley, "You will have to save yourself, sir; I can't save you!" Ashley galloped off, was fired upon and wounded several times in the back. Ashley's two companions quickly followed, unwounded. In the meantime, the Whites behind Ashley, heard the gun fire and galloped forward. As they charged into the swamp, they were met with a volley from the Blacks--Jim Bush, James Cochran, S. W. Crossland and Sid Hankenson were wounded. The Blacks rushed the Whites led by Basix Bryant and Wilkins Hamilton. Bryant was killed and Hamilton wounded. The Whites dispersed into the swamp. Five miles away near Silverton, Stallings and Williams were fired at by three Blacks. John Williams was shot and beaten to death. Stallings made his escape through the woods after his horse was killed.

Meanwhile, other Blacks set fire to Dr. Wallace Bailey's mill, gin house and barn near Ellenton. White couriers began alerting the surrounding countryside and groups of Whites were already marching in the direction of Ellenton and Rouse's Bridge. From Edgefield came A. P. Butler and B. R. Tillman and their men, Captains Bussey and Bohler, Captain Richardson from Allendale, Aldrich and Hagood from Barnwell, with others from Aiken, Bamberg, and Orangeburg. General Hagood and Sheriff James Patterson of Barnwell gathered forces and moved toward Ellenton with the orders of Judge Wiggins to stop the rioters. Judge Wiggins later denied that he sent Hagood with the orders.

Colonel Butler and Captain Croft joined forces near Silverton. By daylight Monday, the column of Whites moved toward Ellenton. A courier caught up with them as they passed through Cowden Plantation with news that Blacks had wrecked the train on the Port Royal Railroad. The column charged, killed

one Black and scattered the rest. News came that the Blacks had taken possession of Ellenton with the help of the Barnwell Blacks under Simon Coker. However, when the Whites arrived, the Blacks had dispersed, some to Rouse's Bridge, the rest to oppose General Hagood in the Pen Branch Swamp. Colonel Butler took his troops and set out toward Rouse's Bridge. As the scouts for General Butler were approaching Rouse's Bridge, they were fired upon by six Blacks in a small house on the roadside. When the main body of men rushed, the Blacks fled. David Malley (Black) and Sam Brown (Black) were killed. Warren Kelsey (Black) was wounded. As the Whites rushed him, Jim Bush exclaimed, "Don't shoot him boys, his daddy is a good old Negro." A White man reached down in the grass, lifted Kelsey's head and cried, "By God! he's got a gun in his hand, right now!" At this, a dozen shots were fired killing Kelsey. Couriers reached Butler begging him to return to Ellenton for the night, as the Blacks had threatened to return and burn the town. Butler complied.

The Blacks returned to Ellenton, and sustained several casualties including: John Kelsey (Black), killed while running through a field armed; Wilkins Hamilton (Black), who had been wounded at Union Bridge (Double Bridge) and brought to Ellenton where he was either killed while a prisoner or died as a result of his wounds; Abram Hammond (Black), killed at Silvertown during the evening.

General Hagood and Sheriff Patterson set up camp Monday evening somewhere near Steel Creek. Sheriff Patterson, in advance of General Hagood's men, was driving a buggy with deputy Arthur Owens, and had just passed the gate of Joseph Ashley's Plantation, between Pen Branch and Steel Creek, when he was ambushed by Blacks. Sheriff Patterson (Black) was seriously wounded while deputy Owens' (Black) coat was riddled with bullet holes. Patterson was taken by Owens to the Ashley's where his wounds were nursed.

By Monday, most of the White women and children in the area had gathered at the nearest train station and were under heavy White guard. During the three-day disturbance, neither White nor Black women and children were hurt and, according to the varying reports, very few houses were ransacked.

Tuesday morning Colonel Butler took his troops to Rouse's Bridge upon hearing that a large number of armed Blacks had gathered there again. Another contingent of Edgefield men under Lieutenant Tillman arrived at Ellenton after having breakfasted at Captain George Bush's Plantation two miles away.

While Tillman and his men were waiting for a guide to Rouse's Bridge, an armed construction train dashed in from the direction of Port Royal. The guards were commanded by Captain Nat Butler; he and his men had caught the train as it left Augusta that morning. The train had gone to Robbins, where a Black man had been seen running out of a house and under a corn crib. Stopping the train, they hurried to the crib and captured Simon Coker, the mulatto leader of the Blacks in Barnwell County. As State Senator from the county, he had made an incendiary speech to the Blacks on Sunday. Coker urged the Blacks to fight for their rights, that the war had begun, and that they

must stand up and kill all of the Whites. Captain Butler advanced toward Tillman with his prisoner and asked if Tillman had any Edgefield men. Tillman replied that he had about 40 and Butler asked for two. Butler turned to the nearest two, Dunlap Phinney and J. O. Holder and said "You two boys come with me." Both had been in the Hamburg riot and fell in with the others guarding Coker.

Shortly after Tillman's guide appeared and as Tillman gave the order, "Column right about," and started back to the main public road, he saw Captain Nat Butler's squad marching across the open pasture toward the public road four hundred yards from the depot.

When Captain Butler reached his destination, he asked Coker if he had any last requests. Coker requested his wife should be notified to sell the cotton and pay the rent as soon as possible. Butler replied that he would honor his request and that Coker should prepare to meet his maker. As Coker knelt to pray, the squad fell back a few paces, fired and killed Coker. Phinney then stepped forward and fired into Coker's head remarking, "Captain, I did not want any more witnesses to come to life again," remembering what had happened with Pomp Curry in Hamburg. Butler went through Coker's pockets and found several papers, one to Governor Chamberlain reciting his loyalty and services to the Governor, another was apparently a list of leading White men to be killed during the riot and a list of places to burn. Tillman's men passed Coker's body, noticing the ghastly hole in his forehead, and pushed on to Rouse's Bridge.

General Hagood and his men reached the edge of Pen Branch Swamp where the advanced guards were confronted by 70 armed Blacks who suddenly opened fire. Robert Williams (White) was killed, Samuel Dunbar (White) shot in the hand and breast, J. H. Killingsworth (White) in the leg, and Mike Heyers (White) in the neck. The Whites returned the fire killing Edward W. Bush (Black), Roundtree (Black), and two other Blacks named Paris and Henry. The Blacks, being far outnumbered, plunged into the swamp. The Whites pushed on toward Ellenton, and enroute killed George Turner and William Tutt, both Black.

About this same time, Colonel Butler and his nearly 315 men, reached Rouse's Bridge. The Blacks had torn up part of the bridge planking, making it impassable. The Blacks apparently entrenched themselves in the swamp and a few harmless, scattered shots were fired from both sides. As the Whites were about to charge, a yell from the swamp sent them scurrying for cover, prepared to fire. As a body of men approached the edge of the swamp, Captain Croft shouted, "Those are White men coming through the swamp." The men were part of the Federal troops from Aiken commanded by Captain Lloyd. Captain Croft advanced toward Lieutenant Hinto, saluted and said:

"We are here, sir, for the purpose of enforcing order.
Have you any orders for us; if so, they shall be obeyed?"
"I have none, sir."
"Under what instructions are you here, then, sir?"

"Simply to preserve the peace."

"Have you any advice to offer?"

"I advise you to disperse your men."

"Will you force the Negroes to disperse?"

"I cannot force them. I feel assured, however, that the advice I shall give them will result in their prompt dispersion, particularly if you disperse your men now."

This was acceptable to the Whites and they crossed Upper Three Runs assembling in an open field on the west side. Just before the Whites dispersed, Tillman and his men rode up and discovered that "Yankee troops" were there to provide order. The White men were angry and unsure of what to do. Colonel Butler, talking with the Federal commander, asked:

"If we stop now, what guarantee have we that the Negroes will not fire on us from the swamps as they did last Saturday, as we were on our way home?"

"I will issue orders to prevent anything of the kind."

"Very well, see to it that your orders are obeyed, as we are in no humor to have more men assassinated, and I give you warning that if any more White men are hurt, it will take a great many squads like yours, in fact several regiments, to prevent our retaliating."

When the Whites learned of Coker's death, morale improved and most started home before noon.

That night, Tuesday, a force of Blacks visited the Joseph Ashley Plantation four miles from Robbins on the Port Royal Railroad. The Blacks burned the gin house and several other out-buildings. They were attacked by a party of Whites and a brisk fight ensued. According to reports, a number of Whites were seriously wounded and 12 Blacks killed.

On Wednesday, General Hagood was at Steel Creek with 300 men, when the Blacks threatened to burn Hattievile. General Hagood ordered the area patrolled and guarded, dismissed his cavalry and returned to Barnwell. His report, dated the 23rd, was the first detailed account of what had happened.

The Federal troops originally stationed in Aiken, apparently returned to Aiken on the 20th and reported all quiet. However, that same night, a group of Blacks set fire to M. T. Holly's mill and gin house four miles from Aiken.

Besides the two companies of Federal troops from Aiken in the area, four companies arrived from Atlanta. Six of the Federal troops were left at Ellenton. As a result of White dispersal, Black militia units and other armed Blacks began turning in their guns.

There are several differing accounts of the fighting between the 16th and 19th of September. The accounts generally concur on the chronology of events but differ in the dates of occurrence and casualties.

On September 20, a daring attempt at robbery and murder occurred at the residence of Thomas W. McKie near Hamburg. Upon hearing his dogs barking just after supper, McKie went outside where both he and the dogs were fired at; he returned the fire. As McKie re-entered the house to reload, six or seven Blacks fired at the front door. After taking his wife and child into the woods, McKie returned to the house to find the Blacks' leader, Nelson Hunter, attempting to break in the bedroom window. McKie, now under the house, fired at the Black, killing him with a wound to the chest as the others fled.

In the *News and Courier* of September 23 and 25, one reporter speculated that Governor Chamberlain had concocted a plot that would compromise the State Democratic Party, supposedly starting with the attack on Mrs. Harley. It was to the advantage of the Democrats to avoid bloodshed in South Carolina to keep Federal troops uninvolved. Conversely, the Republicans desired bloodshed so Federal troops could control the Democrats. Basically, the carpetbag leaders of the South Carolina Republican Party were indifferent to the Black sufferance and White demoralization caused by the riots. Ten points presented by the reporter to the *News and Courier* were:

1. The "Hamburg Horror," initiated by a bogus militia company, who possessed themselves of the state arms, against the wish of Major General Prince Rivers, a few days before they stopped the White men on the public highway.
2. The ridiculous report of Mr. Attorney-General Stone, which every intelligent man knew was a tissue of lies, on its face.
3. The letters of Governor Chamberlain to Senator Robertson and President Grant, published with quick haste in the New York Herald, and which grossly libelled the White people of the state.
4. The application of the Governor and Senator Patterson for troops.
5. The labor strikes in Beaufort and Colleton and no arrests.
6. The Charleston riot and no arrests.
7. Judge Wiggin adjourns his court at Aiken, having agreed with the Attorney General the week before that no bills should be given out against the men accused of instigating the Hamburg riot, and who were clamouring for a trial.
8. Judge Wiggin, adjourning the Barnwell Court one hour before the time to which it was to commence, when the clerk of the court could have informed him that fifteen grand and thirty-one petit jurors had answered to their names the day before, and while a bloody riot was going on in the county.
9. The failure of the Governor to organize a constabulary force under the law, as he proposed to do, to protect Judges Reed and Shaw on the bench, or to call upon the rifle clubs to preserve the peace and enforce the law, who he knew would promptly respond to his call.
10. New Winchester repeaters in the hands of the Aiken and Barnwell rioters, and fixed ammunition furnished to the Hamburg rioters from Columbia.

To the above list can be added:

11. Governor Chamberlain had gone North, while the Ellenton riots were at the worst, on personal and family affairs; but he was reported in Washington, pressing Grant for more troops and more Federal pressure.

12. A glance at the state map will show that all these outbreaks of the first twenty days of September were in Charleston, Georgetown, Beaufort, Barnwell and Aiken, a strip of adjoining territory extending from the coast to the Georgia line, with heavy colored population, much of it along the Savannah River and communication by rail from one end to the other easy. Hampton, Bamberg, Jasper, Allendale counties had not been created.

The papers reportedly found in the possession of State Senator Simon Coker should also be added to this list. These conditions lend support to the theory of a secret movement for general uprising or careful inculcation of Black supremacy, maintained by arms and the torch. This was not a new concept.

The *News and Courier*, October 7, reported that Deputy Marshalls Canton and Blackwell had returned to Columbia after investigating the Ellenton riot, making their report to the Governor. Their hyberbolic account of the condition of affairs at Ellenton, the recent riot, alleged assassinations, and mutilations so incensed the Governor that he issued a proclamation on the 8th. This proclamation denounced the rifle clubs for having instigated the riot ordering those in Aiken and Barnwell Counties to disperse and return peacefully to their homes within three days from the date of the proclamation, henceforth abstaining from all unlawful interference with the rights of citizens and from all violations of the public peace. Chamberlain further ordered the rifle clubs to disarm and disband completely, charging the responsibility of public order to the lawful militia of the state.

From September 21 to the proclamation, both the Federal troops and Sheriff Jordan (Black) of Aiken reported all quiet with the dispersal of all former parties involved in the riot. In the Northern Press and to Washington, however, Governor Chamberlain continued to claim the prevalent existence of armed mobs in the area.

On October 10, the United States District Attorney Corbin, after conferring with the Governor, accused the rifle clubs of causing the riot, and beginning the following day, mass arrests of these men would be made.

Governor Chamberlain, on the 16th of October, made application to President Grant to suppress domestic violence. The same day some petty disturbances occurred in Edgefield County due to the marauding of the Black Militia.

Governor Chamberlain continued to misrepresent the conditions in the state. In an open letter to the *New York Tribune* on October 25, Chamberlain seriously misrepresented the facts placing all blame on the rifle clubs.

Ultimately, six to seven hundred men were arrested for the riots under warrants charging murder and conspiracy to murder. The majority, better than 90%, were White. Black Democrats of Barnwell issued a widely published statement declaring that perfect order prevailed in the county with no threat to life and property. Upon hearing that warrants for their arrest had been issued, most of the Whites went to Aiken and voluntarily turned themselves in. This action gave the Democratic newspapers in the North new ammunition with which to assail South Carolinians as lawless and "insurrectionary."

On October 16th, as President Grant prepared to promulgate his Proclamation accusing South Carolina Whites of murdering peaceful citizens, the Cainhoy massacre occurred. Five Whites and one Black were killed, and twenty wounded in an ambush by Blacks.

The men arrested in Aiken and Barnwell were never tried. The reason why the indictments were not pressed was that after the election in November, and the recognition of Hampton as Governor of the State in March of 1877, the carpetbaggers and Blacks, who were indicted for their many crimes committed under the radical regime, had the authorities in Washington use these Ellenton cases to secure an exchange of prisoners, so to speak. The Democrats in Washington had agreed with the Republicans that Hayes would be inaugurated as the choice of the "Eight to seven Commission," upon condition that the troops be withdrawn from the states of Louisiana and South Carolina. This compromise arrangement was followed by a further agreement that the suits in the federal courts against the White rioters would not be pressed if the suits against the Blacks and Carpetbag thieves were not pressed (*News and Courier* September 20, 1876 to October 18, 1876; Tillman 1909; Williams 1935; Allen 1888; Thompson 1969).

THE TENANT FARM PERIOD 1870-1930

Once the railroads built tracks through the Savannah River Plant area, small towns along their routes and crossings began to appear.

Ellenton was born when the Charleston and Western Carolina Railroad was built in the 1870's. The section that ran from Charleston, South Carolina to Augusta, Georgia, cut through Robert Jefferson Dunbar's Plantation near this big three storied home where the superintendent of construction, Mr. Millett, boarded. He became so charmed with Mr. Dunbar's attractive nine-year-old daughter, Ellen, that he requested the company to name the station near the Upper Three Runs neighborhood for her (Cassels 1971: 3).

By 1900, the Savannah River Plant area could boast of having nine small towns or communities (Ellenton, Dunbarton, Hawthorne, Donora, Hattievile, Robbins, Meyers Mill, Greenland, and Bush), seven of which had rail connections (Fig. 4). Population figures for Silverton township in Aiken County indicate a population increase in 1900, but a decrease in 1910. Fourmile township in Barnwell County decreased during that same period. Ellenton's population rose steadily from 1890 to 1910 (Bureau of the Census 1913). Once the railroads connected stations near enough for planters economically to transport their staple crop to the railhead, river transport was no longer necessary. Railroads decreased the time of transporting goods to the Augusta market. The ease of using rail transport would have allowed these late nineteenth century planters to move further from the river. Area farmers probably brought crops to either Point Confort, near Ellenton, or near Stoney Bluff Landing, near the mouth of Lower Three Runs Creek, for shipment to Savannah. Once the railroads came through the area, river transport nearly vanished.

Blacks had started to leave the plantations when their former masters were unable to provide them with work. The Blacks, at least in Georgia, began moving to the cities by the thousands (Brooks 1914: 16), and others started moving westward.

In 1867 the average yearly wage paid for farm labor, including rations, was, in Georgia, \$125; in Mississippi, \$149; in Louisiana, \$150; in Arkansas, \$136. The negroes were moving, therefore, in response to an economic demand (Brooks 1914: 17).

Not only was the labor force decreasing, but the price of land also decreased because of seizure for delinquent taxes. The price at public auctions ranged from \$2.50 for 200 acres to ten cents per acre (Brooks 1914: 38). Many landowners were able to keep their land and buy adjoining land, increasing the size of plantations. Prunty (1955) writes that there were several different types of plantation occupance forms following Reconstruction. The two basic forms of occupance were the cropper and the tenant-renter. "These occu-

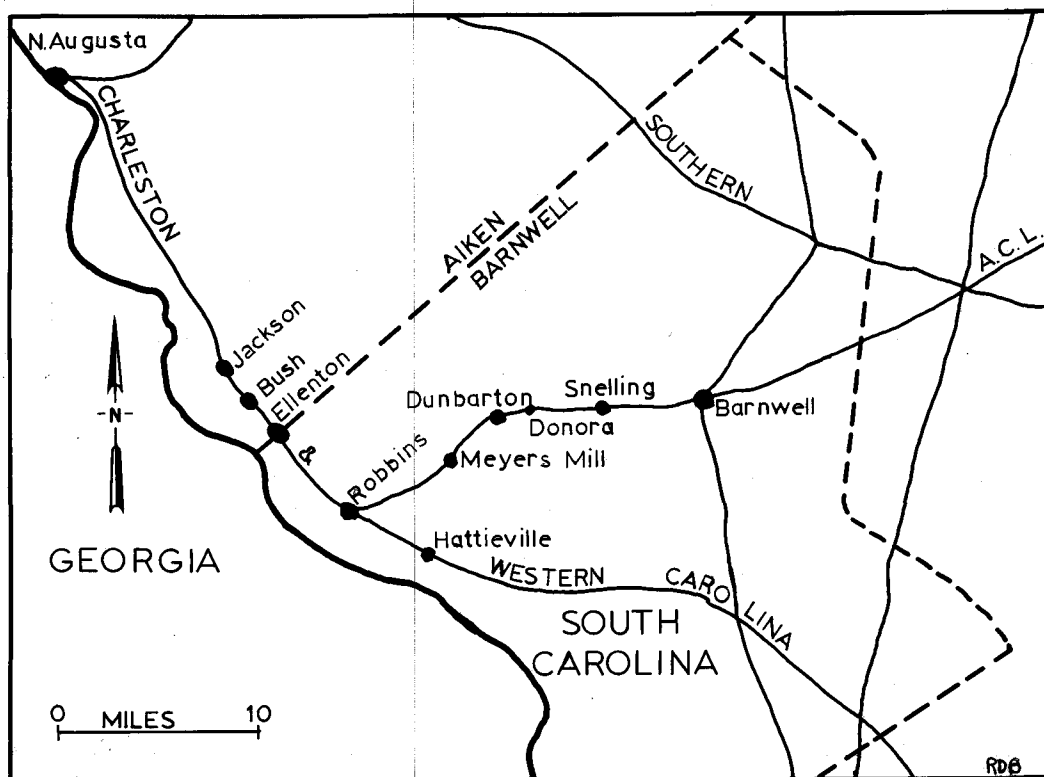


Figure 4. Aiken-Barnwell area in 1910 (From the *1910 Official Map of South Carolina*). Railroads are shown by solid lines.

panage forms emerged on landholdings that had previously supported the Ante-bellum form, and also developed on new holdings created after Reconstruction" (Prunty 1955: 466-467). Labor on the plantation continued as during ante-bellum days with "gang" labor employment, in which each gang was directed by a Negro "captain" (Prunty 1955: 470). Each cropper was, in effect, allowed a cabin in which to live and land of his own to cultivate; however, he would contribute his time to the cultivation of the staple crop. The cropper, when the system was first begun, was treated much as before the Civil War "and thus did not have the complete personal freedom he prized" (Prunty 1955: 470). To remedy this situation, the landowner granted the things the croppers wanted most:

his own house adjacent to his own cropland, his cultivating tools nearby instead of in a central shed, a minimum of supervision plus freedom to work where, when, and as he pleased, and he wanted use and control of the mules (Prunty 1955: 470).

By about 1900, all these freedoms had been granted:

but dispersal of the mules among cropper-operated subunits meant that managerial control of the cultivating power was weakened. "Patch" cultivation was the major result; thus dispersal of the cultivating power marks the inception of the fragmented occupance form. Another result was unevenness in the kind and quality of cultivation (Prunty 1955: 471).

Unfortunately, most of these various systems of cropper-type farming failed. Soon this form of system was given over to a cash-wage system, but the close supervision required by the owner led to resentment by the workers and was not always successful (Prunty 1955: 471-474).

The tenant-renter type of fragmented plantation was somewhat more successful. "A share tenant supplies his own cultivating power (usually mules) and implements and customarily pays two-thirds of seed and fertilizer costs" (Prunty 1955: 474). There were several different forms of the tenant-renter system, but most were similar, with the difference being the amounts of rent or cost paid.

A field study of 646 plantations in the Southeast revealed interesting data about Black tenant farmers as opposed to White tenants (Woofter, et al. 1936). First, the Blacks had farmed an average total of 3 to 5 years longer than White tenants. Second, Black tenants tended to stay an average of 4 to 5 years longer on the same plantation than Whites. Third, the average number of farms lived on is less for Blacks than Whites. Last, the average number of years lived on, per farm, is greater by 1 to 4 years (Woofter et al. 1936: 110). Woofter summed up the cotton tenant period in 1934:

The typical cotton plantation operated by 5 or more families in 1934, included a total of 907 acres, of which 385 were in crops, 63 idle, 162 in pasture, 214 in woods, and 83 in waste land. Approximately 86 percent of the 907 acres was owned by the operating landlord and 14 percent was rented from other owners. On the typical plantation the wage hand cultivated 45 crop acres, the cropper 20, and other share tenant 26, and the renter 24....

The typical plantation was occupied by 14 families, exclusive of the landlord's family, of which 3 were headed by wage hands, 8 by croppers, 2 by other share tenants, and 1 by a renter. Of these families, 2 were White and 12 were Negro. The average family, the head of which was 41 years of age, consisted of about four persons, of whom two to three were employable. The average number of years of residence on the 1934 farm was 8 years for all families, 7 for wage hands, 7 for croppers, 11 for other share tenants, and 13 for renters (Woofter et al. 1936: xxxii-xxxiii).

Woofter, et al. also studied the living conditions of the tenants in which:

Fuel and house rent are part of the tenant's perquisites 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 meagre 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 the late summer and fall.

During the months when 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 soon 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 diet is largely responsible for pellagra and the digestive disorders that are prevalent in the South. Lack of screening makes the control of malaria difficult (Woofter et al. 1936: xxvii-xxviii).

The differences between the cropper and the tenant types "stems from dispersed control of the cultivating power in the latter" (Prunty 1955: 479). Apparently the tenant farmer, perhaps because of his greater freedoms, was the economic superior of participants in the two systems. In Prunty's opinion, the appearance of tenants and tenant-renter occupance was the consequence of a managerial decision because; it did not reduce their amenities and provided tangible evidence of status, namely mules (1955: 480). Woofter, et al. (1936) believed:

The relatively high rate of mobility among tenant farmers, as compared with owners, in the Cotton South is undoubtedly tied up with the system of land renting.... The lack of written contract between tenant and landowner, and the fact that the tenant has no legal claim and receives no recompense for improvements he may make on the property, deprived the cotton tenant farmer of that incentive which leads to stability. But even though the tenant remains relatively fixed, he is handicapped so far as developing his property is concerned, for his agreement with the landlord often requires him to devote a high proportion of his land to cotton (Woofter, et al. 1936: 114).

This is probably one of the major reasons for the collapse of the tenant system in the South.

Since the end of the 1920s, when the era of tenant farming climaxed, the area has been losing its residents. Woofter et al. wrote:

The number and proportion of large holdings in the South have decreased and the number and proportion of small holdings have increased, reflecting the increasing division of land ownership. The disintegration of large tracts was steady from the Civil War to about 1910. At present there is a tendency to hold large tracts together, especially since so much worn-out land has been

dropped from cultivation (Woofter et al. 1936: xxi).

This land that was dropped from cultivation has been allowed, in many cases, to revert to forest land through old field succession (Odum 1960). Once land owners realized that the pines in their fields could be a valuable resource for paper and lumber companies, large tracts of land became pine plantations.

By 1912, the Talatha Telephone company and the White Pond Telephone Company were operating in the Savannah River Plant area (Caughman 1912: 361, 365, 370). The Ellenton Area was served by the Cassels Telephone Company; however, research has not yet determined the period and area served. In 1929 the town of Dunbarton signed a 30 year franchise with the South Carolina Power Company for electrical power. In 1929 there was a 50KV hydro-electric power station owned by the town of Ellenton and named Western Carolina Oil and Power Company and served a territory population of 620. The company existed until about 1936. The dam was known as Cassels Pond and had a back up gas engine generator. This dam and pond may have originally been known as Dr. Bailey's Mill (38BR346). By 1938, Ellenton and Dunbarton were on the transmission line from Barnwell (Public Service Commission Map 1938).

The era of reconstruction brought an end to the southern antebellum life-style as the end of slavery brought difficult times to southern planters. It was no longer profitable to run large plantations when the help had to be paid. Several of the larger plantations on the Savannah River Plant site were able to overcome having to pay their former slaves for their work. Plantation owners set up their own commissary stores and monetary systems. This would appear to the workers and tenant farmers that they were being paid a wage and being able to purchase their needs at lower (sometimes) prices than the local stores. In actuality the system never changed, only its outer appearance. As when they were slaves, they were given their food and clothing for their work, and the only money they had was from the sale of cash crops they grew in their own time. Majority of the cash went into alcoholic beverages and patent medicines that most likely were not offered in the plantation commissary. Archeological evidence from the Ashley Plantation area indicated that food and tobacco storage containers were identical, the only difference between the 10-13 tenant/workers house ruins artifact-wise was their preference for alcoholic beverages. For that matter most of the 125 tenant farm dwellings investigated to date indicate that same observation. The only differences in artifact assemblages are their alcoholic preferences: 60% of the farm dwellings have alcoholic beverage containers present, about 30% have no alcoholic containers but have patent medicine bottles (most of which contain alcohol), and perhaps 10% have neither. The non-drinkers tend to be heavy users of patent medicines. This would appear to indicate that these tenant/workers had an alcohol problem, especially since they would have to spend their own money for the beverages. The Blacks started to leave the plantation when their employers were unwilling to supply them with food when they did not work.

During World War I, large scale migration of rural southern Blacks to the urban North caused the formation of large Black ghettos (Kellogg 1977:

310). This migration was caused in part by the fact that land farmed in the South could no longer support them and the northern cities offered a promise of industrial employment. This migration left many southern tenant farms empty and fields fallow. At this time, landowners began planting their fallow fields with quick growing pines. By the late 1920s and 1930s, landowners were leasing land to lumber companies for 5 to 20 year periods and allowing these companies to set up saw mills on their property. High mounds, which support vegetative growth but have virtually no soil, are evidence of these sawmills. Some of the mounds still have remnants to wood chip debris. Timber harvesting became a viable alternative to cash crops, such as corn, cotton, and asparagus especially on land that was not very productive without large amounts of fertilizer. After the lumber company leases ran out, the land apparently went back to cultivation.

Until circa 1735 the Three Runs area was visited only by English traders from Charles Town, seeking furs from the nearby Indian inhabitants of Savanno Town. Actual settlement of the Three Runs area began in the late 1730s by Europeans with Royal Grants to the land. The area was sparsely settled until the end of the Revolutionary War. It was not until the 1820s/1830s when the area became more densely settled that most farmable land was under cultivation. With the end of Reconstruction even the xeric uplands were settled. Before the Korean War began, several of the areas tenant plantations were barely keeping up agricultural production. Probate hearings indicate that, at least on Ashley Plantation, the tenant dwellings were almost beyond repair and that, instead of paying rent, the rentee was repairing the old tenant dwellings while the owner was trying to grow tobacco and taking in boarders. The general population and agricultural decline of the area was one of many factors leading to the selection of this region for the construction of the Savannah River Plant.

APPENDIX A
CAROLINA FUR EXPORTS

1699-1715

Source: Crane 1928: 328-333

	<u>1699</u>	<u>1700</u>	<u>1701</u>	<u>1702</u>	<u>1703</u>	<u>1704</u>	<u>1705</u>	<u>1706</u>	<u>1707</u>	<u>1708</u>
Buck drest	-	-	56	379	182	342	200	29	-	100
Buck $\frac{1}{4}$ drest	31,004	11,454	38,486	40,424	50,749	50,419	3,172	23,676	94,825	24,914
Buck & Doe undrest	12,324	10,679	12,544	8,843	6,950	10,780	6,917	9,249	26,530	6,925
	<u>1709</u>	<u>1710</u>	<u>1711</u>	<u>1712</u>	<u>1713</u>	<u>1714</u>	<u>1715</u>			
	8,160	1,050	-	-	-	-	-			
	38,304	62,839	26,839	61,181	53,555	44,834	51,546			
	5,433	4,543	6,304	19,143	6,896	5,947	4,260			

An Account Shewing the quantity of Skins and Furrs Imported annually
into this kingdom from Carolina from Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1715.

APPENDIX A (con't.)

CAROLINA FUR EXPORTS

1699-1724

<u>Year</u>	<u>Beaver (number)</u>	<u>Deer (number)</u>
1699	1436	64,488
1700	1486	22,133
1701	451	51,086
1702	2724	49,646
1703	489	57,881
1704	540	61,541
1705	25	10,289
1706	258	32,954
1707	436	121,355
1708	(no entry)	31,939
1709	52	52,014
1710	125	68,432
1711	36	33,409
1712	314	80,324
1713	242	60,451
1714	533	50,781
1715	694	55,806
1716	(no figures)	4,702
1717	"	21,713
1718	"	17,073
1719	"	24,355
1720	"	35,171
1721	"	33,939
1722	"	59,827
1723	"	64,315
1724	"	61,124

APPENDIX A (con't.)

CAROLINA FUR EXPORTS

1724-1739

<u>From</u> <u>November 1</u>		<u>To</u> <u>November 1</u>	<u>Chests</u>	<u>Hogheads</u>	<u>Tierces</u>	<u>Loose Skins</u>
1724	-	1725	139	6	--	349
1725	-	1726	162	8	--	2,390
1726	-	1727	115	21	--	1,912
1727	-	1728	105	29	--	790
1728	-	1729	119	46	--	1,260
1729	-	1730	126	59	--	2,356
1730	-	1731	185	116	--	400
1731	-	1732	40	240	--	580
1732	-	1733	29	385	--	428
1733	-	1734	20	312	--	1,140
1734	-	1735	11	359	--	398
1735	-	1736	24	451	--	2,009
1736	-	1737	5	339	7	1,050
1737	-	1738	--	441	15	1,465
1738	-	1739	--	559	--	856

APPENDIX (Con't.)

CAROLINA FUR EXPORTS

1740-1762

<u>Year</u>	<u>Deerskins (pounds)</u>	<u>Approximate * number</u>
1740	229,500	153,000
1741	153,180	102,120
1742	257,952	171,968
1743	264,844	176,562
1744	130,884	87,256
1745	305,717	203,811
1746	277,728	185,152
1747	277,545	185,030
1748	214,956	143,304
1749	227,363	151,575
1750	143,948	95,965
1751	186,916	124,610
1752	157,489	104,992
1753	206,990	137,993
1754	237,858	158,572
1755	263,586	175,724
1756	210,434	140,289
1757	239,817	159,878
1758	260,433	173,622
1759	355,207	236,804
1760	303,610	202,406
1761	155,902	103,934
1762	177,491	118,326

* Crane notes that these skins probably averaged about 1½ lbs.

APPENDIX B

PRICES OF INDIAN TRADE GOODS

1716

<u>Goods</u>	<u>Buckskins</u>
A Gun	30
A Yard Strouds	7
A Duffield Blanket	14
A Yard Half Thicks	3
A Hatchet	2
A narrow Hoe	2
A broad Hoe	4
Fifty Bullets	1
A Butcher's Knife	1
A pair Cizars	1
Three Strings Beads	1
Eighteen Flints	1
An Ax	4
A Pistol	20
A Cutlash	8
A Shirt	4
A Steel	1
A Calico Petticoat	12
A red Girdle	2
A laced Hatt	8
A clasp Knife	1
A Yard Cadis	1
Rum, mixed with 1/3 Water per Bottle	1
Salt, Gunpowder, Kettles, Looking Glasses	As you can

APPENDIX B (con't.)

PRICES OF INDIAN TRADE GOODS

1718

<u>Goods</u>	<u>Deer Skins</u>
A Gun	16
A Pound Powder	1
Four Pounds Bullets or Shot	1
A Pound red Lead	2
Fifty Flints	1
Two Knives	1
One Pound Beads	3
Twenty-four pipes	1
A broad Hoe	3
A Hatchet	2
A Pound Vermilion	16
A Yard double striped, yard-wide cloth	3
A double striped cloth coat, Tinsey laced	16
A Half Thicks or Plains Coat, gartering laced	14
A Half Thicks or Plains Coat, not laced	12
A Yard Strouds	4
A Yard Plains or Half Thicks	2
A laced Hat	3
A Plain Hat	2
A White Duffield Blanket	8
A Blew or Red Duffield Blanket, Two Yards	7
A Course Linnen Shirt	3
A Gallon Rum	4
A Pound Vermillion, (and) two pounds red Lead, mixed	20
Brass Kettles, per pound	2½
A Yard course flowered Calicoe	4
Three Yards broad scarlet Caddie	1

APPENDIX C

1790 Manuscript Population Census

South Part of Orangeburg District
Probably Barnwell

<u>Heads of Families</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	<u>All Other Free</u>	<u>Slaves</u>
	<u>16 & Over</u>	<u>16 & Under</u>			
Nathaniel Ashley	1	-	1	-	-
Robert Ashley	2	1	2	-	-
William Ashley	2	2	2	-	-
Benjamin Boyd	1	-	3	-	-
Josiah Boyd	1	-	2	-	-
Samuel Boyd	1	3	3	-	-
William Boyd	1	3	1	-	1
Tarleton Brown	1	1	5	-	5
John Bush	3	4	2	-	15
Isaac Bush, Sr.	3	-	2	-	12
Isaac Bush, Jr.	1	2	2	-	1
John Lark	1	3	2	-	1
John Pettis	2	5	3	-	-
Richard Tredaway	3	-	4	-	-
Lewis Weathersby	1	-	1	-	2
Thomas Weathersby	1	-	3	-	-
James Wilson	1	1	4	-	-
District Total	1421	1478	2782	149	1402

Population Total Southern
Part of Orangeburg District 7232

North Part of Orangeburg District

John Boyd	1	1	4	-	20
Thomas Boyd	1	3	3	-	-
Hannah Dunbar	1	-	2	-	2
Joseph McElhaney	1	4	3	-	-
District Total	1780	1693	3258	21	4529

Population Total Northern
Part of Orangeburg District 11281

APPENDIX D

1800 Manuscript Population Census

Barnwell District	White Males					White Females					Free Colored	Slave
	0 to 10	10 to 16	16 to 26	26 to 45	45 & Up	0 to 10	10 to 16	16 to 26	26 to 45	45 & Up		
<u>Heads of Families</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>Up</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>Up</u>		
John Ashley	2	-	1	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-
Nathanial Ashley	3	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Ashley	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Benjamin Boyd	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	-	-	1	-	-
Josiah Boyd	1	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	-
Ruben Boyd	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	7
Samuel Boyd	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
William Boyd	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Tarlton Brown	3	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	17
Edward Bush	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
John Bush	2	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
John Bush	3	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	2
John Bush, Jr.	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Butler	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ezekial Coward	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Zacariah Coward	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Samuel Dunbar	2	2	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	10
John McElhany	2	-	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	17
Jeramiah Pettis	-	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
John Pettis	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-
James Sweat	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	3
Elijah Tredaway	1	-	1	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	-
Richard Tredaway	3	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	1
James Wilson	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	1	-
District Totals	1164	549	583	396	149	1078	557	568	352	179	111	1090
Total Population for District	7376											

APPENDIX E

1810 Manuscript Population Census

Heads of Families	White Males					White Females					Free Colored	Slaves
	0	10	16	26	45	0	10	16	26	45		
	to 10	to 16	to 26	to 45	& Up	to 10	to 16	to 26	to 45	& Up		
Charles Ashley	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
John Ashley	2	2	-	1	-	3	1	1	1	-	-	2
Nathanial Ashley	2	1	2	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	2
Samuel Ashley	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6
Benjamin Boyd	1	1	1	-	1	4	2	-	1	-	-	-
Ezekial Boyd	3	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-
James Boyd	3	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
John Boyd	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
John Boyd	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Josiah Boyd	-	1	-	1	-	2	2	2	1	-	-	-
Ruben Boyd	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	21
William Boyd	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Tarleton Brown	4	2	2	-	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	36
Charles Bush	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6
George Bush	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	9
Issac Bush	6	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	21
John Bush, Jr.	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	17
William Bush	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	3
John Butler	-	1	3	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-
Ezekial Coward	2	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	4
Andrew Dunbar	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	7
George A. Dunbar	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	10
Robert Dunbar	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	7	11
Samuel Dunbar	1	1	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	18
Thomas Fickling	1	2	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	18

APPENDIX E (Con't.)

Heads of Families	White Males					White Females					Free Colored	Slaves
	0	10	16	26	45	0	10	16	26	45		
	to	to	to	to	&	to	to	to	to	&		
	10	16	26	45	Up	10	16	26	45	Up		
John Heard	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	5/5
Robert Lark	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	10
George Pettis	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
John Pettis	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Elijah Tredaway	4	1	-	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	-	1
James Wilson	3	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	1	1	1	9
District Totals	1280	654	757	698	407	1464	622	768	639	380	158	4153
Total White Males	4096											
Total White Females	3860											
Total Population	12,280											

APPENDIX F

1820 Manuscript Population Census

Barnwell District	White Males						White Females						Number Employed in Agriculture
	0 to 10	10 to 16	16 to 18	18 to 26	26 to 45	& Up	0 to 10	10 to 16	16 to 18	18 to 26	26 to 45	& Up	
<u>Heads of Families</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>Up</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>Up</u>	
Charles Ashley	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-
Joshua Ashley	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Joshua Ashley	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
Samuel Ashley	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
William Ashley	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Wilson Ashley	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
John Bailey	-	-	1	-	1	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	1
Samuel Bailey	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	4
Samuel J. Bailey	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	9
Ezekial Boyd	2	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	3
Joseph Boyd	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	1
Josiah Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	1
Ruben Boyd	1	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	15
William Boyd	-	3	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	1
Tarleton Brown	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	20
Benjamin Bush	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Bryant Bush	1	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	10
Edmund Bush	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Edward Bush	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	5
George Bush	3	-	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	13
Issac Bush	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Bush	4	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	8
John Bush	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	1
Silas Bush	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Stephen Bush	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	10

APPENDIX F (Con't)

Heads of Families	White Males						White Females						Number Employed in Agriculture
	0 to 10	10 to 16	16 to 18	18 to 26	26 to 45	45 & Up	0 to 10	10 to 16	16 to 18	18 to 26	26 to 45	45 & Up	
Thomas Bush	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
William Bush	3	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	6
J. E. Carstarphen	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Zachariah Coward	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
Zachariah Coward	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
George R. Dunbar	4	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	9
James Dunbar	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Robert Dunbar	5	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	5
Samuel Dunbar	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	6
William Dunbar	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Thomas Fickling	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4
John Heard	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	4
Robert Lark	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6
John F. McElhany	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	5
Elijah Tredaway	4	1	1	1	1	1	4	-	-	3	-	1	3
James Wilson	6	1	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	-	8

APPENDIX F (Con't)

Heads of Families	Male Slaves				Female Slaves				Free Colored Male	Free Colored Female	Household Total
	0	14	26	45	0	14	26	45			
	to 14	to 26	to 45	& Up	to 14	to 26	to 45	& Up			
Charles Ashley	4	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	14
Joshua Ashley	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
Joshua Ashley	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6
Samuel Ashley	2	4	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	11
William Ashley	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Wilson Ashley	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
John Bailey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Samuel Bailey	2	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	10
Samuel J. Bailey	4	7	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	18
Ezekial Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Joseph Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Josiah Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Ruben Boyd	8	2	1	-	11	2	2	1	-	-	33
William Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Tarleton Brown	13	8	2	2	5	3	1	3	-	-	45
Benjamin Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bryant Bush	4	3	1	-	6	5	-	-	-	-	25
Edmund Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Edward Bush	2	1	-	2	2	2	1	-	1	1	20
George Bush	8	2	4	1	8	5	1	1	-	-	39
Isaac Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
John Bush	4	4	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	21
John Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Silas Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Stephen Bush	2	4	-	2	3	1	1	-	1	-	16
Thomas Bush	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
William Bush	2	1	1	-	5	2	2	-	-	-	21
J. E. Carstarphen	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	9
Zachariah Coward	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	10
Zachariah Coward	3	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	13

APPENDIX G

1830 Manuscript Population Census

Barnwell District	0	5	10	15	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Heads of Families	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	& Up
	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>100</u>	
Charles Ashley	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Charles Ashley	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Ashley	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Ashley	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
William Ashley	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dr. Samuel Bailey	2	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ezekial Boyd	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ezekial Boyd	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joseph Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Joseph Boyd	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stephen Boyd	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Boyd	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bryant Bush	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George Bush	1	1	3	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Isaac Bush	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
John Bush	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Stephen Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Bush	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
George R. Dunbar	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Dunbar	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robert Dunbar	1	-	1	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
William L. Dunbar	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
James Heard	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary McElhany	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
James Wilson	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	1108	871	1192	483	929	532	344	189	88	34	5	-	2

APPENDIX G (con't.)

	0	5	10	15	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to
<u>Heads of Families</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>Up</u>
Charles Ashley	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Charles Ashley	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Ashley	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Ashley	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Ashley	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dr. Samuel Bailey	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ezekial Boyd	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ezekial Boyd	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joseph Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stephen Boyd	2	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Boyd	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bryant Bush	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George Bush	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Isaac Bush	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
John Bush	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stephen Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Bush	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George R. Dunbar	1	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Dunbar	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robert Dunbar	-	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
William L. Dunbar	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
James Heard	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary McElhany	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
James Wilson	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1006	849	640	407	853	478	326	190	81	40	9	-	-

APPENDIX G (Con't)

Heads of Families	Male Slaves						Female Slaves					
	0	10	24	36	55	100	0	10	24	36	55	100
	to 10	to 24	to 36	to 55	to 100	& Up	to 10	to 24	to 36	to 55	to 100	& Up
Charles Ashley	1	4	-	-	-	-	6	-	1	2	-	-
Charles Ashley	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
John Ashley	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
Samuel Ashley	6	6	1	-	-	-	6	4	1	-	-	-
William Ashley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dr. Samuel Bailey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ezekial Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joseph Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joseph Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stephen Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bryant Bush	9	4	3	2	-	-	9	3	3	3	-	-
George Bush	7	7	2	3	1	-	10	7	5	1	-	-
Isaac Bush	5	2	2	-	1	-	1	3	2	1	-	-
John Bush	5	3	3	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	-
Stephen Bush	2	1	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
William Bush	1	2	1	2	-	-	7	3	2	2	-	-
George R. Dunbar	8	7	5	-	1	-	9	8	5	-	-	-
John Dunbar	-	2	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
Robert Dunbar	3	3	3	-	-	-	2	3	2	1	-	-
William L. Dunbar	3	-	-	2	1	-	2	2	1	-	-	-
James Heard	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Mary McElhany	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
James Wilson	-	2	1	1	-	-	3	1	2	-	-	-
Total	1519	1300	728	528	134	7	1517	1297	807	532	130	3
	Free Colored Males						Free Colored Females					
	39	48	24	23	7	1	46	41	20	18	16	-

APPENDIX H

1840 Manuscript Population Census

White Males

Barnwell District	0	5	10	15	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	Engaged In	
Heads of Families	to 5	to 10	to 15	to 20	to 30	to 40	to 50	to 60	to 70	to 80	to 90	Agri.	Manu.
Charles Ashley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	11	-
Charles Ashley	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
Joshua Ashley	2	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	10	1
William Ashley	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	18	-
Samuel Bailey	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	36	-
Samuel Bailey	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ezekial Boyd	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
John Boyd	1	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	16	-
Josiah Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Stephen Boyd	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Boyd	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-
Tarleton Brown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	23	1
David Bush	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	18	-
George M. Bush	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
John Bush	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	12	-
Samuel Bush	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Stephen Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7	-
George R. Dunbar	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	23	-
James Dunbar	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	9	-
John Dunbar	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Robert Dunbar	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
Samuel Dunbar	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
District Totals	1687	544	446	358	571	366	244	155	72	19	9	6017	64

White Females

<u>Heads of Families</u>	<u>0</u> <u>to</u> <u>5</u>	<u>5</u> <u>to</u> <u>10</u>	<u>10</u> <u>to</u> <u>15</u>	<u>15</u> <u>to</u> <u>20</u>	<u>20</u> <u>to</u> <u>30</u>	<u>30</u> <u>to</u> <u>40</u>	<u>40</u> <u>to</u> <u>50</u>	<u>50</u> <u>to</u> <u>60</u>	<u>60</u> <u>to</u> <u>70</u>	<u>70</u> <u>to</u> <u>80</u>	<u>80</u> <u>to</u> <u>90</u>	<u>Household</u> <u>Total</u> <u>Incl. Slaves</u>
Charles Ashley	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	22
Charles Ashley	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	10
Joshua Ashley	1	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	28
William Ashley	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	35
Samuel Bailey	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	59
Samuel Bailey	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5
Ezekial Boyd	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4
John Boyd	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	49
Josiah Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	3
Stephen Boyd	1	1	1	-	-	1	0	0	0	0	0	10
William Boyd	1	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	8
Tarleton Brown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44
David Bush	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
George M. Bush	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
John Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	16
Samuel Bush	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Steven Bush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
George R. Dunbar	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68
James Dunbar	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
John Dunbar	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	17
Robert Dunbar	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
Samuel Dunbar	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
District Totals	702	514	435	357	581	353	243	119	75	27	10	
Total Population	15,392											

Heads of Families	Males Slaves						Free Male Colored				
	0	10	24	36	55	100	0	10	24	36	55
	to	to	to	to	to	& Up	to	to	to	to	to
	<u>10</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>10</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>100</u>
Charles Ashley	-	5	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Charles Ashley	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joshua Ashley	2	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Ashley	2	5	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Bailey	4	6	8	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Bailey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ezekial Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Boyd	7	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Josiah Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stephen Boyd	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tarleton Brown	7	4	2	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
David Bush	6	8	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George Bush	1	2	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	-
John Bush	2	1	0	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Bush	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-
Steven Bush	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George R. Dunbar	15	6	6	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
James Dunbar	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Dunbar	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robert Dunbar	5	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Dunbar	5	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
District Totals	1420	1162	690	487	211	3	66	42	30	24	6

Heads of Families	Female Slaves						Free Female Colored				
	0	10	24	36	55	100	0	10	24	36	55
	to	to	to	to	to	& Up	to	to	to	to	to
	<u>10</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>10</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>100</u>
Charles Ashley	2	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Charles Ashley	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joshua Ashley	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Ashley	4	7	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Bailey	4	6	8	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Bailey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ezekial Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Boyd	2	8	10	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Josiah Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stephen Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tarleton Brown	8	4	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
David Bush	7	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George M. Bush	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
John Bush	5	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Bush	-	-	3	2	-	-	2	1	-	1	-
Stephen Bush	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George R. Dunbar	16	5	7	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
James Dunbar	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
John Dunbar	3	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robert Dunbar	3	5	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel Dunbar	3	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
District Totals	1448	1213	788	552	175	2	81	47	30	18	10

APPENDIX I

1850 Manuscript Population Census

Barnwell District

<u>Head of Household Followed by Members</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Value of Property</u>
Charles Ashley	64	Planter	6,000
Lydia	60		
James Garnder	19		
Joseph Ashley	26	Planter	6,000
Mary	35		
Minor Moody	12		
Augustus	10		
Waller	8		
William	4		
Willy Bailey	17	Overseer	
Joshua Ashley	54	Planter	4,000
Ansabel Ashley	47		
Eliza	25		
Rebecca	18		
Epsy	16		
Winifred	14		
Jackson	11		
Sugar	9		
Nat Ashley	23	Planter	
Clarissa	17		
James Smith	20		
Robert Morrison	21		
Toliver Ashley	29	Planter	
Bethel	22		
No Name	3/12		
William Ashley	53	Planter	10,000
Harriet	41		
William	20		
Columbia	14		
Virginia	13		
Robert	12		
Samuel J. Bailey	43	MD	40,000
Virginia Sarah	53		
Alex	20		
Wallace	15		
George	12		

APPENDIX I (Con't.)

<u>Head of Household Followed by Members</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Value of Property</u>
Ezekial Boyd, Sr.	50	Planter	400
Sakal	40		
Matilda	25		
Mathew	22		
Caroline	14		
June Berry	17		
Ezekial	14		
Sarah	12		
Sally	8		
Joe	7		
Adaline	5		
Ezekial Boyd	70	Planter	
Sally	50		
J. J. Boyd	42	Planter	2,000
Henrietta	27		
Franklin	21		
Robert	20		
Ruben	18		
Jef	7		
Mary	1		
Montague	6/12		
Rebecca Wimberly	32		
James Boyd	30	Planter	
Sarah	38		
Sarah	6		
John	3		
James	6/12		
James W. Boyd	28	Planter	1,500
Mary	25		
George	5		
James	3		
A. M. Bush	30	Planter	3,300
Eliza	30		
Dionecius	10		
Martha	7		
William	6		
Alexander	3		
Mary	2		
David Bush	44	Planter	5,000
George Bush, Sr.	67	Planter	10,000
Hansford	27	Planter	

APPENDIX I (Con't.)

<u>Head of Household Followed by Members</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Value of Property</u>
George Bush Jr.	30	Planter	3,000
Isaac Bush	40	Planter	250
George Boatright	42		
Francis	31		
James	13		
William	10		
Victoria	5		
Jane	3		
Columbia	1		
John Bush	78	Planter	250
Eliza	60	Idiot	
Stephen	33		
Jeff	12		
Caroline	10		
John Bush	34	Merchant	
Nicholus Hollings	27	Clerk	
Stephen Bush	26	Planter	6,000
Phileslia	22		
Amanda	3		
Augustus	2		
John	9/12		
Stephen Bush	69	Planter	1,800
Thomas Bush	24	Planter	
Judson	13		
Ben	11		
Jeff	10		
William Bush	61	Planter	6,000
Eliza	59		
John	35	Overseer	
Zilpha Bush	55	Planter	8,000
Edmund	22		
Amanda	20		
George L. Bush	28		
Allen Dunbar	43	Planter	600
Laura	30		
George	13		
Anna	11		
Seabrook	9		

APPENDIX I (Con't.)

<u>Head of Household Followed by Members</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Value of Property</u>
Allen Dunbar (Cont.)			
Sam	7		
Francis	5		
William	3		
Susan	2		
David M. Dunbar	38	Planter	1,000
Caroline	7		
F. F. Dunbar	41	Planter	5,000
Lucy	41		
Eliza	15		
Clair	12		
Thomas	10		
Francis	8		
Ann	7		
Lucy	6		
Mary Bunkmyer	23	School Mistress	
George R. Dunbar	45	Planter	10,000
Lucy Ashley	27		
Allonzo	7		
Mary	5		
Ben Hollingsworth	22	Overseer	
James Dunbar	40	Planter	2,400
Mary	32		
Ann	16		
Elinor	10		
Mary	7		
Salley	5		
William	4		
Harriet	1		
John Dunbar	47	Planter	4,000
Sarah Dunbar	47		
Louisa Wood	12		
Thomas Rountree	21		
Harriet	16		
George	17	Idiot	
Judson	14		
Andis	12		
Robert Dunbar	35	Planter	3,000
Eliza	30		
Robert	7		
James	8		

APPENDIX I (Con't.)

<u>Head of Household Followed by Members</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Value of Property</u>
Robert Dunbar (Con't.)			
Richard	3		
Mary	2		
William	18		
Robert Inabinet	16		
William	11		
Jelsa Green	18	Student	
S. G. Dunbar	33	Planter	2,000
John McElhany	28	Planter	800
Caroline	22		
George	2		
William	7/12		
James Wilson	27	Overseer	
Eliza	27		

Male Slaves

<u>Slave Owner</u>	<u>Ages</u>				
	<u>0 - 10</u>	<u>10 - 24</u>	<u>24 - 36</u>	<u>36 - 55</u>	<u>55 - 100</u>
Barnet Ashley	No Male Slaves				
Charles Ashley	10	5	-	1	-
Joseph Ashley	4	8	3	1	-
Joshua Ashley	6	4	2	-	1
Layfayette Ashley	-	1	2	2	-
Toliver Ashley	1	2	-	-	-
William Ashley	2	16	5	3	2
Samuel J. Bailey	10	16	4	6	1
J. J. Boyd	10	8	1	1	-
James W. Boyd	5	3	3	-	-
A. M. Bush	1	1	-	1	-
David Bush	7	17	-	-	-
George Bush, Sr.	11	8	4	-	2
George Bush, Jr.	-	4	-	-	-
Hansford Bush	2	1	-	1	-
Isaac Bush	No Male Slaves				
John Bush					

APPENDIX I (Con't.)

Male Slaves

<u>Slave Owner</u>	<u>Ages</u>				
	<u>0 - 10</u>	<u>10 - 24</u>	<u>24 - 36</u>	<u>36 - 55</u>	<u>55 - 100</u>
Stephen Bush	5	7	-	-	-
Thomas Bush	-	3	-	-	-
William Bush	9	11	4	1	2
Allen Dunbar	5	3	1	1	-
Andrew Dunbar	-	1	3	-	-
David M. Dunbar	7	13	-	-	1
F. F. Dunbar	2	5	1	-	2
George R. Dunbar	13	8	7	3	-
James Dunbar	4	5	-	1	-
John Dunbar	3	1	3	2	-
Robert Dunbar	2	1	2	2	-
Samuel G. Dunbar	5	6	1	2	1
W. P. Dunbar	8	6	2	-	-
William Dunbar	4	3	-	-	1
John McElhaney	No Males Slaves				
James J. Wilson	6	4	1	-	-

Female Slaves

<u>Slave Owner</u>	<u>Ages</u>					<u>Total Slaves</u>
	<u>0 - 10</u>	<u>10 - 24</u>	<u>24 - 36</u>	<u>36 - 55</u>	<u>55 - 100</u>	
Barnet Ashley	-	1	-	-	-	1
Charles Ashley	7	-	6	1	-	30
Joseph Ashley	5	3	1	3	-	27
Joshua Ashley	2	2	2	1	-	20
Layfayette Ashley	-	1	-	1	-	7
Toliver Ashley	3	-	-	-	-	6
William Ashley	13	13	3	-	1	58
Samuel J. Bailey	13	19	3	3	4	69
J. J. Boyd	5	4	3	3	-	35
James W. Boyd	1	3	-	3	-	18
A. M. Bush	-	1	2	1	-	6
David Bush	1	28	-	6	2	61
George Bush, Sr.	-	18	8	2	-	53
George Bush, Jr.	3	3	1	-	-	11
Hansford Bush	1	2	1	-	-	8

APPENDIX I (Con't.)

Female Slaves

Ages

<u>Slave Owner</u>	<u>0 - 10</u>	<u>10 - 24</u>	<u>24 - 36</u>	<u>36 - 55</u>	<u>55 - 100</u>	<u>Total Slaves</u>
Isaac Bush	6	3	-	2	-	11
John Bush	-	3	-	1	-	6
Stephen Bush	1	1	2	-	-	16
Thomas Bush	5	-	2	-	-	10
William Bush	15	7	7	3	-	59
Allen Dunbar	4	6	3	-	-	23
Andrew Dunbar	2	3	1	2	-	12
David M. Dunbar	7	6	6	3	-	44
F. F. Dunbar	8	6	2	1	-	27
George R. Dunbar	13	11	4	5	1	65
James Dunbar	3	6	1	2	-	22
John Dunbar	-	5	4	-	-	18
Robert Dunbar	1	3	-	2	-	13
Samuel G. Dunbar	2	7	-	-	1	25
W. P. Dunbar	7	3	5	-	-	31
William Dunbar	3	2	4	1	2	20
John McElhaney	-	1	-	1	-	2
James J. Wilson	6	10	4	-	1	33

APPENDIX J

1850 Manuscript Agricultural Census

	<u>In Acres</u>		<u>Cash Value of Farm</u>	<u>Value of Farm Implements & Machines</u>
	<u>Improved</u>	<u>Unimproved</u>		
Charles Ashley	300	3,000	6,000	200
Joseph Ashley	800	1,200	6,000	100
Joshua Ashley	500	170	6,000	200
Layfayette Ashley	80	420	1,000	100
Nat Ashley	30	---	60	50
Toliver Ashley	70	---	140	100
William Ashley	1,200	2,600	5,500	500
Samuel J. Bailey			40,000	
--- Bailey	1,000	9,000	4,000	300
Ezekial Boyd, Sr.	40	200	400	50
Ezekial Boyd	25	---	50	50
W. Boyd	10	---	20	10
A. M. Bush	300	800	3,300	100
David Bush	800	7,800	5,000	300
George Bush, Sr.	1,000	2,000	1,000	100
George Bush, Jr.	450	650	3,000	100
Hansford Bush	180	20	750	100
Isaac Bush	150	---	600	100
Thomas Bush	110	---	300	100
W. Bush	10	---	20	10
William Bush	700	500	6,000	250
Zilpha Bush	400	3,600	8,000	100
Zilpha Bush	400	2,600	6,000	100
A. M. Bush	300	800	3,300	100
Andrew Dunbar	400	600	8,000	100
F. F. Dunbar	400	500	5,000	200
George R. Dunbar	1,000	5,500	1,000	300
John Dunbar	400	800	4,000	100
Robert Dunbar	200	300	2,000	100
S. G. Dunbar	180	500	1,500	150
W. P. Dunbar	250	350	3,000	100
William Dunbar	200	400	4,000	100
--- Dunbar	2	---	4	100
John McElhaney	60	160	800	100
James J. Wilson	400	600	5,000	100

APPENDIX J (Con't.)

	<u>Bushels</u>					Ginned Cotton 400 lb. Bales
	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Indian Corn</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Rice</u>	
Charles Ashley	40	10	800	--	--	25
Joseph Ashley	--	--	1,300	--	--	63
Joshua Ashley	--	--	1,000	--	--	18
Layfayette Ashley	50	--	400	--	50	--
Nat Ashley	--	--	25	--	--	--
Toliver Ashley	--	--	500	--	--	--
William Ashley	--	17	3,600	--	--	112
Samuel J. Bailey	--	--	1,000	--	--	10
--- Bailey	43	--	2,500	--	--	80
Ezekial Boyd, Sr.	--	--	250	--	--	--
Ezekial Boyd	--	--	80	--	--	1
W. Boyd	--	--	150	--	--	--
A. M. Bush	--	--	1,200	--	--	10
David Bush	--	--	3,000	--	--	100
George Bush, Sr.	--	--	2,000	--	--	19
George Bush, Jr.	--	--	2,500	--	--	--
Hansford Bush	--	--	1,000	--	--	14
Isaac Bush	--	--	600	--	--	22
Thomas Bush	--	--	800	--	--	12
W. Bush	--	--	30	--	--	--
William Bush	--	--	2,500	--	--	90
Zilpha Bush	--	--	3,000	--	--	38
Zilpha Bush	--	--	1,500	--	--	26
A. M. Bush	--	--	1,000	--	--	5
Andrew Dunbar	--	--	1,000	--	--	32
F. F. Dunbar	--	--	1,000	--	--	53
George R. Dunbar	--	--	4,000	--	--	35
John Dunbar	--	--	1,000	--	--	35
Robert Dunbar	20	--	1,000	--	--	25
S. G. Dunbar	--	--	1,000	--	--	10
W. P. Dunbar	--	--	1,500	--	--	41
William Dunbar	--	--	800	--	--	24
--- Dunbar	--	7	1,800	60	--	26
John McElhaney	--	--	400	--	--	3
James J. Wilson	40	--	1,800	50	--	41

APPENDIX J (Con't.)

	<u>Bushels</u>				
	<u>Wool</u> <u>lb.</u>	<u>Peas</u> <u>&</u> <u>Beans</u>	<u>Sweet</u> <u>Potatoes</u>	<u>Butter</u> <u>lb.</u>	<u>Value of</u> <u>Homemade</u> <u>Manufacture</u>
Charles Ashley	90	90	500	---	10
Joseph Ashley	100	32	500	200	--
Joshua Ashley	---	50	100	100	60
Layfayette Ashley	---	14	10	---	--
Nat Ashley	---	--	30	---	--
Toliver Ashley	---	10	100	---	--
William Ashley	200	400	300	600	70
Samuel J. Bailey	---	---	---	---	--
--- Bailey	100	30	300	500	50
Ezekial Boyd, Sr.	---	40	25	---	10
Ezekial Boyd	---	--	20	---	--
W. Boyd	---	--	--	---	--
A. M. Bush	---	15	50	---	--
David Bush	---	--	100	---	--
George Bush, Sr.	---	--	75	---	--
George Bush, Jr.	---	25	---	100	--
Hansford Bush	---	--	---	---	--
Isaac Bush	---	--	100	---	--
Thomas Bush	---	2	---	---	--
W. Bush	---	1	---	---	--
William Bush	---	200	100	300	--
Zilpha Bush	---	---	30	---	50
Zilpha Bush	100	---	50	150	--
A. M. Bush	---	15	50	---	--
Andrew Dunbar	---	20	500	50	--
F. F. Dunbar	40	500	300	200	--
George R. Dunbar	250	150	200	500	100
John Dunbar	50	---	500	---	--
Robert Dunbar	---	15	200	---	--
S. G. Dunbar	---	50	200	---	--
W. P. Dunbar	---	100	300	100	--
William Dunbar	---	20	100	50	--
--- Dunbar	80	25	100	200	--
John McElhaney	---	10	50	---	--
James J. Wilson	40	15	200	150	100

APPENDIX J (Con't.)

Live Stock as of June 1, 1850

	<u>Horses</u>	Mules & <u>Asses</u>	<u>Milch</u> Cows	<u>Other</u> Cattle	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Swine</u>
Charles Ashley	2	8	90	60	15	75
Joseph Ashley	4	6	15	52	50	150
Joshua Ashley	3	4	14	30	--	100
Layfayette Ashley	3	1	4	32	--	95
Nat Ashley	2	4	16	40	--	20
Toliver Ashley	2	-	--	--	--	35
William Ashley	4	14	25	55	46	340
Samuel J. Bailey	-	-	--	--	--	---
--- Bailey	15	10	27	120	52	250
Ezekial Boyd, Sr.	1	-	3	--	4	55
Ezekial Boyd	1	-	1	--	--	---
W. Boyd	1	-	--	--	--	6
A. M. Bush	5	2	2	15	6	60
David Bush	5	14	20	40	--	100
George Bush, Sr.	3	13	20	30	--	100
George Bush, Jr.	2	6	10	15	--	100
Hansford Bush	2	4	5	--	--	60
Isaac Bush	3	1	3	8	--	50
Thomas Bush	2	2	3	3	--	50
W. Bush	-	-	--	--	--	20
William Bush	8	4	15	25	--	100
Zilpha Bush	5	10	7	100	--	100
Zilpha Bush	3	5	9	25	--	50
A. M. Bush	5	2	2	15	6	60
Andrew Dunbar	1	6	6	25	--	100
F. F. Dunbar	3	5	15	40	25	130
George R. Dunbar	7	21	33	70	200	200
John Dunbar	2	4	10	40	40	100
Robert Dunbar	2	4	4	17	--	70
S. G. Dunbar	3	2	6	18	--	60
W. P. Dunbar	2	4	10	30	40	120
William Dunbar	2	4	6	15	--	100
--- Dunbar	3	3	15	35	40	150
John McElhaney	2	1	1	10	--	40
James J. Wilson	2	4	15	25	22	100

APPENDIX J (Con't.)

	<u>Value of Animals Slaughtered</u>	<u>Value of Livestock</u>
Charles Ashley	300	1,500
Joseph Ashley	200	1,500
Joshua Ashley	150	1,000
Layfayette Ashley	100	300
Nat Ashley	55	100
 Toliver Ashley	 60	 20-
William Ashley	500	2,000
Samuel J. Bailey	---	-----
--- Bailey	200	2,500
Ezekial Boyd, Sr.	55	100
 Ezekial Boyd	 40	 20
W. Boyd	200	100
A. M. Bush	200	700
David Bush	500	2,000
George Bush, Sr.	200	2,000
 George Bush, Jr.	 300	 800
Hansford Bush	150	700
Isaac Bush	100	400
Thomas Bush	100	500
W. Bush	---	50
 William Bush	 300	 2,000
Zilpha Bush	50	2,000
Zilpha Bush	150	100
A. M. Bush	200	700
Andrew Dunbar	100	800
 F. F. Dunbar	 400	 1,000
George R. Dunbar	500	3,000
John Dunbar	300	1,000
Robert Dunbar	100	700
S. G. Dunbar	100	700
 W. P. Dunbar	 200	 700
William Dunbar	100	800
--- Dunbar	200	700
John McElhaney	100	300
James J. Wilson	300	1,000

APPENDIX K

1860 Manuscript Agricultural Census

	<u>In Acres</u>		<u>Cash Value of Farm</u>	<u>Value of Farm Implements & Machines</u>
	<u>Improved</u>	<u>Unimproved</u>		
Charles Ashley	400	1,600	1,000	450
Joseph Ashley	600	1,800	24,000	400
Nat Ashley	---	---	---	150
Toliver Ashley	---	---	---	260
William Ashley	3,000	68,000	49,000	1,400
Ezekial Boyd	20	80	300	75
Ezekial Boyd	11	289	12,000	20
John Boyd	---	---	---	---
Joshua Boyd	---	---	---	---
T. W. Boyd	500	750	12,500	200
William Boyd	15	10	200	30
A. M. Bush	1,200	3,085	29,995	150
A. M. Bush	500	1,600	21,000	150
David Bush	1,000	2,750	37,500	2,400
E. B. Bush	350	1,950	23,000	300
Elizabeth Bush	600	500	11,000	175
George Bush	1,050	1,810	28,000	200
Hansford Bush	300	700	10,000	150
Isaac Bush	600	1,000	16,000	175
S. S. Bush	400	1,100	12,000	200
Zilpha Bush	500	500	10,000	400
A. R. Dunbar	800	250	10,500	300
Andrew Dunbar	700	1,000	23,000	175
C. F. Dunbar	500	2,000	25,000	180
F. F. Dunbar	450	600	10,500	420
George Dunbar	1,300	7,850	64,000	900
James Dunbar	500	700	1,200	300
Robert Dunbar	300	200	6,000	200
Samuel Dunbar	---	---	---	200
Sarah Dunbar	300	500	8,000	150
W. P. Dunbar	800	1,150	19,500	600
W. W. Dunbar	300	1,200	6,000	150

APPENDIX K (Con't.)

	<u>Bushels</u>				
	<u>Peas & Beans</u>	<u>Irish Potatoes</u>	<u>Sweet Potatoes</u>	<u>Value of Orchard Products In \$</u>	<u>Value of Product Market Gardens</u>
Charles Ashley	200	--	500	--	25
Joseph Ashley	500	--	400	--	--
Nat Ashley	50	50	---	20	25
Toliver Ashley	75	--	30	10	15
William Ashley	500	--	300	--	--
Ezekial Boyd	30	--	20	00	--
Ezekial Boyd	10	--	---	--	--
John Boyd	--	--	---	--	--
Joshua Boyd	--	--	---	--	--
T. W. Boyd	50	--	200	--	--
William Boyd	10	--	40	--	--
A. M. Bush	10	--	40	--	--
A. M. Bush	6	--	---	--	--
David Bush	1,200	--	70	--	--
E. B. Bush	30	--	---	--	--
Elizabeth Bush	50	--	400	--	--
George Bush	30	--	---	--	--
Hansford Bush	--	--	---	--	--
Isaac Bush	600	--	100	--	--
J. P. Bush	50	--	400	--	--
S. S. Bush	150	--	60	--	--
Zilpha Bush	100	--	100	--	--
A. R. Dunbar	600	--	500	--	--
Andrew Dunbar	500	--	200	--	--
C. F. Dunbar	300	--	200	--	--
F. F. Dunbar	800	--	300	--	--
George Dunbar	1,500	--	500	--	--
James Dunbar	400	--	200	--	--
Robert Dunbar	600	--	200	--	--
Samuel Dunbar	300	--	200	--	--
Sarah Dunbar	---	--	200	--	--
W. P. Dunbar	400	--	500	--	--
W. W. Dunbar	500	--	400	--	--

APPENDIX K (Con't.)

	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Indian Corn</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Ginned Cotton 400 lb. Bales</u>	<u>Wool lb.</u>
Charles Ashley	40	40	2	---	23	--
Joseph Ashley	--	--	2	---	61	100
Nat Ashley	7	--	400	--	7	--
Toliver Ashley	40	--	600	100	14	--
William Ashley	--	--	1,700	--	22	--
Ezekial Boyd	--	--	200	--	--	--
Ezekial Boyd	--	--	200	--	--	--
John Boyd	--	--	--	--	--	--
T. W. Boyd	--	--	500	--	18	--
William Boyd	--	--	75	--	1	--
A. M. Bush	--	--	2,300	--	157	--
A. M. Bush	--	--	1,000	--	43	--
David Bush	--	--	3,500	--	100	--
E. B. Bush	--	--	1,500	--	40	--
Elizabeth Bush	--	--	1,500	--	41	--
George Bush	--	--	2,500	--	78	--
Hansford Bush	--	--	1,500	--	36	--
Isaac Bush	--	--	2,000	--	76	--
J. P. Bush	--	--	1,500	--	42	--
S. S. Bush	--	--	1,700	--	22	--
Zilpha Bush	--	--	1,800	--	30	--
A. R. Dunbar	--	--	2,000	--	45	100
Andrew Dunbar	--	--	2,000	--	30	--
C. F. Dunbar	--	--	2,000	--	76	--
F. F. Dunbar	--	--	3,000	--	70	--
George Dunbar	--	--	5,000	--	22	300
James Dunbar	--	--	1,600	--	31	--
Robert Dunbar	--	--	1,200	--	25	--
Samuel Dunbar	--	--	1,000	--	7	--
Sarah Dunbar	15	--	1,000	--	22	--
W. P. Dunbar	--	--	2,000	--	93	150
W. W. Dunbar	--	--	1,500	--	35	--

APPENDIX K (Con't.)

	<u>Honey lb.</u>	<u>Value of Homemade Manufacturers</u>	<u>Butter lb.</u>	<u>Value of Animals Slaughtered</u>	<u>Value of Livestock</u>
Charles Ashley	100	75	200	500	1,830
Joseph Ashley	---	---	259	800	3,465
Nat Ashley	---	---	---	150	620
Toliver Ashley	---	75	50	370	1,060
William Ashley	---	---	800	1,320	6,131
Ezekial Boyd	---	---	---	100	159
Ezekial Boyd	---	10	---	175	255
John Boyd	---	---	---	---	130
Joshua Boyd	---	---	---	---	159
T. W. Boyd	---	---	300	350	1,270
William Boyd	---	---	30	150	252
A. M. Bush	---	---	200	900	2,395
A. M. Bush	---	---	50	270	1,125
David Bush	---	---	300	500	4,385
E. B. Bush	---	---	200	400	1,334
Elizabeth Bush	---	---	300	230	1,430
George Bush	---	---	---	560	3,210
Hansford Bush	---	---	---	150	1,680
Isaac Bush	---	---	100	800	2,325
J. P. Bush	---	---	---	230	1,620
S. S. Bush	---	---	100	450	1,590
Zilpha Bush	---	---	250	450	1,850
A. R. Dunbar	---	---	300	800	3,106
Andrew Dunbar	---	---	100	900	2,600
C. F. Dunbar	---	---	200	500	3,760
F. F. Dunbar	---	---	300	1,359	3,636
George Dunbar	---	---	500	1,500	5,360
James Dunbar	---	---	150	400	1,500
Robert Dunbar	---	---	150	450	1,975
Samuel Dunbar	---	---	150	500	1,315
Sarah Dunbar	---	---	75	450	3,820
W. P. Dunbar	---	---	300	750	3,090
W. W. Dunbar	---	---	60	400	2,140

APPENDIX K (Con't.)

Live Stock as of June 1, 1860

	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Mules & Asses</u>	<u>Milch Cows</u>	<u>Other Cattle</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Swine</u>
Charles Ashley	1	6	20	30	--	60
Joseph Ashley	3	9	8	52	55	170
Nat Ashley	1	3	4	8	--	40
Toliver Ashley	1	4	5	7	--	60
William Ashley	13	34	25	75	130	175
Ezekial Boyd	1	--	1	4	--	12
Ezekial Boyd	2	--	4	5	--	40
John Boyd	--	--	5	4	--	10
Joshua Boyd	1	--	--	4	--	12
T. W. Boyd	2	2	15	25	--	50
William Boyd	--	--	5	15	--	14
A. M. Bush	2	8	15	40	--	151
A. M. Bush	1	5	6	24	--	--
David Bush	5	16	10	40	20	170
E. B. Bush	2	5	12	28	27	60
Elizabeth Bush	2	4	8	24	--	50
George Bush	4	4	15	25	--	90
Hansford Bush	3	5	5	15	--	100
Isaac Bush	4	8	5	36	--	125
J. P. Bush	5	3	8	24	--	50
S. S. Bush	1	6	4	16	--	75
Zilpha Bush	3	6	12	48	--	60
A. R. Dunbar	4	8	9	16	18	100
Andrew Dunbar	2	9	6	37	--	160
C. F. Dunbar	3	11	10	90	--	110
F. F. Dunbar	6	7	4	16	30	130
George Dunbar	2	22	20	40	200	200
James Dunbar	3	5	6	12	--	50
Robert Dunbar	4	6	7	18	--	35
Samuel Dunbar	2	3	4	9	15	80
Sarah Dunbar	4	6	4	31	25	100
W. P. Dunbar	5	7	10	25	45	120
W. W. Dunbar	3	7	4	16	--	70

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