FROM FRONTIER TO COTTON KINGDOM: MATERIAL CULTURE IN NEWBERRY DISTRICT, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1744-1860

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Newberry District, South Carolina, lies in the piedmont of the state, in the fork of the Broad and Saluda Rivers. The district, a rough square about twenty-five miles on each side, is some thirty miles northwest of Columbia, where the Broad and Saluda join to form the Congaree river, and where the fall line lies. The land is rolling and well watered, with dozens of the small and steady streams essential for antebellum agriculture. At the time of the first white settlements, the land was heavily timbered with oak, hickory and pine, and had an abundant population of deer and other game. In many ways an ideal area for settlement, Newberry's development was delayed mainly by its location, more than one hundred miles from the coast, and the lack of natural transportation by water leading to established centers of settlement.[1]

The first settlement of the district began in the 1740s, and came from two distinct and separate sources. Many Swiss and Germans arrived from coastal South Carolina, encouraged by the colonial government (which granted generous headrights) to take up back country lands in order to provide buffer settlements against the Indians and to increase a white population already outnumbered by slaves along the rice coast. These largely German-speaking settlers gave the lower part of the lands between the Broad and Saluda the name "the Dutch Fork." A second stream, mainly English and Scots-Irish, came from the northeast, from North Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania, by way of the frontier road that crossed South Carolina above the fall line from Camden to Augusta before passing into Georgia. Many of these settlers took up lands in what is now northern and western Newberry County.[2] Before the 1760s population grew slowly; Indian problems and internal disorder limited growth, but so did difficult and expensive transportation and the absence of convenient markets for backcountry products. As late as the 1770s, commercial contact with Philadelphia may have been nearly as common as with Charleston, for wagon traffic moved down the frontier road bearing new settlers southward and up the same route carrying tobacco, livestock, furs and hides northward to Virginia and Pennsylvania

markets.[3] The American Revolution brought further disruption to the area, and a considerable amount of fighting between backwoods Whigs and Tories.[4] Even so, by the 1780s the backcountry had grown to proportions that could no longer be ignored. The white population of over 111,000 in the backcountry was almost four times that of the low country.[5]

Just before the Revolution, in 1768-70, the colonial government created six backcountry circuit court districts; Newberry was in the Ninety-Sixth district, encompassing the lands from the Broad river westward to the Savannah. The large size of the districts made it difficult to establish law and order. Therefore, in 1785 the state legislature subdivided the state into thirty-four counties, including Newberry with almost exactly its present-day boundaries, and established local courts and provided for local recording of deeds, conveyances and probate records.[6]

Between the 1780s and the 1860s, Newberry underwent a great transformation. At the end of the Revolution, the backcountry was still an area of small pioneer farms, with the fertile soil producing tobacco and abundant grain crops and supporting herds of pigs, cattle and other livestock. Yet the markets for these products were far away on the rice coast or to the northward, and transportation was difficult and expensive.[7] The development of short-staple cotton production, spurred by the invention of the cotton gin in the 1790s and by South Carolina's reopening of the slave trade in 1803, served to reshape completely the economy and society of Newberry and the backcountry of the lower south. As early as the 1780s, cotton was being grown in the district, but commercial production must have roughly coincided with Colonel Robert Rutherford's opening of a cotton gin in 1796. As cotton became the staple crop, the slave population grew rapidly while white population stagnated. After 1820, white population in Newberry actually began to decline, due largely to emigration to Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, and by 1840 there was a slave majority that, by 1860, had grown to ratio of almost two to one.[8]

At the same time that the number of farms fell, the average farm size increased so by 1860 Newberry District had become a classic antebellum cotton center. Two rail lines ran through the growing county seat and market center, Newberry Village, and an economic/social/political elite of about a dozen great planters, each with over one hundred slaves, had emerged. By 1860 the district produced over 5.6 million pounds of cotton lint from some

145,000 acres of improved land.[9]

Thus by 1860 Newberry District had become a prospering, flourishing area, the richest county of its size in the South Carolina piedmont, and quite different from the raw frontier territory of the late 1700s. All of this is interesting enough, although perhaps something of a commonplace. Yet it reveals very little about life in Newberry or about the impact of increasing cotton wealth on the creature comforts nineteenth century Newberrians enjoyed. Census figures and economic statistics are simply not very revealing about the quality of life in the district.

What does reveal the material culture and private lifestyles is the information preserved in the probate records of the period. State law required that all personal property (not under a will or a part of a widow's third) had to be sold in order to provide an equitable division among the heirs. As a result, to the joy of social historians, probate records often include detailed inventories or sale bills for estates in which virtually every item of value is recorded, from slaves (which were personal, not real, property), to furnishings, clothing, pots and pans, and tools, livestock and crops. Despite the obvious limitations of these records--which, most glaringly, seriously underepresent the poor, who left little of value or did not bother with probate proceedings--it is nonetheless possible to learn a great deal about the lives of past generations. In this paper, I would like to offer a survey of material culture in Newberry before the Civil War, drawn largely from probate records, a sort of "lifestyles of the not so rich and famous."

Only a handful of pre-1785 probate files have survived for the South Carolina backcountry; one of the earliest, from 1782, reveals just how plain and precarious frontier life must have been for many of the settlers. James Griffin, born in Virginia in 1731 of Scots-Irish parents, moved to South Carolina about 1770 and took up lands along the Saluda river in what is now western Newberry County.[10] At his death in 1782, he left an estate inventoried at £166 13s 9d South Carolina currency (about $100 in modern funds, at a rate of £7 currency = £1 sterling, and sterling figured at £1 = $4.50).[11] Griffin's estate included a few sheep, some pewter dishes, knives and forks, and the furnishings of what must have been a small and plain cabin--a cupboard, chest and three chairs, a looking-glass, and two bedsteads with beds and "furniture"--that is, mattresses and covers. The beds, valued at £70, made up nearly half of Griffin's estate. There is no mention of land, which

probably was Griffin's most valuable possession, nor of slaves or plantation tools. Nonetheless, the picture left by the probate records is of the kind of rough pioneer cabin with few furnishings which an occasional educated observer of backcountry described.

James Griffin's neighbor, and probably one of the richest men in the district at the time, was John Caldwell, a Scotch-Irish surveyor born in Virginia who had moved to South Carolina and settled along the Saluda River in 1768.[13] Caldwell amassed a considerable fortune by eighteenth century backcountry standards, and, after his murder by Tory irregulars in 1779, left an impressive estate inventoried at £45,444. Caldwell had four slaves--a man, a woman and child, and a boy--valued at a total of £24,000 indicating that a considerable bit of wartime inflation affected the value of the estate. Whatever the exact factor--perhaps as much as £20 wartime currency would have been needed to buy $1.00 in post-war specie--the relatively large proportion of the estate tied up in slaves is part of a pattern that increased in prominence as time went on.[14] Caldwell's household goods were far more impressive than Griffin's, including four beds, a table and nine chairs, kitchen equipment, pewter ware (including six knives and seven forks scrupulously listed) and other dishes, and quite a bit of clothing, including a suit of men's clothes with a hat and "great coat," all valued at £400. The sophistication of the household is indicated by the presence of a house clock (£750), a set of silver teaspoons (£130), silver candlesticks (£200), a punchbowl, and a set of gold scales with weights, as well as a "big Bible" and other books to a value of £280. Caldwell's home was a working farm, however, as is made clear by the lists of animals, plantation tools, milk pails, and blacksmith and carpenter tools. It was a self-sufficient one as well, for there were two flax spinning wheels, a cloth loom and quantities of tanned and dressed leather inventoried.[15]

As pioneer cabins go, Caldwell's certainly must have been one of the most impressive in the area, but still his life was that of the self-reliant frontiersman, with few of the luxuries that later generations would come to take for granted. In the 1780s, Newberry was still very much on the edge of southern settlement. In the two decades after the end of the Revolution, the cotton boom began, and incomes and estates values began rising. The country probate records begin to reflect the increasing wealth and slowly growing sophistication of Newberry society. Yet not everyone became rich overnight during the cotton boom; some left

for new lands to the west and south to seek easier fortunes, and those who remained did not all reach the top of the social and economic ladder, as the records make clear.

Ephriam Cannon was another early Newberry settler, who first took up lands along the creek which bears his name in the eastern part of the county in 1764.[16] When he died in 1803, he left an estate that reflects a working farm with little room for luxury. Of a value of $866.73, $574 was tied up in three slaves, with another $209 for cows, calves, a horse, mare and a wagon. This leaves less than $100 for tools furniture and housewares, the most valuable item being a bedstead and furniture valued at $20. Cannon's wife died a year later, and another Negro woman and child were sold for $400. Even with five slaves, Cannon and his family surely worked in the fields as well, for he had at least 350 acres of land; the inventory records a not very impressive collection of plows, hoes, shovels, axes, saws and other tools to a total value of only about $25. In the kitchen, iron pots and skillets and tin and pewter ware were used, while household furnishings included another bed (and not much of one, if the value for it and "7 empty barrels" of $1.71 is any indication), as well as a cupboard, two chests, and five "Chears." A tea cellar worth $1.00 is one of the few luxury items to be found, and a small parcel of books worth about $2.00 is also listed.[17]

Obviously Ephriam Cannon lived a more comfortable life than had James Griffin, but he appears still to have been a struggling yeoman farmer rather than an established planter. Others, however, were beginning to accumulate estates of increasing value by the turn of the century. One such was Thomas Gary, who died in 1797 leaving property to be divided with a value of £1434 4s 5d (presumably sterling, judging from slave values, and equivalent to about $6500, at $4.50 to £1). Gary had thirteen slaves valued at almost £1000 (eleven of them described as boys and girls, the other two as women)--again, a very large share of the estate. Besides corn and livestock, both sold in quantity at the estate sale, Gary was raising cotton, for a number of baskets and bags of lint were sold, along with cards, brushes, and a spinning wheel (as well as three flax wheels). Besides a cotton loom, fifteen yards of homespun cloth brought £6 8s. Quite a bit of leather, as well as a box of "show tools" and "a Quantity of Lasts" were also sold, indicating that Gary was a cobbler as well as a farmer. Gary had no clock, but he did have a watch (and a nice one, for it sold

for £3 9s) and a sundial. Along with featherbeds and a bedquilt, household furnishings included a table and a dozen chairs, a looking glass, and a tea kettle, pot, sugar bowl, six teacups and seven spoons, along with more mundane items such as several sets of pots and hooks, a number of jugs and barrels, and a chest or two. Life on Gary's farm was evidently still rather self-sufficient, as the presence of items like soap vats, a grindstone, and the cotton and flax spinning and weaving equipment indicate.[18] Gary's slaves and livestock were much more valuable than Ephriam Cannon's, but beyond the tea set, there is little indication that Gary's daily life was much more comfortable.

By 1815, estate values were increasing rapidly as the cotton boom hit full swing, although the proportion tied up in slaves was, if anything, tending to increase. Thomas Eastland, another pre-Revolutionary settler who first occupied lands on Crim's Creek in the southeast part of the district in 1770,[19] died in 1815, leaving a very impressive estate. Of a total value of $11,428.43 3/4, the bulk was thirty-three Negro slaves. The appraisers, in fact, broke Eastland's estate down into three categories--$10,700 worth of slaves, $115 in bequeathed property, and $615.43 3/4 in property sold. A second sale of household goods two months after the first sale brought in another $712.01 3/4 for furniture, tools and livestock. Thus, out of a total estate of around $12,000 about $1225--or hardly more than ten percent--represented household goods, tools and equipment. Besides bed, tables, chairs, barrels, pots, jugs, tools and livestock--horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, geese and other poultry, and a hive of bees valued at $2.00--Eastland left a cotton gin (valued at $35) and more than 1400 pounds of lint (undervalued?) at $4.00 per hundredweight. A few hints of luxury can be found in Eastland's possessions; he had a "walnut folding table" worth $4.00, two tablecloths ($1.00 each), a cupboard (obviously a nice one, as it brought $10) and three beds with furniture at $15 each.[20] The main difference between men such as Eastland and predecessors like Thomas Gary and Ephriam Cannon was due largely to cotton, the profits from which allowed Eastland to buy more land and slaves, but not, evidently, a great deal more in the way of creature comforts.

Another twenty years had passed by the time David DeWalt died in 1835. Daniel DeWalt had settled in the district in 1773, and his son David represents a second generation of Newberry planters.[21] David DeWalt willed his wife eight slaves worth $4475,

as well as a furnished house and 350 acres of land with plantation tools. Rebecca DeWalt, it seems, no longer lived in a log cabin with crude furnishings, for her bequest included a $300 carriage with a matched pair of horses worth $200, as well as such things as six beds and furniture worth $180, "a dozen fine chairs" and a set of dining tables with a sideboard, a card table, sitting chairs, side tables, a bureau and chest, glassware, a $75 clock, and $35 worth of "window curtains." The remainder of the personal estate, including fifty-one slaves who brought $16,930, was sold at auction, as was DeWalt's other real estate, over 750 acres which sold for $7506. Most of the auctioned personal estate, beside land and slaves, was tied up in tools and livestock, but 21,558 pounds of cotton (at 14 1/2 cents a pound) brought $3125.91. The few real personal items not willed to Rebecca DeWalt and thus sold included a man's saddle, a shotgun, books to the value of $20, and, interestingly, an umbrella which sold for $1.50.[22]

DeWalt was one of a growing number of prosperous planters who, by the 1830s-40s, were transforming Newberry District into a settled and increasingly genteel society, complete with a Library Society, an Academy to educate the youth, an Agricultural Improvement Association and a Jockey Club holding horseraces. Newberry Village itself, settled in the 1790s and incorporated by the state legislature in 1833, was becoming a flourishing market town with hotels, stores, a stone Greek Revival courthouse designed by Robert Mills, and, by the 1840s, a newspaper.[23] One no longer had to travel to Charleston or Columbia to buy the finer things of life, as the inventory of the store left by Antoine Gilbal at his death in 1842 indicates. Gilbal, reputed to be a former pirate with Jacques Lafitte, pardoned by President Madison for his service with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans, was nonetheless a fine confectioner, and kept a stock of candy, paper goods, shaving gear, watches, books, cigars, almonds, spices and, perhaps his most valued product, more than a dozen different brandies, rums, cordials, whiskies and wines, sold in bulk or served by the dram at what was evidently Newberry's most popular bar.[24]

By 1851, the railroad had come to Newberry, linking the district to Columbia and, within a few years, to districts to the north and west as well.[25] Although more than three quarters of those for whom occupations were recorded in the 1850 census were farmers, the district had come to boast a wide range of occupations, such as blacksmiths, boot and shoe makers, tailors, masons, carpenters,

tanners, saddlers, coachmakers, clerks, merchants, hotelkeepers, physicians, and even two silversmiths. The district boasted five saw mills producing almost one million board feet of lumber, valued at about $10,000, and ten grist mills handling over 100,000 bushels of grain a year. The census taker did note the presence of nine paupers, whose care cost the public $1250 a year, but the overall image is one of considerable prosperity.[26] The era was a profitable one for those who had accumulated the land and slaves for cotton planting and for those lawyers, bankers and businessmen who helped preserve or spend others' cotton money. When David DeWalt's son Daniel died in 1854, he reflected this activity, leaving an estate encumbered with a maze of debts owed and notes due from an active career as a businessman and private banker, as well as an apparently quite luxurious house in Newberry Village. The household furnishings and personal possessions included, besides beds, tables and kitchen equipment, two ottomans and a settee, fourteen sitting chairs, a table, writing desk and "2 seats," four picture frames, twenty-three window curtains, a violin and guitar with cases and a "Painah, Stool and Musical Notes" valued at $200. Modern times had come to Newberry, but not too modern, as the inclusion of spinning equipment for cotton and flax indicates. The source of at least some of DeWalt's wealth is clear from the listing of twenty-five slaves (valued at $6675) and a tract of 200 acres of land worth $2000, along with plows and other plantation tools and livestock.[27] Still, one can imagine Daniel DeWalt retiring to a far more comfortable home, and enjoying a far more sophisticated lifestyle, than his father, much less his grandfather and other eighteenth century planters, had done.

By 1860 Newberry District had at least eleven great planters with over 100 slaves, working landed estates valued at $50,000 to $90,000.[28] Most of them survived the Civil War and the consequent destruction of slavery and the collapse of the cotton kingdom, losing the greater part of their fortunes in the process. At least one of the great planters had the personal misfortune to die in 1862, however, from which event historians are able to see the degree of wealth and sophistication attained by the Newberry cotton magnates.

Job Johnstone was his name, and he was born in 1793 in Fairfield District (which borders Newberry to the east), the son of Scots-Irish immigrants. Johnstone was quite literally a self-made man. He studied medicine but never took up practice, instead

reading law under several attorneys in the piedmont. His legal career took Johnstone to the bench, and for over thirty years he served as Chancellor of the Court of Appeals in Equity, the state supreme court for civil cases. In the process, Johnstone invested the profits from his law practice in land and slaves. At his death in 1862, he lived in what was arguably the finest house in town, and owned over 150 slaves (valued at some $90,000) and three working plantations totaling 2500 acres, which produced cotton, corn, wheat and even rice--900 pounds of it in 1850, an unusual but not unique product for the Carolina piedmont.[29] Johnstone died intestate, which created problems for his heirs, but assured that all of his property, real and personal, would be inventoried for probate proceedings. The resulting surveys form a small book, providing fascinating details on the lifestyle of one of the upcountry's greatest cotton planters.

Two of Johnstone's plantations, the "Saluda Place" and the "Thompson Place," were obviously working farms with few frills, although each had at least one house--probably for the overseer--on the property. At each of these farms, little more than slaves, livestock, tools and equipment were listed. But the "Home Place" was, besides the center of a working plantation, also Johnstone's personal residence. There the assessors found 106 slaves, livestock, tools, and 399 bales of cotton (valued at 18 cents a pound and, at 400 pounds per bale, a total of 159,600 pounds of cotton worth $28,728). The house itself was a three story, twelve room structure with seven bedrooms and a nursery and a veranda across the front large enough for eighteen cane-bottomed chairs. Besides lavish furnishings--such as a dining table with eighteen chairs, $343 worth of silver table ware and $70 worth of silver place ware--the inventory reveals carpets in most of the rooms, a stock of 70 bottles of wine (at $1.00 per bottle), and a piano, guitar, two arm chairs, two sofas and a dozen (probably wooden) chairs in the parlor. The barn held three carriages and a buggy (Johnstone's was the nineteenth century equivalent of a four-car family), as well as three four-horse wagons and two oxcarts, all pulled by the twenty horses and three yokes of oxen kept on the place.[30]

One could go on describing Johnstone's possessions, or those of some of his fellow planters who died and left fine estates in the 1850s-60s. But the point is probably clear. By Johnstone's death, at least the great planters of Newberry, if not many of the middle class of merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, were able to buy, and

local craftsmen or accessible markets could provide, an impressive array of creature comforts, such as fine furniture, clothing, boots and shoes, tools and equipment, wagons and carriages, as well as newspapers and books to keep the piedmont planters current on state and local news. Newberry society had the wealth, leisure and sophistication to allow a quite comfortable lifestyle. Most of us today would probably be glad to move into Johnstone' Home Place with its antebellum furnishings intact, although we would probably want to add electricity, air conditioning and plumbing.

Of course, much of this came to a crashing halt with the end of the Civil War and the emancipation of the labor force on which it had all depended. Johnstone's estate, although inventoried in 1862, was not cleared by the probate court for sale until December 1865, by which time the most valuable assets, the slaves, had walked away; what was left of an estate originally valued at well over $100,000 in 1863 sold for a little more than $7000. The same story could be told of several of Johnstone's fellow cotton barons who survived the Civil War. John Hopkins Williams had owned 122 slaves, and was recorded as having real estate worth $90,000 (totaling over 6000 acres, 1540 of them "improved"), and personal property worth $200,000 in the 1860 census. At his death in 1876, Williams still had all or most of the land, but his personal estate was settled (in 1892, after a considerable family battle and an untold toll in lawyers' fees) for $21,053.65.[31] Washington Floyd, with 201 slaves in 1860 the district's biggest slaveowner, had 1860 valuations of $90,000 real estate (6000 acres of land, 4000 improved, from which he produced 300 bales of cotton in 1860), and $240,850 in personal property. At his death in 1871, Floyd's personal property--furnishings, tools, and livestock--brought $5391.08, and, even with the $18,500 in cash or bank deposits Floyd held in 1871, about ninety percent of Floyd's former personal wealth had evaporated.[32] Although cotton continued to be grown profitably into the 1890s in upper South Carolina, the great profits were gone with the slaves, and much of the gracious lifestyle of the great planters with it. The development of the economy and society of Newberry District is typical of much of the cotton belt through the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. The cotton boom of the first half of the nineteenth century brought prosperity to at least some of the people of Newberry; without cotton production, it is hard to imagine that the area would have prospered as it did. The O'Haras of Tara and *Gone With the Wind*

are fiction, but men such as Johnstone, Williams and Floyd and their plantations were not.

NOTES

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[1]For physical descriptions, see John B. O'Neall and John A. Chapman, *Annals of Newberry* (Newberry, S.C., 1892), pp. 7-12; Thomas H. Pope, *The History of Newberry County, South Carolina*, Volume I: 1749-1860 (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 1-6; Robert Mills, *Atlas of the State of South Carolina* (Baltimore, 1826), map of Newberry District.

[2]Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, 1940), pp. 17-21, 117-35, 147-58.

[3]Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Millwood, N. J.: KTO Press, 1983), pp. 265-319; Richard M. Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1963), esp. pp.1-95. Hundreds of land grants, memorials and plats survive in the colonial records preserved in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH) in Columbia.

[4]Pope, *History of Newberry*, I: 43-52; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, pp. 321-39.

[5]David D. Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), p. 341; Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, pp. 96-111.

[6]Pope, *History of Newberry County*, I: 53-65. Although redefined and renamed as a judicial district in 1800, Newberry has retained her present boundaries with only minor adjustments since 1785, providing not only continuity of records, but a stable political and geographic unit for study.

[7]See, for example, the three trade bills of William O'Neall, printed in O'Neall and Chapman, *Annals of Newberry*, pp. 38-39, showing flour, butter, tobacco and cash paid to Charleston merchants in the 1770s and 1780s in exchange for cloth, salt, iron, nails, tools, dishes, molasses, coffee and rum.

[8]NEWBERRY DISTRICT POPULATION

Year	Total	Whites	Slaves	Free Blacks
1790	9342	8186	1144	12
1800	12,006	9707	2204	95
1810	13,964	9848	4006	110
1820	16,104	10,177	5749	178
1830	17,441	8919	8316	203
1840	18,205	8313	9892	(not given)
1850	20,143	7243	12,688	212
1860	20,879	7000	13,965	184

For the statistically minded, the following observations might be of interest.

In 1790, there were 1381 households and 307 slave households in the district, an average of less than one slave/household and 3.7 slaves/slave household. Over twenty slaveholders owned more than ten slaves, the largest holding being the 24 of Matthew Sims.

By 1800, slightly less than one-third of all households had slaves, but at least 51 households had ten or more slaves, the largest number being the 32 of John Henderson.

In 1810, approximately forty per cent of all households had slaves; 92 included more than ten slaves, and John Henderson had 46 slaves (although another entry, for Henry Ruff or Ruffin, is smudged in the original return and may read 49).

By 1840, almost half of all households had slaves; over 35 households included more than 30 slaves, with Charles Floyd owning 80 and John B. O'Neal 86.

By 1850, the total ratio of slaves per household had grown to 8.5, and 29 households included more than 50 slaves.

By 1860, 1480 households yielded an average of 9.25 slaves/household; 59 individuals owned 30 or more slaves. (Source for all the information above: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Returns, Population Schedules and Slave Schedules, 1790-1860, SCDAH microfilm.)

[9]Between 1850 and 1860, the number of farms fell from over 1000 to 841. Thirty eight farms of over 500 acres (eleven of them over 1000 acres) were being worked in the district by 1860, with cash values for the eleven largest recorded by the census taker as ranging from $29,600 to $117,000, with an average of $64,850. (See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Schedules, Agriculture, 1850 and 1860, SCDAH microfilm.) For a general study of the antebellum great planters, see Chalmers G. Davison, *The Last Foray: The South Carolina Planters of 1860, A Sociological Study* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971).

[10]George L. Summer, *Newberry County, South Carolina: Historical and Genealogical Annals* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980), p. 239. Griffin's grandson, Bluford Fowler Griffin (1802-81), was one of the district's great planters in 1860; see Davidson, *Last Foray*, p. 206.

[11]Abbeville County Probate, Box 37, Package 797 (SCDAH microfilm). At Griffin's death, apparently intestate, his estate was probated in Ninety Sixth District, much of the material from which is now in Abbeville County.

[12]See, for example, the comments of the Rev. Charles Woodmason, who traveled the backcountry in the 1760s, in Richard J. Hooker, ed., *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), pp. 33-35, 41-42, 121, 243-46.

[13]On Caldwell's life, see Pope, *History of Newberry County*, I: 33-41; O'Neall and Chapman, *Annals of Newberry*, pp. 205-11; Summer, *Newberry*, pp. 202-3. Memorials for land on the Saluda River taken up by Caldwell in 1768 are in SCDAH, Auditor General, Memorials (Copies), Vol. 8, p. 483 (item 3). Dozens of other entries of grants, memorials and plats attest to Caldwell's activity as a surveyor.

[14]From 1860 to 1870, the census valuation of personal property in Newberry plummeted from $14 million to $1.73 million (12.3 percent of 1860 valuation), a decline almost entirely owing to the loss of some 14,000 slaves freed in the interim, for there was virtually no Civil War fighting in the area to destroy property. (See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Returns, Social Statistics, 1860 and 1870, SCDAH microfilm.)

[15]Abbeville County Probate, Box 19, Pack 400 (SCDAH microfilm). Although Caldwell's estate was inventoried in

December 1779, settlement was delayed until 1783, as the fall of Charleston to the British closed the courts and, according to the administrators, "the persons who had the writings [estate papers] fled to the northward, since which time there has not been an opportunity of acting in that Respect concerning the said writings as the law directs."

[16]SCDAH, Auditor General, Memorials, Vol. 6. p. 193 (item 2); p. 203 (item 2). These plots had originally been granted to Christopher White and Conrad Meyer, both in 1755.

[17]Newberry County Probate, Newberry County Courthouse, Box 15, File 9.

[18]Ibid., Box 7, File 8.

[19]Newberry County, Clerk of Court's Office, Deed Book A, p. 42, notes Eastland as having been granted lands, later sold, in November 1770.

[20]Newberry County Probate, Box 6, File 11.

[21]Daniel DeWalt made a memorial for a tract of 350 acres between the Broad and Saluda Rivers on 11 October 1773, summarizing a chain of title to a grant to Barnard Leveston in 1752; see SCDAH, Auditor General, Memorials, Vol. 4, p. 59 (item 13) and Vol. 12, p. 455 (item 2).

[22]Newberry County Probate, Box 66, File 2.

[23]Pope, *History of Newberry County*, I: 91-99, 170-72. The Agricultural Improvement society strove manfully to encourage crop diversity and livestock raising, but with limited success. The 1860 Agricultural Census reveals considerable crops of corn (452,000 acres) and sweet potatoes (83,000 bushels), and herds of hogs that averaged over 100 for the larger farms. None of these were cash crops, however, but slave food. Probably beef--$250,000 value slaughtered in 1860--was the only major market product besides cotton coming out of Newberry District. If not a monocultural society, antebellum piedmont South Carolina was certainly striving to become one. See on this U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Returns, 1860, Agricultural Census (SCDAH microfilm). See also, for details on plantation routine and slave food, The Francis B. Higgins Plantation Journal, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S.C.

[24]John B. Carwile, *Reminiscences of Newberry* (Charleston, 1890), pp. 34-36.

[25]Pope, *History of Newberry County*, I: 139-46; O'Neall and Chapman, *Annals of Newberry*, pp. 296-317.

[26]Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Returns, 1850, Population Schedule and Social Statistics (SCDAH microfilm).

[27]Newberry County Probate, Box 99, File 10.

[28]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Returns, 1860, Population, Slave and Agricultural Schedules (SCDAH microfilm).

[29]Davidson, *Last Foray*, p. 215; Newberry County Probate, Box 157, File 6; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Returns, 1850 and 1860, Population, Slave and Agricultural Schedule (SCDAH microfilm).

[30]Newberry County Probate, Box 15, File 6.

[31]Ibid., Box 133, File 27; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Returns, 1860, Population and Agricultural Schedules.

[32]Newberry County Probate, Box 160, File 4; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Original Returns, 1860, Population and Agricultural Schedules.