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HISTORICAL SOCIETY


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The history of the events happening in the area which now makes up present Dconee County from 1777-1793 remains a subject considerably clouded in mystery. bhile it is a commonly known and easily provable fact that fort fiutledge was tuilt in 1776 on lands immediately adjacent a part of the Essenecca [Seneca] Indian village thillie, Pendleton Deeds? p. 2), the exact length of service and the exact functions which this small fort performed remain obscure. Equally there is seemingly no exact information giving a date for when the fort was abandoned and/or destroyed, nor any substanical amount of information on the men who served there.
[Special Notes for new members and others not familiar with S.C. History:

Fort Rutledge was built in the summer of 1776 as part of an Indian campaign directed by Colonel Andrew Williamson. The Indians had attacked the frontier ithose settled lands south of present Anderson and east of present Greenville county) of South Carolina. The area of present Dconee County was at that time Cherokee Indian territory, and there are no known settlers in Fickens or Dconee counties before 1784. This was one of the early campaigns of the Revolutionary War in S.C., resulting in a treaty with the Indians that ceded all of the Cherokee lands in present Anderson and Greenville counties, and most of the cherokee lands in present Oconee and Pickens counties to the state of S.C. The fort was south of the present Clemson University and on property which was part of Oconee County for almost 100 years before being annexed by Pickens County in the 1968. The fort is thought to have been located past the end of Fort Rutledge Dr., south of the Clemson University Campus. Essenecca [Seneca, Senekaw, and other spellings] Indian Village was located adjacent to the land where Fort Rutledge (first called Seneca Fort) came to be built, as well as on lands across the river, i.e. to the west in present Oconee County. The property for both the fort and a part of the village was first granted to Robert Tate in 1784. However on April 5 , 1789, the State Commissioners of the Loan office deeded to Henry William Desaussure those lands "including Senekaw 0ld Town and the spot on which Fort Rutledge once stood". Fresumably Tate had not paid for the property. (Willie, Pendleton Deeds,p. 2)

Please be aware that the course of the Seneca River was drastically altered by the construction of dams to preserve lands which are a part of Clemson University. It is my understanding that dirt for the dams was obtained from both sides of the river. As a result, a portion of the $l$ and that was once across the Seneca River to the west kand a part of the Indian village on the west side of the river) is part of the land that is now a section of a dam on the east side of the river.


The Revolutionary war iri South Carolima was primarily a Civil war in the upper part of the state freferring to the upper portion of $3 . C$. but excluding current fnderson, Greenville, Dconee, and Fickens counties). Various areas were often strongly Tory or strongly Rebel. The huge Ninety-Six District area was a mixture of Tories and Retels. As a result, this area suffered severly during the war years.... and references to the excessive number of widows after the conclusion of the war are commonly found in historic materials. The Civil war during the Revolution is a subject is covered in a number of excellent books. Particularily recommended is a small, highly readable work by Lewis Finckney Jones: The South Carolina Civil Har of 1775.

William "Blaody Eill" Cunningham was a famous Tory leader from the Ninety-Six District area. His reputation is perhaps overstated to some degree, as Rebel atrocities are not 50 well reported in historic materials. The advantage of winning is war is being able to slant your materials for your position! Nembers of our Society new to S.C. Will perhaps find it is interesting that a connection of the Cunningham family (A.F. Cunningham of S.C.) would be the founder of the Mt. Vernon Ladies Association to save the home of George washington. Her family were Tories, although they did not have the horritle reputation of "Eloody Bill".

Richard Pearis came to the area of present Greenvilie, S.C. in ca. 1768 (1768 by his own statment, but Pearis was known to sway the facts to suit his purposes.) He was an Indian trader, a fairly good schemer and a person prone to lying (in my opinion), and later a noted Tory. His trading settlement and plantation on the Reedy River, in what is probably present downtown Greenvilies $S . C$., was destroyed in 1776 by troops coming from the area of present York Co., S.C. These troups joined up with williamson near present Clemson, S.C. in 1776 after destroying a number of Indian villages in present Fickens County.

Thomas Erown was a noted Tory most often connected with the Augusta area during the later stages of the Revolutionary War.

The Chickamauga's were a group of Cherokees, untiappy over the various land concessions made by the old chiefs, who broke away from the main Cherokee tribe in 1777 and moved southward from the older established villages in Tennessee. Their towns, which are often referred to as "the Lower Towns", cause considerable confusion to people reading historical materials. These Chickamauga settlements came to be located, in time, in roughly the area where the Alabama and Georgia state lines converge against the state line of Tennessee. During 1777, the villages were along the Little

Tennessee, considerably to the north. The Chickama
named several of their towns iSitico and Toquo, for example) the same names as older towns further north in the Cherokee Nation (a considerable source of confusion); and the Cherokee towns that once existed in Oconee County before being destroyed in 1776 were also terms the "Lower Towns" \{an even greater source of confusion.) A considerable portion of the population of the Chickamauga Villages, when first established, was derived from refugees from the Lower Towns who had once been in the area of present Oconee County, S.C. See John F. Brown, Old Frontiers, for additional information on the Lower (Chickamauga) Towns.]

In addition to the historical problems noted in regard to Fort Rutledge, there is precious little information on how many, if any, Cherokee Indians were in the area of present Oconee County from 1777-1782. It would seem plausible that Cherokees were at least in movement through the area from time to time, althought the Treaty of Dewits Corner on May 20, 1777, had mandated that they obtain permission from the commander at Fort Rutledge before coming into the ceded territory (most of present Dconee and Fickens, and present Greenville and Anderson counties.) A few scant references inply that the Seneca Indian Village was rebuilt after 1776 ; however it is my opinion that a few Indians may have resettled there for the purpose of perhaps supplying corn and other food supplies to the garrison at Fort Rutledge. This small Indian settlement, should it have existed, would have hardly qualified in my opinion for the term: "rebuilt village".

There is also little information on various bands of Tories (and perhaps Rebels) who might have been in temporary hiding in areas of Oconee County from 1777-1782. Various references point to Alexander Cameron kassistant to John Stuart, the deputy Indian Superintendent for the eastern district) being at various points in Oconee County prior to 1777. One of the positions mentioned in regard to Cameron is Keowee, Feferring to the Indian Village by the same name near present Old Town Boat Landing on Lake keowee, with the other position being Coneross, perhaps referring to an Indian Village once located on Coneross Creek at a point probably north of Hwy. 123 between the present towns of Seneca and Westminster. However there is no material thus far located by this writer to indicate that Cameron ventured back in the area of present Oconee County after 1776.

Unfortunately, there is a considerable body of material in print that provides a substancial amount of error regarding Oconee County during the above noted years. Works by some local historians and various genealogists often have settlers in this area during the years from 1777-1782. As has been pointed out in past Journal issues, there is absolutely no evidence to support such claims... and a considerable and growing body of evidence to prove such assertions incorrect. In contrast to the errors made by some local historians and

## Index $\mathrm{Pg}^{9} 6^{5}$

genealogists, there $i s$ a mass of material in error Sy vari
noted scholars. These scholars, including Edward McCrady, David Duncan Wallace, and Chapman J. Milling have Andrew Fickens coming into the area of present oconee County in $1781 / 82$ to destroy thirteen Cherokee towns. To fully discuss the reasons for these errors by the just mentioned scholars requires epproximately sixty pages of notes and quoted materials. Because the proofs against these statements are perhaps important for the use of future researchers, and because it would be expensive to mail out this large amount of material to each of our members, the proofs will be included in a special study entitled "Cherokee Indian Villages in Oconee County, Errors in Frint" to be supplied to the Oconee County Library System and various other libraries in S.C.

In a work with sometimes confused footnotes, which at times fails to support the statements presented, Alice Noble Waring in The Fighting Elder, Andrew Pickens (i739-1317) provides additional errors regarding $1777-1782$ by noting a fight against the Indians at Tamassee (Oconee Coutny, S.C.) by Fickens in 1779 . This information has already been refuted in Vol. I, No. 2 of The Jourtal of the Oconee County Historical Society, pp. 76-91. [The site of a battle that did take place between Fickens and the Indians at Tamassee in 1776 is west of Hwy. 11 and only about two miles from the Tamassee D.A.R. School.] As I constantly note, Ms. Waring should NEVER be quoted without thoroughly checking her footnotes. As a result of the confusion caused by Mis. Waring, the activities of Andrew Pickens during 1779 are briefly covered in the following material:

Clyde Ferguson in his work on Andrew Pickens notes that Fickens" regiment in early 1779 was "stationed in small detachments along the frontier from the Saluda River to the Savannah, guarding against Indian incursions." Unfortunately, Ferguson was apparently unable to determine exact locations for where these men were stationed. Pickens would subsequently be in various actions near the Savannah River in both the Ninety-Six District area and Ga. by early spring. In late June or early July, there were rumors to the effect that Alexander Cameron along with 1000 Tories from North Carolina and band of Indians were going to attack S.C. This event never transpired. However in August, a small band of Indians did cross over into S.C., where they killed several people and took some few prisoners. Pickens assembled his regiment on August 10,1779 to join up with Andrew Williamson for the purpose of capturing Cameron. This expedition was in Georgia and N.C., where a number of villages were destroyed. On the 28th of Aug., several Cherokee chiefs asked Williamson not to destroy any additional villages. Williamson agreed, provided that the Chickamauga return to their older villages and cease attacking the S.C. and Ga. frontier. Ferguson notes that some members of the expedition against the Indians returned to 5.C. by September 11; 1779; however he notes that others did not
return until mid Octoter. The frontier noted Ey
Fergusan was probatiy not in South Carolina, as Fort Futledge on the Seneca Fiver was probably protecting the far northwectern section of South Carolina's claimed territory from Indian incursions in 1779 . Ferguson also contends that Fickens and at least part of his regiment probably remained on the frontier to prevent attacks on Georgia and the Ninety-Si\% area of S.C. According to Fergusor, this was Pickens last campaign in i779. (Ferguson, "General Andrew Fickens, pp $48,79-80,82$, 82-86.)

Although the total extent of happening in this area from 1777-1782 remain to be discovered, some few facts are known. The following information supplies but an outline which may hopefully, in time, be filled out with some additional materials.

A letter of April 13,1777 written to william Henry Drayton by Col. Andrew williamson notes:

I last night received a letter from Capt. Tutt, wherein he informs me that some Indians had carried off si\% horses belonging to the volunteer companies, who had arrived a few days before to reinforce Fort Rutledge, and that he had dispatched Capt Rainey, with thirty men, to take their track, and endeavor to come up with them, which he thought he would be atole to effect, and take satisfaction of them. I apprehend this robbery is done by some of the disaffected Indians who lately lived at Senecag and if Capt. Rainey comes up with them, it may be a lucky circumstance, and prevent them attempting carrying of the horses in future. Gibts, Documentary History, 1776-1782, pP. 87-88.)

Following the conclusion of the Treaty of Debits Corner (May 20, 1777), an entry in the South Carolina and American General Gazette of October 23,1777 reported that "'Col. [Andrew] Williamson returned home about 12 days ago from the Dkonee Mountain where he met the Cherokee Headmen and sounded their Inclinations about the new Boundarys They seemed perfectly satisfied that it should be carried into immediate Execution but requested liberty to live in such Towns as fell within the new line; which they were given reason to expect would be granted as long as their conduct merited it." SSeaborn, "Indian Line 1777-1816", Section 2, p. 1)
[Dconee Mt. appears to be a group of Mts. in present Dconee County that include Stumphouse Mt. above Walhalla, and extending NE toward Tamassee. The Indian boundary line of 1777 crossed this group of hills and passed slightly northwest of Dconee Station. See the Mill's Atlas map of Fendleton District for the Indian line.]
.....on February 23, 1778 the following
recorded in the Commissioners of the Treasury 5 Eash Eook 1777-1779: 'Faid to Patrick Cohone [Calhoun], John Eowie, \& Robert Anderson for running the Eoundary line between the Cherokees and the State of So. Carolina-----L 810.0'" Seaborn notes that "the treaty was so worded that a proper ten mile survey could have fulfilled their dangerous assignement." (Seaborn, "Indian Line 1777-1816", Section 2, P. 1)

The entries from 1779 as found in the diary of John Graham pertaining to a foray in Ga. Fecord information pertaining to Fort Futledge (Selected entries quoted):

March 27th Sat. Some Light-Horse returned [and] brought information that our Horse Men consisting of 100 under Pickings [i.e. Fickens], \& Hammond [rthis is Leroy-see Feguson "General Andrew Pickens", p. 663] expected a Battle with the Indians in a few days.___ Moderate Day.

March 27th Mond. Hammond's Light Horse, about 10 oClock A.M. attacked a Farty of Indians, Killed 9 Indians, and 3 white Savages, took captive 3 Ind. and 3 thites. Our people sustained no Loss, except Major Ross mortally wounded in the Belly. This Skirmish happened about 5 miles on this side [of] Rockey-Comfort.

Ap. 2d Frid. Colo Kershaw's whole Regt with the Light-Horse of Colo Singleton's went from Camp for their Station at the Three Rivers. Hammond's Horse-Men went up the Fiver to Senecka Fort, took the Indian Prisoners to return them. News of Sharp Death arrived.

April 13th Tuesd. News of the Approach of the N. Carolinian Troops. Colo Hammond returned from Seneka Fort about 12 Miles below keewee [fthe Indian Village not far from present Old Town Boat Landing?l, being sent thither by Gen. Williamson to regotiate Matters, with the Indians. (Davis, Georgians in the Revolution, p. 204-205.)

On May 22, 1780, Richard Pearis and David Rees made an agreement with four people alledged to be representatives of the people South of the Saluda. Under this agreement, the "supplies at Fort Rutiedge..... were to be relinquished, but the garrison was to occupy it as protection against Indian attack until replaced by a British force. (Lambert, South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution, p. 106.)

In June, 1780, Thomas Brown, the successor to John Stuart as Deputy Indian Superintendent for the eastern district, recommended that Fort Rutledge be destroyed to satisfy the Cherokees. Lambert noted that "Cornwallis consented to the destruction of the Fort Rutledge, but he ordered that the Indians not be employed in a military
capacity at that time." Lambert does not reveal miether ie 9 g discovered the firial di三position of Fort Futledge. Uambert, South Carolitia Loyalists in the American Revolution, p. 10日)

On September 12, 1781, Well's Royal Gazette reported that Captain william "Bloody Bill" Cunningham ". .had retired to Cane Creek, a branch of the Seneca" before the evacuation of Ninety-Six. Cunningham had gathered up atout bo loyalists between the Enoree and the Saluda. The Royal Gazette of the $29 t h$ reported that Cumningham had ceptured several rebel blockhouses along the Reedy Fiver and "dispersed a party of rebels south of the Saluda". [This area of the Reedy being referred to is south of present Greenville Co., S.C. . FCHI By October, Cunningham was in Charleston. (Lambert, South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution; p. 207)

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THE JOURNAL OF THE OCONEE COUNTY


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## THE TOWN OF CALHOUN IN FICKENS COUNTY

compiled by Jane Morris

EDITORS NOTE: Many of our readers might well question why this issue would cover a town in Fickens County... and a chronologically late town by comparison with virtually every other town in this area excepting Salem. The principal reason centers around plans for creating a separate county to be named Calhoun which was to be composed of lands in the curfent counties of Oconee, Fickens, and Anderson. Another major reason for doing a bit of reporting on Calhoun is that a Mr. Jim Megginson of Fhiladelphia is interested in doing some serious and extensive research on that area. As experience has long since revealed, any extensive research on any part of this area reveals new avenues of interest and possibilities for future investigation. Keeping in mind that the area adjacent to Calhoun, current Clemson University and the Old Stone Church area, remained a part of Dconee County until 1968, Mr. Megginson's work might offer some unique insights both into. those areas and into new types of research methodology from which we all might benefit. Anyone having any information (documented and/or oral traditions) to share about the town of Calhoun should forward same to Sec. Dconee County Historical Society/ Rt. 2/ Box 540-B/ Seneca, S.C. 29678-9681 for forwarding to Mr. Megginson.

The following information on Calhoun was compiled by one of our members, Jane Morris, of Pickens. Ms. Morris is currently doing extensive research into the history of the town of Pickens and The First Baptist Church of Pickens, and a number of northwestern S.C. families, particularily the McDaniels.

The following are items in reference to Calhoun located by Ms. Morris in' The Pickens Sentinel:

The Pickens Sentinel; Dctober 16, 1890 issue:
A New Town-Calhoun is likely to be the name of the new town in Pickens county at the fort Hill siding. There is but one reason why this should not be the name, and that is that there is already a postoffice in Abbeville county by that name of Calhoun's Mills. Calhoun, or whatever it may be called, will be incorporated at the next session of the General Assembly. It will be the fifth incorporated town in Pickens, and will no doubt be a prosperous little burgh. In addition to being the supply depot for Clemson College, it is in the midst of a most fertile and prosperous section. It will soon contribute to the county three churches, one ten-months-a-year school and several stores. Pickens will thus derive more material benefit from Clemson College than either Oconee or

Anderson.
[Ed. Note: The previous four incorporated towns were Pickens, Liberty, Easley, and Central...although in 1883, Briggs boasted four stores, Fock three stores, Dacusville and Six Mile, two stores each; and Ninetimes, Stuart, and Table Mountain, one store each. The three churches (congregations) are the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian]

The Pickens Sentinel; November 27, 1890 issue under "Locals":
The new town near fort Hill has been named Calhoun, and a depot located at which all passenger trains on the R.\& D. stop.
[Ed. Note: The R.\& D. stood for the Richmond and Danville, the name of the railroad through this area from the time of its inception until after 1900.]

The Picketis Sentinel; taken From Daily News (Greenville) in December 4, 1890 issue of The Pickens Sentinel \{editorial page):

The Proposed New County of Calhoun-There is considerable talk by people living in the neighborhood of fort Hill of petitioning the Legislature to establish a new county to be known as Calhoun, of which the town of Fort Hill, a mile from Clemson College, shall be the county seat. Fort Hill is 18 miles from the county seat of Pickens, Anderson and Oconee and it is proposed to form the new county out of portions of these counties, making it 18 miles square. It is understood that the Clemson College authorities are in favor of the scheme and if the matter is brought before the Legislature will urge its passage.

The town of Calhoun is on the Richmond \& Danville Railroad and students and others going to Clemson will get off the trains at that point. The government has established a postoffice there and Mrs. Mary E. Carey has been appointed post mistress. There is every prospect that Calhoun wil develop into a prosperous town.
[Ed. Note: I can only guess that the county planned would have taken in the area east to the junction of the Twelve Mile and Golden Creek; to the north to Six Mile Creek; to the west to a branch of Cane Creek (i.e., probably to near present Seneca), and to the south to the waters of Twenty-Six Mile creek. Such a description would have given you an area approximately 18 miles square. $]$

The Pickens Sentine1; January 8, 1891:

The County Commissioners last Tuesday ordered a change to be made in the fort Hill road so as to run by the town of Calhoun, thence to Fort Hill. The partitioners asked for the change.
[Ed. Note: The exact change in the old road going from Keowee Heights Plantation to Fort Hill Plantation is difficult to chart exactly. However, it would seem apparent that the new road under discussion is part of the Old Six Mile/Clemson Hwy. which passes a block east of the present (1988) principal Hwy. from Clemson to Six Mile and which is even now a part of the present "Main Street" of Clemson (i.e. the extension of the Six Mile/Clemson Hwy. into the area in front of Tillman Hall). The new road under discussion undoubtably left Calhoun and came out on the Twelve Mile where Pike Road joins the main Clemson/Six Mile Hwy. An older road may have crossed the Twelve Mile at this same position. . .but probably then took a course along the river bank until reaching a point near the Calhoun/Clemson plantation. Such an older route would have made a downriver crossing of the Seneca (at the site later known as Ravenel Bridge) much more feasible for travelers planning to cross into the area of present Oconee County.J

The Pickens Sentinel; January 29, 1891:
The site for the depot at Calhoun has been staked off and the building will be erected at once. The new town will be laid off at an early day, when lots wil be sold and improvements commenced. It is $7 / 8$ of a mile from Cl emson.

The Pickens Sentinel; April 30, 1891:
Lots and streets have been run out at Calhoun and building has commenced. This promises to be one of the most flourishing towns in the county.

[^0]HISTORICAL SOCIETY


VOLUNE III, NUMBER 3

- 1988


# Index Pg 15 

# EVENTS RELATED TO THE AREA OF OCONEE COUNTY: 1775-Spring of 1776 

AND INCLUDING A SECTION ONE OF THE JOURNALS OF THE SUMMEF OF 1776
[On pages attached to the end of this journal article, you will find sections of the Ross Journal \{unediteds that pertain to this area of South Carolina. They are reproduced exactly as found in the Historical Hagazime of October, 1867. The Soquani town noted on P . 216 is now called "Secona" and is near the present town of Pickens, S.C. Other Indian towns can be found on Margaret Mills Seaborn's Indian Trail Map of Ocomee County, S.C. The Ross Journal gives the reader something akin to a walking tour of Pickens and parts of Dconee County during July/August/early September of 1776. You will not find any mention of settlers, houses, churches, etc. 3

Unfortunately there is precious little known about happening in the area of present Dconee County from 1775-Spring of 1776. This is indeed a pity as there must have been numbers of notable events of historic interest taking place in the Lower Cherokee towns and settlements. Much of the material used in this study either pertains to the alfeady settled parts of South Carolina least and south of present Greenville County and south of present Anderson County), to the neighboring areas of present Fickens County ustill in Cherokee possession and unsettled by any white families) and Greenville County fthe home of perhaps as many as ten white families living on property connected with Richard Pearis), or to events in Tennessee. Even 50, this material is relevant to a full understanding of the Indian massacres of June 30 , 1776, the subsequent campaign by Vir., N.C., Ga., and S.C. against the Cherokees in the summer of 1776 , and the resulting destruction by the South Carolina troops of the lower Cherokee Towns, many of which were situated in the area of present Dconee County.

Within our collections, we have a substantial amount of material on the events of the campaign against the Cherokees during the summer and into the early fall of 1776 (the information that would be required to fill the time gap between this Journal entry and Vol. III, No. 1 issued earlier this year). Because of the sheer bulk of this material, it is impossible to print all of it; however the Ross Journal (found on the attached pages of this journal entry) is the most important document related to the Williamson Campaign in this area. In addition to the Ross Journal, we also have copies of the Fairey Journal. Both of these have been edited by myself in regard to events in S.C. Some of the dates which you will find in the Ross Journal as produced in the Historical Hagazine are slightly incorrect \{probably as result of the men
in the field gettirg slightly confused over the day of the week). We also have copies of numbers of letters and reports regarding the campaign, and copies of various state documents regarding the event.

The Fioss and Fairey Journals, along with the edited travel journals by Margaret Mills Seaborn regarding passage through Oconee County from 1775 -the early 18005 , the documents of the South Carolina Dept. of Archives and History, the Grand Jury reports by the people actually living in the fendleton District in the 1790 , and the various books on grants, deeds, etc. provide a most substantial body to evidence to support the contention that there were NO domestic white settlers anywhere in present Fickens or Dconee counties from 1775 through 1733 . There has yet to be presented any evidence by anyone to prove this statement incorrect see Hotes Relating to Pickens County, S.C. by F.C. Holder in various branches of the Pickens County libraries for comments on the Cornelius Keith legend and other incorrect stories relating to present Pickens County). In recent months, many of the claims of families stating their ancestors to have been in present Greenville County before 1783 have proved to be totally unsubstanciated... or else unprovable.

In preparing the materials on the Historical Background for the events related to the area of present Dconee County, I have leaned heavily on Lewis Finckney Jones. The South Carolima Civil Har of 1775 for the events in the settled parts of S.C. \{i.e. those dieas outside of the then existing Cherokee Indian territory which now makes up present Anderson, Greenville, Pickens and Dconee counties). Many of the references cited by Jones are well known to students of the Revolutionary War in South Carolinay however, nowhere else is such a condensed and readable account of the events of that year to be found. Rather than present a variety of footnotes from both primary and secondary sources for many of the same events, the reader of the Historical Background section below is invited to examine Jones work (commonly available in S.C. libraries) for expanded information on both the events and the references pertaining to this period of time.

Unfortunately such a condensed and full account is not available for 1776 . Those interested in more detailed accounts of certain events during 1776 may wish to consult the four volumes of Edward McCrady, History of South Carolina in the Revolution; the three volume History of South Carolina by Wallace, the published legislative papers of South Carolina, various other secondary books and articles \{Gibbs, Documentary History of the American Revolution: pp. $102-03,143-44,145-46,147-48,153,158,159-61,165,168-69$, 192, 194-95, 196, 207-08, 209-10, 211, for Cherokee related events in 1775-76), and primary materials to be located in

## Index Pg 17

Charleston, Columbia, and other places holding major archival materials.

The Historical Background to Events that are Related to the Present Area of Dconee County

Events that would transpire in the area of present Dconee and Pickens counties from late 1775 through the Spring of 1776 were a direct product a larger story affecting the settled parts of South Carolina (those areas east and south of present Greenville County and south of Anderson County).

Because of various discriminatory acts by Parliament, problems had been brewing in the American colonies for some time and many prominent colonists felt that they were being treated unfairly. South Carolina had no intention of separating from England in early 1775; however they were prepared to demand that they be accorded the rights of Englishmen. Lewis P. Jones in The South Carolina Civil Har of 1775 quotes Alexander Innes comment regarding the dissident faction in S.C.: "the language of all is to have things restored to the situation they were in in 1763." \Jones, p. 10 )

By May 3 of 1775 , those demanding their rights kmany of the people who were to become the Rebels) had become alarmed and angry when they falsely heard in a letter from Arthur Lee, London correspondent to the Continental Congress, that the British were planning to sponsor both a slave uprising and an Indian War against the colonists. (Jones, p. 9)

On June 3, 1775, the S.C. Provincial Congress asked the citizens of S.C. to sign a statement (Articles of Association) whereby they would resist, in Jones' words, "force with force, uniting against every foe." In time, the citizens of S.C. would be pressured to sign these acts of "Association": with those not signing being suspect. Again in Jones' words, this statement "was not a declaration of independence, but a declaration of war." (Jones, p. 12)

Prior to this directive by the S.C. Frovincial Congress, arms had been seized and militia companies loyal to the S.C. Provincial Congress established. Undoubtably the Congress was satisfied that its actions had been in the best interest of the colony when they received letters on June 21 asserting that John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Eastern District, was "attempting to incite the Indians to hostilities." The Council of Safely, a group one might roughly compare to a management team to carry out the wishes of the S.C. Provincial Congress, attempted to bribe
deputy Indian agent Alexander Cameron to assist their cause. Cameron was deeply involved with the Cherokees and often acted on behalf of Stuart. Unfortunately the Provincial Congress was doing little to actually keep the Cherokees pacified. The usual supply of arms and powder, vital to the way of life which the Indians had come to live, was being denied as a result of the conflict already caused by the S.C. Frovincial Congress. Stuart, who normally attended to many of the supply needs of the Indians, had fled Charleston on May 9, 1775 and had taken refuge in St. Augustine. (Jones, PP. 15-16)

During June/July of 1775, Captain John Barnwell and Captain Joyner of Beaufort with fourty men on two barges proceeded to the mouth of the Savannah River for the purpose of capturing a ship scheduled to arrive in Savannah. This ship was "said" to contain a large supply of powder for John Stuart to distribute to the Cherokees. Representatives of both South Carolina and Georgia considered this shipment of arms proof that Stuart was attempting to incite the Cherokees to hostilities. Capt Maitland, commander of the ship containing the powder, suspected possible troubles upon his arrival. He immediately put back to sea, only to be overtaken by Captain Bowen commanding a Georgia schooner. The powder aboard was captured and distributed among several of the colonies (and said to have been the ammunition which enabled Washington to drive the British army out of Boston), the ship commanded by Maitland was said to be the first vessel captured by order of any Congress in American, and the schooner commanded by Bowen was said to be the first provencial vessel commissioned for naval warfare. Stevens, History of Ga., Vol. II, PP. 103-104)

It was determined to send a group of men into the upcountry of South Carolina for the purpose of bringing the inland inhabitants (who were about $75 \%$ of the population of S.C.) to the cause of the S.C. Provincial Congress. The upcountry of S.C. is, for purposes of a discussion of the Revolutionary Feriod, defined as the entire area of the S.C. which was not Indian territory and which was not contained in a strip which ran all along the coast and approximately forty miles inland (this strip is in 1988 often called the Carolina Low Country).

This attempt to bring the upcountry to the side of the Rebels proved to be less than an easy task. In more than one location, Sir John Dalrymple's "Address from the People of England to the People of America" had already been read. In this address, Dalrymple noted that "It was hard that the charge of our [The Eritish] intending to enslave you should come oftenest from the mouths of those lawyers who in your southern provinces at least, have long made you slaves to themselves." In many ways, Dalrymple had a point in that most
of the representation in the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina had been made up of gentlemen from the coastal strip already noted and who represented only about $25 \%$ of the white population of the state. Equally people from the upcountry area had to come to Charleston to file legal papers and seek justice in courts. There can be not doubt that the upcountry was treated unfairly. (Jones, pp. 22-50)

By August 21, 1775, William Henry Drayton, perhaps the most radical of the group touring the upcountry, had heard of possible trouble from the Cherokees. Drayton sent word by Richard Pearis (an Indian trader who lived at the site of present Greenville, S.C.) for six of the Cherokee leaders to meet him at Amelia (an area below present Columbia). Slightly before the so called Treaty at Ninety-Six on September 16, 1775, Drayton had heard that Thomas Brown and Robert Cunningham were plotting to get the Indians to attack persons in the backcountry who had signed the Articles of Association issued by the S.C. Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety. John Stuart and Alexander Cameron were implicated as part of the plot. On Sept. 25, Drayton met five Cherokees including Good Warrior at Amelia. Promising them a shipment of arms and gun powder, the Indians appeared to be satisfied. Richard Pearis, disappointed that he failed to receive a position from the S.C. Provincial Congress or the Council of Safety for his efforts with the Indians, became a leading Tory. (Jones, pp. 52, 67-69)

Before Drayton met with the Indians, he and his delegation from the lowcountry were only achieving limited success in getting subscribers to the Articles of Association. Taking a new tactic, Drayton actually attempted a show of force in the Ninety-Six area. By the Treaty of Ninety-Six, the stronger position of non-neurtrality was compromised by many back country loyalists. In effect, they agreed not to interfere with the actions of the S.C. Frovincial Congress as long as such actions did not infringe upon them. Only a few people who were "said" to be representatives of the backcountry loyalists actually agreed to this Treaty. (Jones, pp. 61-64)

Robert Cunningham had been seized and imprisoned in Charleston, principally because Drayton feared future actions on his part and wanted him out of the way. In November, Patrick Cunningham, Robert's brother, seized a supply of powder and arms headed for the Cherokees. Major Andrew Williamson would send a letter to Edward Wilkerson, an Indian trader who lived near the site of old Fort Prince George and was in sympathy with the S.C. Provincial Congress, and to Alexander Cameron, who as deputy to the Royal Superintendent for Indian Affairs was loyal to the crown, and was residing at or near the Keowee Indian Village. In his letter, Williamson

## Index Pg. 20

asked those men to advise the Indians of what had transpired in regard to the arms shipment and asked that they [Wilkerson and Cameronl pacify the Indians until a new shipment could be delivered. (Jones, pp. 67,73)
[Location Notes: Keowee was in present Oconee County. Fort Prince George, ca. 1753 was a Colonial fortification located across the river from Keowee in present Pickens County. References sametimes refer to Wilkerson and others as being at Fort Prince George. However, the fort had undoubtably decayed by 1776. Old plats show another structure slightly distant from the fort. This structure was probably the trading post operated by Wilkerson and/or Wilkerson's associates.]

Ardent Loyalists using Richard Pearis as a propoganda piece, set out the story that the Charlestonians were attempting to arm the Indians in order that they could attack the neutral people on the frontier who failed to sign the articles of Association. The S.C. Provincial Congress upon learning of this rumor immediately issued a statement to the effect that Pearis's statements could not be correct. They asked the people of the backcountry to consider how the Indians were to differentiate between those who has signed the articles and those who had not. To some degree, this tactic worked. Stuart had discouraged the Cherokees from attacks upon the frontier for the same reason, i.e. because they would attack the Loyalists as well as the Rebels. (Jones, pp. 74-75)

By November, troubles had erupted in the backcountry. A group of rebels attempted to defend and establish domination over the Ninety-Six area. Their efforts accomplished little with the end result being to agree to a temporary truce with the Loyalists. Under this agreement, the Loyalists were to retire to the area North of the Saluda River. Colonel Richard Richardson did not feel himself bound by the truce agreement. As a result, he and his growing band of Rebels marched into the upcountry to capture major Tory leaders. While many Tories surrendered, the leading dissidents fled to the area behind the Indian line on the Reedy River in present lower Greenville County. This group was attacked and many of the Loyalists would be taken prisoners. Known as the Snow Campaign because of some two feet of snow which fell as the Rebel troops moved back downstate, this campaign momentarily calmed activities in the Carolina backcountry. (Jones, pp. 76-80)
[Some accounts note that the some of the leading Tories had fled into the Indian territory in an attempt to induce the Cherokees into joining the fight.J

Also in December of 1775 , Parliament passed an act declaring the colonies to be in a state of rebellion. This

## Index Pg. 21

act would not reach the attention of the Frovincial Congress until March 21, 1776. On March 26, the Provincial Congress adjourned and reassembled later in the day as the General Assembly of South Carolina under the provisions of a new constitution. (McCrady, 1775-1780, PP. 112-115)

## Events More Closely Connected the Area of Present Dconee County

Unfortunately many of the dates for events relating to the present Oconee and Fickens counties during 1776 are absent from most of the accounts and references that will be cited below. And some of the accounts are also perhaps suspect in parts. For example, McCall's account of Cherokee tortures on a twelve year old child somewhere in Tennessee may have been more intended to incite a bitter hatred against the Cherokees than to convey the actual heppening. Such an account of torture could have possibly been copied by McCall from earlier historical narratives. Capt. Thomas Nairnes execution in April of 1715 by this method of torture is one of the earliest recorded mentions in the South Carolina records. Even so, I have quoted this account in part for whatever truths it may contain and because it is a fascinating story. Its sole known connection with the area of present Oconee County is the fact that it establishes a location for Alexander Cameron in late June of 1776. He had presumably departed the area of present Oconee county sometime after 1775 and prior to the happening in the McCall narrative, as an entry in the Journal of the General Assembly of the House of Representatives during 1776 recorded the following entry:

Mr. Speaker laid before the House a letter from Alexander Cameron, Esquire, one of Mr. Stuart's deputies, dated Toguoh in the Cherokee Country, 5th March 1776, to Preston Hampton, a trader in the valley. (JGAHR 1776-1780, P. 29)
[Toguoh \{various spellings? was located in what is now the state of Tennessee and was one of the "bases of operation" for Alexander Cameron.J

The accounts of Jacob 0'Bannon Hite and the Hampton's are probably reasonably accurate...although the murders of members of both the Hite and Hampton families may have slightly altered the presentation of these events at whatever time they were recorded. There is also reason to question the motives and statements of Andrew Williamson. While some have accused Williamson of being a traitor to the Rebel cause, a few scholars dispute this speculation. Even taking into consideration the possible flaws in the materials below, perhaps the following accounts will cast some light on a few
of the many happenings that must have been going on in the lower Cherokee towns in late 1775 and into 1776 in both present Dconee and Pickens counties.

McCrady (heavily quoting Hugh McCall regarding the exploits of James McCall) and Hugh McCall supposedly citing the journal of Capt. James McCall present some of the most interesting happening of 1776. I have supplemented these two accounts with only a few additional references:

On October 3, 1775, Stuart wrote to General Gage to inform him that much of the "frontier and backcountry inhabitants of South Carolina were attached to and inclined to support the government" and although he was opposed to "an indiscriminate attack by Indians", he would "dispose of them to join in executing any concerted plan, and to act with and assist their well-disposed neighbors" [meaning the Loyalists]. Moses Kirkland, a notable Tory, was to deliver the letter to Gen. Gage; however the vessel on which he traveled was captured. The letter was discovered and the Continental Congress had the letter published in an effort to show that the British were so savage as to employ Indians to indiscriminately murder men, women, and children. Stuart's letter was read in Charleston to the Provincial Congress on Feb. 3 , 1776. As has already been pointed out in the Historical Eackground section of this study, the Rebels would soon found the same tactic employed on them when they attempted to supply arms and ammunition to the Cherokees. (McCrady, 1775-1780, pp. 187-88; Extracts of the Journal of the Provincial Congress, p. 173.)

Although a date is not supplied, the Council of Safety sent Capt. William Freeman to meet some of the headmen of the Cherokees at Seneca Village [this village was near present Clemson University and the date of this happening was probably in April of 1776 J . His mission was to assure the cherokees of the friendship of the Rebels and to attempt to draw "reciprocal sentiments." Freeman returned under the impression that the Cherokees could not be trusted as long as Alexander Cameron was among them. A determination was made to capture Cameron. Captain James McCall (the father of Georgia historian, Hugh McCall) was assigned the task. Assisting him was Capt. James Baskin, Ensign Patrick Calhoun and twenty-two volunteers from S.C. and eleven from Georgia. The pretext of their trip into Indian territory was to request the return of property plundered by Loyalists and Indians. The group met at Cherokee Ford on the Savannah River on June 20, 1776 and then moved toward the Cherokee Nation. Although the men had at first only been told of the pretext of the mission, they were soon told that the primary goal was the capture of Al exander Cameron. The party passed through several towns where they

## Index Pg• 23

were given a seemingly friendly reception. On the 26 th, they camped near a large town, probably somewhere in the present state of Tennessee. McCall made known the true purpose of his mission to some of the Indian headmen and requested them to meet with him. As the conference was starting, McCall and his interpreter were jumped by a group of Indians and taken prisoner. The main detachment of troops under Baskin and Calhoun were surrounded by Indians and attacked. The fight was 50 "hand to hand" that James Little of Georgia killed two Indians with his knive. Calhoun was killed in the fight as were John Holland, John Patterson, and John Huffman. [Although not relevant to the material at hand, I find it interesting that I presently know people in S.C. by exactly these same names.] The balance of the troops escaped and although scattered, they made their way back to the main settlements in small groups over the next two weeks.

McCall remained a prisoner and according to the account by Hugh McCall, he was frequently taken to a place of execution where he was forced to watch fellow prisoners being executed. Again according to McCall, a boy of twelve years old was suspended naked by his arms between two posts three feet from the ground while wood splinters, eighteen inches long sharpened on one end and flaming on the other, were thrown into the body. The torture supposedly lasted for two hours before the boy died.

Capt. McCall was said to warn the Indians that his own death would bring dire consequences upon the nation. Also according to the account, McCall refused to converse with Alexander Cameron. Cameron had apparently fled the area of present Dconee County by spring of 1776 or earlier. The account concludes by noting that McCall "effected his escape, and with one pint of parched and a few ears of green corn, he transversed the mountains for three hundred miles on horseback without a saddle." In nine days time, he arrived on the frontier of Virginia where he joined with Col. Christie who was on the way to join with the forces from N.C. and S.C. in an expedition to put an end to the Cherokee invasions. (McCrady, 1775-1730, pp. 189-193; McCall, History of Georgia, pp. 310-313)

One of the most interesting aspects of the McCall account is Hugh McCall's statement that Andrew Williamson, who would shortly command the S.C. expedition against the Cherokees, had conveyed to Alexander Cameron the secret plans of Capt. James McCall's mission to the Cherokee nation. (McCall, History of Georgia, P. 313)

In a somewhat cryptic letter written by Andrew Williamson on June 27, 1776 to William Henry Drayton,

The two Cherokee Indians returned to the nation on Wednesday week, seemingly well satisfied with their journey. I gave them a strong talk, the substance as follows: That I had, agreeable to the desire of the warrior of Sugar Town, [see map on p. 2 of Vol. III, No. 1 of Journal of OCHS for location of Sugartown in present Dconee County] accompanied them across the frontier settlements [referring to portions of the Ninety-Six District], and told them before I set out, that if they saw, and would show me any bad white warriors, who carried lies and bad talk amongst them from the settlements [probably referring to the whole upcountry of S.C.I, that I would take them into custody, and punish; and in return demanded liberty to send some of our people into the nation to secure York, and other bad white people, who had carried lies and bad talk amongst them, and endeavored, by every method they could devise, to make them quarrel with us. If they complied with this proposal, I should then know they wanted to live at peace with us; but, if they denied us that liberty, I should believe they did not care to continue in friendship with us langer, and should either send, or come myself, and bring the bad people out of the nation by force. A string of white beads. I desired them to remember--talk well, and tell it to the warriors, and return an answer soon, which I received yesterday by one Price, a half breed. On receiving my talk, the warrior of Sugar Town summoned the other warriors of the lower towns, and returned an answer as follows:--Thanked me for the good talk in them, by Shurry Shurry, and believed every word therein was truth--that the warriors of the lower towns would not interfere between the white people in their quarrel, and in future would not prevent me sending men into the nation, to take into custody such white people as went into the nation with bad talk and lies. They remembered the good talk given them at fort Charlotte, and were resolved to abide by them. A string of white beads. (Gibbs, Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1776-1782, p. 22.)

The following two accounts tell of attempts by upstate residents who lived on the border of the Cherokee territory to keep the Indians neutral in the quarrel between the Rebels and the Loyalists. Their actions do not appear to have been

## Index Pg 25

carried out with any sanction from the government of S.C. Both accounts appear to date to late June, 1776. I have supplemented this information with a few additional notes.

Jacob Hite, who lived along the Enoree River near the present Spartanburg/Greenville County line, was one of the early residents of present eastern Greenville County. Hite probably arrived in late 1775 . Like his acquaintance, Richard Pearis, Hite was engaged in trade with the Indians, but unlike Pearis, Hite is said to have been in sympathy the Rebel viewpoint in 1776. According to Johnson's Traditions and Reminiscences of the Agerican Revolution in the South: Hite, learning that the Indians were contemplating an attack, dispatched his son, Jacob O'Bannon Hite to offer the Indians presents and to attempt to obtain a promise of neurtrality.

Again according to Johnson's Traditions, J. O. Hite was an educated person, planning a career in law in Charleston. But he also personally familiar with a number of the Indians west of the Saluda River (the Saluda is the present boundary between Pickens and Greenville counties). In addition, Hite was engaged to one of Pearis's daughters who was living at Pearis' trading post along the Reedy River (probably present downtown Greenville, 5.C. area). Quoting the entry from Traditions:

He [Hite] had not proceeded far, when he unexpectedly met a war party, of several hundred Indians, marching against the white settlements. [This would have been in late June, 1776] The die had been cast; the chiefs had determined in council to take up the tomahawk, and is well known that in this case, nothing can alter or change their determination. Young Hite was immediately killed, scalped and mangled. The place was on the waters of Estotoe, in Pickens District, at a narrow pass between two mountains. The spot is glomy, and fit for such a melancholy tragedy. (Johnson, Traditions, p. 458-59)
[Members of the Hite family were subsequently murdered, and Ms. Hite was taken a prisoner by the Cherokees. I contend that the possible origin of the Cateechee legend may be related to the "claimed" ride of Pearis's daughter to warn the Hite family of the upcoming Cherokee attack.J

Another entry in Johnson records a related event:
Anthony Hampton, the father of General Wade Hampton, was among the first emigrants from Virginia to the upper part of South-Carolina. He settled with his family on Tiger river, in Spartanburg [County]. At the commencement of the revolution, it was of the utmost importance to the

## Index Pg 26

frontier inhabitants, that the Cherokee Indians should be conciliated and kept in peace. To effect this object, Edward, Henry and Richard Hampton--sons of Anthony--were sent by their neighbors to invite the nation to a "talk," at any convenient town that they might propose. But the Eritish emissaries had been before them, and had already induced the Cherokees to make inroad into the upper part of the State. (Johnson, Traditions, P. 442-43)
[Anthony Hampton, his wife, his son Preston, and his grandson were killed by the Cherokees on June zoth, 1776. MCCrady, 1775-1780, P. 193)

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# Index Pg 27 

From Wheeler's Eistory of North Carolina, 353-3S4, we lesm more perticniars of this expedition. "In 1776 ," he ssys, " he [Rutherford] commanded an ermy of two thonsand "and four hundred men to Enbane the Orerhill Chero"toe Indians Bemarched to the territory, destroyed thirty"t ee lowns, ent up their standing corn, snd drove off their Eir towns e. PP. Rutherford crossed the Blae Ridge st csttile Gap, and posed domn the Fiench Brond
"the Swannanos Gap, and passed. which passes to this day
" by the name of the War Ford; then up the Valley of Hom-
"iny Creek; then crossing Pioeon (River) to the Tackasege " (Rirer.) From thence they crossed the Coree Mountsin to "the Tennessee River. In the Falley of the Tennessee River " in Macan Courty, North Curotina) they burned the towns" of Wacon Courty, Nora, Esteetos, and Ellajay. Here, on the four" teenth of September, they met Genersl Willismson, with "troops from South Carolins, who had crossed the Blue "Ridge at the sources of the Tennessee River. In his "march for the valley Lowns, General Willismson was st"tacked in ansrrow pass near the present town of Franklin "[Msean Connty], by a body of Indians in ambush He "lost thirteen men killed and thirty wounded. The Indisns * were routed with grest slanghter."
were roated ind a shirmish at Valley Town, Ellajsy, and "near Frantlin, lost three men; but he completely subdined " the Indians, and tarning his large stork of cattle, which he"inad for subsistence, along with the armp, on their growing "crops, destroyed their mesns, and with his troops barped "their towns. He retarned in October, and at Salisbury dis" bsinded his troops. The Rev. Jumes Hall, of Iredell, ac"companied this expedition as Chaplain."

Frim Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, 326, we learn thst "When it was necessary for the American forces to "march into the Cherokee conntry in Georgis" [adjacent to the conntry ininabited by the same tribe in North Carolina, and the arme expedition spoken of above] "to quell the and the eame expedin mas raised in Iredell" [tben part of "Indians, a company nas that expedition, and Mr. Hall" [Rev. James Hall, D.DJ., "Went rith his friends as Chsplain to the army. "Daring the expedition, which lasted about two months, Daring the expedic offered pablic prayers, very regularly, every "the Cnaplain and evening; bat bad bat one opportanity of "morning and eveding, occasion be took his stand under a " large shady tree; the army, consisting of abont four thon"aand men, was drawn up around him; the soldiers bronght " from the neighboring woods ench a young sapling, or long "branch of a tree, with all the foliage, and as they were "drawn up in close ranks, sesting themselves on the ground, "and resting their sbady branches upon the esrth, they "from "the sun, listened to the fermon."
"the sun, listened to the fermon." reader to understand the following. Sixteen or more years ago, the writer found in Iredell Countr, a portion of an old pamphlet without titleIredell County, a portion traditionally called the "Rose page or cuncusion. "Paspalst," probabiy the Journal General above mentioned, Expedition of General Wart of South Carolina, into the throngh the Northwestern partolins, where, as it kill gpCherokee country of North Carolins, where, as if fill in pear from the Jonrnal, just where it breaks off, they fen with the North Army (i. e Pntherford's), and that "evening "they had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister, "being in the North Army," At that time we adrertived in aral newspapers for a complete copy, and published the aeran which had, but have never heard of any morefragment wap Festern part of North Carolins, as we learn from Martin's History of that State, page 393, "commenced their invasions 4 on the nnprotected and ansospecting back settlers.
"Early in the month of Jaly, Grifith Rntherford, Brige-"dier-general of the militis of the District of Salisbory" [the Court-Honse of Rowan Connty, and at that time incinding Iredell] "passed the mountains at the head of nineteen "hundred men, while Colonel Williamson led a party of the s militis of South Carolina against the Cherokees. As Gen" millitis of South Carolna Rntherford crossed the wilderness, parties of Indiang, " eral Rntherford crossed the widerness, parting fire. He "lying in ambnsh, harrased him by a g silencing them, " however, after a short time, succeededitura laid waste "ranged the settlement of the enemy undistarbed, laid wast "cranged the tations, and destroyed their provirions. This uthe plankastisement prodnced the most fortanate effect; " most of the Indians snrmendered themselves, and sned for "peace"

- The best, and probsbly the only fall account of Ratherford's expedition against the Cherokees in 1776 , is found in the University Hagazine, (Chspel Hill, North Carolma) Hus Msy, 1852 ( $1.132-136$ ) which we ehall reproduce in IEs His Mom,

Hall's, and encamped after a dsy's march of sbout fourteen miles.

Tuesday, the ninth day of July, 1776, we marched over Broad River, sbout two miles, and meeting a party of our men, it gave us fresh fortitade in the pursuing of our heathen enemies. We encamped here after a dsy's march of sbout eighteen miles.
Wednesday, the tenth, we starited, and marched twentr-five miles to one Moor's. We continued our march next dsy, fifteen miles, to one Mr. Walford's fort, on Lawson's fork, hearing that the Indians had persisted as far as Prince's fort, on Tiga, and kiliing and plondering all before them, hurried us on in our masch to the aforessid fort, where we arrived Fridsy, the twelfth instant. We found no enemy there. We stayed there two days: then hearing our enemies were harbored and encouraged at the house of one Perris', we started and marched within two miles, being joined with, or assisted by, Colonel Thomas's regiment, in all about three hundred men. We encamped on a hill all night, in order to attack the house and inhabitants there in the morning. When daylight came, we surrounded the house, but, contrary to our expectations, we found no Indians there, for they had left that place, and had embodied themselres together and marched to another fort called Lindly's fort, being assisted by or with a number of white men, in order to destroy the same; but by the conduct and valor of the inhabitants of the fort, the designs of the heathen enemy were frustrated, being forced to retreat after a smart firing from both sides. After a retreat of these heathens, the battle ended with little or no slaughter on either side, save some few wounded. We will next return to Perris's, and let you know that we took his wife and daughters, and, in short, all his family, as likewise some tories that lharbored there; so taking all prisoners, and committing his houses to the flames, we took his effects, as free plunder, driving cows, steers and horses, and brought all to our camp at Prince's fort, distant twenty-five miles. When we arrived, we saw a man that had gone that night to a mill, about six miles off, with a wagon for provisions, who intended to return that night; so as he was returning, within two miles of the fort, and riding a horse across the creek, not thinking of danger, on a sudden there was an Indian within two roods of him, and to his surprise fired at him, and shot him through the thick of the thigh, and the horse scaring, threw him down. The Indian immedistely made to him, but to save himself he jumped into the creek; then rushed forth another Indian with his gun ready to fire, which made the poor Fater-prisoner expect nothing but death. But to be short, he fired at him, and the bullet fook him below the shoolder and out by the left breast.

By this last shot the poor helpless white man fell back into the water. The Indian seeing this, drew his tomahark and made to him, thinking to have sunk it into his brains; but, contrary to his expectations, the wounded man snatched it out of his hand, and made to the Indian, who retreated with the halloo of "hoboy, hoboy." When the white man saw this, he made his best way back to the mill, knowing that the Indians were between him and the fort, and got some men at the mill to conduct him back to the fort. This was a remarkable deliverance that one man could escape from four Indians, well armed, as says the beholder.-This aforessid man is of the name of Reed, a man of superior dignity, courage and flexibility, which appears by his valor during his escape from the Indians. I am next to inform yon, that we began to vendue the aforessid plunder on the sisteenth, and continued till the eighteenth instant, and, by a vulgar guess, amounted to seven thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three pounds, South currency.
Friday, the twenty-first day of July, 1776, our next orders was to make to our enemies. So we started with a silent and secure march, being determined to rout and scatter them if possible. We continued our course to one Hight's, and seeing there what slaughter was made by our heathen enemies, by killing and scalping all they met with; this sight seemed terrifying, to see our fellow crestures lying dead and massacred in such a manner, as hindered us almost from interring or burying them, their effects being destroyed, their houses lying in ashes; this, with all other of their actions, occasioned us to vow revenge or die in the attempt.-So we continued in the pursuit of revenge, and marched on to Perris's place; beholding with satisfaction the ruins of the same, we lay here encamped till Thursdsy, the third day of August. - Then, Fridsy, the fourth, we marched about fourteen miles, and encamped on a round hill.-Saturdsy, the fifth, our orders were to form ourselves in a hollow square, with the wagons around us. Then there was a party appointed to stay with the wagons and baggage, as guards, while the rest of us marched to our enemy's towns. We continued our course to Streke, an Indian town, called Estatoe. When within about two miles of the same, we parted in divisions as follows: Colonel Thomas ordered his men to the right flank to surround our enemy's towns, and the light horse of both regiments to the left, and us, to Colonel Neel's regiment, in the front or center. We marched very carefully till coming within sight of the town, then rushed in with all speed possible, but, contrary to our expectation or desire, we got no Indians there, save one that escaped with being shot in his thigh. After this we set the houses on fire, and marched as quick as possible to another town,

# Index Pg 29 

called Qualhatchee; and our enemies having left that also, we committed it to the fiames, and started with rather rumning than marching to another town called Taxamay. And the inhabitants thereof being deserted, we stayed there but a short time, and left it on fire to warm themselves by at their return. We well remember this also, that while we marched to the aforesaid town, a few of our men detained in this Qualhatchee town, gathering peaches, and roasting ears, being tired with traveling, they laid themselves down to rest, and the enemy, who always ratches such opportanities, coming close to two of our aforessid men, fired at them, and shot one of them through the thigh. This shot coming so unexpectedly, set the men in great surprise; for no assistance being nigh, they expected nothing but death. But making the best speed they could up a neighboring mountain, being tired with ronning, and the wounded man almost ready to faint, they halted to rest themselves; and casting their eyes towards the ground that they left, they espied about sixteen Indians there, looking as earnestly for blood as a hunter after his game. After this discovery, they started to our baggage guard, and got safe there. By this time we came up, wishing for such game, but finding none we made to our wagons, and arrived about sunset, being distant about nine miles.

Sunday, the sixth of August, we started, wagons and all, and marched to our aforesaid towns - again, to help them off with some of their crops and vegetables, of which they were very well stored, far beyond our conception. But to be short, we persisted in that undertaking as far as the furthermost of the aforesaid towns. After these performances, we were yet ordered to continue, and marcbed down Savannah river to Sugartown, in order to meet General Willinmson there, according to his own appointment. When we arrived, we found the town destroyed, and them gone. We set out after them, down the aforessid water, to another town called Keewee, where we met with a party of the aforesaid General's regiment, whilst the other party was a hunting for towns, camps, or any other place of harboring for or of our enemies.

Thursday, the eighth, we started in our turn, scouting the Cane Brakes that was confined by the aforesaid Savannah river, and continued to Taxawsy, where we routed a camp of Indians in the said town. In discovering us they all fled, save one stordy fellow, who allowing himself to fight some, but being prevented of his design, was forced to surrender up his 'camp, and worse for him, his life also, with doing no other execution than wounding one of our men through the side of his belly. Then we had to leave two companies of our men with the wounded man, and the rest of us continued hunting for more of such
game, and came along the said Sarannah river to a town called Chittitogo, where we started some more of our foresters, and killed one squaw, and captirated a squaw and two negroes, and got information from the captives of an Indian camp up in the mountain, where was confined old Mrs. Fite and her two daughters, whom they took prisoners, when they billed the remainder of the family. They likewise informed us, that there were three hundred warriors started to Keewee, and were determined to take that town and wagons; and likewise that there mas a body of them yet guarding the camps.- This information put us to a stand, whether it would be expedient to return, or advance to relieve the poor prisoners; after a long consultation, it was concluded by our good Colonel Neel to pursue our enemies, which we willingly, complied to, and started with a small body of men ; for Colonel Thomas's was ordered by him to go back to camp. But to proceed, we marched over mountains very difficult to climb, but allowing not to be conquered, we crossed them with some difficulty, and persisted as far as a mountain within three miles of the camp. Being to our riew unclimbable we ascended partiy to the top of the same, and making our best speed up were hnlted by a shot of a gun, which came from our enemies, who were screened by blinds made with broken limbs of trees; and no sooner we stopped, but they fired about fourteen guns, killed one horse and Founded another. We received no more damage, but spread round the mountain to surround them; but they cleared themselves, night coming on. We had to encamp here all night upon this mountain. So on Friday, the ninth, we started about daylight, and marched down to their camp. But they were all fled, and had carried Mrs. Hight about one hundred, ${ }^{\prime}$,ards from their camp, and had killed her there, leaving her on her face, naked. After burying her, we ransacked the camps, getting some plunder, they not having time to carry all off.-So started back to Keewee to our camps, and lay there till an express arrived from General Williamson's scouting party, which gave the following intelligence, to wit: That on the twelfth instant, General Williamson came to Towmossy, where he saw signs of Indians very fresh -Detached Captain Perkins and Captain Anderson with sixty men to reconnoiter or track the enemy; likewise Major Downs went out with twenty men, Captain Anderson with twenty-five men, parted from Captain Perkins, and crossed a creek. Soon after Captain Perkins and his thirtyfive men saw two Indians, and fired at them. The Indians instantly set up the war whoop and ran. The party followed, and was quickly met by a party of the enemy, supposed to be between two and three hundred, who engaged them very furiously, when Major Downs fortanately came

# Index Pg 30 

up in the rear, and Anderson falling on the back of the enemy. To the right the firing was heard at the town, when Williamson turned out with one hundred and fifty men, who coming close on the back of the enemy, made them quickly give way. The furthermost of their party being almost surrounded, and were entirely cut off, sixteen were found dead in the valley where the battle ended. These our men scalped, but did not look any further: it being now near sunset, they were called off by beat of a drum. We had two killed and sisteen wounded: three of the latter died next dsy, of whom was Captain Neel and Captain Lacy, \& couple of brave officers and good men. So close was the engagement, that a stout Indian engaged a sturdy young white man, who was a good braiser, and expert at gouging. After breaking their guns on each other, they laid hold of other, when the crackerbad his thombsinstantly in the fellow's eyes, who roared and cried "Canaly,"
"Enough" in English; "Damn you," says thewhite man, "you can never have enough while you are "alive." He then threw him down, set his foot upon his head, and scalped him alive; then took up one of the broken guns and knocked out his brains. It would have been fon if he had let the latter action alone, and sent him home without his nightcap, to tell his countrymen how he had been treated. I am next to inform you that our provision being out, we concluded to return for a fresh supply of the same, and steared homewards with but one day's allowance.-Marched, eastward, crossed Six Mile Creek-next to Twelve Mile Creek; from thence to Fighteen MileCreek; from thenceto Reedy River; thenext waters were Lawson'sFork; so continued to Pacolet; next to Thys River ; nextmarched to Brosd River; so continued our course home; and the number of miles that we marched from Keewee was one hundred and seventy-three miles, traveling the chief of the same on the one day's allowance; yet for all that slavery and hardship it did not deter nor daunt us from trying it again, for as soon as we got a supply of provisions, we all assembled at our noble Captain's again, the day appointed, voluntarily, to go and destroy all opposing enemies, and to pursue the Indians as far as mountains and roads admitted of.-So,
Friday, the twenty-third day of August, 1776, we started from Captain Peter Clinton's, on EIlison's Creek, and continued our march to John Smith's, meeting nothing material, being a day's march of about ten miles
Saturday, the twenty-fourth, we started from camp, and marched to Mr. Smith's, at Broad River, distant about nineteen miles. This night we received an account that Major Robinson had made his escape, being some time ago confined on account of his misbeharior; after this account, Colonel Neel ordered off Captain Andrew Nieel
to the aforesaid Robinson's habitation, where they found none but his wife, whom they mislisted not, but committed his effects to the flames. After this they returned to our camps.

Sundar, the twenty-fifth, we started, to march by order, to Sinacha Fort, where we were to meet General Williamson, our head commander, which orders we obeyed, and marched to Mr. Goudiloch's meeting, nothing material happening, distant twenty miles. So we continued from thence to Waford's fort, on Lawson's fork, finding nothing worthy our relating, distant twenty-one miles. From thence we steered our course to Tiga River, and made the best of our way to Prince's fort, on the aforesaid waters. From thence to one Vernar's, a day's march of about twenty-three miles. So,
Wednesday, the twenty-eighth instant, we next steered our course to Hight's old place, next to Perris's place, on Reedy River, a day's march of thirty-three miles. We steered from camp at Perris's and marched across Soludy River, about six miles, and continued along the road about six miles more; then took to the woods for a nigh cut to our desired Fort. In thismanner wemarched about five miles, crossed two small branches of Twelve mile creek, our day's march about seventeen miles, and encamped by a small branch.
Friday, the thirtieth, in the morning, a little after the wagoners started to hunt their horses, our camps were surprised by a negro of Captain Ross's, who had lately arrived from hunting, who gave us the following relation, viz.: That after hunting for his horses some time, he finding them by a thicket, distant from camp about one mile, and when mounting on one of them, there was a shot fired from the thickets, and he casting his eyes about, perceived a stardy Indian rushing out therefrom and making to him, who, when he perceived, trusting to his horse for safety, set off with all speed possible, and kept his distance pretty well for about one hundred yards; but, on a sudden, the horse fell dead, occasioned by the aforesaid shot; which, when the Indian perceived, increased his pace, thinking to have had a negro to wait on him. But contrary to his expectation, the boy heing supple and unwilling to have an Indian for his master, he cleared himself, and came to the camps. After this account, we instantly started in the pursuit of them, though all in vain, for we could not find them. So they cleared themselves, and took with them nine horses, and shot at another horse hunter, but he happily escaped, with having his horse shot in the rump. So close was the Indian to him, that the smoke and powder lashed against him,' but he fortunately escaped. After these surprises, we started and marched across the Ninety-sixth road, so on that course about two miles, encamped, after a day's march of about sixteen miles.

# Index Pg 31 

"This night there came a man to our camp, who gave the following account of his adventures, to wit: That he was at Senica Fort, with General Williamson, and being so necessitated that he had to go home, and missing his road, happened on an Indian town called Soquani, and alighted off his horse to gather peaches or such like; and being some distance off his horse, casting his eyes round towards him, espied Indians coming to him, when he made the best of his way to our camps. This information being delivered, our Colonel ordered forty-two light horsemen to go to the aforessid Soquani town, it being all we could raise; so they steered to the town, and coming into the same, they found the aforessid man's horse tied where he left him; and searching further, they found four Indian's horses -8 small restitution for upwards of nine they took from us before. After this, we started, and marched down to Senica Fort, where we met or found General Williamson and regiment, and encamped.
Sunday, the first day of September, there was a company of light horse scouters raised, and taking the Cotappo Indians with them, they being entire foes to the Cherokees, they marched along through Sugartown, likewise through Taxaway, and coming upon some fresh signs of their enemies, one of the Cotappo's being detached to track the enemy, and made out the sign as far as their camps, confined in a hollow. After this reconnoiter of the Indian, he returned to the whitemen, and informed them as follows: That there was a great many of them, too numerous for our white men that were there. This information occasioned them to send down an express to Sinache, our camps, for a reinforcement of men and some more provision. This being delivered, we started as quick as possible to their assistance very securely; but they not having patience to wait for our arrival, and doubting that the enemy would not stay long there, they attacked the camps; but being deceived by the situation of the same, they attacked the wrong end, and gave them a clear passage to run-as they did the first shot. The Cotappos being in the front, espied a Cheerokee coming out of one of their houses, and being so confounded by the surprise, ran the wrong road for him, for instead of clearing himself, as the rest of his countrymen did, he made right in the face of our Indians, who, willing to see such a chance, embraced the opportunity, and committed him to the terrors of death. After the departure of those cowards, the Cotappos searched next for plunder, and got a great parcel of beads, - wampum, garters, and deershins, and likewise some horses; and in getting this booty were vastly encouraged; but as they were returning with their prize, and ascending up a hill, some small distance from their camps, the Cheerokees waylaid
the Cotappos, and being unperceived by being behind trees, fired at them, and killed one of the head warriors among them, he who first discovered their camps. Our men instantly rusbed up; but, as soon as our enemies fired, they ran so that they cleared themselves. After this they started down to Taxsway, where we met them with the reinforcement; and haring nothing more to do there, we all marched back to Senica Fort, and arrived Thursday the third. and lay there waiting for Colonel Sumpter and regiment, before we could start to the Nriddle Settlements, being too scarce for ammunition; so lay encamped till Thursday, the twelfth instant, when arrived two hundred and seventy men of Colonel Sumpter's, who encamped.
Fridsy, the thirteenth day of September, 1776, we started by beat of drum to march; our intent was for the Middle Settlements, a habitation for Indians. We, or our lines of battle, were ordered as follows: We were drawn up in three lines or wings, Colonel Sumpter commander of the right wing, Colonel Hammon commander of the left wing, and Colonel Neel commander of the front or center. In this manner we marched to the waters of Cane Creek, and encamped after a day's march of about eight miles.
Saturday, the fourteenth, we started from camp, and marched untill we came to the mountains of Ocone, and crossed them with some difficulty, and at length came to a small branch, and encamped there after a day's march of fifteen miles. Next dsy we marched about twelve miles, and encamped at a river called Tugla, at the mouth of Warewoman's Creek. From there we marched next day, and crossed Warewoman's Creek, it being so crooked that we crossed it above sisteen miles in the distance of eight. Then coming into a mountainous country, our marchingbecoming the more difficulter, we scarcely exceeded twelve miles per dsy;

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# Index Pg³3 

## A BEGINNING EXAMINATION OF THE AREA OF OCONEE COUNTY DURING THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD 1800-1860

The material quoted in this first issue of material on the Antebellum period in this area is hardly the way in which I had planned to start such a study...for in fact, I had written quite a long introduction on the Antebellum period which was to proceed the information on the militia in this area. However historical research into this area is turning at a fast pace these days (much faster than I had expected when we first began publishing materials). As a result, OLD and WORN OUT HEARSAY, HALF TRUTHS, and THINGS THAT GRANDPA SAID THAT UNCLE JOE HAD SAID are rapidly fading away...at least among knowledgeable people. Unfortunately the newspaper articles about the history of this area continue to get most things completely crossed up and at times hopelessly confused. As a result people in this area are beginning to take such information as little more than creative writing and hardly as historical information that will stand repeating in the future. This is sad...in that a bit of reasonable research and more carefully crafted articles could produce some information of future value.

But to resume a look at the Antebellum period and the reason for the following materials: a certain amount of the information so long quoted about this area comes from Robert Mill's Statistics of South Carolina. As this book was published in 1826, surely it must contain something of value...and in fact it does. This statement is even more true now that $I$ have reread parts of it in light of more recently discovered information. However Mill's attempts at history in regard to this area are a mess. (When I talk about Mill's History, I am talking about information from a time before 1820...and NOT the information which either he or his correspondent from this area were personally familiar with and knowledgeable about at the time the work was written. In regard to Mills's information of times before 1820, it reminds me of the various contemporary newspaper articles being printed today that contain bits and half bits of truth, hopelessly confused in terms of time and place and even the people involved). It is from Mills statistics that people in this area learned a hundred years after he published his book in 1826 that the Horsepasture was a place where the Indians would hide stolen horses. Unfortunately Mills (or the person who supplied him with this information) did not note that the horses were being stolen many years after the Revolutionary War and not during the time when the Indians fully inhabited this area. There are other glimmers of fascinating pre l820s historical data in the statistics, but again they need carefully sorting to put them into perspective in terms of the time frame. But in regard to the l820s, the information is

## Index Pg 34

far more valid. Mills had visited Pendleton in 1823 where he painted a watercolor of the village from the ballroom of Wm. Lorton's tavern. [Stevenson: 8-9]. In addition, Mills had requested information from various prominent men within the state regarding their particular area. As he notes in his preface of the 1826 edition:

Three years have nearly elapsed since the author of this work had the honor of addressing a circular to all those gentlemen in this state, who had either the leisure or inclination to answer the various queries proposed, which had reference to the natural, geographical, political, agricultural, and literary history of their sections of the country. [Mills: v]

It seems almost certain that Mills derived all of his pre 1822 information on this area from one (or more) correspondent(s). Unfortunately we do not know the name of this person(s).

The reason for printing information from Mills as a first issue of our study of the Antebellum period is simply because there is great need at present for some reasonable overviews of various periods of time in regard to this area (the l790s, $1820 \mathrm{~s}, 1840 \mathrm{~s}, 1860 \mathrm{~s}, 1870 \mathrm{~s}, 1880 \mathrm{~s}, 1890 \mathrm{~s}, 1900$, 1910,1920 , and 1930). Mills presents a picture of this area in the 1820 s...shortly before the breakup of the Pendleton District into Anderson and Pickens counties by act of 1826 (changed to Districts by act of 1827--effected 1828/29). Such a view gives us a brief look at the area at a time between the 1790 s and the 1850 s and just at a time before the area would began to change in many substancial ways. Mill's overview provides reasonable background information for those seeking a short summary of the area during the early to mid Antebellum period.
[ ] indicates page numbers from Mills Statistics and additional notes and materials pertaining to his statements. The materials of most interest (and accuracy) were the general view of the district:

In speaking of the view of the district from the mountains, Mills notes:
...but on looking to the south, southeast, and southwest, the sublime and awful yield to the beautiful and interesting. Almost every acre of cultivated land, for a vast extent of country, is seen, like so many dark spots in the immense forest, which appears as a green and grassy carpet. The farmers' log houses look like the mansions of Lilliput;... [686]

## Index $\mathrm{Pg}^{\text {P }} 35$

[Mills view that very little of the land is cultivated is reinforced by other statements. On pps. 683-684, he notes that:

The deteriorating effects consequent upon the planting system, observable in other districts, should prove a lesson to this, to avoid falling into the same error. The woods will disappear fast enough, without clearing more land than can be cultivated to advantage; and, in a hilly country like Pendleton, particular care should be taken, when the lands are left in fallow, to keep them enclosed; and to give them a vegetable coat, to guard the surface from being washed away. It. is deplorable to see the neglect of many of our planters in different districts, in this respect; and the consequent destruction of some of the finest farming lands.
[Various travel accounts of the early and even mid Antebellum years give this same view of the area...in effect, vast amounts of woods with a comparatively small population and even fewer cultivated plots of land. An account of March 21-23, 1823 merely notes:

March 2l. .....Six miles from Greenville crossed the Saluda river,....Eleven miles farther over a broken, rough country, and encamped. 21 m[iles].

March 22. Having marched fourteen miles came to Pendleton, capital of Pendleton District, in which is an excellent Academy, and many good buildings. Six miles from Pendleton, and crossed the Seneka river,....Two miles farther and encamped. 22 m[iles].

March 23. Travelling eleven miles brought us to the Tugaloo river. [Clark: 70-71]]

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## Index Pg•36

1822-26 as such structures were expensive. Some few interesting examples of such structures survive. All the best examples in present Pickens county are along the old road from Hagood's store to Pendleton. In Oconee County, the best examples are along the old stage road from Jarrett's (or Travelers Rest) going toward the future location of old Pickens. There are also some excellent examples of the early sawmilled houses in Pendleton. All of these examples are two stories. It remains unknown as to just when some of these sawmilled houses were first painted.]

The climate of Pendleton is one of the best in the United States, and equal to any in the world. The thermometer is seldom below 18 in winter, and that for only a few days; in summer it never is over 90 to 97; and this lasts only for about ten days in the early part of July, which is the hottest time;...[677]
[Mills notes on p. 572 that Greenville "has been preferred for a residence to Pendleton, perhaps on account of its not being affected so immediately by the cold damps of the mountains, though equally distant from them."]

Certainly the air must have been clearer than it is at present for either Mills or his correspondent are able to see various hills, mountains and knobs that are not visable in 1988. [686-87] Another point of interest noted is "spiry column[s] of mist [which] ascends, as smoke from a furnace" from the mountains in this area. [688]]

In talking of Greenville and of mineral deposits, Mills says:
The lime used for building is brought either from Spartanburg [District] or Pendleton [District].

Kills provides substancial information about the crops, lands, domestic animals, etc. in this area...although he does not provide percentage figures for production. In effect, he fails to tell us what percentage of the cultivated land in the area is being used for cotton vs. corn for example. Also, he provides no information to enable us to tell if people raising cattle are doing any farming beyond the level of household support.

The soil of Pendleton is various. The general face of the country presents a high, rolling, and thin soil, bottomed mostly on red clay, susceptible of great and lasting improvements, from its capacity to retain manure. On all the rivers there are considerable bodies of rich bottom lands, with pine intervals. [672]

The uplands sell from 50 cents to 10 dollars per acre, and bottom lands from 5 to 50 dollars. The ease with which lands can be obtained enables every industrious family, that will, to have a farm of their own. [676-677]

The price of laboring hands is, white men from 80 to 120 dollars per annum; negroes, from 36 to 60 dollars. The expenses of boarding on a farms are very moderate, from 50 to $\$ 100$ per annum. At the taverns the charge varies, from 2 50 to $\$ 5$ per week. [677]

The soil, generally, of the district is well adapted to the culture of wheat, Indian corn, cotton, rice, barley, oats, hemp, flax, indigo, cuhkwheat, Irish and sweet potatoes, \&c.[672-73] ...the quanity of wheat produced to the acre is from 6 to 10 bushels,... Corn averages between 10 and 12 bushels,... The average of cotton is about 120 pounds to the acre, clean of the seed. [674] Every family manufactures cotton cloth for their own use, which gives employment, during wet weather, to idle hands. [677] Wheat generally sells for $\$ 1$ a bushel; corn, 40 cents; rice, $\$ 2.50$; rye, 75 cents; cotton, $\$ 250$ to $\$ 5$ per hundred in the seed; indigo, 65 to 85 cents per pound; beef, 3 to 4 cents; mutton 5 to 7 ; tallow, 10 to 12 cents; butter, $121 / 2$ cents per pound; cider $\$ 5$ to $\$$ per barrel; apples, 50 to 75 cents per bushel; lumber, $\$ 1$ per hundred feet. [677]

Cattle and hogs are plenty-but few sheep, owing to there not being a sufficiency of cleared lands. Cows sell at 10 to $\$ 12$. Hogs $\$ 5$. Sheep 3 to $\$ 4$ a head. Horses are plenty, and there are some mules. [678] There is a singular disease occasionally prevailing in the mountains of this district, called the milk sickness. It produces such a perversion of lacteal juices in cattle, that those who use either the milk or butter, die, or become extremely sick. It is liable to be contracted only in certain places, that are uniformly inaccessible to the sun's rays; and some of these spots the inhabitants have fenced in, to prevent their stock feeding on them. [678]

The fish are shad, perch, cat-fish, sucket, \&c. The birds and game are numerous, and of those usual to other parts of the state. [679]

The honey collected by the bees in places where the Thododendron laurel abounds, is deemed poisonous, ....[678]
[Mills fails to tell us that very little cotton was being produced at this time, with the area being primarily a grain producing region. In talking about fencing an area, he also probably never suspected that in 1988 few people would know that fencing was rarely practiced by most people during the early Antebellum years (and or the years thereafter...in effect, the domestic animals often roamed free.]

Mills gives what appears (from a cross examination of other materials) to be a perfectly accurate view of known settlements that were in the area as follows:

The court-house is located in the village of Pendleton. ...and contains besides a court-house and jail, a Presbyterian and Episcopal church, 40 houses, several of them neat, an academy, printing office, (issuing a weekly paper, ) and an agricultural hall, for the meeting of a society of this nature. A very select society is found here, and in the neighborhood, where some gentlemen of fortune and high respectability, from the low country, have located themselves and families. [674][the word "where" before "some gentlemen" is probably a word that should have been deleted from the final text.]
[Contrary to often printed information, the old courthouse in Pendleton (which was extensively repaired in 1819 and 1820 and on which remodeling work began in 1826) DID NOT become the building that is today called "Farmer's Hall". See Robert Kills's Courthouses and Jails by Gene Waddell and Thodri Windsor Liscombe (Easley: Southern Historical Press, 1981) pps. 38-39 for additional details.]

Several settlements as villages, are established in various places in the district. The oldest of these is Pickensville, formerly the seat of justice, but now reduced to three of four houses. The 17 th regiment muster ground is held here. [674-75]
[Pickensville apparently almost ceased to exist following the removal of the courthouse in the late l790s...and in fact there is little evidence to suggest that much of anything other than the small brick courthouse, the small brick jail, and perhaps a few residences were there during the li790s. The location seems to have revived after 1810 finally gaining a Zotel, a store and a few residences, only to have a

## Index Pg 39

substancial part of the town burn in ca. 1817. After that time, it appears to fade away as a village, although it continues to turn up in contemporary newspapers of the 1830 s, 40 s , etc. because of the militia gatherings at the location.J

The Tugaloo is now navigable for small boats to Pulaski, at the mouth of Brasstown and Panther creeks. [675-76] A rifle gun factory is established on the Chatuga creek. [677]
[In my reading of this material, I did not necessarily take the gun factory to be connected with Pulaski...although I may be wrong. Pulaski as either a place or a village remains a mystery...although plainly shown on the map published in the Mills's Atlas in l826]

The Tugaloo is now navigable for small boats to Pulaski,... Boats descend the Tugaloo, or from Andersonville, with 70 bales of cotton, or 10 tons. [675-676] The Seneca is naviagable for smaller sized boats 26 miles, or 6 miles above Pendleton court-house. [676]
[Even with the above information considered, Mills really fails to tell us exactly how much material was being shipped downriver. Remembering that Mills was on something of a campaign to connect the state by system of waterways, he comments about shipping should be reviewed in the light of his personal aspirations. Boats could extend the Keowee to a point now marked by Lawrence/Ramsay Bridge on Lake Hartwell.]

Charleston and Hamburg are the two principal markets of this district.[677] Being so far from a market, its soil best calculated for the cultivation of grains which are bulky, and expensive to transport by land carriage, Pendleton [District] wants the improvement of its water courses, so as to be put upon a comparative equality with the neighboring districts below. [683]

In speaking of the area near Jocassee, Mills notes:
There are two other valleys in these mountains. The Horsepasture, which contains but two families:.... The other, called the Canebrake, is yet uninhabited. [690-91]
[It is particularily interesting that Fairplay does not turn up in the above description...which may mean that Fairplay as a thriving village did not develop until after 1823. Nor does Pumpkintown in present Pickens County receive any

## Index Pg• 40

mention...although people were already going to Table Rock. In 1801, John Drayton visited the area and reported:

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Of these the Table Mountain is most remarkable;
whether for the singularity of its appearance, or
the height of its elevation. The mountain is
situated in the Pendelton District, a little
westward of the South Fork of the Saluda River:
and about four or five miles from the northern
boundary of this State. Its height taken by a
trogometrical observation, from William Reid's
farm, at six miles distance, subtends an angle of
six degrees: which gives the height of the
mountain from thence 1,056 yards, or 3,168 feet.
Table Mountain is so-called from a fanciful
resemblance of its sides to the leaf of a table
let down; as others say, because of its level
surface. [Clark: 164 fn.]
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Equally such places as Bachelors Retreat and Oconee Station. (as a community) are not noted.

Other villages within the Pendleton District (but not within the area of present Oconee County) listed by Mills were Rock Mills (site of a mill, store, blacksmith shop, etc.) on the Generosittee Creek; Centreville (nearAnderson for all practical purposes); and Andersonville (ultimately abandoned as a result of various floods) at the junction of the seneca and Tugaloo rivers.]

In regard to religion and education and the poor, Mills notes:
The Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, are the most numerous religious societies in this district. There are few Episcopalians. [679]

An excellent academy is established at the village of Pendleton; and, in various places, private schools are located. By the munificence of the state, these have been much assisted from the fund provided to educate poor children, who are placed at these private schools. The return of the commissioners of free-schools within the last two years, show upwards of $\$ 3,800$ expended on this object, and above 400 poor children under tuition. [679]

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## Index Pg. 41

A poor-house and farm are provided for the poor of this district, where they are furnished with such work as they are capable of performing. The only expense attending this establishment, is paying the salary of the keeper or superintendent. [679]
[The poor-house for the Pendleton District was about four miles below Pendleton on Twenty-three Mile Creek.]

Indians were apparently still roaming through the area and the local residents still had some vivid memories of past events connected with the Indians as Mills notes:

A great number of Indian tribes inhabited Pendleton district,.... Remains of their towns are still to be seen. [681]

They [the Indians] occasionally visit the district in little bands, to dig up pink-root, which grows in great abundance upon these mountains. They carry with them a small hoe fit for the purpose, encamp in the woods, under mean hovels made of bark, subsisting upon the casual produce of the chase, and the pittance they can beg amongst the settlers. Their spigelica marilandica, their gensing, their snake-root, and their skins, they exchange for homemade cloth, salt, and perhaps, a few bottles of whiskey-their bane and ruin. [691]

At this place [speaking of Andersonville] there is now a store, which collects from the Indians the spigelia marilandica, (pinkroot), which is made up into bundles of about one pound each, stem and all, which are pressed into large hogsheads, containing 600 pounds each. This plant brings, in Savannah or Charleston, 25 cents a pound. There are also sent to market from this place about 1000 lbs. of gensing, and several hogsheads of snakeroot, both of the black and Seneca kind. [675]
[It is probably only reasonable to suspect that various whites vere also gathering these roots for sale.]

The last act of hostility committed by the Indians, in this place [the Pendleton District], was an act of retaliation. The Indians had stolen a horse; the settlers armed, went in pursuit, obtained the horse, and, on their return, met an Indian, who had been making purchases in the

## Index Pg 42

settlement; they shot him down, divided his spoil, horse, rifle, \&c. amongst them, and left him. the Indians found means soon after to surprise a plantation; and, having murdered two or three men and women, sated their revenge, and buried the hatchet. [691]
[This information could be refering to a number of different people and/or time frames. For example, the famous Major Ridge of the Cherokee Nation almost shot Colonel James Blair from this area in ca. 1807 while Blair was in the Cherokee territory in Georgia. Blair, who, according to the text, was serving as the law enforcement officer from Oconee Station, had "trailed the half-bloods from oconee Station, where they had stolen two horses from a settler". [Wilkins: 41-42]]

Several Indian anecdotes may be related. A party was stationed at the block-house, as a frontier guard, and some of their young women went to wash at the spring; the cruel Indians sprung upon their defenceless prey, and scalped and butchered three of them. The men in garrison heard their screams, but thought they were in play. [691-692]

A party of white men, about twelve in number, near the same place, going carelessly along the road, were fired upon by the Indians, who lay in ambush by the wayside; yet only one of them fell; the rest of the party escaped. [692]

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VOLUME III, NUMBER 5<br>- 1988

# Index Pg. 44 

## A BRIEF LOOK AT THE PICKENS DISTRICT (PRESENT PICKENS AND OCONEE COUNTIES) IN 1840

In 1840 Mary E. Moragne and a few of her friends made a journey from lower southwestern Abbeville County to Table Rock (present Pickens County) and then proceeded on to Tullulah Falls in north Georgia. Moragne was a literate woman who gave her hand to writing (apparently successfully) before marrying a minister who apparently through ill of her professional efforts. Although not from an extremely wealthy family, Moragne was apparently comfortable and lived her pre Civil war life as an accepted member (although hardly a leader) of Abbeville County "Society." Her viewpoint toward the northwestern corner of South carolina is more than slightly tainted by her background and what she apparently considers to be her superior education. As such, her attitude is sometimes mocking and a bit condescending. Even so, her diary entries on this area are informative, apparently accurate in terms of descriptions, and interesting.

Of particular note in taking a look at Moragne's entire account of this area are facts that come through in other travel accounts during the Antebellum period: the general lack of wealth, the bareness of the countryside, the large stands of trees, the inference that one only rarely saw a house or dwelling of any kind. Old pickens appears from her account to be presented in the same light as others present it during the 1840 and $50 \mathrm{~s} . . . \mathrm{in}$ effect, a horrible place for a town with few if any merits. As with other accounts from the Antebellum period, the fact that this was a grain producing area is presented in Moragne's account.

Her coverage of this area consumes some twenty printed pages and provides a variety of information--particularily about Table Rock and the Sutherland Hotel (known as the Keith-Sutherland Hotel after reopening in 1848). Because of her extensive coverage of various subjects (such as Table Rock), I have simply summarized various sections in order to give the reader an idea of the information contained and a feeling for her writing style should one wish to pursue the entire work. [ ]s indicate the page numbers from the printed text of Moragne's Diary as well as additional comments which I have supplied in regard to her text.

On Sunday, July 26 th of 1840 , Moragne noted in her diary:
We are making arrangements for a jaunt to the mountains. It is concluded on that we set off next Friday. [171]

Apparently something happened as they did not set on friday but rather on Monday. She noted:

## Index Pg 45

....I was sick \& the weather unpropitious; but we were not to be deterred by these 'small hindrances,' so we joined issue with Cousin Ben; that is, put his horses to our carriage, took his sisters \& himself, \& went on to collect the remainder of our promised Company....It was raining; \& two of the ladies were already sick but we trusted in the truth of the old maxim "A bad beginning makes a good ending;" on went on jovially. [172-73]

After traveling a while, they stoped and spread out their lunch of biscuits and fowl "with a desert of cakes and watermelon" under an Elm tree. As they appear to come into what is now wouthwestern Anderson County, she noted:

We had now reached the "flat woods," where the whole forest has given place to the most beautiful cotton fields in the world. The whole country is inundated with cotton in the perfection of its delicate, but luxuriant green. Far as the eye may reach, in many places, the long straight or horizontal lines deeply bedded in the rich earth present that aspect of order \& neatness which is beauty itself. [173]

They stoped at a Squire Hunter's house where they spent the night. The following morning they observed the hostess spinning silk and apparently Hunter had a large number of Mulberry trees. [173] After leaving the Hunter's house the party proceeded to get lost in what she calls a "Labryinth of perplexities" [her name for the many small roads and lanes that cross the countryside]. She does however make a small observation about signposts although she does not elaborate on the subject. Moragne noted:
...we chanced to overtake some intelligent waggoners returning from the sale of a load of wheat in Abbeville. [174]

She apparently called these people "intelligent" because her party had earlier tried to seek directions from some county folk whom she described as "stupid peasantry". He comments about the waggoners are particularily interesting because all present evidence indicates that the area of present Oconee and Pickens counties was a principally grain growing area before the Civil War.

The party stoped at Col. Taylors for the evening before proceeding onto Pendleton the following day. Moragne observed of Pendleton:

## Index Pg. 46

Pendleton--it is a rich looking village; but bears the marks of age.

Old Pendleton is no doubt a charming residence-so elevated in prospects, so pure in air; \& so rich in its "green old age"--these are perhaps the attractions which have clustered so many pretty villa's around it, like butterflies, around a bed of tulips. Some of them are magnificent, \& exhibit some "traits of travel" in the disposition of their gardens \& grounds. They are chiefly summer residences of low country people; but one old Englishman [she later calls him a Frenchman] has here literally carried out the Italian model of orchards, vineyards \& flowers. He it is who owns the Table Rock, \& we met him today returning thence. [176-77]

After leaving Pendleton, she said that they came to Sloane's Factory which she noted as being on Generostee Creek. [This is most unlikely as they would not have crossed Generostee Creek after leaving Pendleton...perhaps she has the visit to Sloane's Factory confused in terms of chronological entry into her diary as she undoubtably made the entries after the fact rather than during the day as she traveled.] Moragne described Sloane's Factory as being built onto a hillside, a "large three-storied brick building, the second story of which is entered by a platform reaching from the hill-side." [177] Just before dusk, her party reached Pickensville where they spent the night. She described Pickensville as follows:

Pickensville is a pretty rural hamlet only remarkable as having been the seat of the first Court-house of the upper districts--which was built entirely of stone, \& on a solid, rock[;] but on the union of the two districts, the seat of justice was removed to Pickens \& Pickensville has now no income except for the traveller to the mightly rock [Table Rock], who, if he can restrain his curiosity sufficiently to stop here, will find a plentiful table, a tolerable bed \& kind attentions--then there is a long piazza where he may walk by moonlight with the lady of his choice if she be so near him...[178]

[^3]
## Index Pg 47

hotel at Pickensville. The hotel which she described apparently came into being after 1817 and it is still in existance in the l850s.]

Leaving Pickensville, her party continued on the way to Table Rock. She noted in her diary:

Before sunrise, we were several miles from Pickensville, having very prudently supplied outselves with a cold breakfast from the larder of our host; for the poverty of the road could have very poorly supplied us with one. It is true, we passed by a comfortable looking rural shed, where a table was spread on a ground floor between two $\log$ cabins on which was piled a quantity of nice wheat cakes, whilst the coffee pot smoked at its head--presided over by the old grandmother, who with a parcel of happy looking boys \& girls seemed to be awaiting the reapers--some young men whom we met with a cart load of wheat at the gate. The sight of the early breakfast awaiting in nice order the return of the reapers, the smell of the freshly cut wheat, \& the soft vapours which the early sunbeams were extreacting from the new-mown fields, gave altogether a pleasing aspect to this pastoral country--but then the lives of these people:--how circumscribed!--how shut up in these vallies from the mighty concourse of mankind....
"To live, to eat, to sleep,--no more," is all their estate, \& say by this they miss the "heart-ache"
"And all the ills to which our world is heir to," it were too little to atone for the want of that key of knowledge which would unlock to them all the treasures of the universe. Shut up in their mountains with no article of ready commerce they live, fatten \& die, like their own cattle, upon their grain.

Though we had but fifteen miles to travel in order to reach Pumpkin-town, we found it exceedingly tiresome from the dullness of the road, \& the eagerness of expectation. [178-79]
[It is rather obvious that Moragne took a rather dim view of both the lack of attractions in the countryside as well as the people in this area before she arrived at Table Rock. Her remarks after this point should be judged in the light of that attitude. Of particular note is her statement that they have "no article of ready commerce"...a fact that would readily account for the general lack of prosperity that appears to be
widely noted regarding this area during the Antebellum period.]

Upon seeing Table Rock, her mood changed to awe of the natural spectacle in the distance. They arrived at Pumpkintown which she described as follows along with the opening description of the Sutherland Hotel:
....we were at Pumpkin-town, to the left was a fertile valley of waving corn watered by a pretty little stream, which we crossed on a rude bridge, \& then we ascended to a prospect--the oldest, rudest, dreariest, that every greeted the eyes of a wayworn traveller:--this was Mr. Sutherland's! [180]
[The editor of Moragne's diary has picked up the reference from the Orion magazine, II, November l842, l. In that Article $T$. Addison Richards said that Pumpkintown was composed of "only one old shed, save kitchen, barn, and a smithy." Having not looked at this article in years, I do not remember if the old shed which Richards was describing is the same as "the oldest, rudest..." prospect of a building that Moragne is describing as the Sutherland Hotel---probably so! Moragne found the only redeeming feature of the place to be "the bland, silvery, exhilirating voice of its host,..." [186]

It is particularily worth observing that Pumpkintown is NOT a town nor a village, but rather a community where adjoining land owners have perhaps elected to erect dwelling toward the corners of their farms and within reasonable proximity to a road and to other dwellings of adjacent land owners. This same observation appears to hold true for Bachelor's Retreat where you have a community of farms with the dwellings erected on a few of these farms being within a short distance of each other. As a result of one farm having a house and store located on it, and another farm having a blacksmith shop located on it, and a church being in the same general area...one is easily mislead into thinking that Bachelor's Retreat was perhaps a small village. As I currently analyze the Antebellum period in this area, a requirement of a village is to have at least two or more tracts of land with less than fifteen acres adjacent to each other and/or not seperated by more than fifteen acres. Such small acreage is usually adjacent to farms (Pendleton and Old Pickens are examples).

Pickensville is a particularily interesting example of a surveyed village site that perhaps never fully developed as planned. Up to 1806 , only three deeds are noted that refer to Fillage lots within Pickensville. All three lots belong to men who are listed as being carpenters with two of these lots belonging to the same individual. All three deeds are for the period of $1794 / 95$. I am going to guess that the remainder of

## Index Pg. 49

the lots were retained under the guardenship of the Commissioners who were in charge of the village site. As for the land around the Village, Pinckney, who originally gave a rather large acreage for the site, requested Andrew Pickens to recover his property after the court house removed in the late 1790s. The so called "Pickensville Plantation" is repeatedly sold and resold from 1800-1860. Thus while it would appear that the land around the surveyed village site changed hands a number of times after 1800, the actual village lots themselves may have remained for the most part in a state of legal confusion...as undoubtably the role of the commissioners in laying off the site and retaining guardenship for same was probably a mystery to most by as early as the l820s. Even so, at least one of more structures were apparently built within the village confines before 1817. Just what happened to the small brick courthouse and jail (each was probably no more than $20^{\prime}$ x 20'-if that large) remains a mystery...although they were probably dismantled in time for their brick.]

But to return to Moragne's diary: her description of the trip up the mountain (particularily of the walk up the steps which once graced the face of the mountain... and which were literally attached to the face of the rock by driving an iron pike into the rock face) is fascinating...as is her description of the house (or kitchen as she so notes) on top (or near the top) of the mountain. It is also interesting that the Sutherland Hotel is apparently packed to the limit with guests from other parts of South Carolina. She also noted that the guest album was completely full....undoubtably saddening to her as there was no place for her to write any little note to record her visit to future visitors. [180-186]

[^4]The road passes through a country the most uninteresting possible--a high stony ridge of unprepossessing woodland. Before all was dull monotony, hehind all was beauty [meaning Table Rock Mountain]; and many a "longing, lingering look" did we cast to the enchanting glympses of the mountains caught at intervals, whilst ascending the steep hills; but these at length receded from the view; \& we had nothing left but the unvaried track of roots \& stones, from the contemplation of which, I was fain to take refuse in Mrs Gore's "Miseries of Marriage," whilst my brother made an effort to read "Tacitus" on horseback....but late in the evening the sight of the Lovely Seneca washing with Chrystal waves its pebbly bottom, somewhat revived us. Without hesitation we dashed through its rippling waters, although we saw by the vestiges of a bridge that
it was not at all times safe to do so. Almost immediately after crossing we were in sight of Pickens Court-House,...[187]

One of the party goes into the town and almost engages them at a private boarding house before he finding the "tavern" where they spend the night. She notes:

With some feelings of natural repugnance we alighted into the piazza fronting a store, which was filled with men \& boys of a very incongruous \& doubtful appearance; but we had not alternative; this was the best tavern in the place \& in truth when we were met $\&$ conducted by a good matronly lady into a comfortable well furnished room we found ourselves benefited by the fidelity of the old proverb: "appearances are often deceitful"...

Saturday 8th Pickens Co.-House. There is a muster to day not far off...\& I barely arose to the window in time to see the last body of men retiring from the streets of Pickens. There stands a well, \& there the C. House!--here a dwelling \& there a dwelling--oh, taste! taste! in what dungeons hadst thou hid thyself,--in what chambers confined, when the people of Pickens district selected this little red knoll of earth, for the seat of their judicature? No one but a half starved lawyer would think of vegetating in such ground! The very houses seem to shrink away in shame \& hide themselves under the hill; but here there is village symplicity to make amends for village rusticity--no town-bred formalities meet the weary traveller, no harsh etiquette restrains him; the landlord can talk politics easily with his guest, \& the landlady presiding over her own charming table, indulge in a bit of gossip is she pleases.

We left Pickens at seven oclock \& passed through another uninteresting \& weary day's travel. Our only relief was in the pretty rustling streams, which we were compelled to ford; every bridge having been swept away by the recent fresh [flood]. During the day a carriage tongue was broken; \& we had the good fortune to obtain one at a widow lady's house--she gave us a fine muskmelon, \& we afforded these backwoodsmen a little merriment in our efforts to obtain a little salt to relish it... [188]

Woragne indicates that they stopped and have their melon on a "Eine old stump". Her group of travel companions then went
down into a dell where they found a young girl washing clothes:
..in the green solitude of that shaded.dell she might have been mistaken for a woodnymph. She is the only pretty girl that $I$ have seen in this country---despite the old Mountaineer's theory [here talking about the conversation which she overheard at the hotel near Table Rock to the effect that mountain girls "possessed more substantial charms than the pale-faced belles of the lower district."] all that I have seen are bloated, tallow-faced \& freckled. Towards evening we found ourselves on a most dreary road leading to Pulliam's ferry; for the lower road by Jarret's though it would have been our choice was deemed impassable on account of the fresh [flood]. Passing through some cornfields we found ourselves almost without knowing it, on the banks of the still lovely, but once beautiful Toogula. It sweeps on yet, its silver current free \& joyous, with the "music of many waters"; but its banks are bare: the green foliage, \& leafy arbours...have been the common victims of the axe \& the flood...Responsive to our call, a youth came down from the opposite bank to put us over, but he had scarcely beat out into the shining current which bore swiftly against him, than he exclaimed:
"Hello there stranger, I wish you would holla to that man that lives over there, \& tell him to come \& help take them waggons over--its pretty hard work I guess!" [189]

The rest of Moragne's account tells of getting the people and then the horses and their pram [she calls it a carriage] across the Tugaloo...and a brief report of the place they stayed for the evening and the conversations she encountered. Apparently Moragne was particularily trying to bring notice their accents or their lack of proper grammer as she records their conversations in some detail...particularily those of a Jack Forster.

Woragne, Mary E. Edited by Delle Mullen Craven. The تeglected Thread "A Journal from the Calhoun Community 1836-1842". (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951.)


[^0]:    [Ed. Notes: As a matter of record, when I think of Calhoun today (1988), I think of Calhoun Corner's Resturant (located in one of the old store buildings of Calhoun) and the Alpha Gamma Rho fraternity house...the most imposing surviving structure left standing in what is (or was) Calhoun. After these structures, I think of several older houses of architectural interest (including one currently used as a law office and located on the main Hwy. from Clemson to Six Mile). Lastly I think of apartments...lots and lots of apartments rented out to college students and a few faculty members. Finally I think of the old roads which run still twist and turn...these roads commencing at the Alpha Gamma Rho fraternity house and then winding around to Central and to Pike Road near the Twelve Mile. There can be little doubt Mr. Megginson's work will be more informative than this brief description.J

[^1]:    [One will immediately notice from this account that no mention is made of any bridges, Pickensville, farms, etc...and it is almost without question that this traveler passed through the area of Pickensville as it was on the main road from Greenville to Pendleton (see Mills's Atlas map of the Pendleton District).

    I personally have little doubt that when Mills or whomever looked out across the lands that make up the Pendleton District, they saw NOT log cabins, but simply dots which were these structures. They already KNEW that the structures were
    log cabins from their experience in traveling across the
    countryside. Sawmilled houses were still apparently few in

[^2]:    [See also 684 for addition statement alluding to the need for education of the poor. An examination of materials filed by the Commissioners with the state would undoubtably reveal very interesting materials connected with this area.]

[^3]:    ["Dear" Miss Moragne has her history of Pickensville and the seats of justice in this area very confused. She also said that the court house at Pickensville was stone... when in fact the first court house was apparently of brick. The jail was also apparently built built of brick over a dungeon (or cells) that had been blasted into solid rock...thus accounting for the first name of the place- "Rockville". Her description of the Hotel compares favorably with later accounts of the old

[^4]:    Leaving Table Rock, the party headed toward Tullulah Falls. Moragne noted:

