This document has been checked for information on Native American burials. No images considered to be culturally insensitive, including images and drawings of burials, Ancestors, funerary objects, and other NAGPRA material were found.



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THE POWER OF WATER: FOUR EARLY MILL SITES ON GEORGIA'S OCONEE RIVER

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All of the archeological graphics for this report were prepared by Albert Bartovics and Bruce Council; some of them appeared in the original preliminary reports. Most of the graphics had to be slightly modified or rearranged so that they would fit in with the format of this report. Copies of the county records and census materials were gathered and organized by Al Bartovics and Bruce Council. These materials are part of the Wallace Historic Site records, which are in the possession of Georgia Power Company.

Finally, I would like to recognize Dean Wood, who probably holds the distinction of having the longest association with the archeology of the Wallace Reservoir. He was a tremendous help in organizing and modifying the graphics for this report. He also read the report in its entirety and helped with its final production. I appreciate his unfailing support on the project.

CHAPTER I--INTRODUCTION

The following report is an historical account of four nineteenth century mill sites located on the Oconee River between Athens and Milledgeville, Georgia (Figure 1). The four mills-- Parks Mill, Long Shoals (Curtright) Factory, Ross Mill, and Lawrences Mill--were located in the lower central Piedmont in Greene, Morgan and Putnam Counties. These mill sites and their attendant communities varied in complexity; one was a grist mill, two were grist, saw and gin mill complexes, and the fourth was a cotton textile factory and village. Portions of the four sites were excavated during 1978 and their historical and material remains were studied extensively. Most of the documentary research used for this study was conducted in 1978-1979 with limited additional documentation occurring more recently. This report, for the first time, examines the history of the four mills and how their development and decline fit into the overall history of this middle Georgia region.

Besides providing a historical background, this volume includes an archeological overview on the four mill sites and their attendant settlements on the Oconee River. The archeological overview of the historic archaeology is summarized from preliminary reports and other materials. As a prelude to future studies, recommendations are made for further work on the large body of archeological materials generated by eight months of fieldwork and seven months of laboratory analysis during 1978 and 1979.

Although the historic salvage archeology conducted as part of the Wallace Reservoir Project is unfamiliar to many, it is one of the most significant industrial archaeology projects to take place in Georgia. The emphasis on industrial archaeology in the Wallace Reservoir Project was the first of its kind in the southeast and the sites examined are some of the most impressive. None of the industrial sites investigated along the Savannah River during the Corps of Engineers (Savannah) Russell Reservoir project equaled the size or complexity of the Long Shoals Factory Site or the Parks Mill Site.

All four mills were in ruins when Georgia Power Company began to make plans to construct a dam on the Oconee River at a point immediately upstream from another Georgia Power reservoir, Lake Sinclair. The proposed new dam would flood 7690 ha (19,000 ac) of rural lands along the Oconee River and its tributary, the Appalachee River. Portions of four counties, the three mentioned above, plus a small portion of Hancock County would be inundated. The reservoir, when finished, would supply water to a pumped storage hydroelectric facility. The archeological project was known as the Wallace Reservoir Project and, although following inundation in early 1979 the lake became Lake Oconee, the project is still referred to as the Wallace Reservoir Project.

Several archaeological surveys were conducted between 1971 and 1978 in the proposed reservoir and surrounding areas. Early on it became evident that a rich array of prehistoric and historic remains would be flooded. Following the surveys, a testing and data recovery program was instigated to mitigate the losses of some of the sites. The



Figure 1. Location of Four Historic Mill Sites in Study Area (U. S. Department of Interior 1970).

University of Georgia was contracted to conduct archeological and historical research on the proposed reservoir. The extensive archeological investigations identified over 3000 sites (including occurrences) dating from the paleoindian period to the twentieth century (Fish and Gresham 1991:151). During the data recovery phase in 1977 and 1978, emphasis was placed on the prehistoric sites, although substantial effort was directed toward four historic sites. Twenty-seven prehistoric sites were excavated to some degree during mitigation. At the same time that data recovery was being implemented, an ongoing systematic site survey of the cleared reservoir took place. This survey covered 5666 ha (14,000 ac) of the total 7690 ha (19,000 ac) reservoir (Fish and Hally 1983:9).

Results from the surveys and excavations on the prehistoric sites have been disseminated in reports, thesis, dissertations, articles, and papers. At least 25 of the prehistoric sites have been reported on since field work ended in 1978. The results of the Wallace Reservoir Project have contributed significantly to a better understanding of Mississippian societies in the middle Georgia Piedmont and has helped better define the route of Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto, who is thought to have visited the chiefdom of Ocute, located along the Oconee River.

These significant contributions on the prehistory of the Oconee River Basin from the Wallace Reservoir Project are well known regionally. And yet, the work on the four historic sites has never been formally reported except for four preliminary reports (Bartovics 1979; Bartovics and Council 1979; Council 1978; and Council 1979), a paper presented at a regional meeting (Bartovics and Council 1978), and a thesis (Wood 1983).

Archival Research Methods

Much of the archival materials used for this history was collected by Albert Bartovics and Bruce Council during 1978 and 1979. The archival materials consisted mostly of primary sources such as the federal census and county records such as deeds, tax digests, and the Inferior Court minutes. Most of these materials were transcribed from the original documents, although a few original copies (mainly the tax digests) were xeroxed. Within this body of collected research materials, the deed records pertaining to each site were the most complete. The tax digests were less complete while the inferior court minutes were present only for Greene County. The census data gathered on each site was relatively complete for most of the nineteenth century, although there were no agricultural schedules present in the collection.

Other miscellaneous documents gathered during the archival research included student papers written by honors students of Dr. David J. Hally in the Anthropology Department at the University of Georgia. These research papers focused on the Curtright Manufacturing Company and related issues. Topics studied included textile and milling technology, local newspaper accounts of the factory, census research on the demographics of the factory workers, water power industry, mill housing architecture, and non-agrarian slave labor uses. Data from some of these materials were used in this report. Numerous periodicals from the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* were consulted, particularly several articles on the early textile industry that were written during the first half of the twentieth century. Information from local historians, particularly Thaddeus Rice's (1961) history and Caroline Hunt's work, was used often. Rice's history of Greene County, covering the years 1786 to 1886, was complied posthumously by Carolyn White Williams. The history is informative, but lacks proper references. Caroline Hunt, a local historian from Madison, Georgia, has written two important works (1973 and 1976) that pertain to the study area. Her study (1973) of the Oconee River prior to settlement on the western side of the river was published in the Department of Anthropology's, Laboratory Archaeology Series. Her second work is an unpublished manuscript (1976) on the Curtright Manufacturing Company that she wrote and submitted in an anthropology course taken at the University of Georgia.

Many of the questions Hunt posed in her study concerning the development and demise of the Curtright Manufacturing Company were answered in a important primary source published during the summer of 1991. This new source is the memoirs of Henry Merrell, who built Curtright Factory and managed it during its earliest years of existence. Merrell, a native of Utica, New York, was hired in 1839 by Roswell King to manage the Roswell Cotton Mill in Roswell (Cobb County), Georgia. Merrell's memoirs were written in later years and the volume is edited by James Skinner, Jr., an English professor at Presbyterian College in South Carolina. Dr. Skinner found Merrell's memoirs and other papers in the Smith House in Roswell, Georgia in 1981, and spent 10 years researching Merrell's account to verify and exemplify many of the things Merrell discussed. Other Merrell papers as well as the extensive papers of the Smith family have been organized and donated to the Georgia Department of Archives and History.

The Merrell memoirs are significant because many of his accounts deal directly with the Curtright Manufacturing Company and its operation. The information Merrell divulges is quite insightful concerning the Curtright operations, the surrounding countryside and its people, and his general views on the textile industry in the south and the nation. Merrell envisioned himself on a mission to industrialize the south and perhaps bring about a more equitable economic situation between the North and South.

Prior to writing this report, some limited additional archival research was conducted. Certain years of the census were rechecked or additional data gathered. Numerous nineteenth century maps curated in the Surveyor General's Office of the Georgia Department of Archives and History were examined for Greene, Morgan and Putnam Counties. These included the land lottery maps, soil maps, highway maps, and numerous nineteenth county maps. Many of the maps were not reproducible. The resources in the manuscript room of the Georgia Archives were also examined for pertinent materials. The University of Georgia, Columbus College Schwob Memorial Library, and the Bradley Memorial Library of Muscogee County were visited to examine secondary materials such as local and regional histories, census records, and periodicals.

A better understanding of the quality and organization of the documents and how the research was conducted can give the reader greater insight into the interpretations that are presented. Each type of document has its own peculiar characteristics and inherent biases. It needs to be emphasized that history is an interpretation and therefore eternally in a flux, ready to be reworked with a new perspective or with the addition of new information. Each document examined has flaws which need to be recognized. Many of the local histories examined do not have adequate source references and tend to rely too much on hearsay; some are written in a vague manner making them subject to misinterpretation. Despite the incredible insight and contribution Henry Merrell's memoirs provide to this present work, there is an overall negative tone to Merrell's account (resulting from his financial failures in Green County) that may influence some of his perspectives on things. His facts seem to be accurate, however.

Some inconsistencies will be noted in this study concerning the spelling of placenames and family names. These spellings varied from document to document. Parks Mill was never shown with an apostrophe; in fact the historical documents are almost entirely void of the apostrophe showing possession. Other names used to refer to Parks Mill were Parks Bridge, Parks Ferry, and much later, Riverside. At least four spellings of Curtright were observed: Curtright (most frequent usage), Curtwright, Cartright, and Cutright. Long Shoals, Curtright, and Merrell were all the same place. There were two spellings for Lawrence; Laurence was an early spelling and then during the second half of the nineteenth century it became Lawrence.

Primary documents have special characteristics and qualities. The research procedures used in examining these documents and how they are interpreted are presented below according to each type of document.

<u>The Census</u>. Census records were checked between 1820 and 1910 for the three counties, although not all these years were complete for each county. The 1870 census is reputed to be one of the most inaccurate of any of the censuses, particularly in the South (Scott 1978:212; Thorndale and Dollarhide 1987:xiv). The 1890 census is missing due to a fire at a federal repository that destroyed most of the document.

Using census data is both rewarding and frustrating. The data is often difficult to interpret or easy to misinterpret either because of the physical appearance or the quantitative representation of data. Sometimes the pages are too faded to read, or the handwriting is mostly illegible, or the spelling is very poor, or data is missing from columns. The enumerators missed some people while recording others twice. Sometimes they recorded false data either through misrepresentation by those being surveyed or knowingly by the enumerator. Another problem with census data, is that not all the schedules for a particular census year may be available. Often individuals listed as farmers in the population schedule do not appear in the corresponding agricultural schedule. Not all mills appear in the manufacturing census, particularly if they are not operating at the time of the enumeration. The manufacturing schedule is available for 1820 and 1880 only. Up until 1850 only the head of household's name appeared in the enumeration. Everyone else in the household was identified by gender and age range only; slaves were identified with the rest of the household but in separate columns according to gender and age group. Beginning in 1850, the names and ages of all household individuals were listed. Occupations of adult males but not females were listed along with personal estate values. Also, starting in 1850 slaves were enumerated in a separate schedule from the population schedule. A separate agricultural schedule was also completed beginning in 1850. Throughout most of the nineteenth century households were recorded within Georgia Militia districts while the names and boundaries of these changed through time. The interpretation regarding the physical placement of these district boundaries is dependent upon a good sequence of maps for the time period.

As with all primary sources it is best to use the census data with other data sources that can help corroborate it (ie. county tax records).

<u>County Records</u>. Greene County's records are the most complete of the three counties in the research material collection gathered for the sites. Title searches were performed for all four sites. This involved tracing ownership of the various tracts associated with each site, starting with the original land grants or lottery drawings. The deeds that record these land transfers are kept in the Clerk of Superior Court's Office in each county courthouse. During the nineteenth century Georgia did not require that land transfers be legally documented in the courthouses and, therefore, many were never recorded. As a result, complete title traces are often impossible.

The Court of the Ordinary, Inferior Court Records were examined. These records, pertinent to this study, mostly contanied minutes recorded on orders for reviewing the feasibility of road projects, the construction of them, and maintenance and alterations to these roads. Interested individuals, mostly nearby landowners, were made commissioners and overseers of these projects. These records are informative for relating the development of the road system as well as helping to place persons and places within the study area.

The estate papers of Richard Park of Parks Mill were examined in the Morgan County Inventories and Appraisement Book (1850-1855) and found to be quite extensive. Because the estate was not settled for several years, numerous accounts of estate transactions were recorded in the county records.

Tax Digests were also examined and the information from these that concerned the three sites were transcribed or xeroxed. Within the body of archival materials collected for this study, the Greene County tax information is the most complete. Tax digest information on the sites for Morgan and Putnam Counties is less complete. However, enough information from the Morgan County tax digests is available to generally provide a good picture of development at Parks Mill. Many of the Putnam County tax digest records are missing and are sometimes difficult to read; none of the tax digests are complete for every year on the Ross Mill site, and of the books available, some have missing pages. Inconsistencies and missing information is evident and often individual names are absent when it is obvious from other sources that their names should be there. Sometimes acreage figures, adjoining property names, etc. are missing. Illegibility of handwriting and the poor condition of the pages are other problems encountered.

Archaeological Research Methods

Previous Archeological Work. The University of Georgia Anthropology Department began surveying the reservoir area in 1971, when a 12 week survey by Archie Smith (1971) was funded by Georgia Power Company. Smith recorded 62 sites in portions of Greene, Morgan, Putnam, and Hancock Counties that were to be impacted by the proposed construction. In 1973 another survey funded by a grant from the Georgia Department of Natural Resources was conducted in Greene, Morgan and Putnam Counties by Dean Wood and Chung Ho Lee (1973) of the University of Georgia, Anthropology Department. Dr. Joseph Caldwell was the project director the work. A total of 117 additional sites were recorded and of these, 65 were to be affected by the proposed reservoir. In 1974 and 1975 a large scale survey, funded by Georgia Power, was conducted in the four county region. This survey was directed by Chester DePratter, who was assisted by Dean Wood, John Doolin and Greg Paulk. During the survey, 140 new sites were located and 39 previously recorded sites were revisited. DePratter (1976) reported on these sites and presented recommendations for mitigating the most significant of these sites.

In 1976, under a separate contract with Georgia Power Company, test excavations were conducted at the Parks Mill Site (9Mg99) by myself and Dean Wood. The results of the testing and survey revealed the remains of a well preserved milling and farming community on the river. The excavations at Parks Mill demonstrated the great potential for historic archaeology in the reservoir.

During the Wallace Reservoir Mitigation Phase, which began in 1977 and continued until late 1978, the University of Georgia excavated 31 (prehistoric and historic) sites. Laboratory analysis began in late 1977 and continued until mid 1979. Excavation of the four historic sites began in the April of 1978 and continued until the first week of December 1978. Laboratory work began immediately following the completion of fieldwork and continued until June of 1979.

Data Recovery of the Historic Sites. The archaeological descriptions presented in later chapters are based on the preliminary reports, unpublished texts generated by Albert Bartovics, and the 1974-1975 survey report. This present study contains no new analysis of the archeological materials. The preliminary reports on the four sites were written within the first month following the conclusion of the fieldwork. During laboratory analysis in 1978 and 1979, the artifacts were identified and some detailed analysis was conducted on the ceramics, industrial machinery, and faunal materials. It was also during this period that most of the field maps and drawings were drafted and photographs of the artifacts were made. At a later date, preliminary draft manuscripts were written by Albert Bartovics describing the fieldwork at the four sites. In the following chapters, brief summaries of the archaeological fieldwork results are presented. These descriptions are not intended to be technical site reports. They are meant to place the archaeological work within the context of the historical research.

It should be noted that at each site the archaeological investigations were limited to those components of the site that fell within the reservoir pool line. It was specifically stated in the mitigation plan that Georgia Power Company contract funds were not to be expended on any areas outside of the Wallace Reservoir floodpool and easement zones (Bartovics and Council 1979:Appendix I:57). Components of all four sites extended beyond the pool level, however. This is particularly true at the Curtright site where slightly under one-half of the structures identified still remain above the reservoir pool level.

The Physical Setting

The Oconee River drains a large section of middle Georgia beginning in the upper reaches of the Piedmont Province. Two large streams, the Middle Oconee and the North Oconee, merge to form the Oconee River south of Athens. In the southern part of Oconee County the Oconee River enters an area that is characterized by broad ridges separated by stream divides. From Oconee and Oglethorpe Counties the river flows through Greene, Morgan, Putnam, Hancock, and Baldwin Counties as it enters the lower Piedmont. The Appalachee River flows in a southeasterly direction through Barrow, Walton, Oconee, and Morgan Counties where it joins the Oconee River. In the southern part of Baldwin County the Oconee River flows across the Fall Line Hills, with a highly dissected relief. The river then flows into the coastal plain where it eventually joins the Ocmulgee River, the next large drainage west of the Oconee River, to form the Altamaha River. The Oconee and Ocmulgee Rivers drain the entire middle of Georgia, making the Altamaha River drainage the largest in state.

The Piedmont Province of Georgia is underlain by very old metamorphic and igneous rocks dating to the Precambrian. The most common of these rocks are granite and granite gneiss which commonly occur in outcrops across the Piedmont landscape (Hodler and Schretter 1986:13). The Oconee River's meandering pattern through the Piedmont and into the coastal plain is created by these resistant rock outcrops that cause abrupt course changes. The outcrops are particularly evident along the streams that flow over and cut down to the bedrock formations. The Oconee River flows over numerous granite rock ledges and shoals with intermittent calm stretches. These numerous shoals along the Oconee River provided ready water power potential.

The soils along the river and its uplands were fertile, well-drained sandy loams overlying sandy clay subsoils. They were good agricultural soils that were quite suitable to cotton agriculture. However, due to heavy utilization and poor conservation practices the soils were quickly depleted of most of the important nutrients. The soils washed into the river eventually causing heavy siltation in the river. Along the tributaries and the river floodplain, heavy alluviation resulted in as much as 3m (10 ft) of silt buildup. This caused the stream levels to rise, and in some instances, form swamps, ponds, and other areas of poor drainage (Trimble 1969:2).

Because of sustained agricultural use and timbering, all of the Oconee River basin was cleared during the nineteenth century. Attempts have been made by several researchers to reconstruct the original forest cover (Braun 1950; Nelson 1957). Most agree that the predominant forest cover for the uplands and slopes of the Piedmont would have been mixed hardwood (oaks, hickories, poplars, ash, etc.) and pine stands.

The bottomlands would have been forested with sycamores, sweet gums, ash, sugarberry, river birch, black willow, etc. (Braun 1950:250 and Plummer 1975).

The river in the upper portion of the proposed 39 mile reservoir had a broad floodplain. Here, the river flowed slowly with occasional small rock ledges that formed suitable shallow fording areas. The river increased appreciably in size once it joined the Appalachee River. Several major tributaries including Fishing Creek, Town, and Sugar Creeks flowed into the river in the upper reservoir area. At the time that plans for the reservoir were being formulated, the lands along the river were mostly in pasture and forest with a few areas still being tilled. Several large dairy farms were located in the area. The lower portion of the reservoir had numerous shoals and islands in the river and a narrower floodplain. Long Shoals was the first and the largest shoals on the Oconee River in the Wallace reservoir. A mile or so below Long Shoals was another large shoals known locally as Reily Shoals, and below that was Lawrence Shoals. The terrain along the river in these shoaly areas was mostly steep with narrow floodplains. Large boulder outcrops were present on the hillsides and in the river. Numerous islands in the river caused it to break into various channels as it flowed rapidly over the rocky ledges. In the southern end of the reservoir, Richland Creek a major tributary draining much of Greene County, joined the Oconee River. In the 1970s the river presented a wild and scenic vista, particularly along the shoals where most of the area had reverted to climax forest.

CHAPTER II--THE HISTORICAL SETTING: A BRIEF HISTORY OF GREENE, MORGAN AND PUTNAM COUNTIES

Across the United States, rivers were the backbone of early settlement and development, providing transportation, water power, subsistence, and political boundaries. Georgia's rivers served all these functions and development of the state's interior centered along these riverine corridors. Three moderately large towns developed on the Oconee River--Athens, Milledgeville and Dublin. Athens is the most northern town on the river and became the site of the first state chartered university in the country. Milledgeville located south of Athens on the Fall Line served as the capitol of Georgia from 1803 until 1868 when the state government was moved to Atlanta.

Along the 39 mile section of the Oconee River affected by the Wallace Reservoir project there were never any major towns, although there were the four mill settlements that are the focus of this study. Overall, this section of the river was prime agricultural land throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The influence of the Oconee River is woven throughout the pages of history of Greene, Morgan and Putnam Counties.

Early in Georgia's history, the Oconee River served as a political boundary, first as the western boundary between the State and Creek Indian Territory, and then as the boundary line between Green and Putnam Counties and portions of Morgan County. In Greene County the river's course cut from the northwestern corner to the southwestern corner of the county. The Oconee and Appalachee Rivers formed the eastern boundary of Morgan County and the Oconee River shaped all of Putnam County's eastern boundary (see Figure 1, page 2).

Early Development

Greene County, the oldest of the three counties, was formed from Washington County in 1786. Land in Greene County was surveyed under the headright grant system. Until 1802, the Oconee River served as the boundary between Greene County and the Indian lands to the west. Following the 1802 Treaty with the Creek Indians that ceded the lands from the west bank of the Oconee to the Ocmulgee River, Baldwin County was formed and from it Morgan and Putnam counties were laid out in 1807. The lands of Baldwin County were surveyed and divided into lots of 202.5 ac and these lots were distributed through a state land lottery system.

The first settlers were attracted to the lands lying along the streams and rivers flowing through the counties. In Greene County settlements grew along the Oconee River and major drainages such as Richland Creek and Beaverdam Creek. Rice (1961:5) says

that the first settlements in Greene County were along the Oconee River near Scull Shoals. Other early settlements also flourished on Richland Creek in the southern portion of the county. These early Greene County settlers were subject to numerous Indian attacks from the west across the Oconee River. The Indians were dissatisfied with the outcome of the 1783 treaty which ceded their lands along the eastern bank of the Oconee River. Increased tensions were caused by many whites who crossed the river and settled in the Indian territories to the west. This climate of unrest resulted in raids and retaliations from both sides.

Hunt (1973:37-450) cites numerous letters written between Greene county citizens and state administrators. The citizens petitioned the governor to provide them with more protection. General Elijah Clark, who had gained much prestige from his service in the Revolutionary War, became involved in these disturbances as did his son, John Clark, who later (1819-1823) became Governor of Georgia. In 1794 Governor George Matthews toured the Georgia frontier area and instructed General John Clarke to build a series of forts and blockhouses along the Oconee River from Barnett Shoals south to Shoulder Bone Creek (Figure 2) to help protect the settlers (Hunt 1973:17).

The frontier situation along the Oconee River was volatile and complex, even involving French and Spanish influences. In 1794 rumors spread that Spaniards in Florida were stirring up the Indians in Georgia. General Elijah Clarke resigned his service with the state and organized a force to accompany him to Florida to join with French forces against the Spanish and Indians. President Washington, realizing that this situation could quickly escalate into an international confrontation, influenced the French to withdraw. This left Clarke and his army stranded in Florida without French backing. At the same time, the Spanish threat seemed to abate. Clarke decided to return to the Georgia frontier where several Indian attacks had occurred during his absence.

Arriving back on the Oconee River, Elijah Clarke decided that he and his unauthorized army would form a settlement on the western side of the river to help protect the settlers on the eastern side of the river. This unauthorized settlement became known as the Trans-Oconee Republic and went so far as establishing a constitution. The actual location of the settlement still remains unknown, although it was reputed to be somewhere on lands opposite Greene County. Both the Federal and State governments disapproved of the establishment of this independent republic and began actions to eliminate it. Clarke resisted the first attempts to remove the settlement, but soon realized that the State and Federal governments were quite serious and ready to use whatever force was necessary to bring about his republic's demise. In October of 1794 Clarke gave up the settlement (Hunt 1973:39-46).

Clarke's illegal settlement had served the purpose of deterring Indian raids in Greene County. These raids, which resumed following the dissolution of the Trans-Oconee Republic, continued until the signing of another treaty with the Indians in 1796. Finally, the treaty of 1802 moved the Creek Indian boundary to the Ocmulgee River and the Indian threat ended for Greene County (Hunt 1976:48-49).



Figure 2. 1793 Elholm Map Showing Fort Locations Along the Oconee River in Greene County (Traced Map Appearing in Hunt (1973) and Reprinted with her Permission).

This treaty also opened up new lands on the west side of the Oconee River and by 1807 Morgan and Putnam Counties were established. New settlers rushed into the newly acquired lands recognizing that the soils were rich and quite suitable for agriculture. Unfortunately, the settlers to the region were not prudent in their agricultural practices and the topsoils quickly washed into the streams and rivers. As a result, the soil fertility was already declining by mid-nineteenth century. However, during the early nineteenth century and immediately following the development of the cotton gin, cotton farming provided a tremendous economic boom to the area. Many large and rich plantations developed and thousands of slaves labored under the hot summer sun on the hills and plains of the area. The purchase of land to form these large plantations forced many farmers with smaller acreages to migrate west as they were unable to subsist on these smaller tracts.

The population figures (1790 to 1900) presented in Table 1 show the growth and fluctuations that occurred during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for Greene, Morgan and Putnam Counties. Despite the Indian attacks and other hardships that early Greene County residents had to endure, the population doubled in ten years. By 1820, Greene and Morgan counties had almost equal populations while Putnam had a couple thousand more. All three counties lost people between 1830 and 1840, probably due to a depression during that time (Coleman 1977:157) and the continued western expansion of the country. Many people were moving into the newly formed Georgia counties to the west and into Alabama. By 1850 there were slight gains in the population followed by losses again in 1860. Following the Civil War, all three counties continued a slow but steady climb through the remaining nineteenth century with a slight drop between 1890 and 1900.

Table 1. Population Figures for Greene, Putnam and Morgan Counties (Georgia Department of Agriculture 1901:897-898).

County	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Greene	5,405	10,761	11,679	13,589	12,549	11,690	13,068	12,652	12,454	17,547	17,051	15,542
Morgan Putnam			8,369	13,520	12,046	9,121	10,744	9,997	10,696	14,032	16,041	15,813

Transportation and Water Power Development

The Elholm map (Figure 2) indicates that numerous mills were established along the tributaries of the Oconee River during the late eighteenth century. As the western side of the Oconee River was settled the river became an important transportation avenue with mills and ferry crossings increasing along the river corridor. Even before Morgan and Putnam Counties were officially formed, roads were being established such as the Three Chops Road which crossed at Parks Mill and eventually became a major stagecoach route from Augusta to New Orleans (Rice 1961:99).

Greensboro, established as the Greene County seat, was incorporated in 1803. Madison, incorporated in 1809, became the Morgan County seat and Eatonton became the county seat of Putnam County in 1808. Increasing agricultural production meant that farmers and planters needed ways to transport their products to the markets. Therefore, transportation was an important issue to a growing frontier and because there were few roads, the Oconee River was viewed as the best transportation route available. In 1808 the Oconee Navigation Company was formed and given a charter by the Georgia General Assembly. Several of the Greene County citizen's names that appeared in the incorporation act were associated with the four historic sites examined in this study, particularly the Park family. The stated goal of the company was to work toward implementing the "opening of the Oconee river from the town of Milledgeville to Barnett's shoals on the same river ... " (in Hunt 1973:57). In 1811 the capital stock of the company was set at \$30,000 and was to be raised through the sale of shares. A feasibility study of the river channel was made to determine how to remove the obstructions in the river. The job proved too monumental and the company eventually failed in the 1820s. The State of Georgia assumed the responsibility of trying to make the Oconee River navigable to Barnett Shoals in Clarke County. Within a few years the state abandoned the project, but not before expending a great deal of money. One individual noted that "If the navigation of the Oconee river has not equalled the public hopes, it has not been from a want of funds and of legislation." (Coulter 1964:32). The extensive shoal systems, particularly Long Shoals, Riley Shoals, and Lawrence Shoals, probably were insurmountable with the means available at that period in history. Gradually, the emphasis shifted toward improving other transportation routes. More roads were built throughout the counties while toll ferries and bridges increased across the Oconee River.

As the counties grew, water power industries developed along Oconee River and its tributaries. A paper mill was built at Scull Shoals in 1810 by Zachariah Sims (Rice 1961:146; Raper 1943:24). While this enterprise failed within a few years, Scull Shoals continued to develop as a mill complex and in 1834 the first cotton factory in Greene County was constructed there (Coulter 1964:42). This was not the first cotton factory in the area, however, although it was the first on the Oconee River. An earlier cotton factory had been erected in Morgan County on the Little River (a tributary of the Oconee River) sometime around 1810 (Hall 1909:582-583). The factory, sometimes referred to as Whatley's or Antioch Mill, failed within a few years, but its presence is verified in the 1820 Manufacturing Census of Morgan County (U.S. Census Bureau). The census recorded that Michael Whatley, Sr. owned a cotton factory now "out out [sic] of use & on the decay one grice [sic] & one Tub Mill". The Whatley mill, which contained 202 spindles, probably holds the distinction of being the earliest cotton mill in Georgia (Chesnut and Pease 1985:3-4).

The presence of these early industries (cotton and paper manufacturing) suggests that the rumblings of the industrial age were stirring the citizens of the three counties. Industrial growth emerged in Putnam County with the establishment of the Eatonton Factory (cotton) on the Little River in the 1830s, just a few miles west of Eatonton. By 1849, the Eatonton Factory had 1,836 spindles and 36 looms employing 97 factory hands (White:480-481). Later, James Denham, who was one of the stockholders of the Oconee Navigation Company, established several mills on Crooked Creek near the Oconee River (Hunt 1973:58). In Greene County two other cotton factories were established: Curtright Factory on the Oconee River in 1846 and the first steam powered cotton mill, the Greensboro Factory was established in Greensboro around 1849 (Skinner 1991:473).

Transportation remained a critical factor in the growth of the region and the state. All economic development was dependent upon the ability to transport goods efficiently to and from the markets. By the early 1830s the construction of railroads became an important issue. Relevant to this is the following humorous note by Rice (1961:86):

A mud hole in Greene County is said to be responsible for the building of the Georgia railroad here. Cotton mill machinery shipped from England to Augusta was being hauled from there to Athens by six mule wagon teams and as they got on the eastern side of Greene County the wagons became hopelessly mired down in the mud and it was not until the spring sunshine dried the mud that they could get out.

In 1831 two railroad conventions were held in Eatonton where a railroad between Eatonton and Augusta was advocated. Two years later in 1833, Athens sought the construction of a line between it and Augusta. The city of Savannah also petitioned for a railroad to Macon. As a result, the state chartered these three rail lines late in 1833 (Coleman 1977:157). The Georgia Railroad Company was formed to construct the Augusta-Athens line which was the first to be completed in the state. Construction began in 1834 and by 1837 trains were coming into Greensboro and by 1842 the railroad reached Athens (Skinner 1991:459; Rice 1961:89).

George White (1849: 289-295;434-439; and 479-484) provides a good summary of the development of Georgia counties at the mid-nineteenth century point. For Greene County, White noted that there were two cotton mills (Scull Shoals and Curtright), 15 grist mills, and three or four flour mills. He recorded seven post offices in the county including one at Cracker's Neck and one at Merrell (both in the Long Shoals area). White noted that the best lands were along the streams. Cotton, corn, wheat, rye, and oats were the major products. Interestingly, White (1849:291) also observed that "there is much wornout land in this county; but it is confidently believed that, by judicious management, it may be redeemed; and it affords us much pleasure to state that many of the planters are turning their attention to this subject." Figure 3 is a portion of a nineteenth century map of Georgia showing Parks Mill, Parks Bridge, Merrell Factory, and Curtright as place names on the Oconee River.

For Morgan County, White (1849:434-437) noted eight post offices including one at Park's Bridge. Industries in the county included a textile mill at High Shoals on the Appalachee River that produced yarns and "domestics", a cotton gin manufactory, seven saw mills, nine grist mills and three flour mills. Cotton, corn, wheat, rye, oats, and barley were the major agricultural crops. Again he noted poor agricultural soils in areas of the county that had been wasted by over farming.



Figure 3. Portion of the 1889 A. G. Butts' Map of Georgia. Parks Mill, Parks Bridge and Merrell Factory are Shown.

In Putnam County, White (1849:480) observed that "the soil has been impoverished by a bad system of cultivation". Cotton, corn, wheat, rye, barley, and peas were the main crops. Besides the Eatonton Factory, six merchant mills, five grist mills and 14 saw mills were tabulated. White stated that there had been several freshets (floods) that had destroyed dams, bridges, and mills. Although he did not specify any, the 1840 Harrison freshet, which did tremendous damage across the state, was probably still fresh on the minds of many. White also noted the need for more roads and bridges in the county.

The Civil War

The Civil War years greatly reduced the economic growth of the area. There are no indications that Greene, Morgan and Putnam Counties fared any better than most of Georgia. While for the most part the war did not touch Georgia until 1864, the economic and social repercussions were quickly felt. Men and young boys went off to join the Confederate army, many to never be seen again. Many foods and commodities became scarce as the war continued.

General Sherman observed that if the people of Georgia wanted war then he would give them war. And so, Sherman brought the war to the doors of thousands of Georgians. As he left Atlanta in ruins, Sherman turned southeast toward Savannah, spreading his army across the rich lower piedmont cotton country. The state capitol at Milledgeville was a major target along the way. Brigadier General John W. Geary, U.S. Army Fourteenth Corps, commanded the east flank of Sherman's southern marching force. Geary passed through Greene, Morgan and Putnam Counties in mid November. Under the orders of General Sherman, the army destroyed those facilities dedicated to supplying the Confederate Army or in any way helping the Confederate cause. They also took provisions from the countryside to feed the huge Union army. Many mills and factories from Atlanta to Savannah were burned, although none of the Greene County cotton factories suffered that fate. Some of the smaller mills, bridges, and ferries in Greene, Morgan and Putnam counties were destroyed as was the railroad trestle bridge at the confluence of the Apalachee and Oconee Rivers.

Of the four historic sites examined here, apparently Parks Mill was the only one that was visited and burned. Greensboro, Madison, and Eatonton were left mostly unscathed. Geary's forces swept through quickly spending only a couple of days in the area before completely passing through. Considering the potential for destruction, it seems the area did not suffer as much from Geary's raiders as they potentially could have. The citizens of Savannah must have felt fortunate too; they thought Geary was quite magnanimous in his treatment of them. Savannah citizens petitioned in the Savannah Republican in December of 1864 that Geary be left in command of their city at Sherman's departure. Geary had shown "his urbanity as a gentleman, and his uniform kindness to our citizens, done all in his power to protect them and their property from insult and injury...".

The Late Nineteenth Century and the Early Twentieth Century

Following the war's end, a major shift in the agricultural labor force occurred as slavery was replaced by a system of tenancy. At the turn of the century, the Georgia Department of Agriculture (1901) presented a status report on the state and its counties. Row cropping was still a way of life in the three counties examined in this study, but there was evidence that more agricultural diversity was developing. Dairy farming was starting to make inroads. There were 12 dairy farms in Greene and 10 in Putnam. Although no figure was given for the number of dairy farms in Morgan County, the report listed the number of milk cows in the county. This number far exceeded the numbers of milk cows given for Putnam and Greene Counties, and it is surmised that the number of dairy farms in Morgan County was probably higher than in Greene and Putnam. A shift toward livestock raising was also reflected in the increased numbers of cattle and poultry stock and in the production of eggs, butter, and milk. Other crops besides cotton included corn, oats, wheat, hay, peas, and potatoes.

The 1901 report also noted industrial growth in the three counties. In 1900 Greene County had 12 sawmills, a planing mill, three textile mills, a wagon factory, a box factory, and an electric light plant. Morgan County had ten grist mills, a fertilizer factory, a cotton seed oil mill, a soap factory, a spoke and handle factory, and a furniture company. The report noted that a cotton factory company had been established in Morgan County with \$50,000 of capital raised. Morgan County produced many more cotton bales (n = 25,000) than Greene (n = 12,000) or Putnam Counties (n = 15,000). The report noted nine grist mills on the Oconee River and its tributaries in Putnam County. There was considerably less industry in Putnam County (only listing a shoe factory) than in the other two counties. However, the report stated that three textile mills were being constructed at that time near Eatonton. The document reported that there were great water-power sites at Riley Shoals, Lawrence Shoals, Parks Mill, and Scull Shoals on the Oconee River, but did not elaborate (Department of Agriculture 1901:689-692; 769-771; and 798-800).

Arthur Raper made the rural landscape of Greene County famous in his *Preface* to *Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (1936) and in *Tenants of the Almighty* (1942). The sometimes haunting portraits of the rural country side and country folk painted scenes of a divergent county with its many tenant shacks and fine southern homes. Raper (1936:3) characterized this area of Georgia as the "Black-Belt", a crescent shaped area stretching from Virginia to Texas. Here, one found a disproportionate numbers of poor people while the best lands were owned by a relatively small group of white families. The size of this poor landless class had been rising since the expansion of the large cotton plantations in the early nineteenth century.

A mass exodus of the poor, both black and white, from the rural countryside to the cities began even before the Great Depression. Between 1920 and 1930 the population of Greene County decreased by a third from 18,971 to 12,616 (Raper 1936:190). Abandonment of the rural areas of Greene, Morgan and Putnam Counties continued through the 1930s and early 1940s. These migrations affected the overall economy of the counties. Many of the industries and businesses that supported the rural populations failed as a result. This is particularly true of the many merchant grist mills and saw mills

that dotted the Oconee River and its tributaries. During the 1930s and 1940s, as federal relief programs purchased the wasted farm lands, many of the agricultural fields began to revert to forests. The forest industry grew and private timber companies bought much of the rural lands that the Federal programs did not purchase. The focus along the river became more one of recreation, boating, fishing, and camping. The old mill dams and mills collapsed and the memories of them began to fade.

CHAPTER III--THE PARKS MILL SETTLEMENT

Archaeology at the Parks Mill Site (9Mg99)

The Parks Mill site was the most northern of the four historic sites investigated in 1978. It was located on the western bank of the Oconee River in Morgan County (Figure 4). The floodplain was broad in this area as the uplands gradually drop to the river. Archeologically, the site was complex due to its long and intense occupation, as well as its large number of standing structures. Twenty-five standing structures in varying stages of preservation were present on the site in the 1970s. In 1976 three of these, including the Park house, were still occupied. The site was determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places as part of the national register district that encompassed all of the Oconee River basin impacted by the reservoir construction. Because the site's significance had been recognized, Georgia Power Company was requested to preserve the house as part of their licensing agreement. This meant the house had to be moved somewhere above the flood pool line of the reservoir.

Prior to the 1978, fieldwork the Parks Mill site had received the most archaeological and historic attention of the four mill sites. The first archaeological investigation occurred in 1971 during the Smith survey. During the 1974-75 survey the site was visited again and an artifact collection was made (DePratter 1976). In 1976 limited testing and a more detailed survey was conducted at the site by the author and Dean Wood. At that time, test excavations were placed north of the Park house in the immediate backyard. Buried foundations and a rich associated midden were immediately uncovered. The foundations appeared to be complex and extensive. Additionally, a test trench was excavated at a nearby house ruin north of the Park house. This site was locally known as the Youngblood House and evidence of a brick chimney and associated rock foundation were found. A more thorough survey was conducted of the whole site; this included the excavation of 103 post hole tests, metal detecting, surface surveillance, and informant interviews. Forty-two features (mostly architectural) associated with the Parks Mill Community were identified and mapped. These included numerous dwellings, barns, other farm related outbuildings, and unknown structures (Wood and Wood 1976). Early in 1977 an intense surface collection study was made of an area immediately north of the buried foundations found in the Park house backyard. This surface collection study was composed of a large number of automobile related artifacts and a local informant interview revealed that a automobile repair garage had stood on the site during the first half of the twentieth century (Butler 1977). A historic architectural study was made also of the house in 1977 (Cooper).

Some initial investigations were made in late April and early May of 1978 when the Park house was moved. At the time the house was removed, a test unit was placed adjacent to the exterior eastern foundation wall. Three other units were excavated parallel to one another 20 m north of the house. The actual data recovery did not begin until September of 1978 and continued into early December 1978. During this period intensive



Figure 4. Portion of USGS Topographic Map (Buckhead and Harmony Quads) Showing Parks Mill Site.

excavations were conducted on the foundations in the backyard of the Park house that had originally been discovered in 1976. Excavation were expanded at the Youngblood house site as well. Extensive excavations occurred within the foundations of the mill site. Single test units were excavated also at seven other structures and around the Park house foundations.

Architectural drawings were made on ten of the standing structures on the site. Photographic records were made of six of the outbuildings. Figure 5 and Table 2 illustrate and list 51 features identified for the Parks Mill community. Of the 25 standing structures, 11 were dwellings, 12 were barns and associated farm buildings, and two were privies. Table 1 notes family names next to many of the dwellings. These names were provided by informants who identified tenant families that had occupied the houses. While most of the houses probably had multiply families occupying them over the years, it is suggested that those families that lived in the houses last may have had their names associated with the structures in the minds of locals. Most of the standing tenant structures dated to the early twentieth century with the exception of the Bryant (Structure Q) and Caldwell (Structure V) houses, which may date to the late nineteenth century. The remains of the grist mill, mill dam, a barn, a dwelling, an early nineteenth century structure, and a cellar were also visible. Seventeen other disturbed or destroyed remains were identified. These consisted of two privies, a saw mill, a store, a gin, a barn, and numerous unidentified features. Other intact or partially intact features included a cemetery, two bridges, a spring, a ferry landing, and carved Beech Trees.

While the majority of the site is located on the Morgan County side of the river, at least four features (C, MM, and NN) were identified on the Greene County side (Figure 5). These included the remains of two dwellings located on the Seven Islands Road, the east landing of the ferry, and the saw mill (9Ge32). Remains of the saw mill were not located, but the mill was reputed to be at the eastern edge of the mill dam which terminates on the Greene County side of the river. From informant interviews the two Greene County dwellings were identified as the Thomas (MM) and Moore (NN) houses.

The excavation units were tied into the grid system that was established during the 1976 field excavations. Excavated units were generally 1 x 1 m in size and were dug in arbitrary or natural levels depending on the soil colorations and texture.

<u>The Grist Mill and Dam</u>. The remains of the mill dam (Structure B) were architecturally recorded but not excavated. Only the base of the dam footings were still present in 1978 (Figure 6). The mill dam was probably a wedge-shaped frame and plank structure. Parallel rows of cross-beams set end to end across the river bed were observed with forty perpendicular timbers spiked into notches hewn into the underlying cross-beams on the upstream end (Figure 7). Each of the forty timbers were notched at the upstream end to support diagonal framing members and exhibited mortise holes near the center and on the downstream ends for accommodating upright bracing timbers. The cover photograph shows the dam and part of the mill as it appeared around the turn of the century. The wooden platform jutting out below the dam is a fish trap. The exact





Table 2. Inventory of Structures and other Improvements Located at the Parks Mill Settlement.

Structure	Status	Identification	Archeological Investigation		
А	foundation	grist mill	intensive excavation		
В	footings	mill dam	architect. record		
с	destroyed	saw mill	none		
D	intact/removed	Parks House	limited excavation		
Ε,	filled pit	root cellar	intensive excavation		
E2	foundation	early building	intensive excavation		
E3	unknown	privy pit	none		
E4	unknown	privy pit	post hole test		
F	standing	vehicle/wood shed	architect. record		
G	standing	chicken coop	architect. record		
н	disturbed	unknown	surf. coll./test unit		
1	disturbed	unknown	surf. coll./test unit		
J	destroyed	unknown	surf. coll.		
к	unknown	unknown	post hole test		
L	standing	garage/tool shed	architect. record		
м	standing	barn	architec. record		
N	standing	milk house	architec. record		
0	standing	barn	architec. record		
Ρ	foundation	barn	architec. record		
Q	standing	dwelling (Bryant)	architec. record/test unit		
R	foundations	dwelling (Youngblood)	limited excavation		
S	partially intact	spring	post hole tests		
т	unknown	unknown	post hole tests		
U	standing	barn	architect. record		
v	standing	dwelling (Caldwell)	architec. record/test unit		
w	unknown	barn	metal detector		
Х,	standing	dwelling (Mitchum)	architect. record/test uni		

Structure	Status	Identification	Archeological Investigation photo. record		
X ₂	standing	workshop/shed			
X ₃	standing	privy	photo. record		
Y	unknown	dwelling (Hall)	metal detector/test unit		
Z	standing	dwelling (Lillious)	photo. record		
AA,	standing	dwelling (Governor Sims)	architect. record/test unit		
AA2	standing	privy	photo. record		
AA ₃	standing	chicken coop	photo. record		
BB	standing	dwelling (Peebles)	none		
CC	standing	barn	none		
DD	disturbed	dwelling (Cyrus Parks)	salvage collection		
EE	standing/occupied	dwelling (Grayson White)	none		
FF	unknown	school	none		
GG	standing	barn	none		
НН	standing	dwelling (Evans)	none		
Ш	standing	barn	none		
JJ	standing/occupied	dwelling (Love)	none		
КК	standing	dwelling	none		
LL	intact	cemetery	none		
ММ	unknown	dwelling (Thomas)	none		
NN	unknown	dwelling (Moore)	none		
00	partially intact	ferry crossing	photo. record		
PP	intact	beech carving trees	informal observation		
QQ	intact	bridge	none		



Figure 6. View of Parks Mill Dam Ruins, Looking East Toward Greene County.

age of the photograph is unknown, although circa 1900 is suggested because the photograph was associated with several other pictures dating to 1900 in an photograph album belonging to the White family.

The grist mill (Structure A), located on the west bank of the Oconee River, consisted of a rough granite stone foundation measuring 12 m square (39 ft) (Figure 8). Water entered at the east end of the north wall and was directed along the east wall and exited on the east end of the south wall (Figure 9). Excavations within the mill foundations revealed three turbine installations (Figure 10). Two of the turbines were still intact while the most northern turbine had been partially salvaged. The three turbines exhibited scoop-shaped runner veins which exhausted both upward and downward. The two end turbines measured 2.1 m across, while the central turbine was 1 m across. The turbines did not appear to be the original hydraulic system since there was evidence of reworking on the flume underpinnings. An 1869 nickel was found in the coarse fill between the flume joists which further substantiated a later installation period for the turbines. The upper levels of fill contained several fragments of grist mill stones and several second quarter of the twentieth century artifacts (Bartovics 1979:35-36).

<u>The Park House</u>. The original construction date of the house remains unknown. The two-story frame Park house was composed of several additions and was solidly built with mortise and tenon joints throughout. (Figure 11). The front porches and the back (north) additions, which consisted of a dining room, bath, kitchen, and upstairs bedroom



Figure 7. Schematic Drawing of the Base of the Mill Dam Frame, Plan and Profile.


Figure 8. Plan of Grist Mill Excavation at Parks Mill Site.



Figure 9. View of Parks Mill Foundations as They Appeared Prior to Excavations, Looking North, Upriver; South Foundation Wall in Left Foreground.



Figure 10. View of Parks Mill Excavation with Turbines and Raceway, Looking South. Water Would Have Exited Through Gap in South Wall (Shown at Top of Photograph).



Figure 11. View of Park House Looking East and Down Old Greensboro-Madison Road Toward River; Hillside in Background is Greene County.

and bath, were twentieth century additions and were torn from the house prior to its removal (Figure 12). The core of the house consisted of three rooms downstairs and four rooms upstairs.

The most commonly held explanation for the building sequences of the house is as follows, although there is an alternate hypothesis to be offered later. The most eastern room, which had been considered the earliest portion of the house, had a fireplace on the north end with the long axis oriented northwest-southeast (Figure 13). A second addition, added to the west side of the house, lined up with the north edge of the house but did not extend south to the front edge of the first room. This configuration formed a L-shaped structure with two exterior chimneys, one on the west wall center and one offset on the north wall. Another edition extended the house one more room to the western. Another exterior end chimney was added on the west wall. The exterior chimney on the west wall of the middle room became an interior chimney between two rooms.

Local legend (Rice 1961:274) recounted the story that the walls of this third addition were nogged with brick to weight the structure down during heavy flooding, which had occurred several times at the site. This local legend of brick in the walls was proven factual when the house was being prepared for removal. While the chimneys were being removed brick was found extending up through the walls of the second story in the west wing. Whether the brick was placed in the walls as an anchor or to deter rodents in the walls is uncertain.

Several aberrations were noted in the brick foundation of the first two rooms (chronologically speaking) of the house. The foundations under the eastern room consisted of several different segments and had unusual interruptions in the foundations at the south doorway and around the chimney. There were also other odd features about the foundations. Resting on the foundations described above were double beams which ran between the east and west walls. This type of heavy construction seemed unwarranted for the north and south walls of the eastern side of the house.

Early Structure Behind (north) the Park House. The complex stone and brick foundations uncovered (Figure 13; Figure 14) in the backyard (north) of the Park house (Structure E) probably represents one or two structures with several additions and foundation repairs (Wood 1983:80). The various components of the structure were labeled E_1 through E_2 (see Figure 5, page 24, and Table 2, page 25); however, for ease of discussion, the structure will be referred to simply as Structure E. The most western foundations of Structure E, next to Structure F (a storage shed and garage), seemed to be the most recent. At least four artifact-bearing levels were identified with the lowest level intruded into by the stone foundation walls. Aboriginal artifacts were encountered at the lowest levels. Much about Structure E remains a puzzle. While several anomalies were found in and around the structure including a filled pit containing concentrations of ceramic, glass, bone, and metal artifacts associated with a domestic habitation, no evidence of a chimney was uncovered. The structure showed evidence of salvaging, particularly on the brick walls. Possibly the brick or stone from the chimney was removed for reuse, although it is unlikely that the entire chimney footings would have been removed to the basal course.



Figure 12. View of Northeast Side of Park House. The Original Section of the House is in Foreground with One-story and Two-story Additions Attached to the Back of the House.



Figure 13. Plan of Parks Mill House (Structure D) and Excavations of Structure in Backyard (Structure E).



Figure 14. View of Rock Foundations (Structure E) Uncovered in Excavations in Park House Backyard; Looking East Toward Oconee River and Greene County.

Bartovics (n.d., page 10) has hypothesized that portions of the rooms resting on these foundations in Structure E may have been moved to form the original sections of the Park house. This, he observed, might also explain the unusual foundation features in the Park house discussed above (Structure E). The exterior walls of Structure E may have then been added later to construct a larger building. The overall size of Structure E measured 19 m long (62 ft) by 7 m (23 ft) wide (north-south). The soil levels within and surrounding the foundation walls did not clarify the building sequence, although they indicate that the interior portions of the walls were filled in at different times. Although very few creamwares and pearlwares sherds were recovered from the feature, sufficient ceramic materials were recovered to indicate a mid-nineteenth century date for the structure. At the lowest soil levels aboriginal artifacts were found and at the top level early twentieth century artifacts were recovered.

At the southeast corner of Structure E the remains of a root cellar were uncovered during the final days of excavations at the Parks Mill Site. The structure was semisubterranean with entrance into the cellar along the eastern terrace edge. The cellar was lined with boards on the sides and floor with a hole in the center that probably was for drainage. Numerous bottles and ceramic sherds found in the feature fill indicated the structure dated to the early twentieth century. <u>The Youngblood House</u> (Structure R). The foundations of this structure, located 140 m northwest of the Park House, consisted of a chimney base, and several foundation stones. The brick chimney, which was located on the south end of a rectangular dwelling measuring 5 m by 8.4 m (17 ft by 28 ft), was slightly offset from the center of the wall. The long axis of the house was oriented north-south. In 1976 a 1 m wide 10 m long test trench was excavated across the structure as well as a test units to expose portions of the chimney base (Wood and Wood 1976:24). The 1978 excavations exposed the entire hearth area and several areas along the periphery of the structure. A large enough sample of ceramics and glass was recovered to establish good chronological dates for the dwelling which indicated that the initial occupation was around the mid-nineteenth century.

<u>Miscellaneous Excavations</u>. Due to limited time, only minor excavations occurred at the rest of the site. Single 1 x 1 m test units were placed at Structures H, I, Q (the Bryant House), V (the Caldwell House), X₁, Y, and AA₁ (see Figure 5, page 24, and Table 2,). These units recovered limited materials and in most instances the artifact samples were too small to provide good chronological context. The standing dwellings associated with the Parks Mill site were probably twentieth century with the possible exception of the Bryant (Figure 15) and Caldwell houses.

The Bryant, Caldwell, Mitchum (Structure X₁), and Governor Sims (Structure AA1) structures were single-story, double pen structures with central chimneys and later additions. The structures had double fireboxes with a hearth opening into each room. The Bryant



Figure 15. View (Looking West) of the Front of the Bryant House (Double Pen with Central Chimney) at Parks Mill Settlement.

house floor plan (Figure 16) is shown as a representative example of the four houses, although it has a slightly more complex addition than did the other three.

<u>1983 Study of the Faunal Materials</u>. The animal bone recovered from excavations in Structure E that were determined to belong to the nineteenth century stratifications were analyzed in 1982 and reported on by the author in 1983. The identification of these materials provided information on the types of animals consumed by the Park family and their visitors. The results of the study indicated that the diet at the site consisted of mostly pork with some cow, chicken and goat or sheep. The types of bone elements and cut marks indicated that the pigs were slaughtered and prepared at the site. A variety of wild game was consumed and included fish, turtle, squirrel, rabbit, and turkey. Most of the fish identified were catfish and would have been caught from the river (a wooden fish trap is visible in the photograph of the mill that appears on the cover of this report). The fairly diverse range of species identified is typical of rural historic sites (Wood 1983:182) where access to wild game provides supplemental meat sources to a diet that was dominated by domesticated species.

Parks Mill's History

The land transactions for the Parks Mill site are the most complicated of the four sites. The Parks Mill site has the longest history of the four sites and was still occupied in the 1970s. Between 1805 and 1920 there were 57 recorded land exchanges involving property along the river at Parks Bridge, which was the nineteenth century name for the site. The records come from both Morgan and Greene County since the Morgan County portion of Parks Mill, which was most of the site, became part of Greene County in 1872 (State of Georgia, General Assembly Acts III, 1872:306). It was not until the 1950s that the Greene County line moved back to the river. The site was first referred to as Parks Mill in the documents, although in the intervening years the place name became Parks Bridge, later it was Riverside, and then during the twentieth century it reverted to Parks Mill. It also was referred to sometimes as Parks Ferry in the documents.

<u>The Early Years, 1800 to 1851.</u> Parks Mill was an important area for human occupation for many thousands of years. Indians had lived in the area long before Europeans arrived and began to displace them. European descendants began to settle in the area during the second half of the eighteenth century. Thaddeus Rice (1961:481) included the Parks Mill area as the most northern boundary of the old Greene County settlement of Crackers Neck. Hunt (1973) presents two 1793 maps with Armor's Fort located on the Greene County side of the Oconee River and a crossing indicated at the river (see Figure 2, page 13). This river crossing might have been the spot where the Parks Mill settlement began, although it remains uncertain. It was not until after the American Revolutionary War, that James Park, a veteran of the war who served in the Virginia militia, brought his family to Greene County. He settled on the Oconee River and began increasing his land holdings.

Rice (1961:96-97) says that a major stagecoach road was established around 1801-1804. It was build by Samuel Dale, an early settler of Greene County. The road was called



Figure 16. Floor Plan of Bryant House (Structure Q).

the Three Chops Road or the Seven Islands Road (named after a shoaly crossing on the Ocmulgee River). This was a major thoroughfare from Augusta to the Mississippi River. The road crossed the Oconee River at the Parks Mill Site. While the Greene County Inferior Court Minutes does not mention this road specifically in an 1800 reference, it did note that a road at Parks Mill was to be extended south to Cow Ford, which was a crossing at Long Shoals; the record further noted that the road extended from Cow Ford to Richland Creek (Green County Inferior Court, Record Book 1799-1836). Cow Ford appears on the 1793 Elholm map shown in Figure 2 (page 13).

Since the 1800 Greene County Inferior Minutes specifically refers to "Parks Mill", it may be assumed that James Park already had established a mill at the site by that date. This reference to Parks Mill is the earliest mention of the mill there. The site was already gaining importance as a river crossing and industrial site by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Following the 1802 treaty, lands opened up on the west side of the Oconee River in the newly formed Baldwin County. In 1806 James Park received several land lots from the State of Georgia along the Oconee River across from his Greene County lands. In 1807 this area became part of Morgan County (Figure 17). Sometime soon after, James Park's son, Richard, apparently moved to the Morgan County side of Parks Mill. In 1809 Richard applied for a tavern license (Morgan County Inferior Court Minutes 1808-1826). Richard's name also occurred for the first time in the Greene County Inferior Court records for 1809. He was charged with overseeing work on the Greensborough Road (Greene County, Inferior Court Minutes 1799-1836).

The location of Richard's tavern on the Morgan County side of the river remains unknown. While Richard may have had a tavern and possibly a residence on the Morgan County side by 1809, his legal acquisition of the property did not occur until 1814 when he purchased 312.5 ac (land lots 337, 341, and 342) on the river from his father (Morgan County Deed Book D, 362). As early as 1810 (Morgan County Tax Digest) Richard Park was reporting land lots 337, 341, and 342 (see above figure) in the county tax digest. Richard Park was probably living at the site by 1809 or 1810 as the 1810 shows him reporting the three land lots plus \$100 in stock in trade for that year. However, his stock in trade was not reported again until 1824 in any of the Morgan County Tax Digests (1812, 1817, 1818, 1820, 1823) available. He added another 101.5 ac from an adjoining land lot in 1817 (Morgan County Deed Book F:281).

Like many of Greene County's leading entrepreneurs, James and Richard Park became interested in the Oconee Navigation Company, which formed in 1808. James Park's name appeared on the original incorporation document (Hunt 1973:57). Rice (1961:92) notes that in 1811 the first entry of the minutes of the company listed the shareholders. This list indicated that James Park bought shares for himself and seven of his sons (James, Jr., Joseph, Jefferson, John, Wallen, Madison, and Columbus). The document noted that none of the Park boys were entitled to vote. Richard Park was also listed, but separately, and apparently bought his own shares.

By 1820 Richard was operating a grist mill, saw mill, and a ferry. The 1820 manufacturing schedule of the census (U.S. Census Bureau, Morgan County) reports that



Figure 17. Portion of 1897 Map of Morgan County (Tufts) Showing Parks Mill Settlement on the Oconee River.

the saw mill cut 133,000 ft of planks and timber annually. Obviously, the saw mill was the most lucrative of the two mills since it was valued at \$2000 while the grist mill's value was only \$300. The 1820 schedule indicates that five people were employed in the mills while one was employed to operate the ferry. These employees were probably slaves.

The documents give no indication as to when Richard built his home, but it was probably standing by 1820 at the latest. In that year, Richard's Morgan County household consisted of himself and an anonymous white male; both were in the 26 to 44 year range; twenty-two slaves were listed for that year. By 1830 (U.S. Census Bureau) Richard's household had increased to two males and a female in the 40-49 year range. The female was probably his sister Betsy Ann Park, who may have moved in with Richard following the death of their father, James Park, Sr., in 1819. Betsy Ann would have brought her own slaves to the household since her father gave her six slaves in 1819 (Morgan County Deed Book HH:221). The 1830 population schedule records a total of 45 slaves in the Park household, an increase of 24 from 1820.

Information in the Morgan County tax digest suggests the presence of a store by 1826; \$250 in stock is recorded for that year (Morgan County Tax Digest, 1826). Possibly, there could have been a store present earlier since \$100 in stock and trade was noted in the 1810 Morgan County tax digest (Morgan County Tax Digest 1810). It is surmised, however, that this stock was probably the liquors associated with the tavern. There was no stock returned for Richard Park in the tax digests available between the years 1810 and 1826.

Following the death of James Park in 1819, Richard Park began to purchase the land parcels his sibling's had inherited from their father. By the early 1830s Richard Park had purchased most of his sisters and brothers share of James Park's land holdings in Morgan and Greene Counties. Richard also expanded his land holdings by purchasing bordering properties of his neighbors.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Parks Mill community probably consisted mostly of the Park family and their slaves. There is no conclusive evidence of other people belonging to the settlement. It is suggested that the Park slaves performed all the necessary tasks for running the various enterprises present in the settlement. The community continued to grow as an important commercial and agricultural locality. The stagecoach road passed over the Park ferry and bridge and by the tavern, inn, and store. Richard's strategic placement of his enterprises at a stagecoach crossing paid off immensely.

Probably most of the Park slaves were involved in farming his agricultural lands. The tax digests and census data indicate that the Park's land holdings and slave holdings continually increased during the 1830s. The 1838 Morgan County Tax Digest records Richard Park owning 707 ac in Morgan County and 312 ac in Green County. Park did not limit his land holdings to just Greene and Morgan Counties, however. The tax records indicate that Richard owned land in other Georgia counties including Habersham (134 ac), Lumpkin (29.5 ac) and Cherokee (ca. 413 ac). His stock in trade had increased to a value of \$1000 by 1838 (Morgan County Tax Digest); a two-wheel carriage and 47 slaves were reported also for that year.

The Morgan County Tax records gave no clue to the operation of the mills, the tavern, or the inn since they were not reported in any of the tax digests. The minutes of the Greene County Inferior Court (Inferior Court Minutes, 1820-1836) suggested that one of the mills (probably the saw mill) may no longer have been in use by 1830. A statement in the 1838 minutes (Green County Record Book 1837-1851, Inferior Court) refers to the mill in the past tense.

The 1840 census showed that Richard Park's household remained much the same as in the 1830 enumeration. Richard, his sister Betsy Ann and one other male (30 to 39 years old), who may have been a brother, lived in the house. The census schedule showed that the Park slaveholdings numbered 72 in 1840. This was an amazing increase in slaves from the previous year (1839) when the Morgan County Tax Digest noted 46 slaves for Park. The census noted that 40 Park household members were employed in agriculture, but did not list any in manufacturing employment.

In 1841, Richard Park, at the age of 53, married Nancy T. Walker, age 24, (Rice 1961:588). Park's marriage late in life is noted by Henry Merrell when he wrote that Richard Park was an old bachelor for "many years" (Skinner 1991:188). Richard and Nancy Park had two sons who died in infancy during the 1840s (Armor 1987:287). The partially legible grave markers of these sons are in the Park family cemetery, located on the Greene County side of the Oconee River from Parks Mill. The cemetery is on a hillside overlooking the Oconee River (now Lake Oconee) and downhill from James Park's home. James Park and Richard his son are also buried here, as probably are other members of the family.

Two independent sources indicate that a bridge was built across the Oconee River at Parks Mill for the first time around 1842. The Greene County Inferior Court Minutes (Record Book 1837-1842) show that a road was to cross "the old race at Parks Mill"; for the first time in this record the settlement is referred to as "Parksbridge". And for the first time in 1842, the Morgan County Tax Digest lists a bridge, valued at \$1200, under Richard Park's name. The following year (1843) the value on the toll bridge has fallen to \$700. Both placenames, Parks Bridge and Parks Mill, are indicated on the Butts Map of 1889 (see Figure 3, page 17).

The 1850 census (U.S. Census Bureau, Morgan County) reveals several facts about the Park family. The population schedule indicated that Richard was 63 years old with a 34 year old wife and three daughters between the ages of one and eight. The schedule also showed that Betsy Ann Park continued to reside in the household. Richard reported a real estate value of \$30,000 for 1850. For the first time, there was an indication that a white household may have resided at Parks Bridge. The household listed after Richard Park's in the 1850 population schedule was William H. Burnes, a mechanic, who's low real estate value (\$100) suggested that he probably was renting. More than likely Burnes worked for Park.

The separate slave schedule in the 1850 census indicated that Park's slaveholdings had increased to 101 individuals. The 1850 slave schedule shows an increase of 23 slaves in one year from the 78 individuals reported in the 1849 Morgan County Tax Digest for Richard Park.

The 1849 Morgan County Tax Digest also shows that Park's land holdings in Morgan and Greene County remained the same as in previous reports. Park continued to own considerable property in several northern Georgia Counties with gold deposits.

Richard S. Park died interstate in 1851. An inventory appraisal of the estate was compiled in late 1851. This document and other estate papers provide much information on the Park family. The appraisal substantiates Park's enormous wealth. Richard Park's personal property was valued at \$133,933.68, which included \$63,642.21 in cash and \$9,989.50 in gold bullion possibly mined from land Park owned in Lumpkin, Hall, Habersham, and Cherokee Counties (Morgan County Inventories and Appraisement Book 1850-1855:215-223).

Related to this account of Park's wealth is this interesting contemporary observation of Richard, known as Dicky Park to many, by Henry Merrell:

When I lived in Greene County Georgia there was an Old man named Park ("Dicky Park") who had a plantation and mills, & toll bridge, at a noted crossing of the Oconee River. Everything seemed to cross his bridge, before the rail-road gave him to go-by. He spent nothing, loaned no money, and converted his funds into gold and silver. He was for many years an old bachelor and a feeble old man. It was understood that he kept his hoard of specie in a notable red wooden chest underneath his bed.

There he lived and died at a very advanced age...After his death, his executors counted \$62,000 in coin out of that chest. One of them (Dr. Curtright) told me so...(Skinner 1991:188).

Arthur Raper (1943:39), in Tenants of the Almighty, also notes that "Dickie Park built a strong hickory chest with a coin slot in the top of it. Ferry and bridge tolls went into it; nothing came out. When Dickie Park died, his administrators opened the chest, counted out over \$100,000 in gold and sliver." While Raper's cash amount is not as accurate as Merrell's, his account of Dickie Park is similar. Raper also states that Park had the best mill on the Oconee River; unfortunately, Raper's sources were not referenced individually (much of Raper's information on the Park family probably came from interviews with Judge James B. Park, Jr., who was the son of James B. Park, Jr., a brother of Richard Park).

Richard Park's estate inventory and appraisement lists all of his slaves by name with some professions listed next to their name. Cyrus was a miller, Daniel was the bridge keeper, Lewis was the blacksmith, and Peter is listed as "yellow mechanic" (the "y" is not capitalized--Peter is probably mulatto). The inventory reveals that there were 58 bales of cotton, one lot of ginned cotton, and a cotton gin present on the property. Such items as a barrel of sugar, 200 lbs of bacon, and 15,000 lbs of pork may have been store items. Over six pages of notes and accounts owed to Richard Park show the breadth of his wealth and influence. Besides the \$133,933.68 in personal property, Park owned close to 2000 ac in five northern counties in the state, not to mention all his land in Greene and Morgan counties. Park's enormous wealth and Merrell's characterization of him suggest a shrewd and parsimonious man who took advantage of the rapid development along the Oconee River in Greene and Morgan counties during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Parks Mill during the second half of the nineteenth century, 1852 - 1897. Following Richard Park's death, Nancy Park and her two brothers were appointed administrators of the estate. Possibly, operations in the settlement did not change much during the decade. Thomas Jefferson Park and his family moved into the house with Betsy Ann, the two of them having purchased the 1062 ac complex from the Richard Park estate. Nancy Park took cash (\$24,624.00) and 24 slaves. The three daughters, Mary, Betsy Ann, and Nancy, each received an equal amount of cash (\$24,633), with the rest of the slaves to be held in a trust for them. The widow Park and her children reportedly moved to Greene County. Their presence in Greene County is indicated in the 1860 slave schedule (U.S. Census Bureau, Greene County), which records fifty-four slaves (and 3 slave houses) for the "orphans of R. S. Park".

Thomas Jefferson Park died sometime during the 1850s since his death was referenced in a 1859 land transaction (Morgan County Deed Book L:372-373) between Betsy Ann Park and her nephew, James B. Park. This deed recorded the transfer of her half of the estate to James B. Park. Betsy Ann was still living the next year during the census, but died soon afterward. She may have been buried across the river in Park family cemetery, although there is no evidence of marked gravestone.

It is suggested that sometime between 1851 and 1864 the toll bridge at Parks Bridge was replaced by a ferry once again (Bartovics 1979:20). The bridge probably washed away in a flood since a reference in a Union Officer's reports notes this fact (Davis et al. 1893:270). The toll bridges value declined from the 1843 high of \$1200 to \$583 in 1849, the last year it was reported (Morgan County Tax Digest). This decline may reflect the presence of more rail traffic seven miles up river. In any event, the bridge probably disappeared sometime during the 1850s.

The 1860 census recorded that James B. Park was 31 years old and the head of the household. He had a real property value of \$18,000 and a personal property value of \$62,000. Ten people lived in his household, including his wife, five children, mother (age 83), Aunt Betsy Ann (age 81), and William F. Williams, an overseer. On the eve of the Civil War, James B. Park owned 66 slaves who resided in 18 houses on the property.

Most of the Civil War years at Parks Mill are silent in the documents. One deed dated 1864 (Morgan County Deed Book L:626-627) recorded the purchase by James B. Park of an adjoining 25 ac tract. War time action came late in 1864 when the presence of General William T. Sherman's forces reached the Oconee River.

Brigadier General John Geary's forces arrived at Parks Mill on November 20, 1864. They wasted no time in burning the mill and ferry-boats. Geary noted that a bridge once crossed the river but had washed away in the intervening years. The raiders did not stay long and were miles away by evening (Davis et al. 1893: 270).

While there are few official records that detail the events that occurred at Parks Mill during the Civil War Period, Rice relates several stories about Parks Mill and the Park family during this period. Although these stories have not been corroborated in the official documents, they have become very much a part of local history. According to Rice, James B. Park, Jr., who became a Judge (like his father) for the Ocmulgee Circuit, recounted several stories about when Sherman's troops came through the area in 1864. Rice (1961:425) related the following story by Judge James B. Park, Jr.:

When Sherman's army left Atlanta, Ga. they came down the Ga. railroad through Madison, Ga. and burned the railroad bridge across the Oconee river and then came on down the west side of the river to where we lived, three miles south of the bridge. When the Yankees appeared my mother sent for an officer and told him that she was alone with several small children, that her husband was away and that he was a Mason, and that she would appreciate his kindness if he would see that she and the children were protected from the Federal soldiers. The officer stationed a guard at the front and back doors for three days as the soldiers were passing by and the family was not molested. The Federals did burn the three story mill on the river, stole all of the mules, horses, hogs, cows, and provisions...

We know from the reports filed by the Union officers who came through the area, that they did not remain at Parks Mill more than a day at the most. There is nothing in the reports that mention posting a guard, but then these reports do not reveal every detail of their actions (*Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* 1893, Vol. 44). Judge James B. Park, Jr. also says that the roof of the Park house caught fire while the mill was burning and that the slave Cyrus put the fire out with wet blankets, saving the house from destruction (Rice 1961:414).

A second rich Civil War story surrounds the Parks Mill place. According to Rice (1961:472-475) the senior Judge James B. Park, who died in 1901, recounted this account of the final days of the Confederacy and Jefferson Davis. In 1865 Jefferson Davis, President of the failed Confederacy, fled with the remains of the Confederate treasury from Richmond, Virginia and headed for Nashville, Tennessee. In Washington, Georgia, Davis and his convoy realized they were being pursued by Union forces and turned guickly toward Greensboro and Park's ferry. The men hastily buried the gold and silver near Parks Ferry, burned the wagons, and left separately. President Davis, who was traveling incognito, crossed the ferry and asked to spend the night at the Park house. He did not identify himself, but revealed that he was being pursued and requested that their horses be left secured and ready for a quick departure if necessary. The mysterious guest left early the next morning traveling toward Eatonton. It was not long before Federal officers appeared at Parks Mill inquiring about any strangers coming through the area recently. The officers also wanted to know the way to Eatonton. James B. Park, Sr. pretended to know little and gave them the longest route to Eatonton. Eventually, Davis was caught in Irwinsville, Georgia. This story of Jefferson Davis spending the night in the upstairs western bedroom of the Park house and the Confederate gold being buried somewhere on the banks of the Oconee River on the Greene County side persists today. There is no way to know how much, if any, of it is true. In any event, it remains one of those stories that permeates the history of a well-known local historic site.

Better known and corroborated is the economic and moral devastation that followed the end of the war for Georgia. The large Middle Georgia plantations with their sizable slave populations were in total upheaval. At Parks Mill, the mill and ferry were in ruins and the labor force to help rebuild was gone. These facts weighed heavily on James B. Park, Sr. causing him to make an important decision that began a chain of events which changed the continuity that had existed at Parks Mill for half a century. In 1866 Park sold a one-half interest in the mill complex for \$4000 (Morgan County Deed Book SS:235-236). This transaction provided Park with extra capital and two partners (James Armor and Green Moore) to help rebuild the mill. This three-story structure is shown as it looked around the turn of the twentieth century in the cover photograph and in Figure 18. Besides contributing capital for rebuilding the mill, Armor and Moore may have provided needed supervision at the mill since James Park, Sr. moved his family to Greene County sometime before the close of the decade.

The 1870 population census recorded that James B. Park, Sr. was residing in the Penfield District of Greene County. He was a 40 year old farmer with a 35 year old wife and

eight children between the ages of 4 and 19 years. Park's real estate was valued at \$10,000 and his personal estate at \$15,000, much reduced from the figures of 1860. His three oldest sons were farm laborers (U.S. Census Bureau, Greene County).

While much of his wealth was deflated by the harsh economic conditions of Georgia following the Civil War, James B. Park was able to retain some of his wealth. He was elected to the State legislature following the Civil War. Park's wealth and prestige were sufficient enough that he was able to have all his Morgan County property reassigned (Georgia Assembly Acts, 1871-1872: 306) in 1872 to Greene County. Several



Figure 18. View of Parks Mill on the Oconee River in the Early 1900s (facing northeast).

reasons are offered for why he did this. One reason may be that Morgan County would not provide upkeep of the ferry, while Greene County would (Raper 1943:191). It may have been that he wanted all of his property in one county. In any event, Parks Mill remained part of Greene County until the late 1950s when it was returned to Morgan County.

The year 1872 also marks the date that James B. Park started dividing and selling portions of the Parks Mill settlement. He sold much of the land south of the Greensboro to Madison Road where it intersected the Eatonton Road (see Figure 17, page 40). This was an area immediately south of the Park house. One tract Park sold (Greene County Deed Book T:581-582) in this area contained a storehouse, two dwellings, a blacksmith shop, and

a water gin and packing screw. These improvements were located on a 23 ac tract that cornered in the area where the Eatonton and the Greensboro-Madison Roads intersected.

In 1873 James B. Park sold (Green County Deed Book T:310-311) another one-quarter of his interest in the mill complex to John Moore, who already co-owned a quarter of the other one-half interest with James N. Armor. These actions indicate that the commercial interests continued in the community, but the Park family seemed to be participating less and less in these functions. James Park continued to own a large tract of land surrounding Parks Mill while selling most of the smaller tracts that contained the various enterprises (store, blacksmith shop, gin, mill); it appears that he retained ownership of the Park house itself, however. In particular, Park sold most of the tracts south of the Park house and the Greensboro to Madison Road.

In the 1870 census George A. Hall, a dry goods merchant, was living in the area. Hall was probably operating the store located near the intersection of the Greensboro-Madison and Eatonton Roads (immediately south of the Park house). The next household after George Hall was that of William H. Barnes, who was a mechanic probably living in the Parks Mill community. Barnes' occupation was listed as carpenter and farmer and he had a son who was a clerk in a dry goods store, probably Hall's. Other possible occupants at the settlement included several white families consisting of a millwright, a wheel wright, a blacksmith, and a farm family. Several black tenant families lived there also, including the Frank Hall family, who were black farm laborers. Twenty households past George Hall's household. Her son Richard lived in the next listed household and worked as a teacher at the "Colored school" (U.S. Census Bureau, 1870).

George Hall bought the store house tract, a 22.5 ac tract located south of the Greensboro-Madison Road and west of the Eatonton Road, from Joseph Crossley in 1878 (Greene County Deed Book V:290). Joseph Crossley originally purchased the property from James Park in 1872 (Greene County Deed Book T:580-581). This tract contained a store, gin, and several other structures, which were probably the majority of the commercial property of the community other than the mill complex.

In 1880, Frank Hall, the black farmer mentioned in the 1870 census, bought a 20 ac tract from James Park that bordered the western edge of George Hall's 22 tract (Green County Deed Book V:510-511). A 1.5 ac school house tract bounded on three sides by this 20 ac tract was kept separate and placed in the trusteeship of James Park and several local landholders including George Hall.

Nothing is known about the residents on the west side of the Oconee River at Parks Mill in 1880 because the census pages are too faint to read. However, two names of individuals that were probably residing on the east side of the river are recognizable in the census. These are Columbus M. Park, brother of Richard Park, and Cyrus Park, one of Richard Park's slaves. According to the census, Cyrus Park was a 60 year old mulatto fisherman living alone in the 161st GMD. Columbus M. Park, the 70 year old brother of Richard Park, was listed in the household following Cyrus (U.S. Census Bureau, Greene County). Columbus Park was a physician and he possibly resided in his father's (James E. Park) house on the east side of the Oconee River, although this is inconclusive.

During the 1880s, land at Parks Mill continued to change hands. A tract west of the Park house and north of the Madison-Greensboro road belonged to Mrs. Emeline Culver. There were no transactions showing when Mrs. Culver acquired her land or how large the tract was. She increased her acreage by purchasing a small bordering tract from James B. Park, Sr. in 1885. A few months later Mrs. Culver sold (Green County Deed Book 1:47-48) her 15.75 ac tract, probably to secure a debt sinc she was able to reclaim legal ownership of the 15 8/15 ac in 1890 (Green County Deed Book 2:507-508).

A water power study of the Eastern United States based on the 1880 census data reports the following on the Park mill:

*used as a grist-mill with four pair of stones, and a fall of 8 feet. The dam is of wood and stone 350 feet by 8, ponding the water for 2 or 3 miles with an average width of 300 feet, but without throwing the river out of its banks (Swain 1885:806).

The 1880 Manufacturing Schedule (enumerated by R. S. Park, who was James B. Park's son more than likely) referred to the mill as *Park & Co Mill* noting that it has a invested capital of \$20,000. There were four employees (3 over 16 years of age and 1 child). The mill ran 12 months out of the year doing custom milling. The estimated maximum daily capacity was 150 bushels from four running stones. Power was supplied to the mill machinery by two turbines (the number 3 had been written but marked out and a 2 written in) 4 ft in breadth which created 40 horsepowers through 60 revolutions per minute. The mill was grinding wheat, corn, rye, buckwheat, and barley into meal and flour. Feed was being produced also. The product value was estimated to be \$43,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, Greene County). The mill seemed to be quite profitable.

Five years later in 1885 John W. Moore sold to his partner James N. Armor (Green County Deed Book 1:31-32) the one-half interest in the mill he had acquired from James B. Park in two purchases dated 1873 (Greene County Deed Book T:310-311) and 1881 (Greene County Deed Book V:589). James N. Armor now owned a three-quarter interest in Parks Mill. John W. Moore retained his originally one-quarter interest in the mill that he acquired in 1866 when he and Armor purchased a one-half interest in the mill complex from James B. Park (Greene County Deed Book SS:235-236).

In 1891 George A. Hall apparently sold (Greene County Deed Book P:661-662) his 22.5 ac tract with the store and Frank Hall's 20 ac tract (which he had acquired at some point) to James B. Park, Jr., who was serving as a trustee for the Caldwell family. While the descriptions in the deed are vague, these two tracts appear to be the two Hall tracts. Then in 1909 (Greene County Deed Book 12:422) and 1917 (Green County Deed Book 19:74) James B. Park, Jr. sold the two tracts again as separate parcels.

There is evidence to suggest the Parks probably rented Hall's Store since a newspaper article that occurred the next year relates a story about Dr. Richard Youngblood at Parks Mill. Richard Youngblood was the son of Sarah Youngblood, who has lived near

Parks Mill since at least 1820. The newspaper article from the Weekly Madisonian dated December 30, 1892, front page, has the headline FOUL MURDER--DR. RICHARD J. YOUNGBLOOD ASSASSINATED. The paper referred to Dr. Youngblood as "a physician and a small dealer in merchandise" and noted he was fatally shot in his store at Parks Mill on Christmas Eve. Dr. Youngblood was found the next morning in his store, which was opened and still had the lights burning. It was determined that the motive was not robbery. An assailant had not been found. In 1976 descendants of Richard Youngblood visited the Park site and said that the murderer was never found. Dr. Youngblood probably resided in the house that still carried the Youngblood name in 1978.

Parks Mill, the White Family Occupation, 1897 to present. Another important turning point in the history of the Parks Mill site occurred in 1897 when Charles L. White of Minnesota purchased 530 ac of the Parks Mill settlement from James B. Park, Sr. (Green County Deed Book P:661-662). James B. Park, Sr., died a few years later in 1901 (Rice 1961:296).

By the turn of the twentieth century, both James Armor and John Moore were deceased. Following their deaths, S. A. Turnell bought the mill complex at Parks Mill from the estates of Armor and Moore in 1904-1905. A year later in June 1905, G.D. Perry and E. H. George bought the entire mill complex (Green County Deed Book 10:203). Three years later (1908) G.D. Perry became the sole owner of the mill complex (Green County Deed Book 10:203). In 1909 G.D. Perry purchased the 23 ac Hall tract from James B. Park, Jr. (Greene County Deed Book 12:422). It was at this point that the Park lands on the west bank of the Oconee River, which had been in the family for over 100 years, were finally relinquished. Over the next few years, Fred L. White, son of Charles White, who purchased the Park house and 530 ac from James Park in 1897, continued purchasing tracts of Parks Mill.

The 1905 deed (Greene County Deed Book 10:203), which recorded the selling of Parks Mill to Perry and George noted that "Mr. Hobbs" was the miller. Will Hobb was identified in the population schedule of the 1900 census for the 161st district of Greene County (Mr. J. C. Park was the enumerator). Hobb was a 33 year old white man listed as "miller, grist mill". His household consisted of himself, his wife, two children, his mother, and his brother; they rented their house. The household listed before Hobb was Albert Capilon, a white man of 54 years of age, who listed his occupation as "Ferry Man". Capilon rented a farm and lived with his wife and nine children. His three eldest sons were farm laborers. The household following Will Hobb was Peter Armor, a black 45 year old farmer with a wife and 11 children. He also rented a farm and six of his children were laborers (U.S. Census Bureau, Greene County).

The 1900 census noted that Charles White, a 49 year old farmer lived with his 16 year old son, Fred, and a black house servant, Lucy Molery. Figure 19 shows the Park house with Aunt Lucy, as the White's called her, standing in the front yard of the house around the turn of the twentieth century. The Whites are listed in the household after Peter Armor. The household listed after Charles White was that of Mrs. Emiline [sic] Culver a 71 year old widow, who owned her own farm. Mrs. Culver occupied a tract to the west of the Park house. The next six households on the population schedule were black families, who were farm laborers renting their farms, with the exception of one of them, Frank Hall. Hall,

recorded three households after White. was a 80 year old black He owned a farmer. mortgaged farm and had two daughters, both farm laborers, living with him. We know from a deed transaction in 1880 (Green County Deed Book V:510-511) that Hall bought a 20 ac tract east of the Eatonton Road and south of the Madison-Greensboro Road from James B. Park.

Sometime after the 1900 census the White family moved to nearby Buckhead. Fred White moved back to Parks Mill a few years later after he married Grace Davis of Buckhead. Fred White began to revitalize the settlement. A store and post office were established in the Park



Figure 19. Parks Mill House with "Aunt Lucy", the White's Housekeeper. Porch Sign reads, *Post Office Riverside*. Ca 1900.

house. Fred began buying the various divided parcels of the once large Park plantation. In 1911 Fred L. White purchased from A.S. Ledbetter the 15 8/15 ac Culver tract (Green County Deed Book 13:304). Then in 1917, Fred White purchased a 50 ac tract (Green County Deed Book 19:74) which included the Hall and Caldwell tracts south of the Madison-Greensboro road and west of the Eatonton Road. The school house lot of 1 ac was included in this.

By 1920, White had purchased most of the contiguous lots that once composed the Park community, including the mill property. By this time Parks Mill had been renamed Riverside. Fred White operated a Post Office and ran a store in the downstairs east room of the Park house. A small garage repair business was operated at the site during the 1920s. White established a dairy, of which several of the barns still stood in the late 1970s. Numerous black and white families lived and worked on the White farm during the early twentieth century. Figure 20 is another turn of the twentieth century photograph showing the Park house during a "Colored Easter Picnic" as it was labeled on the photograph.

The mill closed sometime during the second quarter of the century and fell into ruin. The community started to disintegrate, probably as the depression years began, although



Figure 20. View of the Park House During a Easter Picnic for the Community Blacks; ca. 1900s.

some tenants remained at the site into the third quarter of the twentieth century (Butler 1997:6). The population at Riverside slowly decreased through attrition. Most of the young had already moved away. Fred and Grace White continued living in the Park house. The store operated in the downstairs east room up until Mr. White's death in 1973. Mrs. White died within a couple of years of her husband.

Grayson White, the youngest son of Fred and Grace White, returned to live at Parks Mill in the early 1970s following his retirement from military service. At the time the reservoir was filled, only one black family, the Loves, remained in one of the tenant houses. All the others were abandoned. Grayson White built a new house outside the boundaries of the reservoir pool. In 1976 and 1977 the author and her husband lived in the Park house and hold the distinction of the being the last family to live there before it was moved from its foundations in 1978. The Park house, after the twentieth century additions were removed, was raised onto support beams and carried to a new location, approximately a mile downstream. Today the old Park house which has been totally renovated, overlooks Lake Oconee a mile or so from the spot it stood for over one and a half centuries.

CHAPTER IV--THE LONG SHOALS SETTLEMENT AND CURTRIGHT FACTORY IN GREENE COUNTY

The Archaeology at Curtright Factory Village (9GE37)

This site was located at Long Shoals on the Oconee River 19 km (12 mi) downstream from Parks Mill (Figure 21). At this point, the river broadened to nearly a 400 m (1,312 ft) wide and picked up speed as it flowed over granite outcrops and around numerous islands. By the first years of the nineteenth century, the long sharp bend at the head of the shoals was known as Horseshoe Bend and the area along the shoals was called Long Shoals. Long Shoals was a large area encompassing both sides of the river. An associated component of the Curtright site was Ross' grist mill (9Pm239), located on the opposite side of the river in Putnam County. The sites on the Putnam County side of the Long Shoals settlement will be discussed separately, however.

The Curtright site was a large self-contained textile factory complex spread out across several hillsides and along the river. The actual factory building was situated on the river bank. At Long Shoals, the Oconee River had a narrow floodplain, particularly on the Greene County side where a series of steep ridges divided by intermittent streams extended down to the narrow floodplain. Structures associated with the factory were located along these ridges approximately 250 to 300 m (984 ft) upstream and downstream from the factory building. The two most visible elements of the site were the Curtright factory building which still had portions of it brick walls extending three stories high and a nearby granite block foundation belonging to a structure reported to be a multi-function building (ie. store, chapel and school) (DePratter 1976:232).

The site was in a relatively good state of preservation even though brick had been robbed from the factory building during the early twentieth century (Hunt 1976) and several structures had been severely damaged from logging roads. When the 1978 field season began seven of the dwellings located on the ridge farthest upstream from the factory had been destroyed or severely damaged from inadvertent clearing by the reservoir clearing contractors (Bartovics and Council 1978:14). Overall, the rest of the site was relatively intact.

During the 1974-75 survey a detailed map of the site was prepared and structures were tested. The map recorded over 40 structures and other elements of the site (DePratter 1976:326). This map was so complete that only slight modifications detected during the 1978 field season had to be made. The two structures tested received 2 x 5m trenches.



Figure 21. Portion of USGS Topographic Map (Liberty Quad) Showing Location of Curtright Factory Site.

Excavations at the Curtright Factory settlement began in April and continued until September 1978. It was the most intensively excavated of any of the four historic sites investigated (Bartovics and Council 1978:56). Numerous field techniques were used to gather archaeological data from the site. These included surface collections along the exposed areas of the site (logging roads and the inadvertently cleared ridgetop), architectural drawings, and controlled excavation units. The controlled excavations occurred at the factory complex and six other structures on the site including the two structures excavated by DePratter (1976). A total of nine structures at the site were excavated to some degree between 1975 and 1978.

The elements comprising the cotton factory complex included the factory building and its hydraulic system, a granite quarry, a bridge, a cemetery, two springs, five wells, and 41 small structures (Figure 22). Table 3 lists all the structures identified on the map and describes their status, function, size, type of archaeological investigation, and whether they were within the flood pool and Georgia Power easement zone. Of the 41 structures (besides the factory), 25 were within the flood pool line and therefore, eligible for excavation (Bartovics and Council 1978:14). Much of the Curtright settlement was not flooded by Lake Oconee and remains above the high water level today.

In Table 3 under the column for **archaeological investigation** the following descriptive phrases are used: intensive excavation, limited excavation, surface collected, surface exposed, or none. The term intensive excavation means that most of the structure was excavated or in the case of the factory structure major portions of the structure were excavated. Limited excavation means only a small portion of the structure was excavated. Besides the factory, only two other structures received intensive excavation, structure 14, a domestic dwelling, and structure 5, the blacksmith shop. In the **dimension column** the size specified may represent an exact figure in the case of those structures with intact walls (the factory, the store, etc.) or an estimated size based on the foundations piers or the erosional platform upon which the house rested. Other features present on the site but not listed in Table 3 included the granite quarry, the cemetery, five wells, two springs, the bridge piers, the dam, headgates and headrace, and roads. A possible brick kiln (9Ge1080) approximately 2 km northeast of the site near Richland Creek was located. Brief descriptions of the excavated structures and some of the recorded elements of the site are presented below.

<u>The Cotton Factory</u>. This building was located on a narrow flood plain adjacent to a constricted channel of the river. The headrace paralleled the northwest edge of the building. The factory building consisted of a main portion measuring 15 m x 30 m (49 ft x 99 ft) with a 9 m x 15 m (30 ft x 49 ft) addition on the east end (Figures 23 and 24). The original basement portion of the building had an turbine in the center with a series of six piers located to the east and west of the turbine pit. An arch located on the north wall fed the water from the headrace through the turbine and an arch on the south wall marked the exit point of the water. At some previous point in time, most of the turbine had been salvaged, although the iron runner was present beneath a wooden penstock. The turbine appeared to have operated on the outward-flow principle. Water from the penstock above entered the turbine at the center of the runner, flowing outward through curved veins which imparted an opposite force to the runner blades. This impact caused



Figure 22. Plan Map of Curtright Settlement at Long Shoals.

Structure	Status	Description	Flooded (yes or no)	Dimension	Archeological Investigation
factory	partially standing	brick/stone textile mill	У	15 x 30 m + 9 x 15 m	intensive excavation
1	foundations/bulldozed	dwelling	n	undetermined	surface collected
2	foundations/bulldozed	dwelling	n	undetermined	surface collected
3	foundations/bulldozed	dwelling	n	undetermined	surface collected
4	foundations	dwelling	У	7 x 8.5 m	limited excavation
5	foundations	blacksmith shop	У	5 x 8.4 m	intensive excavation
6	foundations/bulldozed	dwelling	у	undetermined	none
7	foundations/bulldozed	dwelling	у	undetermined	none
8	foundations	dwelling	У	8 x 10 m	limited excavation
9	foundations/bulldozed	dwelling	У	undetermined	surface collected
10	foundations	dwelling	у	6.4 x 12 m	limited excavation
111	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	surface collected
12	unknown	possible dwelling	n	undetermined	none
13	unknown	possible dwelling	n	undetermined	none
14	foundations	dwelling	у	5 x 7 m	intensive excavation
15	erosional platform	dwelling	у	16 x 29 ft.	surface collected
16	foundations	unknown	у	undetermined	limited excavation
17	foundations	unknown	у	undetermined	surface exposed
18	foundations	dwelling	У	6 x 12 m	limited excavation
19	foundations	possible dwelling	у	undetermined	none
20	foundations	dwelling	У	undetermined	surface collected
21	foundations	dwelling	у	undetermined	surface collected
22	foundations	dwelling	У	undetermined	surface collected
23	foundations	dwelling	у	undetermined	surface collected
24	foundations	dwelling	у	undetermined	surface collected
25	foundations	dwelling	у	undetermined	surface collected
26	foundations	dwelling	У	undetermined	surface collected
27	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
28	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
29	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none

Table 3. Inventory of Structures Identified at Curtright Factory Settlement.

Structure	Status	Description	Flooded (yes or no)	Dimension	Archeological Investigation
30	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
31	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
32	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
33	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
34	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
35	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
36	foundations	dwelling	n	undetermined	none
37	foundations ²	unknown	n	undetermined	none
38	partially standing	store/chapel /school	У	6 x 12 m	limited excavation
39	foundations	unknown	у	4.5 x 12 m	none
40	foundations	assoc. w/forge	У	У	limited excavation

 I larger than most dwellings & offset on hilltop from others 2 on hilltop above factory settlement



Figure 23. View of East Wall of the Original Factory Building, Looking west.



Figure 24. Plan Map of Curtright Factory Building and Excavations.

the attached center shaft to turn producing the necessary torque to supply power to the machinery in the above stories. The exiting water was forced below the turbine into a aperture that opened into the tailrace, which extended through the south foundation wall and back into the river channel. Another similar turbine pit was located in the western (central) section of the factory addition. Again the water was directed through an arch on the north wall and exited through an arch on the south wall.

Excavations along the eastern exterior edge of the factory located a third turbine pit containing two iron scroll-case turbines (Figure 25) which operated on the inward-flow or center vent principle. This type of turbine had a case that tapered radially around the runner, which kept the water under substantial pressure while being equally distributed around the circumference of the runner. Water from the headrace entered a reinforced penstock regulated by a tight-fitting iron swivel gate above the turbine. From the penstock the water entered the scroll flowing through the curved vanes of the runner and exiting through the center of the wheel either in an upward or downward force into the tail race which was located along the east edge of the turbine housing (Bartovics n.d.:12).

Excavations of the wheel pits indicated that the one in the original portion of the factory was left intact and silted over, but later salvaged probably for scrap iron. The central wheel pit in the addition apparently was removed prior to siltation. No evidence of the turbine was present; however, broken and worn-out machine parts were present suggesting that the wheel pit was used as a refuse hole for unwanted factory junk. It is hypothesized that this central turbine was removed when the two eastern turbines were installed. The eastern two turbines remained intact and silted in before attempts were made later to remove them. The eastern most runner of the two was successfully removed while attempts to remove the other one apparently went astray since it was bent at an angle but still intact. Five backhoe trenches excavated into the headrace helped in the interpretation of the turbine installation and sedimentation phases. Beside the turbine housings, a large quantity of building materials (nails, roofing fragments, window glass, etc.), machine parts, and hand tools were recovered. A small amount of domestic materials was also recovered (Bartovics n.d.:11-13).

Architecturally the Curtright Factory building can be described as a three and one-half story brick building raised over a one-story hewed granite block basement. The top floor, the garret, was only one-half the height of the floors below. There were five rows of windows in the original factory and three on the addition. The original basement story had two windows along the southern foundation with a entrance on the northern wall. The eastern addition's basement had four windows on the east side, while the western side appeared to have been devoted strictly to the hydraulic system. The building may have had a mansard type roof consisting of a roofing metal composed of 20 cm x 30 cm (8 in x 12 in) metal panels (Bartovics and Council 1978:26-27, 50).

<u>The Dam and Headrace.</u> Portions of the dam, located between the north river bank and the lower end of an adjacent island, were evident as a line of large stones situated across the solid rock river channel. Where the dam intersected the river there were ruins of a large gate structure which marked the head of the headrace. The gate structure consisted of parallel granite walls 3 m (10 ft) high (Figure 26) with evidence of a gate



Figure 25. View of Eastern Twin Turbine Installation During Excavation at Curtright Factory.



Figure 26. View of Head Gates for Raceway at Curtright Factory.

house or platform bridging the top of the head race entrance. A stone paved spillway 6 m (18 ft) wide was located between the east end of the free standing south wall and a shorter 1 m x 1.5 m (3.3 ft x 5 ft) pier. This was interpreted as a possible waste water gate which enabled the hydraulic system to be drained without running water through the turbines. There were no excavations conducted around the head gates.

The headrace leading to the factory was constricted between a stone-faced embankment about 3m (10 ft) high on the south edge and the natural river bank on the north edge. The length of the headrace was approximately 150 m (492 ft) from the head gates to the northeast edge of the factory. A profile trench was excavated across the headrace at the point where a stream had breached both walls of the headrace to drain into the river. The profile showed that the rock wall erected as the south edge of the raceway was 90 cm (3 ft) thick (Bartovics n.d.:9-10).

<u>Structure 4.</u> This structure was tested during the 1974-75 survey (DePratter 1976). Excavation results documented an end chimney for a small dwelling located close to the access road west of the factory. Several stone footings were observed for the structure providing an estimated size of 7 m x 8.5 m (23 ft x 28 ft). Domestic type artifacts were recovered as well as aboriginal materials.

Structures 5 and 40. Structure 5, located adjacent to a small stream, was intensively excavated. It was identified as a blacksmith shop (Figure 27). Two structures (one identified as 40 and the other unnumbered) located on each side of the structure were probably part of the blacksmith complex as was a small spring. A forge, measuring 2 m x 2.4 m (7 ft x 8 ft), was identified within the blacksmith shop. The forge was constructed of brick bonded in the American pattern. The firebox was a small circular depression of clay which was surrounded by flat stones (Figure 28). A waste removal aperture, which consisted of a brick arch, was present in the southeast wall of the forge. The aperture opened onto a ditch, which was filled with ash, slag and iron fragments. The location of the anvil seat was identified by a deep circular depression found at the exterior northeast corner of the forge.

The blacksmith shop measured 5 m x 8.4 m (17 ft x 27.5 ft) and was defined on its south wall by a sill which was lying directly on the ground in an east-west direction (Bartovics n.d.:14-15). The shop may have been a partially opened shed which sheltered the forge proper (Bartovics and Council 1978:37a). The earthen shop floor was covered with a large quantity of metal debris, indicating the fabrication and repair of machinery, guns, and other utensils such as knives (Bartovics n.d.:15).

Structure 40, located to the east of the blacksmith shop, may have been a residence since domestic materials were recovered from the one test unit. The structure was defined by an erosional platform with evidence of possible stone footings on the northeast and northwest corners of the structure. One excavation unit was placed in the southwest corner of the structure. A possible second smaller structure was located on the west side of the blacksmith shop, although no excavation took place there.







Figure 28. View of Forge in Black Smith Shop, Curtright Factory Settlement.

Structure 8. This structure was located upstream from the blacksmith shop on the north side of the stream. A chimney fall and five stone footings were visible on the surface. Limited excavations revealed a central chimney with a double firebox located in the center of an approximately 8 m x 10 m (26 ft x 34 ft) dwelling. A small artifact sample was recovered.

Structure 10. Continuing upstream from structure 8, structure 10 was located next to a well. This structure was somewhat unique in that it was not situated on an erosional platform like most of the other structures, but instead was located in a slight depression. Excavations revealed a central chimney with a double firebox; one firebox was constructed of stone and one was made of brick and stone (Figure 29). The dimensions of the structure were estimated to be 6.4 m x 12 m (21 ft x 39 ft). A moderate amount of domestic artifacts were recovered. Excavation of the adjacent well was begun but abandoned when a well casing could not be found for shoring up the excavation (Bartovics n.d.:16).

<u>Structure 14</u>. This dwelling was the first structure excavated in 1978. It was located on a ridge 171 m (560 ft) northeast of the factory. An open well was present next to the dwelling. The structure was located on an erosional platform with no intact footings present. A slightly offset central chimney with a double firebox was exposed during excavations. The drip line was uncovered along the north side of structure, although a


Figure 29. View of Structure 10 Chimney Base--Double Firebox with Brick and Stone Construction.

corresponding south side drip line was not evident. A sizeable sample of domestic type artifacts were uncovered (Bartovics n.d.:17).

Structure 16. The exact function of this structure could not be determined. It was located adjacent to the road northeast of the factory. It was also the closest structure to the bridge. Excavations revealed a small granite foundation with an open center measuring 1.8 m (6 ft) square. Bricks were laid on top of the granite stones on three sides while loose rubble stone flanked the foundation on two sides. Domestic artifacts were found in association with the structure, although it did not appear to be similar in construction to any of the other domestic hearths (Bartovics n.d.:18).

Structure 18. This domestic structure was located about 70 m (230 ft) northwest of the headgates. It was defined by two stone piers and a large end chimney on an erosional platform (Figure 30). Excavations uncovered a drip line along the southwestern edge of the structure. The dwelling was estimated to have been 5.5 m x 11 m (18 ft x 35 ft) in size. The end chimney was somewhat unusual since all of the other structures excavated had central chimneys with double fireboxes. Structure 18 had a sheet metal roof and may have had a cast iron stove since several sections of stove pipe were recovered. A modest sample of domestic artifacts were recovered (Bartovics n.d.:19).





The Bridge. The remains of the bridge were located 300 m (984 ft) downriver from the factory at the foot of Long Shoals. The remains consisted of eight quarried granite block piers. Although the piers had partially collapsed it was estimated that each originally measured 3 m x 5 m (10 ft x 16 ft) in breadth with an undetermined height. The piers spanned the river from the east bank (Greene County side) to an island in the river on the Putnam County side. While bridge piers were not located on the Putnam County side it may be assumed that the bridge extended across the river to Putnam County probably near the Ross mill (9Pm239), which was associated with the Curtright Factory Complex (Bartovics n.d.:9).

<u>The Cemetery</u>. Located on a high knoll overlooking the head of Long Shoals was the cemetery. Approximately 75 graves were identified from sunken depressions and unmarked rough granite head and foot stones. One grave was covered by a collapsed granite stone crypt. None of the graves were marked and none of the buried have been identified. Hunt (1976:9) says this was the Friendship Baptist Church cemetery. The cemetery was not inundated.

<u>The Granite Quarry</u>. This feature was located at the base of the ridge top where the cemetery is located. This was approximately 400 m (1,312 ft) upstream from the factory building. The hillside was scarred with quarry pits and talus from cutting granite blocks. Because of its close proximity to the settlement, it was hypothesized that this was where the stone used to construct many of the structures at the factory was quarried.

Structures 18, 27 - 36. These 11 structures (structure 18 marks the southern terminus) are evenly spaced along the north side of the access road that extends along a long ridge top southwest of the factory. Two wells are located on this ridge, one adjacent to structure 29 and the other directly across the road from the structure. All of these structures with the exception of structure 18 were above the reservoir pool level and therefore were not investigated.

Structures 20 through 26. On the next ridge top to the southwest of structures 27 through 36, were six structures that were somewhat vaguely alleged to be slave dwellings. This was the ridge that was inadvertently cleared prior to the beginning of the 1978 fieldwork. An intensive surface collection was made of the ridge slope and a moderate amount of domestic materials recovered. The types of ceramics identified did not seem to differ much from collections gathered from other components of the site. Mr. E.H. Armor of Greensboro reported to Bartovics that in 1980 during low water he observed several chimney bases eroding from the lake edge on this ridge (Bartovics n.d.:19).

The History of Long Shoals and Curtright Factory

Curtright Factory was built in an area occupied very early in Greene County's history. The site was located on the lower end of a long pronounced bend referred to locally and in the records as **Horseshoe Bend** or sometimes the **Bend**. The original land grant for Horseshoe Bend probably consisted of two tracts. One, which was granted to John Ogletree in 1786, contained the future site of Curtright Factory. The other tract was in the most inner part of Horseshoe Bend and belonged to the Wooten family, possible Branson Wooten or his father. The closest early settlement in this area, according to T. B. Rice (1961:479-480), was Cracker's Neck. Rice's description of Cracker's Neck gives it broad boundaries which include Horseshoe Bend and Long Shoals.

Late eighteen century maps (see Figure 2, page 13) depict several forts near the Long Shoals area on the Oconee River and farther south and southeast around the mouth of Richland Creek. The concentration of forts and stations suggest a thriving settlement in this area. Archibald Gresham had a fort somewhere in the vicinity according to the Elholm and Fauche maps in Hunt (1973:24); this fort later became Fort Fabius.

Around 1800 John Ogletree began dividing and selling tracts from his original headright grant at Long Shoals. Between 1800 and 1845 when Curtright Manufacturing Company acquired the land, the Horseshoe Bend parcels exchanged hands numerous times. The deeds, tax records, Inferior Court Minutes, and censuses give many details and clues about the area's development. There is no way to know where each tract described in the deeds is located except in a vague sense. Ogletree's parcels were divided and merged numerous times.

The Greene County Inferior Court Minutes in 1804 (Greene County 1804:137) recorded the first mention of a ferry at this location; it was to be operated by James Holt, who owned land at Long Shoals. The 1807 Putnam County Land Lottery Map (Georgia Department of Archives) shows Rutledge Mill at Long Shoals on the Greene County side. This is probably James Rutledge who bought a 329 ac tract from Ogletree in 1800 (Green County Deed Book 3:319-320). The minutes of the Greene County Inferior Court (page 303 and 313) in 1811 mentioned a road coming from Long Shoals to Richland Creek, possibly crossing at Holt's ferry. The first mention of a mill at Long Shoals occurred in 1814 when James Holt buys a 30 ac tract that passed from Ogletree to Rutledge and eventually to Holt (Green County Deed Book GG:352). This is probably Rutledge's mill; the deed noted that Holt had a plantation at Long Shoals near the "Cow Ford" that is referenced in the 1804 minutes (Greene County 1804:137).

The names of several landowners in the "Bend" at Long Shoals occurred in the records. Besides James Holt, Branson Wooten, Nathaniel Howell, and Henry G. Slaughter are mentioned, and the tax records show they were all slave holders with relatively large land tracts in the area. Ferries at Long Shoals are mentioned in association with Holt's name and Wooten's name in 1821 and 1822 in the Inferior Court Minutes, (Greene County 1821:157 and 1822:210).

In 1821 James Holt and Branson Wooten entered some type of business venture, combining their lands into a 747 ac tract at Horseshoe Bend as collateral (Greene County Deed Book GG:411). The venture failed and Holt and Wooten lost the land (Greene County Deed Book HH:220). Holt moved and in 1822 Nathaniel Howell, whose property bordered the original Ogletree land grant (Georgia Headright Grant Book NNN:84), became the owner of 640 ac of the land Holt and Wooten lost (Greene County Deed Book HH:336). Probably by 1824 Wooten had left the shoals area since his named

ceased to occur in the tax digest. References in the Inferior Court Minutes (1820-1836:127 and 133) indicated that Howell continued the mill operation at the site. By 1830 Howell, a wealthy land and slave owner, sold his lands at Long Shoals.

The property passed through several more land owners before John Curtright's name appeared on a deed transaction in 1838 (Greene County Deed Book OO:251). This date marked the point when John Curtright began to buy tracts in the Horseshoe Bend at Long Shoals. Apparently, the Curtrights (also spelled in various documents as Cutright, Cartwright, Curtwright, but most often as Curtright) had moved to the area much earlier. Hunt says (1976:53) that the Curtright family came to Greene County in 1786. She states (1976:8) that Dr. John Curtright served as postmaster for the community of Montgomery located in Cracker's Neck from 1829 to 1836. The 1830 census listed two Cartwright [sic] households (U.S. Census Bureau, Greene County). James Cartwright [sic] was listed near the household of John Mallory. The 1830 census and the 1833 Howell deed were the earliest documents that could be found of the Curtright presence in the area

Dr. John Curtright's residence in the Cracker's Neck and Long Shoals area became more apparent in 1833 when two events were documented. In January of 1833 he married Irene Ward in Greene County (Rice 1961:525). According to Hunt (1976:8), that same year Dr. Curtright deeded a tract of land to the Friendship Baptist Church located at Horseshoe Bend. The church and its associated cemetery become part of the Curtright factory complex in later years. Hunt suggests that this was the closest church to the mill and that probably many of the mill workers attended the church and were buried in the cemetery. Another early mention of John Curtright in the county records occurred in the 1834 Greene County Tax Digest.

The 1840 Federal Census (U.S. Census Bureau) listed consecutively the households of John Curtright, William Gaston, Robert Griffin, William Riley, and Martha Malory. These were the families living at Long Shoals in 1840. All were slave holders, John Curtright being the largest with 31 slaves. Most household members were involved in agriculture, although one individual in Robert Griffin's household was involved in manufacturing and trade.

Caroline Hunt (1976:9), who examined the records of the Friendship Baptist Church, noted that the church joined the Central Baptist Association in 1842. At that time the church membership consisted of 80 members, suggesting a substantial population in the area at this date.

Land transactions continued on the "Bend" tract at Long Shoals. In 1843 John Gaston sold a 225 ac tract at Long Shoals to James G. Riley (Greene County Deed Book OO:334). Two years later in 1845 Robert Griffin sold a 70 ac parcel to John Curtright, "at the long [sic] Shoals of the oconee river [sic] adjoining lands of James Riley, William T. Gaston and said Curtright" (Greene County Deed Book OO:253-254).

Parcel by parcel John Curtright acquired the Long Shoals properties. In the summer of 1845 Curtright purchased a small 25 ac tract at "the foot of the long Shoals of the oconee [sic] River" from William Gaston (Greene County Deed Book OO:254-255). This deed also noted Ross' Ferry at Long Shoals. On the same day that John Curtright bought the small 25 ac parcel from Gaston, he sold 300 ac at Long Shoals to the Curtright Manufacturing Company (Greene County Deed Book OO:252-253). The deed noted that one edge of the property was bounded by the Ross' ferry landing. All water power rights were assigned to Curtright Manufacturing Company in the deed as well. Those persons composing the Curtright Manufacturing Company consisted of: John Curtright, John Cunningham and son, John E. Jackson and Samuel Davis of Greene County, David Ross of Putnam County, Henry Merrell of Clark County, and Artemas Gould and John M. Adams of Augusta.

The Curtright Manufacturing Company had been formed at least since May of 1845 because one of their first transactions (Clarke County Deed Book S:265) was the purchase from Henry Merrell of four parcels of land on Barber Creek (a tributary of the Middle Oconee River) in Clark County. These tracts formed the Mars Hill Factory tract and the deed specified that the property contained a factory, a new sawmill, grist mill, houses, and machinery and fixtures, which were in successful operation. Hunt states (1976:12) that by August of 1845 the Curtright Manufacturing Company gave J. Calvin Johnson of Clarke County the power of attorney to sell the Mars Hill tract, although the tract did not sell until 1853 (Clarke County Deed Book U:366). Why the Curtright Manufacturing Company purchased the Mars Hill factory tract in late May and three months later put it up for sale is unexplained. Possibly they bought the complex for some of the machinery and equipment. This idea is partly supported by the fact that the Curtright Manufacturing Company paid Merrell \$16,000 (almost four times what Merrell paid for the tracts six months earlier!) for the Clarke County mill complex. Eight years later the Marsh Hill mills were finally sold to James Lee for \$1000 (Clarke County Deed Book U:366). This sizable depreciation in property value might indicate that items of value had been removed from the premises, or it may possibly mean that the mills set idle and depreciated from decay.

Efforts to form a company and build a cotton factory at Long Shoals were probably in the plans as early as 1844. The Savannah Daily Republican announced in the January 9, 1845 issue that "an effort is making to form a company for the establishment of a cotton factory at the falls of the Oconee". John Curtright and other local planters and businessmen judiciously recognized the economic feasibility in taking native grown cotton and processing it locally into yarn and cloth instead of sending the raw cotton off to the northern states and paying much higher prices for the returned finished products. What they needed was a experienced manufacturer, and that individual, in the person of Henry Merrell, arrived on the scene in Clarke County in 1844.

Henry Merrell became a key player in the Curtright Manufacturing Company. His memoirs tell much about the company during its first 10 years of existence. Merrell was a cotton manufacturer from Utica, New York, who came to Roswell, Georgia in 1839. He became a stockholder of the Roswell Manufacturing Company and an agent for the company (Wood 1989). Merrell worked hard at Roswell and brought profitable returns to the Roswell Manufacturing Company stockholders. He married into the Archibald Smith family, one of the original founding families of Roswell. Sometime in the early 1840s Merrell realized that he would never be able to attain a higher position than agent at the

Roswell Mill. Barrington King, son of Roswell King, Sr., was president of the company and his sons were the likely heirs to succeed him in running the company. Merrell began to look for a favorable business opportunity that could further his career and found it in the purchase of the Mars Hill factory in Clarke County in 1844. Merrell was proud of his successes at Roswell and continued his strong ties with the Roswell Manufacturing Company even after he left Cobb County. As a result, many associations between the Roswell Manufacturing Company and the Curtright Manufacturing Company existed throughout the next two decades.

Merrell, who was well educated and articulate, wrote an informative memoir. His descriptions of the factory complex are fascinating and shed much light on why the Curtright Factory may have failed in less than three decades of operation. Merrell relates the following concerning the early years of the Curtright Factory:

I...became Agent of a new and wealthy company in Greene County, Georgia, and for them proceeded to erect a new Factory at the long Shoals of the Oconee river about sixteen miles south from Greensboro. That manufacturing village was named for me "Merrell" and will be found on the latest maps of that State. I never liked the location. It was sickly, & that consideration alone ought to condemn any location for a factory town. The water power was of a character not to be controlled without a very great outlay of money. The country round about was too wealthy to furnish the required amount of cheap labor and provision, I demurred at the location & pointed out a better, but they would have the Factory in their own County or not at all. As it turned out, it has seemed to me that I had better [have] closed the negotiation by letting them have it not at all. But I went on with the undertaking in not seriously doubting good results with proper energy & skill in the management. I worked very hard and managed many things well, but some parts of the undertaking were beyond my skill and the means at my disposal. I never did succeed in obtaining good drinking water for so many hands; hence, unusual sickness-even for that place--&, from sickness, a reduction in the number of hands. I never was able, with the capital at my disposal, to control the river in low water and in high water, so as to give me permanent and reliable waterpower. And when I had done building there was not money enough left to purchase first-rate machinery for spinning; so I was fain to content myself and risk my reputation on low-priced machinery of New England manufacture. I have tried them twice & have come to the conclusion that an abolition machine-builder at the North will not furnish a Southern manufacturer with the best machinery. I ought to have known better than to trust them at all.

But in spite of all these disadvantages, such is the virtue of hard work and a determined purpose that, so long as I could give that Factory my personal attention, I made money for my Company. Their books show that in four or five years I made them dividends to the amount of more than \$50,000 on a capital which in the same time was increased from \$55,000 to \$90,000. But the loss of hands by sickness was enormous. Not that so many actually died, but the most thrifty among them became discouraged and moved away to other factories, leaving me only indifferent families and some of bad character who could not easily obtain employment elsewhere...*(Skinner 1991:196-197)

While Merrell does not discuss in any specific detail the construction of the Curtright Factory complex he does say that, "In everything relating to the Long Shoals Factory, I have aimed at permanence. I have been at extra expense to make it so. The works are substantial" (Skinner 1991:470). The fact that portions of the factory building still stood three stories high in 1978 attests to Merrell's meticulous attention to sound construction. George White (1849:291) described the main factory building as a brick three story building measuring 150 ft long with a stone foundation and a tin roof. Other buildings

associated with the factory included a "store, school-room and place of worship". There apparently was no bridge at the site in 1849, although it was there by the time White (1855:291) published his second account. He described it as "an elegant stone bridge across the Oconee".

Merrell gave no detail to the number and types of buildings constructed at Curtright. An article in the Savannah Daily Republic reports "within nine months after the first spade was put into the ground" the Curtright Factory was in operation.

While knowledge of the Curtright Factory village layout comes from archaeological observation, it may be speculated that Merrell constructed the village according to plans he was familiar with from northern mill villages. Perhaps he also followed the advice or recommendations of South Carolina textile industrialist William Gregg. In fact, Merrell mentions in passing that he had conversed personally with Gregg (Skinner 1991:171). More than likely, Merrell was familiar with Gregg's ideas and writings.

Williams Gregg's Graniteville mill village, ten miles east of Augusta, Georgia in South Carolina, became a model for southern mill villages. Gregg supported the view that mills should be built in rural areas away from the urban centers which he felt had a bad influence on the morals of the workers. His mill village included a school and church and he even had adult night classes. The need to legislate morality was paramount in his concerns (Johnson 1932:230). These were the seeds of the "paternalistic idealism" that later permeated southern mill owner's ideology during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These ideas, incipient in many of the northern mills, are examined in Anthony F.C. Wallace's work (1972) on an early nineteenth century Pennsylvania mill community. Merrell intimates this ideology to some extent since he makes several references to the morals of the Curtright community.

Merrell says he threw himself into his work at Curtright with the anticipation that if he worked hard enough he could overcome the disadvantages present at Curtright. In 1846 Henry Merrell, as Agent for the Curtright Manufacturing Company, purchased a 225 ac tract at Long Shoals (part of the "Bend Tract") from James G. Riley (Greene County Deed Book OO:332). This increased the company's land holdings at Long Shoals to 525 ac.

The Long Shoals factory village grew quickly. A post office was established in May of 1846 with the name of the settlement listed as Long Shoals Factory. Henry Merrell was the post master. The post office name was changed to Merrell in late 1846 and retained that name until 1854 when it was changed to Curtright (U.S. Post Office Department). The name of the factory appears on maps sometimes as Merrell and sometimes Curtright (see the Butts Map in Figure 3). Henry Merrell almost always referred to it as Curtright Factory. The name of Long Shoals appears in many documents in reference to the area and the mill.

The factory must have gone into yarn production immediately since the company received two awards in 1846 for their products. Probably because of Henry Merrell's New York connections, the company offered its yarns for sale in the northern markets. Robert Griffin (1964:83) states that the company had to sell its merchandise in the north because

of a saturation in the local market, which may have been true also. The first award came in the summer of 1846 when the Curtright Manufacturing Company entered a cotton yarn sample in the National Fair held at Washington City where it was pronounced "the best and finest in the fair" (Southern Recorder, July 7, 1846--in McLaurin 1976:3). Then, on November 25, 1846 the Savannah Republican announced that a medal had been awarded to the Curtright Manufacturing Company for the "best specimen of cotton yarn" at the fair of the American Institute in New York.

Producing award winning yarns so quickly suggests not only good management, but skilled workers. Because of its newness, Curtright Factory probably was able to attract skilled workers from other mills. There must have been a large influx of people into the Long Shoals area during this period. Hunt (1976:9) says that the membership at Friendship Baptist church reached its all time high in 1848 with 83 members. This would have reflected the growing population at the mill. Probably by 1850, a relatively stable population size had been reached in the mill community. Data from the census for 1850 and 1860 suggests that the population size remained nearly the same, although there was an almost complete turnover in the individuals who lived there.

The population demographics at Long Shoals, extracted mostly from the Federal population census, reveal many interesting facts about southern factory workers during the mid-nineteenth century. The census data sheds light on the types of jobs in the mill, household size and age distribution.

The information Henry Merrell provides on the factory workers meshes favorably with census data. Merrell (Skinner 1991:197) mostly bemoaned the lack of a good qualified labor force saying that the surrounding area had too much wealth and an inadequate number of landless individuals willing to work cheaply in the cotton mills. Very importantly, he mentions several times the poor health of the workers in the area. This seems surprising but perhaps helps explain much about the factory's short and overall unsuccessful history. Merrell states there was not a large enough potable water supply (Skinner 1991:195-1296) resulting in much sickness. Merrell wrote in 1855 for a commerce journal published in New York (Skinner 1991:418) that "in summer they are debilitated", referring to the health of the mill workers. He noted in his memoirs that while few of the workers actually died, the endemic sickness was bad enough to cause most to move.

The warmer months apparently were the worse for the sickness. More than likely the workers suffered from dysentery, typhoid and diphtheria. No doubt, if there was stagnant water, malaria and yellow fever may have also caused problems. Those most likely to have died would have been those in ill health, children and the elderly. James Silk Buckingham, an English traveler who visited the cotton mills in Athens, Georgia in 1839, noted (in Hynds 1974:25) that in the Athens' mills "The whites looked miserably pale and unhealthy; and they are said to be short-lived, the first symptoms of fevers and dysenteries in the autumn appearing chiefly among them at the factories, and sweeping numbers of them off by death". These similar observations by both Merrell and Buckingham emphasize the poor health conditions present in many of the southern mills and their surroundings. The unhealthy atmosphere (poor air quality and a noisy, damp,

and poorly lighted environment), confined working conditions with long hours at tedious tasks that prevented adequate exercise, and an inadequate diet exacerbated the health problems of the factory workers. While factory workers had their freedom (in a limited sense at least), the field slaves possibly lived and worked under much better health conditions.

The inadequate labor force at Curtright was so bad that Henry Merrell went to New York City in 1847 and hired newly arrived Irish immigrants fleeing the devastating effects of the potato famine of Ireland. In a letter written November 20, 1847, Merrell described the Irish workers he hired:

I have this week red. and installed 19, making in all 20, emigrants of the starving poor who are now made happy with food & clothing at our works. They came to hand in good health & spirits. I never employed a lovelier set of hands. The moral effect upon our fractious & insubordinate is capital. If those people had dropped from the clouds, they would not have produced more dismay. But in a more serious way, I would apprise you that I consider the experiment entirely successful. Factories can at this time be built & manned with decent, humble, Protestant people who can be procured at less expense & will work for more reasonable wages than the corresponding class of native Georgians.

You are aware that it has been a serious question whether white hands could be procured to man [illegible] Factories. Also that the hands employed are restless & exacting because the demand for operatives exceeds the supply. The interesting circumstance is this. The first question asked by these people is, "Can they have a patch of land to cultivate?" They set infinite value upon an acre of poor land & I doubt not [illegible]. Those whom I have will all be fully employed as mechanics & will have no time to till the land." (Skinner 1991:471).

Merrell's letter relates several interesting facts about the conditions at Curtright and his work philosophy. His reference to the "fractious & insubordinate" implies that many of his workers were not too cooperative and he gleefully perceived that they were threatened by the arrival of these poor immigrants so desperate for work that they would willingly perform their tasks with little protest. Merrell surmises that the surliness of the Georgia operatives was due to the high demand for mill hands from a limited factory worker pool. This situation resulted in an attitude by many mill workers that factory owners should be grateful for the workers they had. Of course, this went against the grain of most factory owners, who thought that the mill workers should feel gratitude toward them for giving them a job. In any event, the unhealthy environmental conditions at the Long Shoals factory prevailed and Merrell laments about his Irish immigrants:

It was all in vain. The results were the same, with only this advantage-that those people came to me with a stock of rosy health which carried them through the first year, but the second year (as is generally the case with Northern Constitutions) broke them down to a level with all the rest. The worst of them turned out to be Roman Catholics of the bitterest kind, and would keel down in the office and curse my Superintendent with a pathos and energy truly wonderful. Some of the women went very far astray, which is, I believe, a thing unusual among Irish girls who have their confessions to make to the Priests. (Skinner 1991:197)

This affair must have left Merrell greatly disillusioned. He was particularly hurt that one Irish immigrant orphaned boy, who he saw particular promise in and hired at a higher wage than most of the others, "turned out to be a traitor to me" (Skinner 1991:197). This person was Joshua Neary a newly arrived immigrant from Drogheda, Ireland. While Merrell does not say how old Joshua was when he found him in New York City, it is hypothesized that he must have been about 17 years old (based on an age of 20 in the 1850 census) when Merrell brought him to Curtright Factory. There, Merrell quickly promoted Neary to storekeeper. Neary eventually married Tranquilla C. Parrott, the daughter of a prosperous local planter, who was probably Curtis Parrot, a resident of the Long Shoals area.

Merrell's disillusionment with the conditions at the Curtright Factory settlement is also expressed by his move to Greensboro within a short period of time after the establishment of the factory. Apparently, he moved for family reasons; his wife was unhappy in such an isolated area as Long Shoals which lacked a home suitable to her liking. Merrell later indicates some regret in this move, blaming the failings of the company partially on the necessity of running the factory at a long distance. He says that "From that time things gradually ran down on my hands. I saw it year after year growing worse and worse." Merrell also blamed the "Tariff of 1846" for a general poor economic effect upon "the Manufacturers of Georgia, as it had already felt by those at the North. Profits reached the lowest living point & below. Imported goods did not exactly take the place of ours, but they did take the place of Northern manufactures, driving their looms and spindles into direct competition with us." (Skinner 1991:198, 472). This increased competition with northern factories resulted in the realization by Merrell that the machinery he had bought for the Long Shoals Factory could not compete with the technologically advanced machinery of the north. Merrell deplored this situation, stating "In the Long Shoals Factory I had actually gone backwards, and adopted new machinery of the style ten years gone by. And I had been fool enough to make a virtue of my conservatism in so doing!" (Skinner 1991:199). The 1846 Tariff, named after its sponsor, R. J. Walker (Secretary of the Treasurer under President Polk), removed many of the protections duties applied to imported textiles (Randall and Donald 1969:286).

In Greensboro, Merrell was urged by a number of businessmen and planters to build another mill. Merrell says:

I am now frequently solicited by persons wishing to invest in a new factory. Against building any more at the Long Shoals, I am for the present determined [illegible]. The new factory I have to build will make fine goods, whether driven by steam or water power. By fine goods [I] mean the ordinary sheetings & shirtings such as are [illegible] course goods at the North. I am desirous of building such a Factory. I was brought up to make such goods. The money seems to be held in readiness now for such an Enterprise. The time appears to be propitious. (Skinner 1991:473).

Merrell wrote the above words in a letter to Henry Atwood, a Darien merchant and founding member of Roswell, Georgia and the Roswell Manufacturing Company, who would in a few short years (1856) buy Curtright Factory. Sometime in 1849, Merrell constructed a second cotton factory in the town of Greensboro. It was Merrell's hope that he would have better access to mill laborers with healthier working conditions. He also thought that the steam power supplied by wood from the railroad would provide a more reliable energy source for operating the mill machinery. He would in a few years

find this source not so reliable due to the vagaries of those owning and operating the Georgia Railroad (Skinner 1991:200).

While many of the stockholders of the Greensboro Manufacturing Company were also on the stockholder's board for the Curtright Manufacturing Company, there apparently developed a chasm between the two competing mills that caused Merrell to resign from the Curtright Manufacturing Company's stockholder board and as agent sometime either late in 1851 or early 1852. David Howell, who had been storekeeper at the Roswell Factory earlier in the 1840s, became the agent for Curtright Manufacturing Company. Howell, who became the postmaster at Merrell in 1847, was a Welchman. Merrell thought highly of David Howell in 1847 reporting to Henry Atwood that "of all his subordinates at Long Shoals", Howell was his "especially" picked superintendent (Skinner 1991:472). According to Merrell, Howell was his superintendent responsible for the daily operation of the Curtright from supplying the cotton to the factory, hiring, firing, managing and settling worker disputes as well as keeping the store and books. Howell and Merrell later became bitter enemies (Skinner 1991;198, 472).

Coinciding with Merrell's many comments about the workers at the Curtright Factory, a discussion of the 1850 census data adds many insights into the demographic makeup of the community. In some cases, nearby farmers and planters could be discerned in the enumeration, particularly if they were substantial property owners. The population schedules do not conclusively define the factory worker force from the surrounding population, therefore, the boundaries established for the factory population are arbitrary. The 1850 census was the first census taken after the establishment of the Curtright Factory in 1845-46. Determining the number of hands employed in the factory is hampered by the fact that the 1850 census did not record the occupations of women (U.S. Census Bureau 1853:XXII). This makes it appear that the Curtright Manufacturing company employed only males. However, it quickly becomes obvious from examining the household lists that there are an unusually high number of young girls between the ages of 14 and 20. Merrell noted the presence of females among the Irish laborers he brought from New York City (Skinner 1991:197).

The 1850 population schedules were recorded in October and show the inhabitants at Curtright living in the 142nd District of Greene County. The Long Shoals community has been arbitrarily chosen to begin with household number 559 occupied by Charles B. Matthews, a 54 year old teacher. The arbitrary choice of Matthews' household as the first in the community is based on the possibility that he may have taught school at the Curtright factory since George White (1849:291) in his *Statistics of the State of Georgia* says that there was a school at Curtright. The next four households that followed the Matthew's household were occupied by farmers and included John Curtwright [sic]'s household. The census data recorded John Curtright to be a 45 year old farmer born in Kentucky. His substantial wealth was evident in his reported real estate value of \$13,000. Curtright had a 33 year old wife, three children and a boarder, Martin Kannup [sic], who was probably the plantation overseer. The accompanying slave schedule indicated Curtright owned 39 slaves.

Two households before Curtright was Curtes [sic] Parrot, a 49 year old farmer with \$3000 worth of real estate and three slaves. As noted above, Parrott was probably the future father-in-law of the Irishman Joshua Neary that Merrell brought to Curtright Factory in 1846. The county marriage records indicated that Neary married Tranquilla C. Parrot in 1852; she was listed as Catherine in the 1850 census (she was listed as Catherine Neary in the 1870 census). Interestingly, Joshua Neary did not live at Curtright but lived in the 147th District in Robert H. Griffin's household. Also living in the Griffin household was another Curtright employee, David Howell (age 35 and a clerk from Wales) and his wife Hannah Howell.

The four households following John Curtright were headed by two carpenters, a blacksmith and a wagoner. Of these four, only the blacksmith, Alan M. Clifton, owned real estate (\$1000); Clifton also owned one slave. It is suspected that these households, with the exception of the wagoner John Kittle, may have been located along the high ridge tops above Curtright Factory since several house ruins were noted on the hill tops beyond the flood pool (see Figure 22, page 55, structures 11 and 37).

The first household number that listed a factory hand was headed by John Kittle. The Kittle household contained seven members including a boarder, Matthew Leeron, an 18 year old Irish factory hand. Mary Leeron, age 20 from Ireland (probably Matthew's sister) lived in another household. While there are 49 households estimated to be in the Long Shoals community, only 39 of these are estimated to be in the mill village proper based on the occupations listed. It is hypothesized that the census enumerator started at the top of one of the ridge crests counting down the hill and then back up the next ridge. One household located among the list of factory households that definitely was not a factory household was the household of James N. Armor (Armor would later own an interest in Parks Mill). In 1850, Armor was a 28 year old farmer with a real estate value of \$9000 and 29 slaves. Obviously, Armor was not living in the factory village, but probably lived at the top of one of the ridge crests that sloped down toward the factory.

The estimated 39 mill houses contained 291 individuals. Table 4 presents the age distribution for males and females at Curtright Factory village. Fifty-two percent of the total population in the mill village was female and 63% of these were in the 10 to 39 years old age group. Thirty-nine percent of the males were in the 10 - 29 age group. There were only two individuals, both males, in the over 60 age group. The high number of young females and males indicated the preference for employment in the mills of this age group. The average size of each household was 7.5 individuals with 13 households containing eight or more members; two households had 14 individuals. Sixteen (41%) of the households contained boarders or at least individuals with last names different from the head of the household. Four households were headed by men who had *none* written next to their name for occupationl; these households contained young males and females between the ages of 14 and 21. Table 5 presents a summary of miscellaneous facts about the household composition of the mill houses.

Male (N)	Age Range	Female (N)	
37	0 - 19	23	
52	10 - 29	70	
22	20 - 39	28	
7	30 - 39	9	
14	40 - 49	12	
6	50 - 59	9	
1	60 - 69	0	
0	70 - 79	0	
1	80 - 89	0	
140		151	

Table 4. Age Distribution for Males and Females From the Curtright Factory Households in 1850.

Total = 291

Table 5. Miscellaneous Facts About the 1850 Household Demographics in the Mill Village (U.S. Census Bureau).

Twenty-eight individuals from the mill village represented five foreign countries while 56 mill residents were born in five states other than Georgia. These numbers were as follows:

Scotland = 3	South Carolina = 29
Ireland = 16	North Carolina = 13
England = 5	New York = 2
Canada = 3	Virginia = 8
Gibraltar = 1	Maryland = 4

It is easy to see that the presence of the factory attracted a diverse group of people. This diversity was not apparent in the surrounding countryside.

Seventeen different male occupations were identified in the census which probably were associated with the factory operation (Tables 6 and 7). Fifty-four males were employed in these jobs. At least 40 male individuals were employed in the factory while probably another 14 were employed in support trades such as blacksmith, carpenter, ditcher, cabinet maker, butcher, wagoner, tailor. Two millers were also present. It is suspected that they may have been employed in the Ross grist mill across the river in Putnam County since the 1850 census recorded no millers in Putnam County at Long Shoals.

Interestingly, there were two individuals listed in the census as manufacturers, both from England. It is uncertain exactly what their occupations involved. Manufacturer sounds like a supervisory position, which does not make sense knowing that Merrell was in charge of the mill and that he listed his occupation in the 1850 census as manufacturer. Merrell noted that he moved to Greensboro in 1846 and the census verified this. Perhaps the two English manufacturers were his superintendents, although Merrell says in a letter to Henry Atwood in 1847 that he appointed David Howell as his superintendent at the factory. The 1850 census showed that David Howell, did not live at Long Shoals either, but boarded with a teacher as did Joshua Neary, the Irish boy that Merrell brought back from New York City in 1847. Since Merrell also noted that he, Howell, and Neary had a great falling out, it may have been that Merrell had removed Howell from the post of superintendent by 1850. Possibly, it was necessary to have these English manufacturers to watch over the mill since neither Merrell nor Howell were living at the mill village in 1850.

Factory Jobs	No.	Place of Birth
Weaver	3	1 Ireland, 1 Scotland, 1 Georgia
Factory Hand	28	25 Georgia, 1 Ireland, 1 South Carolina, 1 Virginia
Machinist	1	Georgia
Carder	3	2 Georgia, 1 South Carolina
Manufacturer	2	England
Wool Carder	1	Georgia
Spinner (?)*	1	Georgia
Factory dresser	1	Georgia
	40	

Table 6. Male Mill Occupations Identified in the 1850 Census at Long Shoals with the Number and Place of Birth of these Individuals.

*Appears to be spelled "Shinner", but is probably spinner.

Support Trades	No.	Place of Birth	
Carpenter	2	Georgia	
Blacksmith	2	South Carolina and Georgia	
Clerk	1	Ireland	
Tailor	1	Scotland	
Ditcher	3	Ireland	
Cabinet Maker	1	South Carolina	
Miller	2	South Carolina, North Carolina	
Wagoner	1	South Carolina	
Butcher	1	Virginia	
	14		

Table 7. Male Mill Support Occupations Identified in the 1850 Census at Long Shoals.

The occupation of ditcher is also curious, particularly since all three were Irish and lived in the same household. The ditcher's task may have been to dig and maintain the raceways. Merrell noted the difficulty in keeping a constant flow of water at the site, which suggested that he may have needed individuals employed specifically for maintaining the headrace.

Since only males have their occupations listed, there is no way to determine the actual number of factory hands employed in the mill. There were 28 male factory hands listed in the census and an estimate of 49 is proposed for the number of females factory hands. This estimate was derived from the number of females in the households between the ages of 14 and 27. Fifteen females were boarders whose presence alone would seem to signify that they were mill workers. Another 34 females between the ages of 14 and 23 were present in the various households. Many of these young women were living in households headed by older women or headed by men who had "none" listed next to their occupation. The youngest age listed for male factory hands is 15, however, based on the 1860 census at Long Shoals, most females were employed at younger ages than the males, so the age of 14 was estimated as the earliest age for the field workers. More than likely there were females younger than 14 employed at the mill. It is estimated that there were a total of 62 males and females employed as factory hands in 1850.

Those individuals listed as weaver, carder, spinner were probably in a higher position than the factory hands. The carders and spinner probably were responsible for overseeing the operation of the throstles and mules (the spinning machines), which were operated by factory hands. Wallace noted (1978:142) that the spinner was almost always a male and was the highest paid operative in the northern mills. Usually two to three lowpaid factory hands assisted him with each mule. The weavers were probably responsible for the looms which would have been operated by factory hands. There were numerous other tasks attached to the mill operation. Before the cotton went to the spinning machines it had to be picked or cleaned and then lapped (wound) on drums or belts to be delivered to the carding room. In the carding room the cotton fibers were smoothed into ropes or slivers. After the cotton was carded it went to the spinning machines which stretched and twisted the fibers into yarn. The yarn was then prepared for the looms, which involved warping the yarn to prepare it for the weaving looms. If the yarn was a final product to be shipped to other factories or for home use, it was wrapped on bobbins or spools. Often the yarn was then sent to be dyed although some mills dyed their own yarn on the premises. It is unknown if yarns were dyed at Curtright. Since the Curtright factory won awards for its yarns in 1846, at least some of yarns were being shipped to northern markets. Curtright also produced wool yarns which is evident by the presence of a wool carder. While some yarns were marketed, probably most were prepared for the weaving machines, the looms. There were three male weavers in 1850 and an unrecorded number of female weavers. Wallace noted (1978:146) that the power looms in the north were often run by weavers whose pay was close to that of spinner, although less.

Only one machinist was listed for 1850. The machine shop was a vital part of the mill since the maintenance of the textile machinery was essential to the smooth operation of the mill. The two blacksmiths would have worked with the machinist and provided other services to the community. A substantial blacksmith shop was located at Curtright during the archaeological investigations of the site (structures 5 and 40).

Many events occurred at the Curtright Factory during the decade following the 1850 census. Late in 1850 the Curtright Manufacturing Company acquired David Ross's mill complex located across the river in Putnam County (Putnam County Deed Book R:235). At the time of this acquisition, the stockholders were listed as Artemas Gould, John Curtright, the estate of David Ross, John Adams, Henry Atwood, John Wingfield, M. Alfred Wingfield, J. Cunningham and Son, Henry Merrell, John E. Jackson, Samuel Davis, George H. Camp, S. W. Magill, D. Howell, Cyrus H. Baldwin, Green Moore, Thomas Cunningham, and Jane Irene Howell. Several of the stockholders listed in this document were also closely associated with the Roswell Mill and with Merrell. Henry Atwood was a stockholder on the Roswell Mill. George H. Camp was the storekeeper at Roswell and the first cousin of Henry Merrell. Camp married Merrell's sister, Lucretia, who died in childbirth in 1845. S. W. Magill was Seaborn Magill, brother of Merrell's wife, Elizabeth Magill Merrell. It is also noteworthy that David Howell had become a stockholder by November of 1850.

In 1851 the Curtright Manufacturing Company incorporated (Greene County Deed Book PP:327); before that the company had been a partnership. Most of the stockholders were the same as those listed above, with the addition of George O. Dawson, the estate of Joel Early (a Greene County resident and brother of Georgia governor (1813-15) Peter Early) and others. The Articles of Incorporation noted that the corporation was organized,

...for the purpose of engaging in the business of Manufacturing Cotton and Wool, Wool & Cotton Combined, Flax, Iron & Grain into Four and Meal, & the Cutting & Sawing of Lumber, & the Making

and repairing of Machinery & doing all things for the profitable Management of Said business...(Greene County Deed Book PP:327)

The capitol stock was set at \$500,000. One year later David Howell, who had replaced Merrell as the agent for Curtright Manufacturing Company, paid the first installment of \$29,430 in capital stock and a few weeks later the Curtright Manufacturing Company's property was transferred from the Curtright Manufacturing Company Partnership to the newly incorporated company. Henry Merrell was still noted as a stockholder in this document (Greene County Deed Book QQ:90-91), which was not recorded until March of 1853. This transfer noted that the company owned 525 ac on the Greene County side and approximately 365 ac (Ross tract) on the Putnam County side of the river.

Although Merrell acknowledged the financial woes of Curtright early on, the first indication of financial problems at Curtright did not become evident in the county records until 1853. In March of that year a mortgage was procured by the company with William G. Dawson and others. Sixty bonds each worth \$500 were issued payable semiannually on April 1 and October 1 at 7% interest. Judge Dawson was a well respected superior court judge and Georgia stateman. He lived in Greensboro and he and Merrell became good friends. Merrell spoke very highly of him in his memoirs (Skinner 1991:475).

Merrell noted that while the Curtright Factory suffered financially during his tenure as an agent, it suffered immensely once David Howell became the agent. Merrell says of Howell and this turn of events:

"It ended in his superseding me as Agent of the Company, and making a complete fizzle of the business. I don't say it was his fault. Probably he was hampered with an ignorant and meddlesome Directory. A machinery I would never be troubled with. I would always take the responsibility of my own measures, right or wrong" (Skinner 1991:161).

Merrell made many references to the stockholders, who he felt burdened the successful operation of the mill. Most were planters or businessmen with no knowledge of the textile business and whose naivety caused many of the financial woes that beset the company. Apparently, the stockholders continually demanded dividends when Merrell felt they should be investing much of their profits in keeping the company afloat and the machinery updated. The technological changes in the mill machinery (particularly the power looms and water turbines) was tremendous during the nineteenth century and mill machinery could become obsolete in just a few years. Prior to Merrell resigning from the Curtright Manufacturing Company, he commented that "The profits of the Curtright company were falling off, and they had exacted Dividends, encroaching upon the Capital This I objected to, and demanded an investigation" (Skinner 1991:202). Stock. According to Merrell, as his relationship with Curtright soured many of the stockholders tried to blame him. Whereupon he demanded an investigation, which was slow to happen but which eventually was undertaken. Merrell says that this audit proved that his management of the company had been sound.

Commenting on this investigation, Merrell sheds light on the transactions of Curtright as reflected in the Green County deed books. Merrell, speaking of the Curtright Company, says:

They created a board of Directors among themselves to oversee their new Agent, Mr. Howell. They raised \$20,000 floating capital upon their Bonds & Mortgages. The Bonds were dated 1st April! When their administration drew to a close, all that \$40,000 was gone, no one could tell where, so some said, but I knew very well or guessed it had been sunk in following up awkwardly a losing business. Besides that amount, so much other money had disappeared that, when the \$20,000 mortgages came to be foreclosed, their whole property, which cost \$120,000, sold for only enough, or as I undertook it, not quite enough to pay their debts. During their Directorship, to the best of my recollection, no Dividends at all were made to the Stock holders of the Curtright Co. (Skinner 1991:202)

The \$120,000 of property mentioned by Merrell above is recorded in a Financial Disposition dated September of 1853 (Greene County Deed Book QQ:123). David Howell, Agent for the Company, valued the property as follows:

Land & Water Power	\$5,000
Factory Building & Machinery	\$76,000
Store Dwelling & out houses	\$20,000
Dams	\$3,000
Bridges (2)	\$3,000
Grist & Saw Mills	\$13,000
	\$120,000

We do not know how many spindles and looms were originally placed in the Curtright Factory. George White (1855) noted that Curtright employed four to five thousand spindles and looms by 1853. Hunt (1976:42) stated that the Curtright Manufacturing Company purchased 40 power looms from The Augusta Manufacturing Company in 1855. The failing company was unable to pay for the looms and the Augusta Manufacturing Company issued a writ against the company in 1857 followed in 1859 with a suit against the Curtright Manufacturing Company (Hunt 1976:42).

The continually declining conditions of the company finally led to the sale of the Curtright Manufacturing Company in June of 1856. A first mortgage was still held against the company by George C. Dawson & Company (Hunt 1976:43). Henry Atwood, who was listed as a resident of McIntosh County, purchased the company in its entirety including 890 ac of land on the Greene and Putnam County sides of the Oconee River at Long Shoals (Greene County Deed Book QQ:474). Atwood paid a mere \$40,000, indicating a greatly devalued company from the capital assets listed in the 1853 Financial Disposition (Greene County Deed Book QQ:123). John Cunningham signed the document (executed in February of 1857) as President with David Howell, Secretary. Atwood then sold one-half of his interest in the company to Jacob Rokenbaugh, also of McIntosh County, Georgia (Greene County Deed Book RR:27). The transactions note that Rokenbaugh "shall pay one half of the attendant accrued and accruing expenses to acting Said Sale and purchase" as well as pay one half of the purchase money (\$40,000).

Hunt states (1976:42) that because Atwood assumed the company's outstanding debt, he took a partner to help defray the debts. She says (Hunt 1976:41) that Atwood and Rokenbaugh were able to pay off the mortgage in 1857, although at the same time they took another mortgage on part of the property on the Greene County side with Green Moore for \$11,671.63. Atwood and Rokenbaugh changed the name of the mills from Curtright Mills to Oconee Mills.

By the time Atwood and Rokenbaugh bought Curtright Factory, Henry Merrell had left Greensboro for Arkansas. The continued failings of the Greensboro Manufacturing Company had resulted in Merrell calling a stockholders meeting sometime in late 1854 or early 1855 and announcing his retirement from the company and his plans to leave. Merrell estimated that he lost between thirty and forty thousand dollars, "all I had accumulated by fifteen years of hard work & several successful speculations" (Skinner 1991:203). Merrell made plans to move west and start a new cotton enterprise. Based on his accumulated experience with textile manufacturing he carefully researched an area west of the Mississippi River suitable for starting a textile industry. He chose Pike County Arkansas on a tributary of the Mississippi River. In early 1856 he moved his family west. Although he had lost most of his money in Georgia, Merrell was able to procure enough capital through his wife and her family's resources to start anew. In a parting comment about the use of stockholders to provide capital stock Merrell said, "I was resolved to have no more to do with stock-jobbing companies" (Skinner 1991:204). And indeed he did not, becoming a successful manufacturer and a founding member of the textile industry in Arkansas where he died in 1883.

Merrell continued a close association with many of the Georgians he knew from his 17 year stay in Georgia. In particular, he kept close ties with many individuals from Roswell (his wife's family (the Smiths), the Kings, Camps (his cousins), and Atwoods) and the Roswell Manufacturing Company. After moving to Arkansas, Merrell noted the following concerning the sale of the Curtright Manufacturing Company in 1856:

The Curtright Co. Factory fell into the hands of Henry Atwood Esq. of Darien Ga., a planter who had befriended me & loaned me money in my time of need. He was father-in-law to my cousin George H. Camp. In closing up my business I had endeavored to secure him by turning over to him certain Bonds of the Curtright Co. which I had received for money loaned to the Directors of that Company, after I ceased to be Agent. Those Bonds Mr. Atwood foreclosed (they were Mortgage Bonds) and became himself the purchaser of all that property, but afterwards took a partner, Mr. Rochambeau [sic]. The price he paid, I understand, was \$40,000 for what had cost that Co. about \$140,000...(Skinner 1991:323)

Merrell continued by adding this insight:

...He afterwards wrote me in Arkansas that he greatly feared that by my means he had undertaken more than he could carry out. However he removed his Negroes from the Seaboard, put some at work in the Factory and others on a plantation which he purchased near at hand.

I have not heard from him since the War, but of course it found his business in the best possible train. His Negroes already removed to the interior & well employed. His factory a public necessity

and extremely profitable. I hope some day to have a letter from him saying that by means of me he has saved what he had, & become one of the wealthiest men in the Confederacy. (Skinner 1991:323)

Then, Merrell added a post script in 1873 that he heard through a relative of Atwood that he died before the end of the war. Merrell says that the relative informed him that Atwood was eventually successful with his enterprise, which made Merrell feel satisfied (Skinner 1991:323).

This information from Merrell provides evidence that slaves were used at the Long Shoals Factory at least during the latter part of its existence. Probably there were no slaves used in the factory during Merrell's tenure there, however. In fact Merrell commented at one point that "No owner of Negroes would be likely to have hired us Negro hands to work at a place with such a reputation for bad morals & bad health" (Skinner 1991:197). English traveler James Silk Buckingham observed slaves and whites working together in the Athens cotton mills in 1839. He noted that about half of the mill workers were negroes rented by their owners to the mills. He observed that blacks and whites worked side by side without incident. Interestingly, he pointed to this as evidence that the North was more prejudice than the South (Hynds 1974:25).

The 1860 census provided no information on the use of slaves in the Oconee Mills. It was quite informative concerning the white workers, however. The 1860 census listed women's occupation for the first time, allowing a more complete picture of the labor force than was possible with the 1850 census. The census listed the post office as Long Shoals. Again, there is no way to conclusively know all the households that actually belonged to the mill village. On page 537 of the population schedule the name of John Curtwright [sic] appears. Curtright's wealth was considerable with \$75,000 in personal property and \$16,000 in real estate. Much of his personal property was probably tied up in the 79 slaves he owned. While there has been speculation that some of John Curtright's slaves worked in the factory, there is no evidence to support it.

The household listed after Curtright is that of Birch Shirling, possibly Curtright's overseer, since Shirling had an estate value of only \$100. The next household listed after Shirling was occupied by Garrett Woodham, a tax receiver with an estate value of \$150. Mr. Woodham was followed by Curtis Parrott, whose name had continually appeared in the census since 1840 at the Long Shoals location. Parrot, 59, has \$2000 worth of real estate and \$21,000 in personal wealth (only two slaves).

The household that followed Parrot was headed by a 46 year old male *workman* with \$200 of monetary worth. The household after that was headed by a female seamstress who had 15 and 18 year old daughters employed as factory workers. In the 37 households that followed (household #'s 193 - 230), 34 contained factory workers or laborers and the rest tradesmen. In all, there were 297 individuals living in 39 households in the factory village with a mean household size of 8 persons, which was slightly higher than it was in 1850 (7.5). All residents were U.S. born, which was much different than in 1850 when 9.5% of the residents were foreign born. Two Irish farmers, who possible were associated with the mill at one time, were noted in the two households before John Curtright. One was a farmer owning land and having personal property and the other

was an overseer. While there apparently were no immigrants in the factory village, there were more birthright states (South Carolina, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Virginia, New Hampshire, Maine, Maryland, and Mississippi) represented there than in 1850. Forty one individuals (14%) from eight states were represented in the 39 households in the mill village. Several individuals from the New England states were noted. They all lived in the same household, which was headed by Herman Robinson, the Factory Superintendent; a brother or possibly son, Andrew Robinson, was also a superintendent. Table 8 summarizes some miscellaneous facts about the 1860 mill village households. This can be compared with those presented in Table 5 (page 77) for the 1850 census.

Table 8. Miscellaneous Facts About the 1860 Household Demographics in the Curtright Mill Village (U.S. Census Bureau).

Estimated Number of Households in Curtright Mill Village = 37
Total Number of Individuals Composing these Households = 297
Mean Number of Individuals in Each Household = 8
Number of Households with Boarders or Extended Family Members = 10 (2.7%)
Number of Households with Females in the 14 - 21 Age Group = 32 (86%)
Number of Households with Males in the 14 - 21 Age Group = 20 (54%)
Number of Illiterate Individuals 20 Years or Over = 65 (60% of Adult Population)
Number of Foreign Born Individuals = none
Number of Individuals Born Outside of Georgia = 41 (14%)
Number Females in Households Belonging to the 15 - 21 Age Group = 45 (15%)
Households Heads Whose Occupation was a Farmer = None
Households Headed by Women = 8
Households that List None For the Occupation of the Male Household Head = 4

The 297 individuals estimated to live in the mill village included 131 males and 166 females (Table 9). Forty-four percent of the females are 10 to 19 years old, which was 25% of the entire mill population. Sixty percent of the adult population (20 or over) was illiterate, which is almost identical to the 1850 ration of 61% (see Table 5, page). There were only four members (1%) of the community over the age of 69; the eldest member was a 70 year old female. Overall, only 21% of the population were 30 years or over. Clearly, the community was populated by the young, with 55% of the population between the ages of 10 and 30.

Two other houses of factory workers were located on the Putnam County side totaling 19 members. Because these households were not in the factory village proper, they were not included in the household and population counts. However, the 13 individuals employed in the factory that lived in these households were included in the counts of factory employees.

The census enumerated 114 individuals as "factory worker"; 68 were female and 46 were male. There are 36 other individuals employed in various trades and occupation. A precise breakdown in the ages by gender is shown in Table 10. The youngest factory worker was a six year old boy; there were three other children under ten (2 girls and one

Male (N)	Age Range	Female (N)	
44	0 - 19	29	
45	10 - 29	73	
15	20 - 39	30	
6	30 - 39	10	
14	40 - 49	13	
6	50 - 59	8	
1	60 - 69	2	
0	70 - 79	1	
131		166	
	Total = 297		

Table 9. Age Distribution for Males and Females From Curtright Factory Households in 1860.

boy). The oldest factory worker was a 50 year old female. Sixty five percent of the factory workers were between the ages of 12 and 19. Females in this age group represented 40 percent (n=45) of the total factory workers.

Table	10.	Age	Distribution	for	Male	and	Female	Factory	Workers	at	Curtright
Factor	y in	1860.									

Male (N)	Age	Female (N)	
	6	0	
1	8	1	
0	9	1	
1	10	1	
2	11	1	
3	12	3	
2	13	4	
4	14	6	
3	15	7	
4	16	6	
3	17	8	
5	18	7	
5	19	4	
1	20	1	
3	21	3	
0	22	2	
2	23	5	
0	25	3	
0	26	1	
1	27	0	
1	28	0	
1	30	0	
1	31	0	
0	41	1	
1	48	0	
0	50	1	
46		68	
	Total = 114		

The other trades and occupations identified in the mill village households included the following:

workman	1	guard	4
seamstress	2	laborer	10
mechanic	7	teacher	1
clerk	1	washerwoman	1
blacksmith	1	brickmaker	1
shoemaker	1	wagoner	1
superintendent	2	sawer (?)	1
foreman	1	miller	1
		Total	36

Twenty six of these individuals were males and five were females. The five females were identified as laborers (n=3) and guards (n=2). The youngest age for any of these trades or occupations was 18 and the average age was 38. It was impossible to determine how many of the above 36 workers were directly employed by the factory and how many worked independently. The only miller listed lived on the Putnam County side of shoals and probably worked at the Ross grist mill. A occupation that appeared to be "sawer" was listed in one of the mill village households and may indicate a saw mill worker, who would have been employed on the Putnam County side.

If we assume all 36 of these tradesmen and miscellaneous workers worked for Curtright and add them to the 114 factory workers, the white work force totaled 150. There was no way to know how many slaves may have been employed. Jacob Rokenbaugh's household was listed as the next household after the last factory house. Rokenbaugh was listed as a 33 year old merchant with a wife and two young children. The slave schedule showed he had 31 slaves who lived in five houses (six per house). Possibly some of these slaves may have been employed in the mill.

Outside the immediate village, there were other trades noted that may have been associated with the mill. A few households before John Curtright was a cooper and a mechanic. The cooper, 80 year old Francis Fraston, owned real estate. Three mechanics and a miller also were living nearby in Greene County.

Almost none of the workers identified in the 1850 census appeared in the 1860 census. The exception seems to be the Shed family. William Shed, age 22 and a farmer, appeared in a household headed by James Connell and which contained 10 members including Shed and six other boarders. In 1850 William Shed lived in a household (#572) headed by his father William Shed, Sr. On the Putnam County side, one of the factory household heads was Symantha [sic] Shed. Several more Shed member's names and ages were listed and these corresponded to those listed in 1850. The 1860 Shed household had eight persons employed as factory hands. There also appeared to be at least two other boarding families in the Shed household in Putnam County. Overall, the turnover of workers at Curtright was high, supporting Merrell's assertion that he could not keep workers at the factory, which Merrell attributed mostly to the poor health conditions at Curtright.

Four years after the 1860 census, the 1864 Greene County Tax Digest noted that Oconee Mills employed five white hands between the ages of 12 and 15 and forty-four between the ages of 15 and 35. There were 64 slaves belonging to the company, although it cannot necessarily be assumed that all of these were employed in the factory. The count of 40 factory hands is considerably below the 1860 census figure (of at least 114 factory hands). If we interpret the tax digest literally, it may mean that the factory was being operated more by black labor than white labor at this point. This may well have been the case since most of the eligible males may have been serving in the Confederate army by this point.

We know that in 1861 one factory worker, Thomas White, wrote a letter to Governor Joseph E. Brown stating that 40 or 50 of the "stout young men at work in this factory..." have... "organized a splendid company at this place as the long shole factory [sic] company" (letter reprinted in the Herald Journal on April 5, 1935). He went on to state that they had no guns and requested that the governor provide them with arms. White noted that he was to be the commander and that he would like a straight sword. Thomas A. White's name was listed in the 1860 census; he was a 43 year old mechanic originally from North Carolina. There were 11 members in his household, which included his 35 year old wife and nine children. His 18 year old daughter was a factory hand.

Few other facts have emerged concerning events at the mill during the 1860s other than the 1864 Tax Digest account of Oconee Mills. The digest may have been prepared prior to Henry Atwood's death in 1864 (Hunt 1976:37). Atwood's death may have been a significant turning point, along with the Civil War, in the factory's final demise. Atwood's death probably had a devastating effect on the mill. How much longer Rokenbaugh was able to continue the mills is unknown. Since the 1870 population schedule listed no factory workers in the area, it appears that the mill was not operating at that date. It is suspected that the mill may have closed upon Atwood's death or soon after, at least temporarily. This is hypothesized from the fact that Brig. Gen. John W. Geary made no effort to burn the mill.

Greene County had three cotton mills going during the mid-nineteenth century: Scull Shoals, Curtright and the Greensboro mill. But by 1864, the Greensboro mill was defunct and the machinery sold, so Merrell said (Skinner 1991:323). Coulter (1964:45) says Scull Shoals was operating in 1864 but Sherman's forces did not visit the factory. Within a short time however, the wandering marauders that were rampant during this period of time visited Scull Shoals but did not destroy the mills.

The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion (Davis et al. 1893) indicated that Geary's forces did not visit either the Scull Shoals or Long Shoals Factories. Recognizing the diligence of Sherman and his officers in destroying the backbone of the Confederacy, it seems odd that they would not have destroyed both mills if they had been in operation. Perhaps the Federal forces swept through so quickly, they did not have time to visit and burn all the mills, although this seems an unlikely explanation. Certainly, in the case of the Oconee Mills factory, Geary's men came very close to the Curtright settlement after burning Parks Mill. While Rice and others have offered the opinion that Henry Merrell or some northern born individual associated with the factory convinced the Union forces not

to burn the mill, there was no evidence of this. Hunt (1976:55) repeats Rice's account which said it was Merrell who deterred the Union forces, but also proposed that it may have been George Camp. The Camps (Merrell's first cousins) refugeed at Long Shoals with the Atwoods after fleeing the burned ruins of the two Roswell cotton mills. So, Camp would have been in the area, but there was no evidence that he spoke to the Union commanders.

For whatever reason, the Union troops did not visit the cotton mills in Greene County. At Parks Mill, Geary's men were fired upon by some rebels on the east side of the river. Geary sent one company into Greensboro to strike fear in the local populace. Most of Geary's forces spread west of the Oconee River as they traveled south (Davis et al. 1893:270). In Geary's official report to his commanding general he discussed proceeding from Parks Mill toward Eatonton, stopping at Denham's Shoe Factory, mill and store, which impressed Geary with its large stock of shoes and leathers. After burning the Denham factory, mill and store they proceeded toward Eatonton (Davis et al. 1893:270). Denham Tannery was in Putnam County on Garners Ferry Road which led from Eatonton across the Oconee River to Greensboro. Denham Mill and Tannery were on the upper drainage of Crooked Creek about 13 km (8 mi) west of Long Shoals. None of the reports submitted by Geary and his officers gave any indication that they went to Long Shoals. Part of Geary's report noted the number of estimated properties destroyed during his march from Atlanta to Savannah. He also notes that they destroyed 2,700 bales of cotton, 50 cotton gins and mills, 11 flour mills, 14 saw mills, and three factories (Davis et al. 1893:283). It seems that the Long Shoals factory would have been a prime target if it had been operating.

If the mill was operating, it may have been operating erratically by late in the war. There were other signs that the settlement was dying. The post office at Curtright officially closed in 1866 (U.S. Post Office Department). This suggests that there were not enough inhabitants to warrant the service of a post office in the area. Friendship Baptist Church also had a dwindling membership, which had decreased to 22 members (17 whites and 5 blacks) by 1871 (Hunt 1976:31). There was evidence that Oconee Mills still may have been in operation or attempting a startup in 1868. This was reflected in three purchases by Oconee Mills of "Daufton warp bobbins" from the Athens Bobbins Work in 1867 and 1868 (Athens Bobbin Works Records in DePratter 1976:315).

Hunt notes that J. H. Crafton was the superintendent of Oconee Mills when it closed. This is a possibility since John H. Crafton was a witness to the transfer of one-half interest in the mills from Atwood to Rokenbaugh in 1857 (Greene County Deed Book RR:27). A James Crafton, age 25, was listed in one of the mill households in the 1860 census, also.

John Curtright's name occurred in the 1870 census in the 161 GMD. He was 66 years old and a farmer. While he still had real estate valued at \$12,000, his personal wealth had decreased to \$3000. There were no mill workers listed and the households before and after his name were occupied by black farm laborers, who may have been tenants on his land. Two other names, Joshua Neary and James Armor, appeared in the 162nd GMD. Joshua Neary should be remembered as the Irish boy Merrell brought to Curtright in the late 1840s and whose relationship became estranged some years later. Neary was a 38

year old farmer owning land by 1870. The household listed after Neary's was James Armor who was residing at Long Shoals in the 1850 census. By 1860, James Armor was a 49 year old, wealthy farmer with a \$3,000 net worth.

In 1880 Oconee Mills was sold (Greene County Deed Book V:459-460) to Alexander King of Fulton County. By that time, three commissioners had been appointed for the company. Both Atwood and Rokenbaugh were deceased, Rokenbaugh having recently died in August of 1880 (Greene County Deed Book V:459). The deed described the mill building as a substantial brick building (with a garrett) and measuring 30.5 m x 18 m (100 ft x 60 ft). The deed also noted that the mill, which was full of machinery, was not in operation. "A brick store house and a number of tenement houses for operations" were also listed. King purchased the mill property for \$1600, a far cry from what had been invested in the property over the years. Long Shoals was abandoned and at some point the machinery was removed. It was possibly during this period that attempts were made to salvage the turbines. The mill which Henry Merrell built to last, withstood time for years to come while wilderness overtook the mill village. While Merrell would have been saddened at the final outcome of the first cotton factory he built in Georgia, he probably probably would not have been surprised at its failure.

CHAPTER V--ROSS' MILLS AND THE LONG SHOALS COMMUNITY IN PUTNAM COUNTY

The Archaeology at Ross' Mill (9Pm239)

Located on the Putnam County side of the Oconee River at Long Shoals, this site was closely associated with the Curtright Factory complex (Figure 31). It functioned as the grist and flour milling portion of the Long Shoals industrial complex. Following the closure and sale of Oconee Mills in 1880, the Ross Mill complex continued to operate separately and sporadically into the first guarter of the twentieth century.

Besides the mill structure itself, several other nearby sites are probably belonged to the mill community. These were given separate site number designations (9Pm104, 9Pm279, 9Pm280, and 9Pm357) during the 1974-1975 survey (DePratter 1976) and were not part of the historic site mitigation plan (Figure 32). Consequently, information on these sites is quite limited, although cursory examinations in conjunction with survey data provides some details about the sites. Archeological site 9Pm104 was first recorded in 1971 (Smith). It was collected again in 1975, 1977, and 1978. The site was located on the west side of the access road (Long Shoals Road) leading to the mill. Two dwellings, two barns, a rock-lined well, rock-lined spring, and garden were identified for the site. The larger of the two dwellings had two brick end chimneys approximately 11 m (36 ft) apart. The second structure had granite foundations (Bartovics n.d.:3). This site was reported by E. H. Armor as the DeJarnette homeplace and was occupied into the 1930s (DePratter 1976:297). Two other sites (9Pm279 and 9Pm280) were reported as "spring houses" possibly associated with structures located beyond the reservoir pool level. Neither had intact architectural remains. Site 9Pm279 had mostly twentieth century materials (roofing tin and bricks). A surface collection from 9Pm280 contained early nineteenth century ceramics.

<u>The Mill (9Pm239)</u>. The mill, sometimes referred to as Ross or Merrell Mill was located on the west bank of the Oconee River next a narrow channel of the river (Figure 33). The mill structure was bordered on the north by the river channel and on the south by the Long Shoals Road. It should be noted that reference to the mill as Merrell's Mill is erroneous since Henry Merrell had resigned from the Curtright Manufacturing Company by the time that the Company purchased the mill complex from the Ross heirs.

Excavations at the site revealed two dams, a wooden raceway, a mill foundation, and six turbines pits. The overall mill foundation measured 14 m x 11 m (46 ft x 35 ft), consisting of an enclosed dry-laid granite foundation section, 7 m x 11 m (23 ft by 35 ft), with an adjacent northern section defined by two L-shaped granite foundations on the northern corners of the mill. The east, west, and north walls located in between the two



Figure 31. Portion of USGS Quad (Liberty) Showing Location of Ross' Mill



Figure 32. Location of Ross' Mill at Long Shoals.



Figure 33. Site and Excavation Plan of the Ross Mill.

corner footings were open at the basement level. The turbine housing and raceway were located in this northern section of the mill foundation (Figures 34 and 35).

The remains of two dams were evident in the river channel. The base of one dam began at the northwest corner of the mill foundation and stretched 14 m across the river channel to the opposite island. A narrow gap with metal fragments anchored to each side was observed mid-stream of the dam; this was probably an overflow or waste-water gate. A second dam, located upstream about 6 m (20 ft) west of the mill, slanted in a westerly direction across the river channel to the same island (Bartovics n.d.:4). No excavations or detailed architectural recordings were made of the dams.

Both hand and backhoe excavations were used to expose the architectural and hydraulic features. One trench was placed in the southeast quadrant of the enclosed foundations and three trenches were excavated along the exterior south wall. Excavations revealed that the mill was constructed against the bank of a former river channel. A builders trench located along the exterior south wall contained cut nails and window glass. Ten trenches (A - J) were excavated primarily between the foundations of the northern half of the mill to examine the hydraulic system.

Excavations revealed a complex hydraulic system which had been reworked numerous times. At least seven different hydraulic mechanisms functioning in four to as many as eight combinations may have operated in succession at the mill. An area between the two dams (Trench G in Figure 33) appeared to have been deliberately filled in with rubble to close an old raceway. It was suggested that the dam which abutted the northeast corner of mill was the earlier of the two dams (Council 1979:20 and Bartovics n.d.:4).

Two distinct zones of deposition were observed in the area under the north half of the mill. The top zone was a sterile deposit of white alluvial sand which probably occurred after the abandonment of the mill. The lower zone was a dense compacted silt and clay accumulation containing cultural materials. The first evidence of an early raceway was detected at the top of this second zone where a large iron drive shaft and gear were found wedged against the northeast foundation corner by a griststone (see Figure 33). The French griststone was probably used during the last stages of mill operation when an overshot waterwheel was in use. Nearby, a metal turbine was exposed that did not appear to be intact but had been discarded. The device had a metal plate inscribed with "D.H. Southworth's Patent". Research in the patent records did not conclusively identify the turbine, but a possible candidate was a type patented in 1867 to D. H. Southworth for a "water-wheel, tide or current", a type of grain-cleansing machine (Council 1978:21, 32; Bartovics n.d.:6).

Beneath the interface of the second depositional zone, six iron tie bars, each about 3 m (9 ft) in length, were encountered (Figure 36). These probably reinforced the wooden walls of the raceway. The excavation continued below the water table, which was encountered at 5 m (17 ft) below the datum point. Beneath the iron tie bars, the remains of the wooden raceway and five tub wheel installations (Features 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6) were encountered in good preservation (Figure 37). The three small tub wheels



Figure 34. View of Ross' Mill Foundation, Looking Northwest.



Figure 35. View of Ross' Mill Foundations Looking through Raceway Area Prior to Excavation, Looking West.



Figure 36. View of Raceway Excavation (Looking Northwest) Before Flume/Tub Wheels Encountered (Iron Cross Ties Are Visible on the Excavation Surface in Front of Excavators).

(Features 4, 5, and 6) and the two large tub wheels (Features 2 and 3) were all constructed similarly with slight variations. They were mounted on the raceway floor and were meant to be submerged under the head of the race. The waste water exited through rectangular holes cut in the raceway beneath each installation. The two larger tub-wheels were offset to the north of the raceway and were fed water through an aperture cut into the raceway (Figure 38). One of these larger tubs (Feature 2 in Figure 37) appears to have been the last of the tub-wheel installations used (Council 1978:26-32;).

Interpretation of the hydraulic system sequence of operation at the mill is quite complex and portions of it are still unanswered. Bartovics (n.d. 5-6) suggested the following sequence. The lower (the earliest) of the two dams raised a head of water which was funneled into the headrace that ran under the northern section of the mill. The earliest hydraulic power device may have been an undershot or lower breast wheel. This was based on the presence of a drop in the elevation of the headrace floor to the turbine floor level, which would have helped accelerate the water flow in the undershot waterwheel. However, there was no evidence of bearing mounts to support the ends of a horizontal axle for a undershot or breastwheel. Despite the lack of evidence for the supporting mounts it seemed likely that the first hydraulic installations at the mill may have




Figure 38. View of the Two Large Tub Wheel Installations That Were Offset on the Raceway, Looking South.

been an undershot waterwheel since it was the most common waterwheel type during the early nineteenth century (Hunter 1979:64).

At some point, the hydraulic system was modified to use at least two or three of the small wooden tub-wheels and possible one of the two larger tub-wheels. These apparently were mounted on the raceway floor, which had been raised up on a second set of timbers and joists. The sequence and combinations of use of these wheels cannot be determined with any accuracy. It appears, however, that the most northern of the two large wheels was added later, based on observed construction details and modifications, and operated alone for some period of time (Bartovics n.d.:5).

During the final period of operation at the mill, the raceway and tub-wheel installations were abandoned and allowed to silt in. A second upstream dam was constructed, perhaps to provide increased head. The old raceway was filled in and the new installation was possibly placed in the river channel or possibly at the southeast edge of the dam abutment. This may have been an overshot wheel, which would have surmounted the siltation problem but required greater head. Again the evidence of such an installation was not found. An informant interview (Council 1979:13) with Mr. J. D. Waters of Macon, Georgia, however, provided key information concerning hydraulic operations at the mill during its waning years. Mr. Waters lived near the mill during his childhood and reported that an overshot wheel operated there during the early twentieth

century (circa 1918). Mr Waters also remembered that the miller was able to walk under the northern half of the mill to grease the drive shaft gearing that turned the grindstones located on the first floor. The ability to walk under the northern half of the mill means that the wooden raceway with the five tub-wheel installations had already been filled in by the early twentieth century. Mr. Waters described the mill as a three story wooden structure. He remembers that the overshot waterwheel was supplied water by a sluiceway leading from the upper dam. The mill ceased operation around 1920 (Council 1978:21; Bartovics n.d.:6).

The History of Long Shoals in Putnam County

The west bank of the Oconee River at Long Shoals became Baldwin County following the 1802 Creek Indian treaty and the state survey of 1805. The historical records did not indicate any specific activity on the west side of the Oconee at Long Shoals prior to this. However, the large number of forts on the Greene County side at Long Shoals indicated an active settlement on the Greene County side. There may have been some movement across the river, but probably nothing permanent. Settlements on the western side of the river were illegal and the Indians retaliated with raids whenever these intrusions were made. There were a few Indians raids on Greene County citizens at Long Shoals according to one source (Rice 1961:475).

The land on the Putnam County side of the Oconee River at Long Shoals, which would become David Ross' property and eventually belong to Curtright Factory, were acquired in 1806 from the Baldwin County lottery. The lots in this area were numbered 462, 470, 472, and 484, and were all fractional lots; land lot 484 was a large island in the river at Long Shoals. Thomas Lowe acquired land lot 462 (149 ac) in 1806 (Georgia Land Lottery Book, Baldwin County, District 2, p 230). Another land lottery winner was Robert Ousley, who acquired the 22 ac island (land lot 484) in the river in 1806 (Georgia Land Lottery Book, Baldwin District 2 Fractions, p.206). Land lot 474 and four other adjoining lots went to Sandford & Tweat (no first names).

Thomas Lowe purchased the 22 ac island (fractional lot 484) in 1810 (Putnam County Deed Book C: 166). Lowe retained lots 462 and 484 until 1817 when he sold the two lots to William Alexander and Benjamin Lane (Putnam County Deed Book J:130). The two lots exchanged hands five times from 1817 to 1823 when Thomas Perdue bought lots 462 and 484 (Putnam County Deed Book J:131-133; Putnam County Deed Book L:14). It could not be determined whether Thomas Lowe lived at the site, although it seems unlikely. His name does not appear in the 1820 census for Putnam County. He may have been living in Milledgeville since the 1812 and 1815 Putnam County Tax Digests indicate he owned a town lot there and a two wheel carriage.

Thomas Perdue's name appeared in the 1830 census; he owned 5 slaves. Listed six households after Perdue's household was David Ross, a substantial slave holder (26) at this early date. A 1831 deed indicated that Ross purchased four fractional river lots, (470, 473, and 474) adjoining lot 462 at Long Shoals in Putnam County (Putnam County Deed Book N:324-325).

In 1842 Ross bought Thomas Perdue's land (lots 462 and 484) on the river at the shoals (Putnam County Deed Book Q:395). The deed noted that these lots bordered the lands of Ross's. Perdue's name did not appear in the 1840 census, perhaps indicating that he had already left the area. David Ross' wealth continued to rise with 50 slaves in listed in the 1840 census (U.S. Census Bureau, Putnam County). The 1840 population schedule indicated that household members were involved in agriculture, with no indications that anyone in the household was involved in any type of manufacturing or trade.

At some point, Ross established a ferry at Long Shoals, the presence of which was indicated by 1845 (Greene County Inferior Court Minutes, Record Book 1837-1861, p. 26). In this document, a petition was sought for a "new road from Ross's Ferry landing by Howels old mill seat and Rileys Gin House". This request may have been related to the formation of the Curtright Manufacturing Company of which David Ross became a founding stockholder.

The Ross mill may have been built just prior to the cotton factory or around the same time. Ross tried to sell his mill complex in 1846, advertising it for sale in the *Southern Recorder* of Milledgeville (July 7):

To Capitalists or Manufacturers,

I offer for sale the land whereon I now live, in Putnam County, lying on the Oconee River at Long Shoals, containing 3000 acres, with seven or eight hundred in the woods, with all necessary outhouses, such as the gin houses, packing screws, and one of the very best merchant FLOUR MILLS in the state, fine SAW MILL, and water gin, all new and complete; or I will sell the mills without the land. Any person, or a company, who wishes to go into the manufacturing business, would do well to give me a call, as there is any quantity of water, fine strong dam, all new, and about 13 feet, head of water at all times...

The advertisement said the mill complex was "all new". The ad provided a good general description of the Ross mill complex.

Henry Merrell provided some fascinating information about David Ross and his enterprises at Long Shoals. Merrell first wrote of Ross as follows:

During my administration of the affairs of the Curtright Manufacturing Company, I had a good deal of trouble with a stock holder in that Company named Ross. Col. David Ross, whose mills and plantation lay opposite that Factory on the other side of the river. It appeared that, previous to my appointment as Agent of those works, some promises had been made (or at least he so understood it) that as an additional inducement for him to embark in the enterprise, his mills should have a monopoly of supplying the village with the products of his mills. I could never get any other evidence than his own understanding in the matter, & as he put higher prices than I thought was right on his products, I ignored the contract, if any such there was, & purchased supplies where I could get them cheapest. I considered it my duty to do so, upon the principle that I was acting in the interest of all the stock-holders & must not show favors to one at the expense of the rest...(Skinner 1991:207-208)

While the rest of Merrell's account of David Ross revealed little about the mill enterprise, it does provide a human interest story since Ross was apparently a colorful person. Merrell stated that David Ross was a violent man and as a result of their disagreement over the alleged spoken agreement, their relationship became strained. Merrell said that Ross "... became unfriendly to my administration. Knowing my earnest desire to keep our place clear of lewd women, he [illegible] his influence and his practices against me. One of the Irish emigrants becoming his mistress, I took such measures as finally I threw her upon his hands for support, and that in a public manner" (Skinner 1991:208).

This angered Ross so much that he shot at Merrell from across the river as Merrell was walking along the river bank at the Curtright Factory. Then, one of Merrell's factory hands wrote him an anonymous note informing him that the Ross family planned to assassinate him. Luckily for Merrell, on the particular day that the assassination was to have taken place, Merrell was sidetracked on his way to Curtright Factory and did not appear at the factory until the next morning (Skinner 1991:208).

Merrell continued his account of Ross stating "That, and the liquor, & the women brought him into great trouble with his family". Ross then tried to make amends with Merrell and take him into his council. Merrell interpreted that Ross "wanted somebody to advise with". Ross threw a great party in Merrell's honor in which there were fox and rabbit hunts and partridge shootings. This did not sway Merrell who said "I did not care to be involved in his affairs, so I discouraged his intended confidences" (Skinner 1991:209).

And indeed, it did not end well for Ross. A short time later (1850) David Ross was murdered. Circumstantial evidence indicated that one of his sons, John, was the murderer. John was arrested and remained in jail until the trial, where he was found not guilty and released (Skinner 1991:209).

Following Ross' death in 1850, his mill complex and 365 ac were sold by his heirs (Putnam County Deed Book R:235) to the Curtright Manufacturing Company. The deed revealed that the property contained a grist or merchant mill, saw mill, gin house (not including the gin), and adjacent water power and water works, also a ferry and flat, "together will all the tenements fixtures tools and implements Connected with...the above mentioned property". The deed mentioned that other portions of Ross' estate were sold to John Hany [sic].

Not all of the Ross property was sold, because the 1850 census listed Martha Ross, David Ross' widow, heading a household occupied by herself and son John. The household listed after Martha Ross was that of Francis Ross, another son of Martha and David Ross, and one of the administrators of the estate. It would appear that two other brothers, James and William, resided with Francis and his wife and children. William Spivey, Jr., headed the household listed before Martha Ross. William Spivey, Sr. was listed four households before his son. The Spiveys were neighbors of the Rosses and had resided in the Long Shoals area since at least 1830 (U.S. Census Bureau). The

Spivey name also appeared in several of the deed transactions as owning adjoining tracts and was later associated with the Ross Mill.

The bridge across the river at Long Shoals may have been built sometime between 1850 and 1853, since the 1850 deed mentioned above did not list a bridge in its inventory, but by 1853 two bridges were tabulated in the Curtright Manufacturing Company's assets (Greene County Deed Book QQ:123). Following the purchase of the Ross Mills, the company may have built a bridge to facilitate traffic between the two enterprises.

Some individuals who worked in the Ross Mills may have lived on the Greene County side of the river. There were two millers who lived in the Curtright Village in 1850 while there were no millers recorded on the Putnam County side of the river. All household heads on the Putnam County side of Long Shoals were farmers with the exception of two individuals. One was Riley Batchelor, a merchant and the other was S. S. Downbury, a tailor who boarded in the Batchelor household. The Batchelor household was recorded two households before Martha Ross. It seems likely that those persons employed in the Putnam County Ross mills probably lived on the Greene County side in 1850.

No documents were found that disclosed the fortunes of the Long Shoals mills in Putnam County. Perhaps they were prosperous while the cotton mill was not, or perhaps they were mismanaged as Merrell felt the factory was. There were no indications either way.

When Curtright Manufacturing Company was sold to Henry Atwood in 1856, the Putnam County portion of the property was included in the transaction (Greene County Deed Book QQ, 474). Almost immediately, Atwood acquired Jacob Rokenbaugh as a partner (Greene County Deed Book QQ:474; RR:27;). The Atwoods moved to Putnam County near the mills. Merrell says that Atwood found it necessary to move his family and slaves from the coast and employ part of them in the mill and the rest on a plantation he purchased nearby.

The 1860 census listed Henry Atwood in Putnam County with his wife and five children. Atwood, at 55, was listed as planter and merchant with 17 slaves housed in three slave dwellings. His personal wealth was listed at \$19,000. The two households before Atwood were occupied by factory hands and a miller. The miller, W. H. Chapman headed one household with seven family members. Five of them, ages 12 to 19 were employed as factory hands. The other household, headed by Symantha [sic] Shed, had 12 occupants representing three families (Shed, Cofield, and Shirly). Eight of the occupants of this household were factory hands. The miller Chapman probably worked in the grist mill and possible he may have been assisted by several of the factory hands in his family or the Shed household.

This area of Putnam County appeared wealthy in the 1850s and 1860s. Nearby households contained three doctors and numerous planters. There were four Spivey households whose members professed a combined value of \$129,039 and together owned 127 slaves.

According to one source (Rowland 1976), there were at least two advertisements in the Greensboro newspapers in 1860 that possibly pertained to the Ross mills at Long Shoals. The advertisements were run by John Cunningham, who was president of Curtright Manufacturing Company when it was sold to Atwood in 1856. Cunningham was a prominent Greene County planter and cotton factor. He was quite interested in milling and purchased the rights to the patented Clark's milling machine. The December 25, 1859 Weekly Gazette in Greensboro announced Cunningham's purchase in the headline "James M. Clark's Issued Patent Portable Merchant Flouring Milling and Distributing Apparatus and Combined Grinding and Bolting Merchant Flouring Mill of Full Size". The ad lauds the "mill" which could be moved from location to location and was capable of grinding and bolting two to twenty bushels an hour.

John Cunningham ran another ad in March 1860 in The *Planter's Weekly* published in Greensboro:

I will pay cash for all good corn and wheat offered at my mills. I will keep a good supply of flour, seconds, bean shorts, meal, and a good supply of screenings from the cleaning of wheat (a first rate cow feed).. (in Rowland 1976:2).

Cunningham ran another ad in the Planter's Weekly on May 2, 1860 announcing

Fan Mills. The subscribers have for sale Montgomery and Brothers celebrated wheat fans that will clean a bushel per minute. Also, Tapplin's horse powers and threshers, inquire at John Cunningham's. (in Rowland 1976:3).

Possibly some of these machines may have been used in the Ross mill at Long Shoals.

The 1870 census for Putnam County indicated that a miller, James Oneal lived in the household before Ann Atwood, wife of the deceased Henry Atwood. The Atwood and Oneal households were the only white households located nearby (U.S. Census Bureau). Three years after the 1870 census Ann McIntosh Atwood died (Hunt 1976:61).

By 1870 the cotton factory across the river had closed, but the presence of a miller on the Putnam County side suggests that the grist mill continued to operate. An 1878 map of Putnam County (Figure 39) showed the Long Shoals area with Spivey Mill at the approximate location of Ross' Mill site (Georgia Department of Archives and History). The map also showed the location of the Atwood home near Spivey Mill. Other land marks included like Long Shoals, Merrell Factory on the Greene County side, and the Denham Mills in Putnam County (the tannery and shoe factory that Geary burned in November of 1864).

The manufacturing schedule of the 1880 census provided some information on the mill operation and verified that the mill was owned or at least operated by W. S. Spivey. The mill, which employed two males, operated 12 months a year, and was involved in custom milling. Three stroll [sic] (probably scroll) wheels, 1.7 m (5.5 ft) in breath, produced 50 horsepower from 2.7 m (9 ft) of head. Cornmeal, flour and feed were



produced at the mill. The capital invested in the mill was listed at \$3500 (U.S. Census Bureau, Manufacturing Schedule, Putnam County).

A report on water power resources in the South based on the 1880 census data further described the Long Shoals mill site noting the demise of Oconee Mills. The report (Swain 1885:146) stated that:

... at present the only power used is for a gristmill on the right bank, with a dam only 50 feet long and 7 or 8 feet high, across to an island not subject to overflow, at the head of which is a little wing dam to turn the water between the island and the shore. The location is safe on either side of the river, and considerable power could, no doubt, be developed t this place.

The population schedule for 1880 was so faint that the only name readable for the area was that of Caleb Spivey, who had a 23 year old wife and two children. None of the other households could be read.

A 1895 deed recorded the sale of the Putnam County mill tract by the Atwood heirs to William S. Spivey for \$7,000. The deed stated that William Spivey was deceased and his estate was administered by Thomas J. Spivey (Putnam County Deed Book B (2nd Series):571-572). The deed also noted that William Spivey already possessed the mill prior to his death, but had not paid the mortgage on it. The property consisted of a 368 ac tract and contained the saw mill, grist mill, flour mill, ferry, dwelling, stables, barns, bridges, tenements and water privileges. The Spivey estate was unable to pay for the property and it was acquired a few months later in 1896 to George E. Atwood, an Atwood heir (Putnam County Deed Book B:659).

The 1900 census for Putnam County in the Long Shoals area listed no Atwoods living there. Two Spivey households (Willard and Rosser Spivey) were listed. Listed two households before Rosser Spivey was a miller named James Dennis. Written next to Dennis' occupation were the words "grist and flour". Dennis, who was 70 years old and renting a house, was probably the miller at Long Shoals. Interestingly, there was a 19 year old weaver, Mark C. Janes, (with *cotton mill* written next to his occupation) listed two households before James Dennis. The Janes family lived with another family who were renting a farm. They may have been white sharecroppers.

The next deed transaction recorded the transfer of the mill's ownership in 1907 from George Atwood to E.B. Ezell & Co for \$2500 (Putnam County Deed Book G:129). The deed referred to the tract as "the Long Shoals Mill Place upon which is situated the Long Shoals Grist Mill". The deed mentioned the mill property "having been in the recent possession of James Pinkerton, deceased, and his sons", although a deed for this transaction was not found. The next year (1908) Ezell & Co sold the property to Charles F. Howe of Bibb County. The deed referred to the property as "the Atwood Mill Place" (Putnam County Deed Book F, 373-374).

Council (1978: 13) noted that a local informant who lived in the area as a child remembered that the mill operated until around 1920. Deed records indicated that the mill was sold in 1924 to Charles F. Howe of Sumter County (Putnam County Deed Book L:436-487). The deed referred to the mill complex as the Atwood Mill Place. This dood was quite complex and indicated that portions of the Atwood Mill Place were sold separately.

The title history for the mill site became quite confusing at this point, and few deeds were found for later property transactions. The last deed that was located was a 1959 transaction which transferred the 362.6 ac Atwood Mill Place tract from Georgia Power Company to Rome Kraft Company (Putnam County Deed Book 45:121-126). The property eventually was reacquired by Georgia Power Company.

CHAPTER VI--THE LAWRENCE SHOALS SETTLEMENT IN GREENE COUNTY

The Archaeology at the Lawrence Mill Site(9Ge50)

This mill site, the most southern of the four sites, is located approximately 450 m (1,476 ft) downstream from the mouth of Richland Creek in Greene County (Figure 40). The river crossed a small series of shoals commonly known as Lawrence Shoals in this area. The site was originally visited during the 1971 survey by Smith and was recorded during the 1974-1975 survey (DePratter 1976:396). The most recognizable features at the site were the remains of a stone dam abutment and mill foundations located next to a channel of the river at the edge of the floodplain, and a partially standing brick structure on the hillside.

Investigations around the mill and dam foundations were unable to determine the exact placement of the mill building, although a general location for the mill was ascertained from portions of two foundations (Figures 41 and 42). Auguring and probing suggested that heavy alluvial deposits of sand and silt had buried the foundations of the mill. Probing to find foundations was inconclusive because of the presence below the surface of granite ledges that could not be distinguished from foundation walls.

Architectural features were recorded in detail through drawings and photographs. Exact measurements and architectural details were made for reconstruction of the architectural features. One 1 m x 2 m test unit was excavated next to the south face of the storehouse building. A site plan map was made of the mill and storehouse features (Council 1979:15-16).

The partially standing brick structure was identified as a probable storehouse (Figure 43). It was a single story building with a granite block foundation and full basement. The foundation, which measured 6.7 m x 11 m (22 ft x 36 ft) and 3 m (10 ft) high, was cut into the slope. The building's walls were constructed of brick above the granite block foundation. In 1978 the east and west walls of the structure had collapsed while the north and south walls remained standing with a gable roof line 2 m (6.6 ft) above the foundation at the eaves and 4 m (13 ft) at the peak. A series of slots or openings in the exterior brick wall suggested the possible presence of a pentroof or awning, which may have diverted rainwater away from the face of the wall (Council 1979:20). It may also have protected persons entering and exiting the structure from torrential downpours off of the roof edge. The main floor had three windows, two on the south wall and one on the north wall. Two door entrances to the main floor were evident



Figure 40. Portion of USGS Topographic Map (Liberty and Rockville Quads) Showing Location of Lawrence Mill Site.



Figure 41. Site Plan of Lawrence Grist Mill.



Figure 42. View of Lawrence Mill Foundations; the Reservoir-Cleared Islands Can be Seen in the Background.



Figure 43. View of Storehouse Ruins at Lawrence Mill Site.

on the east and west walls of the structure. The standing interior walls of the first floor were plastered. A door opened into the basement along the west wall and a small window on the south wall provided light for a semi-subterranean room. The lack of a chimney for the structure suggested the building functioned as a granary or storehouse. The presence of plastering and a possible pentroof indicated attempts to moisture-proof the structure, which again suggests the storage of materials susceptible to moisture such as grains and meals (Council 1979:20). The test unit excavated outside the south wall lacked diagnostic or functional materials that might have suggested a time frame or function for the structure.

While the 1978 mitigation was limited to two areas of the site, it stands to reason that the Lawrence Shoals site extended well beyond the arbitrary limits placed on the fieldwork. Figure 44 presents the overall settlement surrounding the mill site from historic sites identified during the 1974-1975 survey. An examination of other historic sites within an one-half mile area of the storehouse ruin showed the presence of 13 other sites on the Greene County side. Other sites on the Putnam County side may also have been associated with the community. A cluster of seven sites were noted on the first major ridge south of the confluence of Richland Creek and the Oconee River. These sites clustered along a road that led to the storehouse and mill. A second cluster of four sites were noted on the next ridge south of the first cluster of sites. If the artifacts recovered from these sites appear to date to the same time period, which compares favorably to the mill site operation time frame, one might suggest they were associated with the mill community, although this would not be conclusive by any means.

The History of the Lawrence Shoals Area

The Lawrence Mill site settlement was in the southeastern corner of Greene County near the Hancock County line. Our knowledge of the site is sketchy at best and most of its history remains a mystery, making it the least known and understood of the four sites. As previously discussed, Rice included this area within the nebulous boundaries of the Cracker's Neck settlement. Some of the earliest residents in the county settled along Richland Creek, which Rice (1961:65) said received its name as a result of the rich lands that the stream drained. Richland Creek is a major tributary of the Oconee River in Greene County.

The Lawrence Shoals mill site probably belonged to portions of two land parcels granted in 1785 to Shipley and Talbot (first names are unknown) (Georgia Headright Plat Book W, 12 and F, 417). Shipley acquired a 295 ac tract on the Oconee River, which included two islands, while Talbot acquired a 1000 ac tract bordering Richland Creek.

The Jonas Fauche's map of Greene County shows a blockhouse called Parkers just north of the mouth of Richland Creek. Here, apparently an Indian attack occurred in 1787 and was reported to General Elijah Clarke by Captain George Barber as follows:



Figure 44. Plan of Lawrence Mill and Surrounding Settlement.

"... The Block house ate the Bigg Sholes are Burnte which have accationed the inhabetance to finally fly to the forte. Horses taken as far as Jacks Creek on the Apelathie" (Georgia "Indian Depredations", Department of Archives and History, in Hunt 1973:23).

Elholm's map of 1793 (see Figure 2, page 13) showed Fort Alexander, which supposedly replaced Parker's burned blockhouse. Hunt (1973:19) said that despite the Indian raids on the settlers on the Oconee River and Richland Creek, they did not move but organized into companies and built stronger forts.

During the final years of the eighteenth century the Shipley tract sold eight times while the 1000 ac Talbot tract exchanged hands at least twice. A 1797 transaction of the Shipley tract noted "a fisheries on the main back sluice south of island" (Greene County Deed Book 3:337). The deed recorded the sale of an 85 ac parcel of a larger 235 ac tract along with one-half of the fishery rights. John Clemmons of Wilkes County was the grantor and Henry Mitchell of Hancock County was the grantee; Clemmons retained the other one-half interest in the fishery.

This was the first mention of a fisheries in the area. Rice (1961:475) said that two fisheries were established, one above the mouth of Richland Creek and the other below. One was named the "Yazoo Fishery" and the other the "Methodist Fishery". Each fishery had 12 stockholders, who served a term of one month during which time they were responsible for maintaining the fishery. The fisheries are mentioned once more in 1822 when Henry Mitchell sold his 85 ac to Samuel Winslette (Greene County Deed Book JJ:336).

Samuel Winslette began buying tracts along the Oconee River around the mouth of Richland Creek in 1799 (Greene County Deed Book 3:430). He purchased a tract in 1812 and another one in 1822 (mentioned above with the fisheries) (Greene County Deed Book EE:138; 139--2 purchases). These purchases totaled at least 1,131 ac. Alexander Reid purchased a 152 ac tract in 1799 on the river at the mouth of Richland Creek (Greene County Deed Book 2:496). Two years later Reid purchased from Samuel Winslette a 14 ac tract adjoining the lands of Abraham Lawrence (Greene County Deed Book 2:500). Abraham Lawrence's name occurred in several of the above deeds as owning lands adjacent to the tracts along the river and the mouth of Richland Creek.

The growing prosperity of the area was reflected in the developing road system. The 1801 Greene County Inferior Court minutes (page 66) noted an order to construct a road beginning at Alexander Read's [sic] on the Oconee River and proceeding by Abraham Lawrence and on to Hancock County. Reid may have built the first mill at the site since the Putnam County 1807 Land Survey Map showed "Reids Mill" in proximity to the area. Both Reid and Winslette's name occurred in the early Inferior Court minutes. The 1801 minutes that described the order for the road to begin "at Alexander Read's" also appointed Samuel Winslett as one of the commissioners, along with Thomas Lawrence, to overseer its construction. Apparently, the bridge was constructed by 1811 (Greene County Inferior Court Minutes, page 311) when mention is made of a road leading "near the long Shoals on the Oconee River Crossing Richland Creek at Winslettes bridge" and on to Shoulderbone Creek. While there are no deeds recording Winslette buying Reid's lands, it would appear that he acquired them at some point.

The 1820 census indicated that Samuel Winslette was a large slaveholder (22 slaves) by that date (U.S. Census Bureau, Putnam County). According to the census, one individual in the Winslette household was involved in manufacturing. This suggests that Winslette possibly had a mill by 1820; this may have been the Reid Mill shown on the 1807 Putnam County Land Survey Map. Several slaveholding households were listed close to Winslette including neighboring Abraham Lawrence, Sr. who owned 30 slaves.

The 1824 Greene County Tax Digest was the first to list any of the land owners at the site. Richard Winslette, agent for Samuel Winslette, reported 140 ac on the Oconee River, 217 ac on Richland Creek and 28 slaves. Some of Winslette's lands bordered Abraham Lawrence, who had a large 821.5 ac plantation on Richland Creek with 30 slaves. The 1825 Greene County Tax Digest reported much the same for both Winslette and Lawrence with four less slaves for each man.

Ownership changed again in 1827 when Winslette sold his land on the Oconee River and Richland Creek (554 ac) to Matthew Walker (Greene County Deed Book MM:169). The large island in the river was referred to as Bethys Island. There was no mention of a mill in the deed.

The 1828 Greene County Tax Digest recorded Matthew Walker with 554 ac on the Oconee River and 20 slaves. Michael Lawrence, agent for Abraham Lawrence, listed 822 ac on the Oconee River adjoining Walker's land.

The 1830 census did not list Matthew Walker, but had Aurclius (?) Walker, which was probably an incorrect spelling since Matthew Walker's name occurred on several deeds after 1830. There were two Lawrence households, John and Michael. Aurclius (?) Walker had 20 slaves while the Lawrence households had less than ten. Probably John and Michael Lawrence were sons of Abraham, who may have divided his slaveholdings between them. Most of the households listed on the page with Walker and the Lawrence's were slaveholders. Several owned more than 20 slaves indicating several large plantations in the area.

Matthew Walker continued to purchase tracts of land along the Oconee River and Richland Creek in 1831 and 1832 (Greene County Deed Book LL:170, 170-171, 171-172). Two of these purchases were from John Laurence [sic] and one from John Turner, who owned lands adjoining Walker's. Then in 1833, Walker sold 25 ac on Big Island, Bethys in earlier deeds, to Archibald Batchelor of Greene County (Greene County Deed Book LL:269). Two years later Walker sold another 10 ac tract on the River to Seaborn Lawrence of Hancock County (Greene County Deed Book RR:227). This deed was significant because for the first time a mill was mentioned in the land records. The deed stated that the tract is on the "Oconee River with Mill Shoals known as the Winslette Shoals likewise all the Lawrence Shoals". While a mill was referred to in the deed, it is unclear whether it was included in the sale. Another 1835 transaction, this one in the minutes from the Greene County Inferior Court, ordered that Matthew Walker and two other appointed commissioners were to review the feasibility of a road leading from Greensboro to "Walkers mill on the Oconee River now owned by Laurence" (Greene County Inferior Court Minutes 1835:36). Both of these documents clearly indicate the presence of a mill on the river.

Seaborn Laurence was probably a relative (possibly a son) of John Laurence who was may have been the son of Abraham Lawrence. While John Laurence sold two small parcels of river land to Matthew Walker in 1831, these probably did not contain the mill property. Apparently, Seaborn Lawrence continued the mill operation since the 1837 Inferior Court Minutes noted a petition to open a road from the Seaborn Lawrence Mill on the Oconee River to Greensboro (Greene County 1837:15).

Seaborn Lawrence apparently operated the mill while retaining his home in Hancock County, since he was not listed in the 1840 Greene County Census. There were few familiar names in the 1840 Greene County census. Matthew Walker's was missing from the census, although a Henry Walker, who may have been a relative, was listed. Henry Walker had 10 slaves while most of the nearby households had ten or less slaves.

Although Seaborn Lawrence's name could not be found in the 1840 Hancock County census, a recent Hancock County history indicates that Seaborn Lawrence was elected in 1841 to serve as a member of the House of Representatives from Hancock County (Shivers 1990:327). The 1850 census registered Lawrence in the population schedule for Hancock County. At that time Lawrence was a 59 year old farmer with \$12,500 worth of real estate. He had two teenage sons, James and Jefferson, living in his household along with a 23 year old overseer.

The 1850 Greene County census for the area was incomplete and of no use in identifying residents in the Lawrence Mill settlement.

In 1851 Articles of Incorporation were filed in Greene County for the Laurence Manufacturing Company (Deed Book PP:359). The deed stated that the company was formed to engage in the manufacture of wool and cotton "or either or both". Capital stock of \$30,000 was declared with \$11,000 actually paid by the ten stockholders. On the same day, another transaction was recorded between Seaborn Lawrence and Lawrence Manufacturing Company providing the land and water privileges for supplying power to the mill (Greene County Deed Book PP, 367). The document listed some specifications for the construction of the dam and also mentioned "aquaducts" [sic] being constructed by the Company to carry the water from the dam pond to the mill machinery. The dam was to be constructed across the eastern most channel of the Oconee River. Five months later another deed between Seaborn Laurence and the Lawrence Manufacturing Company noted the exchange of a 10 ac tract for \$100, which may have been the 10 ac parcel Seaborn purchased in 1835 from Matthew Walker (discussed above) (Greene County Deed Book PP:368). The construction of buildings for the Laurence Manufacturing Company business was the stated purpose of the transaction.

Lawrence Manufacturing Company apparently had grand plans, but how much was implemented remains uncertain. Mention of the company in the deeds did not occur

again until 1859 when Seaborn Laurence sold 60 ac (2 tracts) to James T. Jones (Greene County Deed Book SS:372-373). Included in this transaction was Betha [sic] Island and a tract on the mainland bordering the river. The deed mentioned a house on the tract that was reserved in the tract, which was interpreted to mean that it was not sold with the tract.

The 1860 Greene County census listed no Laurences in the area. Henry Walker, age 55 years, was listed as a farmer of considerable wealth (\$6500 in real estate and \$20,000 in personal property). There were no households listed that had individuals employed as millers or mechanics, which suggests that the mill was probably operated by slave labor.

The 1860 census in Hancock County listed Seaborn Lawrence in the Mayfield Post Office District. Lawrence was 68 years old with a real estate value listed at \$18,832 and a personal estate of \$63,700. Included in the household was his wife (age 67) and a overseer (U.S. Census Bureau). This 1860 data indicates that Seaborn Lawrence was a man of means in Hancock County, although it is unknown where he lived in the county. His Hancock plantation produced 155 bales of cotton produced (Shivers 1990:335). The 1860 census slave schedule indicated that he had 91 slaves and 14 slave dwellings. Seaborn Lawrence was elected to serve as a delegate from Hancock County to attend the state convention in Milledgeville in May of 1865 (Shivers 1990:171-172). This convention was convened to repeal the 1861 Ordinance of Secession and was one of the state first orders of business following the end of the Civil War.

Seaborn Lawrence's name did not appear in the 1870 census for Hancock County. He may have been deceased by this time since he would have been 78 years old. The 1870 Greene County Census listed two millers, who possibly could have be living in the vicinity of the Laurence Mill. They were both in the Penfield District, but one miller, William Shy, age 23, was the most likely of the two to be working at the Laurence Mill. Shy was listed in the census close to the household of a Ransom Walker, possibly a descendent of Henry Walker (U.S. Census Bureau, Greene and Hancock Counties).

The 1880 Manufacturing schedule recorded Lawrence Mill under Flour and Grist Mills. According to the census, the mill did custom milling and employed four workers. Water power was supplied from an 2.4 m (8 ft) head that operated five turbines 1.5 m (5 ft) in breadth. The mill operated all year and produced flour, corn meal and feed. Capital invested was listed at \$5,000. As a comparative note, Park's Mill had three less turbines, the same head, but produced considerable more horse power and products. The owners of Park Mills had four times the invested capital of Laurence (U.S. Census Bureau, Greene County). A water power report (Swain 1885:806) prepared from the 1880 census stated that "Lawrence's grist-mill has a dam across to an island and no race". The report provided no other details on the mill.

While the corporation had planned to manufacture wool and cotton, in 1880 there was only grist milling. There was no indication that cotton and wool yarns were ever produced at the site. More than likely they were not, since the mill building and machinery for such an endeavor would have been expensive and it would have been

unlikely that the \$11,000 paid by the stockholders was enough to finance such an enterprise.

No other transactions relating to the Laurence Mill were found until 1887 when Jefferson R. Lawrence (this deed for the first time spelled the name with a **w** and this spelling continued from that time on) mortgaged 160 ac of land including the flour and corn mill complex known as Lawrences Mill to Copeland, Seals and Armor of Greene County (Greene County Deed Book 1:253-254). The mortgage was to secure a debt, which was satisfied on March 26, 1907 as noted at the end of the deed. This event suggested that the mill or at least J. R. Lawrence may have been suffering financial problems. The 1901 state report (Georgia Department of Agriculture 1901:106, 690) did not specify Lawrence Mill, but noted the use of "fine water powers... at Lawrence Shoals". At the same time, this report recognized Parks Mill and even noted that a cotton mill once existed at Long Shoals.

Following the death of Jefferson R. Lawrence (around 1905) a 46.8 ac tract on the Oconee River which included "the J. R. Lawrence Mill Place" was sold in 1908 to Charles F. Howe of Bibb County (Greene County Deed Book 13:2). A plat recorded in the Greene County Probate (Book I:448) showed the property with a dam and mill on the river and a brick stone house. A road marked the northern boundary of the 46 ac tract. The deed noted that J. R. Lawrence had already entered an agreement with Howe in 1905 to transfer the title of the property to Howe. Howe may have run the mill from sometime early in the twentieth century. Jefferson Lawrence would have been around 70 years old in 1905 based on an age of 15 in the 1850 federal census for Hancock County.

The property remained in Howe's possession until 1925 when he sold the 46.8 ac tract to B.R. Chestney of Bibb County (Greene County Deed Book 23:255-256). The mill site with all water power privileges were transferred. The deed indicated that Howe was a resident of Sumter County.

Local historian E. H. Armor recalled during the 1920s and 1930s that the site was in cotton cultivation with approximately five families living in the area. The Owen's, Brown's, and Arrington's were the family names he remembered. He also recalled that there was still a fishery at the shoals during the first half of the twentieth century. The Owens family lived in a house near the school house on a ridge top east of the site and out of the reservoir basin. The mill was probably abandoned prior to the second World War (Council 1979:12-13).

The property exchanged ownership between Georgia Power Company and the Rome Kraft Company several times during the 1950s (Greene County Deed Book 45:121, 122). The deeds continued to refer to the property as the J.R. Lawrence Mill place.

No mention of Lawrence or Laurence Mill was found in Rice's history of Greene County, nor did Arthur Raper mention the site. It would seem that the mill complex was never of enough consequence to warrant much attention to the local historians. The mill was not recorded on any of the nineteenth century maps that were examined. The 1878 Putnam County map (previously mentioned) showed the mills at Long Shoals but indicated nothing at Richland Creek. This map did, however, indicate the "Lawrence Ferry" crossing on the Oconee River in Hancock County, which may have been associated with the Seaborn Laurence family who lived in Hancock County from at least 1850 through the 1860s (U. S. Census Bureau, Hancock County). Laurence Mill may have suffered financial problems during the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. The mill apparently was owned by people who resided outside Greene County through most of the second half of the nineteenth century, a pattern that continued during the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER VII--SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Summary

Parks Mill Site. The Parks Mill Site began on the Greene County Side of the Oconee River either with a saw mill or grist mill built by James E. Park. Once Baldwin County was established. Park received several of the original lots across the river from his Greene County lands. At this location on the river, he began increasing his landholdings from the acquisition of surrounding properties and the settlement of Parks Mill developed and grew. The establishment of the Three Chops Road, a portion of a stagecoach route from Philadelphia to New Orleans that crossed the river at the site, contributed to the growth of the settlement. James E. Park's son Richard Park began developing the lands on the Morgan County side of the river at the crossing within a few years of the formation of the county. He established a ferry for carrying traffic across the river. As travel increased, he built a tavern around 1809 (the date he acquired his tavern license). To accommodate the growing local population, Richard Park constructed a grist mill on the Morgan County side of the river. The first mill established on the Greene County side of the site was probably a saw mill, although there may have been a grist mill there also. Richard Park continued to build on the Morgan County side of the river, constructing a dwelling house, which may have served as a tavern, too. Possibly his dwelling may have been a separate structure. A store was also established on the premises, possibly around 1826. Later, apparently after a second dam was constructed, a toll bridge was built across the old dam.

Richard Park's fortunes increased steadily during the first half of the nineteenth century. By the time of his death in 1851 he owned over a thousand acres in Morgan County and 100 slaves. His personal wealth of over \$100,000 was significant even by today's inflated values.

While Richard Park's death no doubt brought changes to the Park community, it would appear that most of the enterprises he had established contined to operate after his death. Continuity probably resulted from the presence of Betsy Ann Park, his sister and his business partner throughout much of the first half of the nineteenth century. Betsy Ann and another brother, Thomas Jefferson Park, acquired all of Richard's property, with the exception of his slaves, and carried on the Park enterprises much as before. However, due to the advancing age of both Betsy Ann and Thomas Jefferson, the operation of the site fell into the hands of James B. Park, son of Thomas Jefferson Park and nephew of Richard and Betsy Ann Park, by 1859. James B. Park successfully continued the operations at Parks Mill until the Civil War.

The Civil War became a point of transformation. In 1864 the mill and ferry operation were destroyed by the Union forces that swept through the area. The mill was rebuilt within a short time after the war ended; however, James B. Park took two partners, who acquired an one-half interest in the mill. Park also moved to Greene County, thus ending sixty years of Park occupation at the site. He was elected to the state legislature

ending sixty years of Park occupation at the site. He was elected to the state legislature from Greene County, and was able in 1872 to have his property in Morgan County moved to the jurisdiction of Greene County. James B. Park began dividing and selling small tracts of Parks Mill, particularly those containing the businesses such as the store, gin, and mill.

During the period from 1870 to almost 1900, Parks Mill was occupied by a variety of renters and owners. It may be surmised that this was a period of decline indicated by a continual flux in land exchanges. By 1880 James B. Park sold his last interest in the grist mill complex, but apparently maintained ownership of the Park house. Who may have lived in the house remains a mystery.

A significant turning point in the history of the Parks Mill site occurred in 1897 when James B. Park, Sr. sold his remaining property at the site to Charles L. White. James B. Park, Sr. died four years later. His son, James B. Park, Jr., continued the Park legacy of community leadership, becoming a circuit judge (Ocmulgee Circuit) in Greene County.

The White family undertook during the next two decades to purchase various tracts that had divided up the Parks Mill property, eventually reassembling most of the original tracts. Parks Mill became "Riverside" during the twentieth century and was revitalized as a farming and milling community. Sometime in the 1920s the mill ceased operation. Dairy farming and row cropping of cotton continued as the main agricultural base for the community. A store, post office, and a small garage were the main business enterprises. Riverside was a thriving community during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The ferry continued to operate across the river until the 1950s (the bridge having washed away prior to the Civil War). The Great Depression years sapped much of the vitality of the area as many of the farm laborers left the fields for the towns and cities of the South and the North. The store at Parks Mill continued operating until the death of Fred White in 1972. By 1978 only a few families remained at the Parks Mill community.

Long Shoals and the Curtright Factory. Settlement at Long Shoals began around 1786 in Greene County. By the early 1800s, after the Indian threat had subsided, the area showed increased development with the construction of a mill and a road. Once the lands on the west bank (Putnam County) were opened, ferries transported people and goods between the two counties. Large farms developed on the hills and ridgetops above the river. A wealthy slave owner class purchased most of the lands along the shoals.

Cotton cultivation and the immense water power potential of the shoals soon turned the thoughts of some planters and businessmen toward the idea of a cotton factory. Cotton from the nearby fields could be processed at the shoals eliminating the need to transport the huge bales to market. One man, John Curtright, led the move to form a partnership to construct a cotton mill at Long Shoals. A northern cotton manufacturer appeared on the scene in Athens, Georgia and soon the Curtright Manufacturing Company was formed in 1845. The northerner, Henry Merrell, who had successfully run the Roswell Cotton Mill (1838) in Roswell, came to Greene County and built a large three and a half-story brick factory at Long Shoals for the company. By 1846

the mill was in operation and a whole village had been built to provide housing for operatives and the necessary support services needed to operate a cotton mill in the wilderness. The closest town, Greensboro, was 26 km (16 mi) away and the poor dirt roads of the day made the trip a long tortuous journey.

The mill was soon producing yarns of award winning quality and power looms began making cloth out of the yarns. While the early success of the company brought high hopes for its prosperity, many forces were in operation that began to spell its doom. Environmental factors such as the lack of adequate drinking water for the workers and probably the unhealthy climate of the mill brought on sickness. As a result the turnover of mill workers was tremendous. The immense water power available in the river was difficult to control and maintain, which created critical problems for the successful operation of the factory. While Henry Merrell ran the day to day operations of the mill, his board of stockholders, of which he was a member, had ultimate power in the overall business decisions of the company. This caused other problems for the company.

Merrell found the stockholders a troublesome bunch since most knew nothing about the operation of a cotton factory and as a result, caused many unsound business decisions to be made. Apparently, many of the stockholders demanded dividends when the profits should have been reinvested into the company to build up the capital stock and maintain and improve the mill system. There were also outside factors on a national and global level that influenced the success of the mill: erratic cotton prices, tariffs, and national and global market demands. The steady increase in stockholders may underlie many of the problems alluded to by Merrell. Curtright Manufacturing Company began with 10 stockholders, but by 1850 there were 17 stockholders and by the next year there were over 20.

In 1850 Curtright Manufacturing Company acquired the large Ross mill complex across the river in Putnam County. These mills included grist, flour, and saw mills and a water-powered cotton gin. The company also became a corporation instead of a partnership. After Merrell's resignation in 1852, David Howell, who had been trained by Merrell, became the company's agent. The company organized with a president and secretary and began paying in stock as outlined in the Articles of Incorporation. Nevertheless, the company's profits declined and by 1856 it was so in debt that the company was sold to Henry Atwood, one of the stockholders who was was from Darien, Georgia.

Atwood took a partner (Jacob Rokenbaugh) and changed the name of the factory and company to Oconee Mills. Slaves probably started working in the mill at this date, possibly because of the great difficulty in finding and keeping white operatives. There are some clues that the mill may have operated more successful following Atwood and Rokenbaugh's purchase of it. Perhaps during this period the factory additions may have been added and more efficient turbines installed. The advent of the Civil War probably halted most of the successes the company may have had. By 1864 Atwood was dead and the mill was probably in great financial trouble, although there are no documents that reveal the fortunes of the company at this period. Certainly by 1870 the company was no longer in existence and in 1880 the entire mill operation was sold. The deflated prices and the worthlessness of the mills were evident in the \$1600 price paid for the entire complex including the factory building full of machinery.

By this time there was no longer a post office at Long Shoals and it is surmised that most of the community was gone. The once rich farm lands were eroded and gullied from a long practice of poor soil conservation and the formerly vital Long Shoals community became a ghost of the past.

<u>Ross' Mill Site</u>. Across the river from Curtright on the Putnam County side of Long Shoals there developed another rich farming settlement. It began around 1806 when the first land lottery grants were given to incoming settlers. The property along the river at Long Shoals passed through numerous ownerships during the first two and a half decades. In 1842 David Ross, a nearby large plantation owner, purchased the property and built a mill complex on the river next to a large 22 ac island.

By 1846 Ross had built a large milling enterprise consisting of a grist and flour mill, a saw mill, a water-powered cotton gin with packing screws, and a variety of other support buildings. Possibly Ross may have overextended himself with this complex, since he tried to sell it in 1846, only a short time after its completion. The Ross mill complex did not sell until Ross' death a few years later. The Curtright Manufacturing Company, of which he had been a founding stockholder, bought the entire mill complex in 1850 from Ross's heirs.

Only a few details concerning the mill operations are available. Late in the existence of the Curtright Manufacturing Company the president of the company was John Cunningham. Archival data indicates that Cunningham was quite interested in milling, so much so that he bought the rights to sell a patented milling machine in Georgia in 1859. Cunningham appears to have been active in the trade of mill machinery and he may have been responsible for installing some of the turbines in the Ross mill, although there is no conclusive data on this.

The complex hydraulic system uncovered at Ross Mill suggested that much effort was spent upgrading the system. The mill showed a succession of water wheels, beginning with a vertical water wheel, then changing to a series of tub wheels, and then eventually returning to a vertical wheel supplied with water from a new dam. These changes may underlie problems with water flow control. While the water gradient was relatively steep in this area, there may have been siltation problems that forced alterations in the hydraulic system. Or, for other reasons that were not documented, an ongoing search for more efficient motive power was undertaken at the site.

Some of these changes probably took place during Henry Atwood's tenure at the mill site. After purchasing the Curtright Manufacturing Company in 1856, Atwood moved his family and slaves from Darien, Georgia to Putnam County. He built a home near the mill complex and a few of the operatives in the cotton factory lived on the Putnam County side as well. The bridge was built during Atwood's ownership of the mills probably to facilitate the flow of traffic back and forth between the two sides of the river.

Apparently grist mill operations continued after Atwood's death in 1864, since a miller was documented as living near the site in 1870. In 1880 three scroll wheels were powering the mill machinery, which were producing cornmeal, flour and feed. William Spivey was operating the mill at this time. An 1878 Putnam County Map identifies the site as Spivey Mill. Within a few years the mill was back in the hands of the Atwoods, Spivey being unable to pay his mortgage on the property.

The property continued in the ownership of the Atwood family until 1907 when it was purchased by E. B. Ezell & Company. Apparently several people tried their hand at running the mill, but none with much success. The filling in of the old raceway, the construction of a new dam, and the installation of another wheel, probably an overshot wheel, suggest that there were difficulties with finding the proper motive power to operate the mill. Finally, sometime during the second decade of the twentieth century the mill wheels stopped running forever.

<u>The Lawrence Mill Site</u>. The most southern of the four mill sites examined was located in another area of early settlement in Greene County. Situated below the mouth of Richland Creek the mill site would have had a large settlement to serve, although there were probably several mills along Richland Creek. By 1801 there was a bridge across the mouth of Richland Creek and roads were being built into the settlement. The mouth of Richland Creek became an important transportation crossing. Sometime between 1800-1805 a mill was established below the mouth of Richland Creek. Several fisheries had also been constructed on the river at this location during the late eighteenth century.

In 1851 the Lawrence Manufacturing Company was formed with Seaborn Lawrence as the first stockholder. The mill complex was to be constructed at the shoals below Richland Creek on the property Lawrence owned and deeded to the company. The Articles of Incorporation stated that the company planned to produce wool and cotton goods. Apparently, a grist mill was built instead, since the 1880 Census Manufacturing Schedule recorded a custom mill present known by the name of the Lawrence Mill.

Due to limited excavations at the site, it was not possible to expose any of the mill foundations and consequently nothing is known archaeologically about the mill construction and hydraulic system. The 1880 manufacturing schedules recorded five turbines in operation at the mill, suggesting a large endeavor. However, the mill produced less goods than Parks Mill, which operated with only two turbines in 1880.

There are indications that Lawrence Mill suffered financial ups and downs during the second half of the nineteenth century. A mortgage was secured on the property in 1887 that was not satisfied until 1907. The mill may have continued operating until the 1920s, but probably ceased operations by 1930. As with all the mills, the mass outward migration of rural populations probably brought the final demise of the mill operation.

A Comparison and Contrast of the Four Sites

Until the steam engine was developed industry was firmly tied to water power. The first industries to develop were grist and saw mills, necessary industries for a newly developing area. These early industrial sites provided a means of subsistence and a service to the community. They were often the backbone of a community as other enterprises were attracted to them. Blacksmith shops were common at mill sites. And in the South, the ubiquitous cotton gin was often associated with water power sites.

The four mills studied along the Oconee River in the Wallace Reservoir seem to fit the typical patterns observed in other areas of Georgia (Jeane 1974; DeVorsey 1978; Doyon 1983). Curtright was the only cotton factory and many aspects of it are not comparable with the other three grist mill enterprises. At least three of the sites (Parks Mill, Curtright, and Lawrence) started around 1800 or shortly after. Both Parks Mill and Ross' Mill were water power complexes with grist, saw, and gin mill operations present. Ferries and bridges were present at Parks Mill, Curtright and Ross' Mill during portions of the nineteenth century.

All three grist mills did custom milling, producing cornmeal, flour, and feed (a byproduct). The mills employed few hands and were probably mostly mechanized. In 1880 Parks Mill and Lawrence mill each employed four hands while the Ross Mill employed only two hands. The three sites were powered by tub wheel installations. In 1880 Parks Mill had two wheels (excavations showed three), Ross Mill had three and Lawrence had five. The presence of five turbines may indicate that Lawrence Mill was involved in other operations than just milling grains, although this cannot be substantiated in the literature. There may have been a gin or even perhaps a saw mill present at the site.

Both Parks Mill and Ross Mill had short headraces. In 1880 it was reported that the Lawrence Mill had no raceway. Curtright Factory had the longest race way of the four mills. This may have been a function of the typography at Curtright since there were few places that a dam and suitable building site could be found together. The dam at Curtright was constructed from the mainland across a channel to a large island. The 150 m (492 ft) raceway led to the factory, which was located at point on the river bank suitable for a large 46 m (150 ft) long by 15 m (50 ft) wide building.

Turn of the century photographs of Parks Mill show classic nineteenth century grist mill architecture. Probably the Ross and Lawrence Mills were quite similar in construction and architectural detail. Three-story buildings (the top floor may have been half-story height) were typical for mechanized mills since the machinery had to be placed on different floors for the automated custom mills. The standard mill had its turbine and main gear shafts in the basement while the grinding stones and hoppers were on the main floor above. From the main floor, a grain elevator carried the grains to the floor above for cleaning before it was transported back down to the stones for grinding. After the meal was ground the grain elevator would take it back up to the next floor for bolting and then back down the shuts for bagging (Corps of Engineers in Holmberg 1991:177).

There are indications that both Parks and Ross Mill's original motive power was a vertical water wheel, which was later modified to tub mill installations. Ross Mill apparently returned to the vertical wheel. Robert A. Howard (1976:53) has noted that small mill operations with water flow problems often reverted back to vertical water wheels since these wheels consistently could produce water power through a wide range of operation speeds. Nevertheless, the horizontal wheels were a far more efficient motive power when the water flow was constant and were easier to install and maintain than the big vertical wheels. It was common to install several water wheels in a race, particularly if several operations were being performed in a mill (ie. grist, saw, and gin) (Howard 1976:50).

The Curtright Factory exhibited the most advanced turbine installations of the four sites, which is not surprising considering the complex operations it performed. The mixed flow turbines installed in the factory were fairly efficient for that time period, however, the technology was changing rapidly during the mid-nineteenth century. Probably within a short time after the last scroll cased turbines were installed there were far more technically advanced turbines already available.

The three grist mill sites showed at least two types of ownership. Parks Mill had a single owner for at least its first 60 years of existence, finally becoming a loose type of partnership during the second half of the nineteenth century. Ross Mill began under single ownership, but became part of a corporation. Both Curtright and Lawrence Mills had partnership/corporation arrangements to begin with, although eventually they ended up in single ownership, resulting probably from a decline in profitability.

All four mills were located at stream crossings. Lawrence Mill was a little different in that the crossing (a bridge) was at the mouth of Richland Creek instead of across the Oconee River. Parks Mill was the only mill site located at a major crossing, which probably contributed to much of its financial success. This river crossing remained vital throughout the nineteenth century, although there was probably a steady decline in traffic during the late nineteenth century due to the railroad. The Curtright Factory was quite isolated and the river crossing was never a major thoroughfare, partly because of its isolation and partly because of the wide expanse of the river at this point. Curtright was 19 to 28 km (12 to 16 mi) from the closest population centers, Greensboro and Eatonton, both of which had railroads. No doubt being bypassed by the railroad was a significant contributing factor to the failure of the factory. The roads were rutted and winding and during the wet season muddy and often impassable; travel was slow and difficult at best. Lawrence Mill was even farther removed (29 km or 18 mi straight) from Greensboro and about 19 km (12 mi) in a straight line from Eatonton and Sparta (Hancock County).

Production at all three mills probably declined during most of the last half of the nineteenth century. Their wheels and turbines finally ceased runnning during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Hunter (191979:343) has noted that there was a national decline in water-powered industry after the Civil War and by 1870 less than half of manufacturing enterprises still used waterpower. Steam power was on the upswing, replacing water-power for operating all types of machinery.

During the early twentieth century, social and political forces also were at work bringing the demise of rural mills. Commercial milling operations were developing that could mass produce large quantities of meal, which could be transported by railroad to the smaller towns. Due to mass production and cheap transportation, the meal was sold at cheaper rates than the local products. As the poor rural folk fled the country sides for city jobs, the decline in agricultural production also forshadowed the eventual failure of the small mills. In so many areas of Georgia, growth and development turned away from the rivers where industrialization had begun.

<u>The Cotton Textile Industry</u>. A few comments are offered here concerning the cotton textile industry and Curtright. However, a comprehensive discussion of Curtright Factory and the economic and social forces surrounding it should be advanced only after the results of the archaeological investigations have been completed and reported.

Eric Steadman (1858:30) suggested five primary reasons that cotton mills failed during the first half of the nineteenth century: 1)selection of inefficient or improper machinery and the wrong types of cotton products to manufacture; 2)lack of steady reliable mill labor; 3)selection of a poor location site; 4)lack of proper moral and religious education of the work force; and 5)lack of sufficient capital. Certainly, all these reasons seemed to have applied to the Curtright Factory as described by Henry Merrell.

Numerous economic forces caused the failure of many small cotton mills. Quite a few of Georgia's cotton mills began when raw cotton prices were low in the 1840s (Shryock 1927:109). By 1850 there were 40 or more factories in Georgia. However, in 1850 as cotton prices rose the profits of many mills fell (Shryrock 1927:128). The worst years were between 1851 and 1857 when cotton prices rose so dramatically that many mills were forced out of business (Griffin 1958:369). Lack of sufficient capital to keep up with the technically advanced machinery that was being developed during the period also caused the less efficient mills to lose out in the competition. This was particularly true for many of the southern mills who were competing against northern mills that employed the latest spindles and power looms. These mills could produce their goods faster and cheaper than the southern mills with their outdated machinery. The lack of protective tariffs to slow down the import of cheaper goods from England and other countries, which was one of Merrell's specific complaints, caused problems for southern mills as well.

Political and social forces tempered the industry also. The single mindedness of cotton monoculture produced too narrow an economic approach in the south. Several studies have noted (Shryock 1926; Johnson 1932; Mitchell 1932) the general distaste numerous southerners had for industrialization. Shryock (1926:120) said that many Georgians (and southerners as a whole) had a fear of industrialism *per se*. Some of this stemmed from a concern that it threatened the slave-based economy of the South. The views harbored by many southerners were typical of the forces surrounding the inception of the industrial revolution and the growth of a world economy of capitalism. The South remained at the periphery of the world economy until late in the nineteenth century. The abandonment of an agricultural way of life, which was imbedded in such a solid tradition, was difficult for the South. The North, which had been settled at least a century longer

than many places in Georgia and the South, had already completed its adjustment period and was well on its way to full industrialization.

The South attempted to avoid industrialization by hanging on to its traditional agricultural roots, even to the point of attempting to break away and form a separate Union. State's rights or sectionalism was supported in opposition to the northern trends toward nationalism. The northern states refused to let this separation occur, maybe not so much for the idealistic reasons of saving the South from itself, but more from the feeling "that divided we fall". If the country was to survive, there could be no dissolution of the Union. As a result of the Civil War the South was ultimately forced into the industrial age and the advent of a capitalistic economy and a new spirit of nationalism. While this emergence was slow and painful for the South, in the end the South successfully beat the North at its own game in the textile industry.

Historian Gavin Wright (Wright 1986:124-125) says that because of the south's slow industrial development, it took a long period of socialization to acclimate the mill laborers to the tasks of production. Moreover, these rural folk had to adjust "to the entire social setting, to industrial employment as a life's work and a way of life". Wright (1986:129) noted that the southern labor market was isolated from much of the outside world prior to the Civil War. Compounding this was the problem of a young work force unable to build up a collective labor experience so that industrial progress could be gained.

The women and men who filled the mill jobs were the poorest of the poor, the uneducated and landless class. They were dirt farmers who barely subsisted, a class of people on the rise during the first half of the nineteenth century due to the consolidation of good farmland among the cotton planters (Johnson 1932:227). Good examples of these large landholding planter classes are evident in David Ross, who owned 3,000 ac in 1846, or Richard Park who owned a sizable amount of land to be concentrated in one person's hands. Without enough good lands to make a living farming, these people became destitute. This was already a spoken problem in the 1830s (Griffin 1958:361), but would steadily increase during the rest of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

When Curtright Manufacturing Company began in 1846 there was still a shortage in the labor pool of factory workers. Nationally during this period, there was also an increase in Irish immigrants and many of these were skilled in the textile trades. Very few went south, however. Only 6% of the southern population was foreign born, while in the North, 20% of the population was born outside the U. S. (Mitchell 1921:31). Merrell's experiment with the Irish started well, but ended in disaster. Merrell started with 19 immigrants and had about that many in 1850, but ten years later in 1860 there were no foreign born factory workers at Curtright Factory. In the two decades it operated, Curtright Factory employed hundreds of mill workers, most who labored only a short time there before moving on to other employment. Merrell's mill was ultimately a failure, although it was not from a lack of much expended money and labor in the enterprise. Curtright was one of the many antebellum mills that did not make it much past the midway mark of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VIII--FUTURE RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

The Wallace Historic Site investigations may still be the most comprehensive industrial archaeology study in Georgia to date. Robert D. Newman's study (1984) seven mill sites in the Russell Reservoir on the Savannah River examined more mill sites, but with less intensity than the work directed at Parks Mill, Curtright Factory, and Ross' Mill. The quantity of archaeological cultural materials and data retrieved from the four Wallace sites is tremendous. The archaeological results presented here from the preliminary reports are extremely limited in light of the multiple thousands of artifacts and features recovered during eight months of continuous field excavations. The comprehensive results of the fieldwork at each of the four sites remains to be written.

The intent of this study of the four mill sites on the Oconee River is to provide a historical framework from which future studies on the Wallace historic materials may build. This study is by no means all inclusive since there are many gaps in the history that could not be filled. Recognizing these gaps, new avenues of historical research may be directed toward those areas that are lacking important information.

The need for reporting this enormous historic project conforms well with the Georgia Historic Preservation Plan for the State (Department of Natural Resources 1989). The Office of Historic Preservation has recognized the need for preparing historical context studies on industrial development and specifically textile growth in the state. The recently published 1991 Annual Report & 1992 Action Plan (Department of Natural Resources) specifically mentions a thematic context on historic Georgia industries currently being prepared. The report also notes that a context study (Chesnut and Pease 1985) on Textile Mills of Georgia has been completed, although it has not been widely distributed. While this survey report is a start, a much more comprehensive study is needed. Examining our past industrial development is important to understanding all of our past. The practical benefits of studying the past are expressed well in the Vision for the Future Foreword, "Preservation enhances the guality of our environment, instills a sense of pride in our citizens, provides a tangible link with our past, promotes understanding among different cultural groups and encourages economic revitalization." Knowledge of our past can only help us, while the lack of that knowledge may blind or hurt us. Knowing our history will give us better vision and understanding.

The information available in the Wallace historic sites materials can best address the second stated goal of the State Historic Preservation Plan, which is "widespread public awareness of and involvement in historic preservation". There is much the public can learn from the historic and archaeological data of these sites. This information has the potential to provide knowledge about early settlements along a major river corridor through middle Georgia. It can inform us of the development of the early grist milling industry, early transportation growth, the dynamics of rural community development tied to the milling industry, the characteristics and evolution of antebellum-cotton mills, and water power technology in Piedmont Georgia during the nineteenth century. The operative houses that were excavated at Curtright are probably the only ante-bellum operative houses ever excavated in Georgia. These houses were intensively occupied, sometimes having upward of 15 members at a time, a significant portion of which were below the age of 20 years. Families moved in and out of these houses at an apparently high turnover rate. A comprehensive examination of the architectural detail of the structures and the artifacts associated with them may provide new insight on the lifeways of this growing class of landless people in southern society. A better understanding of the economic and social forces at work at Curtright can also be gained from studying the Curtright mill structure: its hydraulic system, architectural and technological modifications, machinery parts, and other associated artifacts.

Completion of the archaeological results on the four sites plus more specific and problematic studies of the materials should follow. Because of the significance of the historic data recovered during the Wallace Dam Project and the tremendous quantity of materials to be studied, it will probably be necessary to report on them in stages. The reports may have to be completed separately and perhaps prioritized. Addressing certain problems may be one avenue of approach to using the voluminous amount of data that was gathered. Several research topics or issues are suggested below as possible avenues of research. There are many other pertinent issues as well.

- Each mill was built as an adaptation to the local physical conditions of the mill site. Examination of each hydraulic system could tell us about how people dealt with the environmental conditions of the site. The three mills excavated all showed evidence of numerous modifications to their hydraulic systems. Mills were continually being updated and examinations of these systems through their stages of modification may provide information on the technical knowledge of the mill wright and the economic factors that may have influenced these changes.
- The communities surrounding these mill sites may have been directly or indirectly tied to the physical mills. More than likely they began as direct consequences but evolved into more symbiotic relationships. Research into these affiliations could provide information on the social and economic forces present during the nineteenth century in rural Piedmont Georgia.
- 3. Documentary evidence suggests that the Curtright Factory village was completed in just nine months. A detailed examination of the mill houses, associated artifacts, and the general arrangement of the settlement on the landscape may corroborate this or show that the documents were wrong. Questions to be asked are: What do the physical remains of the houses indicate about how they were built? Did they appear to come from a blueprint plan for constructing mill houses? How well were they built? There are documentary indications (William Gregg in Thompkins 1899:215) that mill houses were consciously built as shanties, but with the perceived notion that they were an improvement over what the occupants were otherwise use to; what

archaeological indications come from the Curtright excavations that may add or detract from this knowledge?

- 4. Henry Merrell said the Curtright Factory location was an unhealthy one and his workers were constantly sick. Does the archeological record give any indicators of this?
- 5. Several changes in the hydraulic system occurred during the factory's brief existence. At least three turbine installations (four turbines in all) were made. The documents reveal nothing about the mill hydraulics and motive power installations. The technological characteristics of the mill will come almost exclusively from the archaeological data. What can the archaeology tell us about when the modifications occurred and why they were made (ie. where they seeking greater efficiency and power), and what were the problems with water flow? Merrell states that the water was difficult to control. Was siltation a problem? The mill was operating during the height of agricultural cultivation and erosion problems were becoming severe during the mid-nineteenth century. Were poor agricultural practices strangling the incipient industrial attempts that were being made?
- An examination of the Smith Papers (Georgia Department of Archives and History), which includes letters, memos, drawings, newspaper articles, and various other types of papers of Henry Merrell, may contain other information about the site yet unknown.
- 7. Important information about the settlement of the Oconee River corridor in the Lake Oconee area can be derived by studying the numerous historic sites located during the several surveys made of the reservoir. By locating these sites on maps and determining their range of occupation it should be possible to examine settlement patterns through a one-hundred and seventy-five year occupation of the area. Concentrations and shifts in settlement should be evident. This data can provide interesting observations on long-term landuse patterns.

While there is a wealth of information contained in Wallace Dam historic site materials, there is still more information available through new work at the Curtright site. Almost one-half of the structures identified at Curtright were above the pool level. In particular, the main ridge at the site which contained the most houses is almost completely outside the pool line. The main road that entered the village traversed down this ridge. The 11 houses located along this road on the ridge are more evenly spaced than any of the other structures at the site. Ten of these structures were above the reservoir pool line and therefore were never investigated. These structures are now threatened by encroaching lake development. The Reynolds Plantation development owns the unflooded portions of the Curtright site. All indications are that the Reynolds Plantation master plan calls for extensive development in the old Long Shoals area. Local and state attention should be given to this matter since the potential losses are serious. There are few ante-bellum cotton factory villages left in Georgia.

Protection of these historical resources should be an imperative. One of the eight goals set forth in the State's Historic Preservation Plan (Department of Natural Resources 1989:108) concerns the expressed "Widespread use of accepted preservation techniques and standards". An important objective to accomplishing this goal is to "Target specific groups or organizations that impact historic properties.. and provide technical assistance and information, and help develop coalitions among them." (Department of Natural Resources 1989:108) Correspondingly, the next objective is to target specific historic property types (like the mill housing that belonged to an early cotton mill) for attention and assistance in their preservation. These goals and objectives are particularly relevant today.

There is much to still be learned about this historically rich area along the Oconee River. While a lake covers much of it, the history is still there, waiting to be revealed to those interested in how the past connects with the present. These various themes could be presented in a series of studies made available to the public. Once the site results have been written, a popular synthesis should be written for public consumption. Such a popular report has been developed for the Russell Reservoir studies and a similar one from the Wallace work would be notable for regional comparisons and contrasts. These documents will and could provide important new perspectives on current historical knowledge about piedmont river systems and their attendant settlement growth.
This study is dedicated to the many souls who worked on the historic sites along the Oconee River. It was a time of fun and laughter but twinged with a little sadness as an era came to an end along a beautiful river.

The Wallace Reservoir project was an enormous undertaking, which is evident in the number of people involved in it. While the excavations of the historic sites were ongoing with some of the prehistoric excavations, the historic sites were the last to be dug. Working on these sites at the end of so large a project brought a poignant revelation to many of us. As we diligently worked to record and retrieve the relics of the near and far past, the future and a new era were at hand. The river landscape was about to change more drastically than any of those occupants of the past could probably have fathomed.

This study cannot end without acknowledging some of these people. So many individuals were involved, that some names may be left out. This is not meant to slight anyone, but is a product of too many years passed between the time of the work and now. Acknowledgments should begin with a recognition of the project director, Albert F. Bartovics and his most able assistant, R. Bruce Council. Both were dedicated to scholarly work and meticulous field techniques and under their direction the fieldwork on the four sites was of the highest caliber.

The crew worked hard, laboring under the most unpleasant conditions at times. Work in the turbine pits was wet and nasty and the fear of falling walls was an ever present danger there. Factory work was tedious and trying for the mill workers and for those who studied them 130 years later.

While numerous people worked on the four sites, coming and going as the seasons did, the main crew is shown in the photograph below (Figure 45), which was taken shortly before the Curtright fieldwork was completed. The following individuals are present in the picture: Bruce Council, Al Bartovics, Christy Johnson, Leslie Swann, Dan Elliott, Denise Hutto, Lisa O'Steen, Dwight Lyman, Karen Walker, Ray Frye, Robbie Ethridge, Carolyn Young, Rudy Jones and myself. Other crew members who worked at Curtright or one of the other historic sites included Ron Schoettmer, Leah Chadderton, Mary Barrett, Gilbert Head, Stephen Wright, Caesar Alexander, Cedric Webb, Sanford Glary, David Finney, Michael Elam, Jeanne Ward, and Jack Tyler.

In the laboratory the following individuals performed the artifact identifications under the direction of Al and Bruce: Christy Johnson, Leslie Swann, Denise Hutto, Ray Frye, and myself.



Figure 44. 1978 Historical Sites Field Crew; Taken at Curtright Factory Site.

Prior to data recovery, there were several surveys with some testing. Archie Smith conducted the first survey. This was followed by Dean Wood and Chung Ho Lee, who surveyed portions of the reservoir basin and surrounding areas. A survey of the entire reservoir basin was made by Chester DePratter, Dean Wood, John Doolin, Greg Paulk, and Robin Johnson in 1974 and 1975. In 1976, thanks to the tremendous support provided by Mr. Jim McGuffy of the Georgia Power Company Land Department, Dean Wood, Robin Johnson, and myself were able to survey and test portions of the Parks Mill site. Finally, simultaneous to the data recovery work, was a full coverage survey by Greg Paulk, Tom Gresham, and John Doolin of the cleared basin. They were assisted at different times by Paul Webb, Joel Jones, and Jan Fortune.

There are numerous other people who were truly interested in the project and gave much of their attention and time. One individual in particular was Woody Williams, who is acknowledged for his true dedication to archaeology and for all the time he volunteered toward fieldwork excavations at the Parks Mill and Curtright Factory sites. Mr. Grayson White, the last owner of Parks Mill, should also be recognized for his great support during the testing of that site. Mrs. Caroline Hunt of Madison, Georgia, volunteered many hours of her time during some of the early surveys and for the first testing at Parks Mill. Mr. E. H. Armor, whose family has been in Greene County since its founding, took a particular interest in the project and provided a humorous inspirational quality to the work. There were many others too numerous to mention that showed their interest in our labors and to all these a sincere appreciation is offered.



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