

Rita Folse Elliott. THE PULSE OF PETERSBURG: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY INVESTIGATION OF A SUBMERGED TOBACCO TOWN IN GEORGIA (Under the direction of William Still) Department of History, December 1988.

The purpose of this study is to conduct a multidisciplinary investigation on the submerged ruins of the frontier town of Petersburg, Georgia, and examine the potential for underwater archaeology on submerged terrestrial sites in the southeastern United States. Examination of this late eighteenth-early nineteenth-century tobacco river port included employing the fields of historical research, underwater archaeology, economics, geography, and oral history. This combination of disciplines resulted in the compilation of a large and varied body of data.

Historical research produced a large field of primary and secondary sources relating to Petersburg's past. Geography and underwater archaeology revealed important information concerning site location, boundaries, and artifact assemblages. Field work demonstrated the usefulness of conducting underwater research in the southeastern United States, and the potential it offers for other sites in similar situations. Economic studies, combined with historical research proved helpful in placing Petersburg in a broader regional and national perspective, while oral history rounded out the Petersburg study. This multidisciplinary approach produced the first comprehensive study of a very important segment of Georgia's past.

THE PULSE OF PETERSBURG:
A MULTIDISCIPLINARY INVESTIGATION OF A
SUBMERGED TOBACCO TOWN IN GEORGIA

A Thesis
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the Faculty of the Department of History

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents who nurtured in me the desire to learn, and to Runt, whose encouragement helped put this desire into action.

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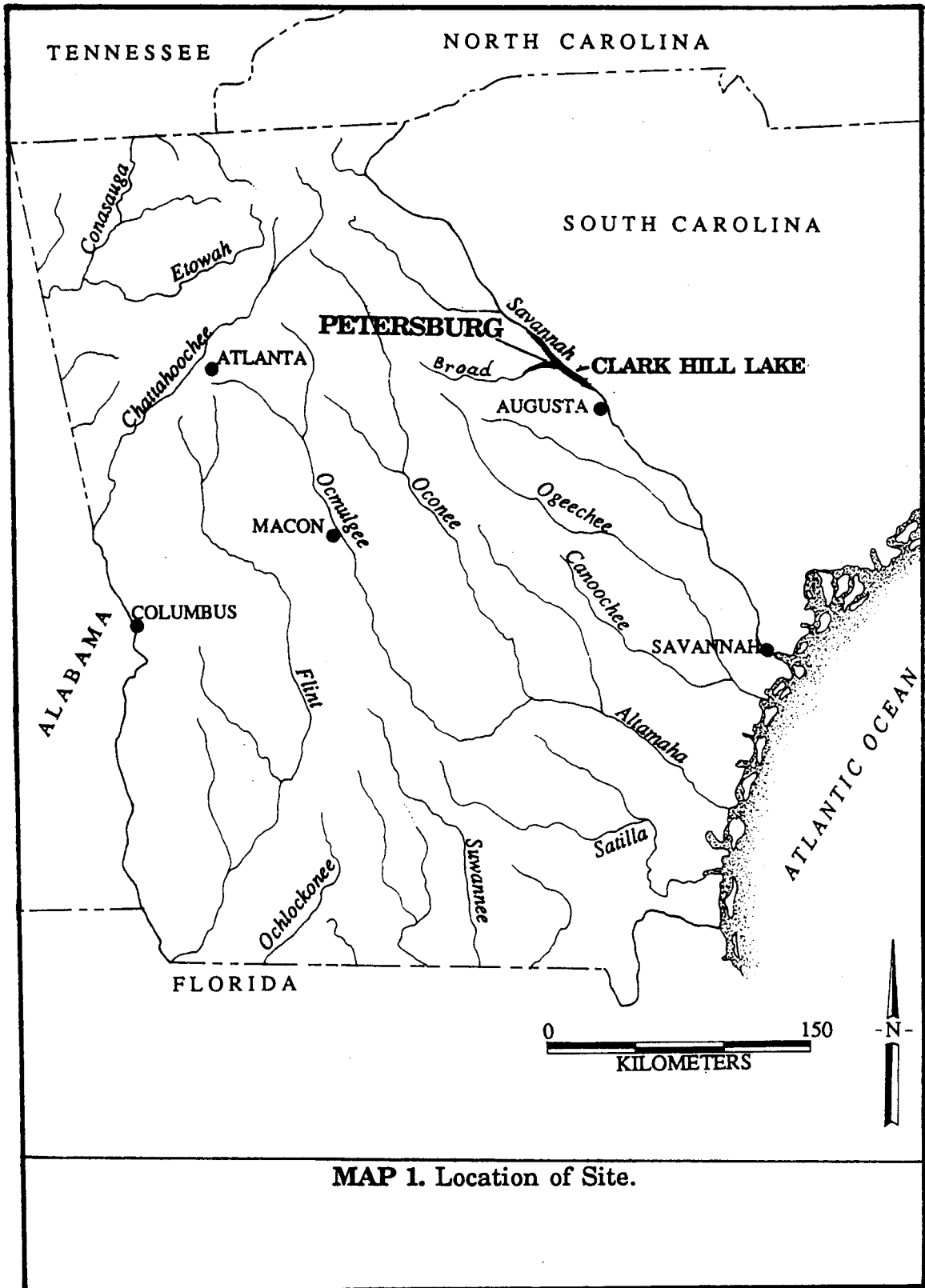
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I. INTRODUCTION

The town of Petersburg was established in 1786 and quickly became a large river port. This late eighteenth-early nineteenth-century town played an important role in the early development of Georgia. Of inland cities, Petersburg became second only to Augusta in terms of commercial importance.¹ Petersburg's easily accessible facilities for storage, shipping, and inspection of agricultural products encouraged settlement and farming of the hinterland. Petersburg was located in Elbert County, Georgia, less than one-half mile from South Carolina's border. The town was built at the confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers and now lies submerged by Clark Hill Lake. (See Map 1.)

Very little research has been conducted on this town which once occupied a significant place in both local and regional events. Primary sources are numerous but, until now, only one effort has been made to synthesize the raw historical data into a history of Petersburg. No one has produced an unbiased, updated history offering causal explanations of events which occurred in the town. The sole historical work concerning Petersburg consists of a monograph written by Ellis Merton Coulter entitled *Old Petersburg and the Broad River Valley of Georgia: Their Rise and Decline*, which examined only a segment of the historical record and made no attempt at utilizing any other approaches in investigating the defunct town.² Archaeologists have paid even less attention to Petersburg than historians.

From Frederick Jackson Turner's study of frontiers to contemporary historical works, scholars have sought to study and redefine the theory of the frontier. Archaeologists have recently acknowledged the significance of frontier theories by interpreting established concepts and contributing unique data to the field.³ Frontier scholars have examined its importance as a mold of civilization, a rebuildier, even a catalyst. Regardless of its role, most acknowledge its importance to varying degrees. Petersburg was typical of the many frontier towns springing up throughout newly ceded Indian lands in the United States during the late 1700s and early 1800s. Colonists moved westward to settle Petersburg just as they journeyed west settling hundreds of other towns. Merchants, artisans,



and farmers inhabited Petersburg as they did other new towns. They lived there, prospered, and then moved west again. In this respect, the study of Petersburg offers an insight into the establishment, growth, and death of a typical frontier town of that period. This thesis investigation illuminates a town typical of many other communities established under similar economic, geographic, and social conditions. It offers new light and fresh information concerning the daily details and monumental events occurring in frontier boundaries, and is valuable to historians and social scientists in this respect. While Petersburg exemplified many other towns, it also created its own individual signature through the way it handled certain problems unique to a river port town. The community's major economic dependence on tobacco inspection and the river freight industry led to both great prosperity and sudden doom unparalleled in many other towns that did not enjoy the same means of financial support. This thesis' importance, therefore, lies not only in its indepth examination of a frontier town, but also in its elucidation of the town's unique attributes and problems.

This thesis offers the first comprehensive examination of Petersburg, by providing a detailed picture constructed from studying not only historical data, but information from a wide variety of related fields. The Petersburg project was designed to prove that a multidisciplinary approach employing historical research, underwater archaeology, historical geography, economics, and oral history can be applied to produce a more accurate and complete understanding of Petersburg's past. The "pulse of Petersburg" can be read and understood most accurately only by employing many disciplines. Secondary contributions of this study include the compilation of all deeds relating to the town of Petersburg, and a feasibility assessment of archaeological investigations on submerged terrestrial historic sites in the Southeastern United States.

An archaeological survey of submerged cultural resources at the site of Petersburg will serve several purposes, and will initially aid in revealing the town's precise location, which historic maps fail to provide. Archaeological investigations go far beyond reaping information revealed only in archival sources. Archaeological study could furnish information which is unavailable, incomplete, or inaccurate in the historical record. Artifacts discovered while surveying often reveal information about

material culture not mentioned in contemporary documents including details concerning lifestyles, economic status, and occupations. Artifacts located as a result of the survey have been recorded for study in this context.

Archaeological investigations also serve to disclose the current condition of the site and allow assessments of future impact on it by both the environment and man. An archaeological survey can determine the relative stability of a site, and discover destructive or potentially damaging situations involving the cultural remains. An underwater archaeological survey of Petersburg assesses the past, present, and future impact of environmental and man-made conditions on the archaeological site.

Archaeologists have studied few submerged terrestrial sites, and no submerged communities in the Southeastern United States. Other archaeologists have successfully studied submerged urban ruins outside the United States, such as the harbor of Caesarea in the Mediterranean, and Port Royal, Jamaica, in the Caribbean. These sites, however, offer underwater visibility unattainable in the tannic acid waters of the southern United States, where visibility seldom exceeds a distance of several feet. The National Park Service conducted a study analyzing the impact of reservoir inundation on archaeological sites in the United States. While this study (the *Final Report of the National Reservoir Inundation Study Volume 1*) provides an enormous amount of data, it deals primarily with the physical effects of water-borne sediment and chemicals on prehistoric sites, in particular.⁴ The limited archaeological research on submerged terrestrial historic sites in the southeastern United States places additional importance on the archaeological research of Petersburg, even beyond the scope of one historic, frontier town. This project also addresses the broader questions of feasibility and the ability to obtain worthwhile results when conducting research in similar situations. An archaeological investigation of Petersburg is crucial to provide information unavailable in traditional archival searches, while producing information on current conditions of the site, and providing data useful for similar studies.

An equally important aspect of this research design involves demonstrating the successful utilization of a multidisciplinary approach to collect, extract, and analyze a wide variety of data that would contribute

to a broader understanding of Petersburg. Coulter's study of the town consisted of limited historical research and oral history. Petersburg has never been examined in a larger historical context, with the aid of information gathered through archaeology, geography, and economics. The combination of data gathered from this wide variety of disciplines is interpolated to produce an original synthesis of the major elements that characterized Petersburg. This multidisciplinary approach should serve as a useful tool not only for the study of Petersburg, but for the examination of other historically significant sites as well.

Notes

Chapter I.

1. Charles C. Jones, *The Dead Towns of Georgia* (Savannah: n.p., 1878; Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1974), 237.
2. Ellis M. Coulter, *Old Petersburg and the Broad River Valley of Georgia: Their Rise and Decline* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1965).
3. Stanton W. Green and Stephen M. Perlman, *The Archaeology of Frontiers and Boundaries* (Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1985).
4. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Final Report of the National Reservoir Inundation Study* (Santa Fe, N.M.: National Park Service Service Southwest Cultural Resources Center, 1981), I.

II. SITE DESCRIPTION AND GENERAL HISTORY

The multi-disciplinary approach of this thesis, as stated and explained in Chapter 1, involved the study of all relevant fields to obtain the broadest and most complete knowledge base available concerning the town of Petersburg. This chapter examines the utility of employing the sciences of locational geography, geology, and environmental studies towards discovering the physical setting that enveloped Petersburg. The latter section of this chapter examines the historical setting leading up to the establishment of the town. Analysis of Georgia's prehistory and general history before Petersburg's era "sets the stage" for the town's establishment. This analysis illustrates the contemporary prevailing mental attitudes, social issues, and expectations of the period, all necessary in understanding the reasons for the town's formation and the ensuing actions of new settlers, and later, established townspeople.

Location

The remains of Petersburg are located in Elbert County, Georgia, at what was once the confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers and is now Clark Hill Lake. The site is situated approximately 110 miles northwest of Savannah, Georgia, and twenty miles northwest of the town of Augusta. (See Map 1.) Petersburg's ruins are across the Savannah River from McCormick County, South Carolina. The site's elevation is between 318 and 335 feet above mean sea level, while the normal pool elevation of Clark Hill Lake is 330 feet above mean sea level. A majority of the former town is inundated.

Petersburg's geographical area experienced both silting and erosion due to its position at the confluence of two major rivers. The relatively strong current of the Savannah River carried sediment downstream from Petersburg, eroding its banks. The Broad River, however, produced the opposite effect. The smaller, more sluggish Broad River lost velocity at the confluence where it ran directly into the Savannah River. This loss of momentum allowed river silt to accumulate in the Broad River along the west bank of Petersburg. These natural conditions caused the land to

gradually evolve, being built up in one area and eroded in another.

Geological Overview

Before inundation, soils in the Petersburg area included Congaree silt loam, Wickham sandy loam, Congaree fine sandy loam, Cecil sandy loam (mixed phase), and Cecil clay loam (steep phase).¹ The Congaree fine sandy loam and Congaree silt loam are alluvial deposits found in the bottomlands. The former was located on the Savannah River at the confluence and stretched upstream, while the latter blanketed the inside of the confluence in a "V" pattern. The Cecil clay loam (steep phase) occurs in eroded, upland areas and does not provide good soil for farming. This soil type covered the area immediately northwest of town. Petersburg was located between the two boundaries of the alluvial flood plains and the eroded uplands, in Wickham sandy loam. This soil under Petersburg was an old alluvial soil valuable for farming. Wickham sandy loam accumulated on terraces, therefore, it exists predominantly in areas which flood only in unusually high floodwaters (twenty to forty feet above normal flood stage).

This geological profile provides additional information concerning conditions that Petersburgers faced while living directly in town or in its general vicinity. The alluvial sandy and silty loams provided excellent well drained, fertile soil for farming. Settlers could have easily taken advantage of this situation to grow produce at a subsistence level for themselves and their families, or harvest a modest amount of crops for sale. Areas on the outskirts of town containing these deposits allowed planters to grow large crops of tobacco, and later cotton. The soil profile illustrates that those who settled in upland areas around the town, however, eventually would not be able to rely on farming for a living because erosion of the topsoil left only the barren clay subsoil. While the river terraces were extremely fertile due to alluvial deposits, farmers had to exhibit caution in cultivating and living on these areas which flooded during especially high river stages.

Environmental Overview

Many potential Petersburg settlers examined the environment, as well as soil conditions, before choosing to establish themselves in or near the new town. Existing vegetation determined both the type of environment settlers would inhabit, and the growth potential of new crops in the area. Vegetation in the Petersburg vicinity included mixed pines in the uplands, while bottomland hardwoods grew in the alluvial plain along the rivers.² Intensive agriculture in the last two and a half centuries, initially encouraged by the establishment of agricultural shipping ports such as Petersburg, produced drastic changes in the riverine environment. The implementation of row-plowing instead of contour plowing in conjunction with massive deforestation has resulted in erosion and increased sedimentation of the rivers and valleys.³ During the three-hundred years following European contact, floodplain sediments in the Savannah valley accumulated to thicknesses of between three and six feet.⁴

Petersburg's strategic location in the Piedmont approximately twenty miles above the fall zone was a major reason for the town's success. Extensive shoals upstream from the confluence on both the Broad and Savannah Rivers gave Petersburg control of the upper-most navigable waters for river trade in the vicinity. Two such shoals, Cherokee and Trotter Shoals, combined to create over eight miles of unnavigable water on the Savannah River. These shoals terminated five miles upstream from the Broad and Savannah Rivers' confluence. Less than two miles upstream on the Broad River vessels encountered Milford Shoals, while another three miles beyond lay an even longer stretch of rocky water known as Anthony Shoals. Downstream between Petersburg and Augusta were several more shoals. Later, these shoals contributed to Petersburg's river trade because steamboats were unable to travel any farther upstream beyond Augusta, and shippers were forced to rely on smaller river craft from Petersburg to carry passengers and goods up and downstream.

The landscape containing the ruins of Petersburg drastically changed in the mid-twentieth century. The swiftest and most extreme environmental alteration occurred between 1946 and 1954 with the construction and completion of the Clark Hill reservoir and dam, which inundated most of the site of Petersburg. This project was a result of the Federal Flood

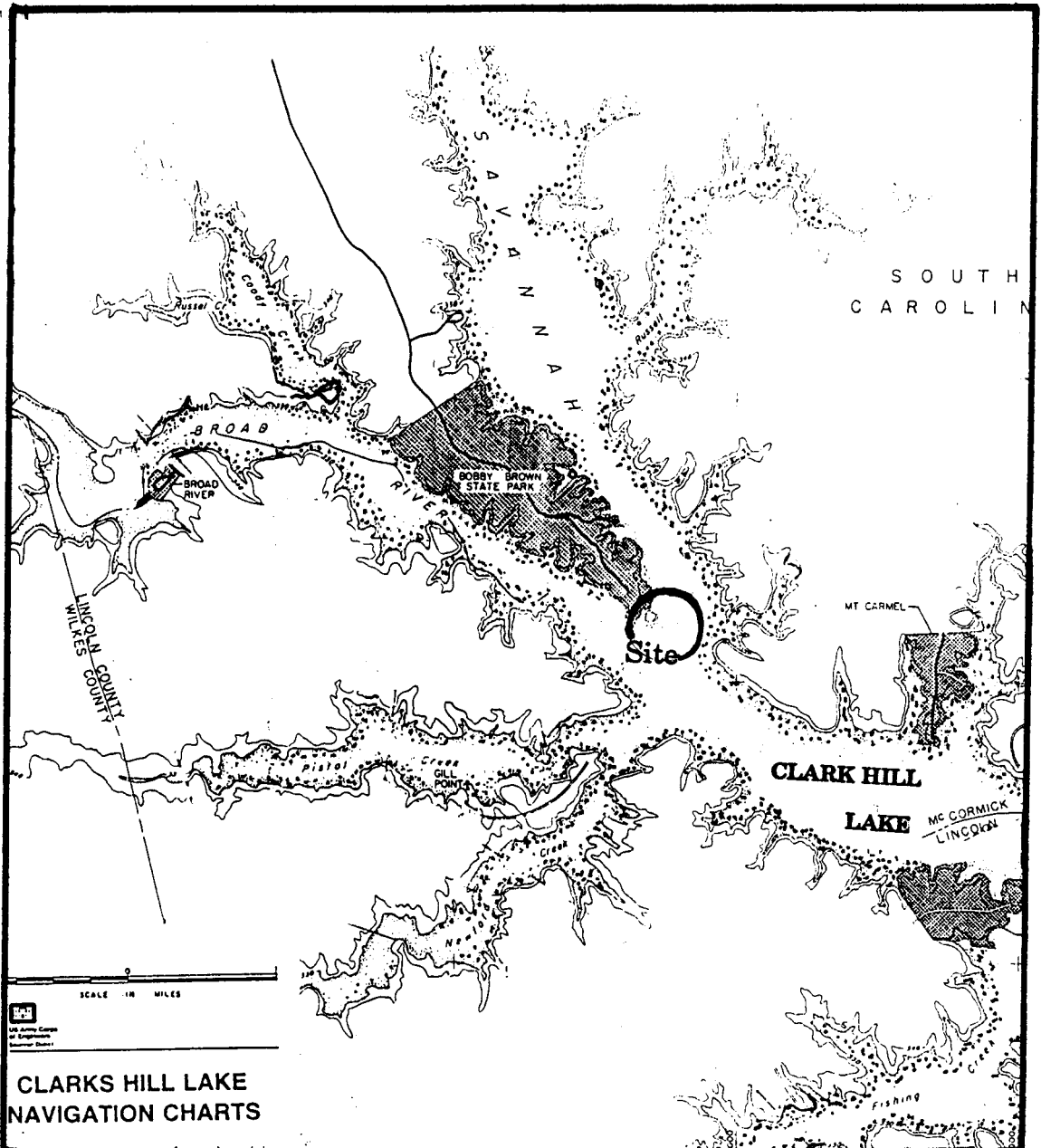
Control Act of 1936, which encouraged development of rivers with headwaters arising in the Appalachian Mountains and flowing through the Piedmont and Coastal Plain.

The Savannah River perfectly fit the Federal government's description for potential river projects. Its headwaters collected large amounts of rainfall producing a great discharge which travelled downstream through the Piedmont along an ever decreasing stream gradient. These conditions were excellent for the development of large reservoirs and multi-purpose dams. The United States Army Corps of Engineers realized the potential of the Savannah River and constructed Clark Hill Lake as a multi-purpose project encompassing flood control, navigation, recreation, irrigation, water supply, and hydroelectric power. Clark Hill Dam's capabilities included peak power production. In 1954 it could alter river flow through the dam from zero to 22 billion gallons per day in a matter seconds.⁵ Clark Hill Lake reaches forty miles up the Savannah River, covers a total of over 70,000 acres, and contains 1,200 miles of shoreline. Estimates indicate that the dam has decreased the amount of sediment travelling downstream into the Savannah Harbor by 22 percent.⁶

Clark Hill Lake is influenced by a number of other factors in the Savannah River basin. The Savannah River is dammed at two locations in the immediate vicinity upstream from the site of Petersburg. Approximately thirty-seven miles upstream from the Clark Hill dam lies the Richard B. Russell dam. Hartwell dam impounds water over sixty-seven miles above the Clark Hill dam. Several tributaries, creeks, and streams feed into Clark Hill Lake including Fishing Creek, Pistol Creek, and Newford Creek.⁷ (See Map 2.)

Georgia Prehistory

An awareness of the prehistory of the Petersburg area creates a temporal continuum in which the town occupied its own unique niche. Prehistoric land use demonstrates the popularity of the location for settlement. The environment and geography of the Broad and Savannah River valleys attracted inhabitants long before Petersburg's time. They also utilized the area in both a similar and different manner than historic settlers.



**CLARKS HILL LAKE
NAVIGATION CHARTS**

MAP 2. Several tributaries feed Clark Hill Lake. (U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Clark Hill Navigation Charts*, Savannah,n.d.)

Petersburg was located in an area originally inhabited by American Indians as early as 12,000 B.C. when Paleo Indians adapted to Georgia's Piedmont and Coastal Plain. These Paleo-Indians subsisted at a nomadic, hunter-gatherer level. Small bands of Indians wandered in search of wild game and edible plants, roots, seeds, and berries. They utilized stone, bone, and wood tools. The Indians constructed stone tools from Piedmont quartz and Coastal Plain chert.⁸

From 8,000 to 1,000 B.C., Archaic Indians lived in modern day Georgia. The Archaic period marked the end of the Pleistocene Ice Age and the extinction of large animals such as the mastodon, mammoth, and giant ground sloth. The Archaic period brought a warmer environment, new tool technology, larger band populations, scheduled seasonal movement of groups, and pottery invention.⁹

Descendants of Archaic Indians also lived in Georgia, and are known as Woodland Indians. During the Woodland Period, between 1,000 B.C. and 800 A.D., Indians began cultivating fields and constructing small villages inhabited by an entire tribe. Woodland Indians developed the bow and arrow, produced more refined pottery, performed ceremonial burials, and developed a more complex religious system.¹⁰

Georgian Indian culture changed between 800 A.D. and 1540 A.D. This era, the Mississippian Period, saw the development of intensive agriculture, more permanent villages, and the establishment of chiefdoms and ceremonial centers. European contact soon annihilated the complex Indian culture.¹¹

In 1540 Hernando DeSoto became the first of many Europeans to travel to Georgia. The Europeans destroyed native Indians through battle, disease, and the destruction of aboriginal culture. Georgia Indians located in the area where Petersburg was built were reduced to trading with European traders for survival.¹² This early Indian trade directly affected Georgia, and indirectly affected Petersburg. The trade encouraged the construction of trading posts and forts for protection against the Indians. One such fort, Fort James, was located in the Petersburg vicinity and acted as an impetus for civilian settlement.

General Georgia History

The study of Petersburg does not begin when settlers established the town in 1786. Residents of Petersburg did not live in a vacuum. Their lives were affected by continual interaction with contemporary people, places and events, and by the events of the past. Petersburg's new world heritage began in earnest when England established the colony of Georgia. This act and a combination of subsequent events led to the creation of Petersburg.

England created the colony of Georgia only fifty-four years before Petersburg's birth. In 1732 the English crown granted a colonial charter that designated the Savannah and Altamaha rivers as East-West boundaries for Georgia, extending from the headwaters to the Pacific Ocean.¹³ The charter established a group of twenty-one Trustees responsible for volunteering their time, money, and influence towards governing the colony and providing for its betterment. These Trustees brought to the organization experience and prestige. Many of them had participated in other charitable works, most notably charities dealing with the debtor's prison. Other trustees could use their influence as members of the House of Commons. Many Trustees were either financially able to provide contributions to the cause, or knew enough wealthy people who gladly gave donations of money and supplies.¹⁴

The English Crown's primary motives behind the creation of Georgia concerned colonial defense and economics. England wished to obtain a permanent and indisputable claim to the land bordering South Carolina and Spanish Florida. Georgia would embody this claim while simultaneously acting as a buffer zone between the established colonies and imperial enemies such as the Spanish and unfriendly Indians. Economically, a colony placed in this area could promote Indian alliances and profit from the Indian trade network. In addition, Georgia could fulfill the mercantile dream by providing silk, wine, naval stores, spices, hemp, potash, and flax to the mother country.¹⁵

While the economic and defensive motives were reasons enough to establish Georgia, a philanthropical goal was a third incentive. Humanitarian ideals resulted in grandiose schemes of sending debtors and persecuted Protestants to begin a new life in the Georgian land of

Eden. Trustees screened all potential colonists in an attempt to insure the success of the new colony and denied passage to applicants they deemed unscrupulous. Contrary to popular history, few colonists were accepted who had actually been imprisoned for debt. Recent estimates indicate that no more than twelve of the initial settlers originated from England's debtor prisons.¹⁶ Trustees felt philanthropic, but not foolish, and resisted the idea of filling the new colony solely with debtor prison inmates.

The Trustees formulated specific rules which they thought would aid settlers in fulfilling the goals England entertained for the new colony. Georgia would provide a home for small farmers only, excluding the large plantation owners with their numerous slaves. The Trustees planned to give every colonist (except indentured servants) fifty acres, with no one acquiring more than 500 acres. This rule would halt the formation of large plantation complexes before they had the opportunity to begin. Georgia was designed solely for the yeoman farmer, who would not be able to compete with slave labor used on plantations. The Trustees enacted another regulation requiring all settlers to work. Initially this was an easy regulation to enforce due to the limited number of indentured servants available and the total absence of slaves. The Trustees wanted to keep the status quo and feared that the importation of slaves would create a decline in the work ethic, an increase in dangerous slave revolts, and stiff competition for small farmers.¹⁷ While the Trustees conceived these rules with the best welfare of the colonists in mind, nevertheless, they were created in a London far away from the realities of Georgia's frontier and came to be viewed by settlers as harsh and unrealistic.

Over 100 English settlers arrived in Georgia in the fall of 1732. James Oglethorpe, one of the original charter petitioners and trustees, led the new colonists. While hordes of debtors did not move to the new colony, a variety of persecuted religious groups settled in Georgia and began highly successful communities. Salzburgers, Moravians, Scotch Highlanders, and English Jews contributed to the ethnic variety of early settlers.¹⁸

Georgia's position as a defensive buffer was proven through escalating conflicts with the Spanish in Florida. Anglo-Spanish relations declined quickly in North America as a result of several problems. The two countries continually argued over the boundary between Spanish Florida and the British colony of Georgia, each country claiming land hotly contested by the other. A second source of dispute lay in the *guarda-*

costas, which were the swift, light draft vessels Spain used to patrol the waters of the Carribean, Gulf of Mexico, and the Bahamas. Spain employed the *guarda-costas* to seize and condemn British vessels not travelling on direct courses between British colonies, and those vessels carrying Spanish coin or other contraband. The British despised the Spanish patrol, which frequently amounted to little more than pirates seeking to capture any available prize. The South Sea Company further antagonized relations with Spain through its often fraudulent trading practices. Spain and Britain also argued over logging customs, and Spain expelled British logwood cutters from around the Bay of Honduras, Belize, and the Yucatán. These altercations, in addition to creating uneasy world-wide English-Spanish relations, resulted in the Battle of Bloody Marsh and the War of Jenkins' Ear.¹⁹

Britain's victory in the war produced important consequences for both the motherland and the colony of Georgia. Britain gained the ability to dominate the colonial market once carried by Spanish contraband. The war affected demographics in Georgia when several areas experienced depopulation due to frequent militia dissertions. Another less obvious, but more significant effect of the war involved the relationship between Georgia and South Carolina. These two colonies became adversaries during the war when disputes arose over finances and militia support. Petersburg later experienced the lingering effects of this antagonism when town commissioners unsuccessfully attempted to deal with South Carolina officials. While the consequences of the war were far reaching, the treaty of 1748 initially brought some peace to the Georgia frontier.²⁰

Plans for the new colony went amiss almost from its inception. An ill-planned governing body was responsible for the lack of political policy and organization. Georgia had a variety of Trustee representatives with no real executive or legislative powers. The colony had no official governor until 1754.²¹ This lack of practical political control made Trustee policy difficult to enforce. The Trustees attempted to fill this political void by enacting several regulations for the colony, all of which settlers viewed with various degrees of disfavor.

Colonists attacked the Trustee land policy which stipulated that the fifty acres given to each settler soley be inherited through the tail-male system. This meant that only the eldest son received the inheritance. If a man did

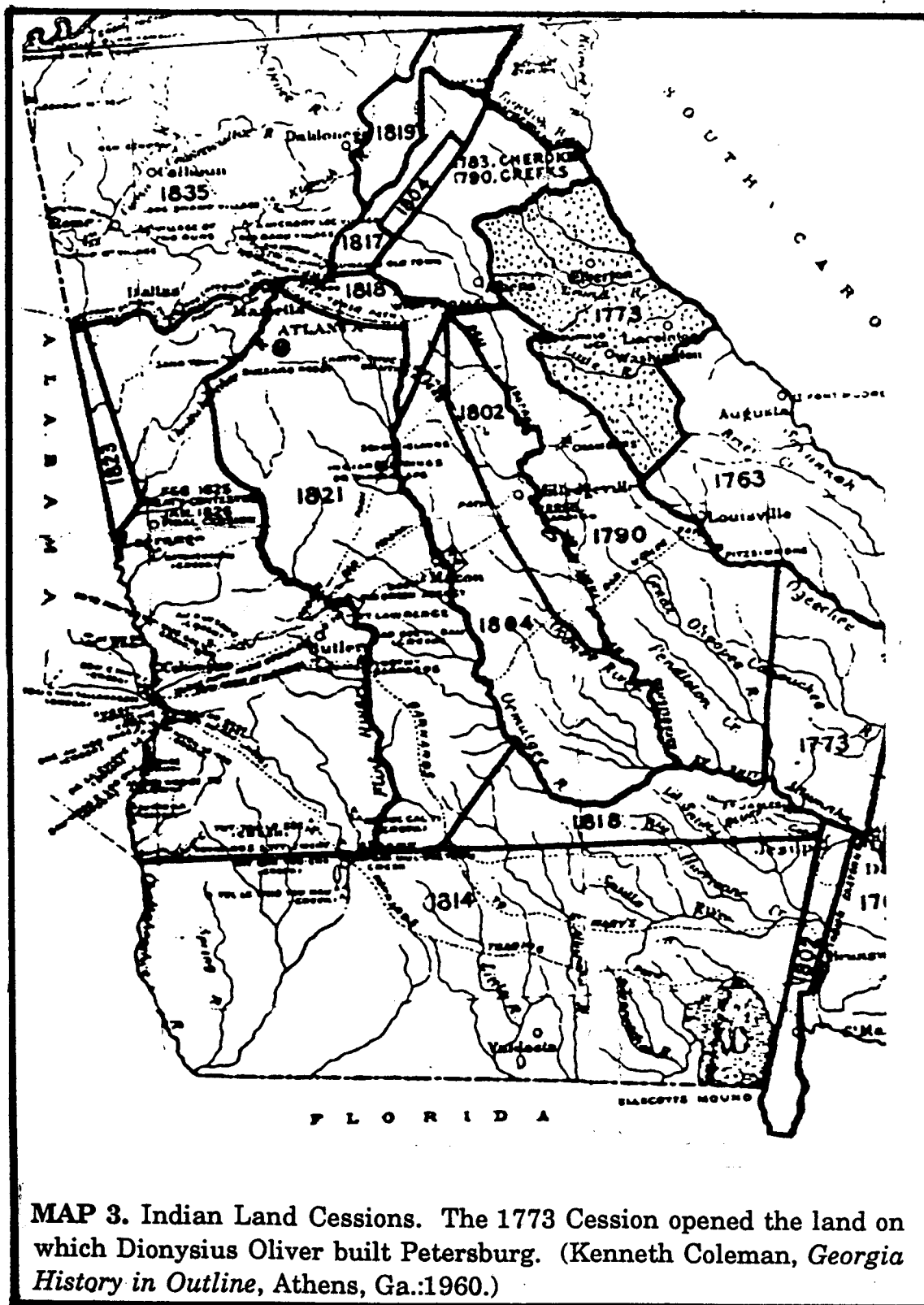
not have a son then the Trustees regained the possession of the tract. The rationale of this policy was several fold. The Trustees felt that colonists freely buying and selling acreage would create large blocks of vacant land and eventually plantation systems. These plantations would undermine the economy of the small farmer while hindering the influx of new settlers. The Trustees denied inheritance rights to women on the basis of colonial defense, stating that each tract needed to be inhabited by a male who could be called to the militia in times of peril. In a similar manner, if females owned large aggregates of land, then there would be fewer men available to participate in town work details or serve on juries. The Trustees' reasoning made sense in theory, but not in actuality. Georgians perceived this land policy as unfair and demanded wholly to own land with the rights of buying and selling instead of merely possessing tenure. In protest, many colonists refused to plant their quota of mulberry trees. The growth of mulberry trees was essential for feeding silkworms in the manufacture of silk, one of England's major goals for Georgia. Strong colonial protests finally led to Trustee acquiescence for settlers' demands of land ownership.²²

Colonists also disliked a regulation enforced by the Trustees prohibiting slavery. Georgians continually clamored for additional sources of labor, particularly since indentured servants were few and quick to escape. The Trustees declined to allow the colony to import slaves for a variety of reasons. They felt the addition of slaves would make settlers lazy, but mostly they feared slave uprisings in the black population and slave revolts with the aid and encouragement of either the Indians, or the Spanish. The Trustees' based their slave regulations on logical thinking, but all Georgians could see was the wealth of South Carolina slave owners and the obstinacy of the royal corporation. Colonial protests, and invariably circumlocution of slave regulations finally led the Trustees to abolish the anti-slave rule in 1750.²³

Georgians also protested against Trustee regulations against the use of liquor or other strong drink. The Trustees saw in England the ill effects of liquor on men and women of all social classes and wished to avoid alcohol-related problems in their colony. Colonists ignored alcohol regulations and smuggled large quantities of rum and other liquor into Georgia. Eventually the Trustees realized the lack of adherence to prohibition and repealed the regulation in 1742.²⁴

In addition to political policy, England's mercantilistic and humanitarian efforts also found little success in the colony of Georgia. The Trustees established regulations designed for a newly formed colony. When these rules failed, either because the colony outgrew them or because they were never truly realistic rules, the Trustees failed to have a flexible back-up plan. Their land regulations were logical, but unfair and could not be easily enforced while denying acreage to so many colonists. The Trustees wanted a colony without slaves, but made few provisions for organizing an economy not contingent on a large, cheap labor force. The Trustees made regulations with little first-hand knowledge on the realities of the Georgia frontier. The prohibition of liquor illustrates that concept. The settlers' desire for alcohol to aid in coping with the rigors of frontier living ensured the disregard of Trustee prohibition. The colony of Georgia did not produce in any substantial quantity the items the Trustees originally envisioned, such as wine and silk. In addition, the original regulations concerning land, slaves, and liquor were all repealed. The colony had become vastly different from its preconceived ideal. The lack of assistance from Parliament and the disillusionment of the Trustees led them to give up the colonial charter to King George II. In 1752 Georgia became a royal colony. Between 1754-1776 three royal governors led the colony. Governor James Wright was the last of the King's men to hold office prior to the American Revolution.

By 1775 Georgia's inhabitants numbered between 40,000-50,000; approximately 20,000 were slaves.²⁵ By this time the Spanish and French threats in Florida and Louisiana had been virtually eliminated by the Treaty of Paris. Indian land cessions of 1763 and 1773 pushed the Creeks and Cherokees farther North and West, allowing colonial expansion into areas with very fertile soil. (See Map 3.) Settlers in Virginia and the Carolinas were especially quick to take advantage of these new lands. Georgia's expansion lured these settlers onto the path of westward migration. Immigrants journeyed across the South Carolina/Georgia border to settle in the Broad and Savannah River valleys. Many settlers established permanent homes in Petersburg and other towns, while some settlers used it as a way-station, staying only long enough to prepare for journeys farther west.



MAP 3. Indian Land Cessions. The 1773 Cession opened the land on which Dionysius Oliver built Petersburg. (Kenneth Coleman, *Georgia History in Outline*, Athens, Ga.:1960.)

Notes

Chapter II.

1. G. S. Fuller and B. H. Hendrickson, *Soil Survey of Elbert County, Georgia* Report No. 15 (Baltimore: Lith A. Hoen and Co., 1928), separate map.
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17. Davis, *The Fledgling Province*, 9.

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III. HISTORY OF PETERSBURG

This chapter utilizes one field in the multi-disciplinary approach, that of history, to examine in depth the chronological events and personages constituting the story of Petersburg. The historical aspect of this study contributes a basic understanding of: Petersburg's establishment; the town's function and livelihood; its relationship to neighboring towns; Petersburg's early years of growth and prosperity; its ensuing economic difficulties; its attempted economic remedies; and finally, the town's death.

HISTORY OF THE PETERSBURG AREA

The confluence of the two major waterways of the Broad and Savannah Rivers proved to be a popular location for settlement, even before the establishment of Petersburg. Before the town's founding, this area provided an environment conducive to trade. The Broad and Savannah Rivers provided Indians and Englishmen with an easily accessible route for trading goods. Traders took advantage of this natural river "highway" to penetrate and exploit Indian lands. Pioneers quickly followed the traders when land cessions gave legal rights and military protection to new settlers. Newly ceded Indian lands brought settlers into western South Carolina. To protect these settlers from neighboring Indians, South Carolina erected Fort Charlotte a short distance below the confluence of the two rivers. By 1775 Fort James, located in Georgia directly above the two rivers' confluence, took over this duty.¹

The famous botanist, William Bartram, encountered Fort James in 1776 on one of his many travels. He left the following detailed description:

Towards evening I crossed Broad river at a good ford, just above its confluence with the Savanna, and arrived at Fort James, which is a four square stockade, with saliant bastions at each angle, mounted with a block-house, where are some swivel guns, one story higher than the curtains, which are pierced with loop-holes, breast high, and defended by small arms. The fortification encloses about an acre of ground, where is the

governor's or commandant's house, a good building, which is flanked on each side by buildings for the officers and barracks for the garrison, consisting of fifty ranges, including officers, each having a good horse well equipt, a rifle, two dragoon pistols, and a hanger, besides a powder horn, shot pouch and tomahawk. The fort stands on an eminence in the forks between the Savanna and Broad rivers, about one mile above Fort Charlotta, which is situated near the banks of the Savanna, on the Carolina side. Fort James is situated nearly at an equal distance from the banks of the two rivers, and from the extreme point of the land that separates them.²

The tract of land containing Fort James was already becoming a focal point of interest by those in power by the end of the 1770s. The nearby defensive works, the proximity to Indian traders, and the accessibility of rivers for travel and for transportation of trade items combined to offer a potentially profitable area for settlement. James Wright, royal governor of Georgia, realized the potential of the area in 1773 and made plans to establish a town. Wright was a shrewd politician and planned to repay political favors from the Earl of Dartmouth by naming the new town after him. In addition, the Broad River's name was changed to the Dart River.³ Dartmouth never grew beyond the planning stages because of the eruption of the American Revolution, however, and the Broad River retained its original name.

The Treaty of June 1, 1773 gave over two million acres to Britain. (See Map 3.) Pressured by land-hungry settlers, Wright and John Stuart, the Superintendent for Indian Affairs, convinced the Creek and Cherokee Indians to cede their land in exchange for being released from their debts with traders. The ceded tract included the land between the Broad and Savannah Rivers, extending northwest to the lower Creek path and the Ogeechee River, and southeast along the ridge between the Broad and Oconee Rivers.⁴ This land was originally included in the colony of Georgia, but would later become various territories. Settlers responded immediately to the newly opened territory, arriving mainly from North and South Carolina, with fewer migrating from Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The Birth of Petersburg

Dionysius Oliver, a politically influential Virginian, obtained from the Georgia General Assembly, a land grant on January 12, 1784, which contained 300 acres lying in the fork of the Broad and Savannah Rivers. (See Figure 1.) The acreage was included in land given up at the 1773 Indian cession. Later the legislature authorized Oliver to establish a tobacco inspection station and warehouse at the location of the fictitious Dartmouth.⁵ Dartmouth had been little more than a name on paper, and never materialized into a real town. The name Dartmouth was officially changed to Petersburg in 1786, in remembrance of Dionysius Oliver's boyhood home of Petersburg, Virginia. This new name marked the official beginning of the town which was originally situated in Wilkes County. In 1790 Wilkes County divided into several separate counties, placing Petersburg in the newly formed Elbert County.⁶

Oliver's first task involved creating a town plan that would divide land into individual lots for sale to settlers. The only surviving town plan is crudely drawn and unfortunately lacks both a scale and directional north arrow. (See Map 4.) Contemporary historical maps of other towns reveal that eighteenth-century surveyors possessed the skill to produce quality maps. Petersburg's surveyor, however, apparently lacked even the most basic skills. The numerous scratch-outs and mistakes appear sloppy and suggests possible tampering with the town map. Even the surveyor's name is scratched through, as if he was ashamed of his product. It illustrates Oliver's general idea, however, of initially establishing eighty town lots. Each lot was purchased "agreeable to a plan laid off and exhibited to the purchasers containing one half acre forty-four yards... and fifty five yards extending outwards."⁷ Petersburg quickly grew to at least 95 lots (some larger than a half acre), with additional cross streets.⁸

Tobacco Trade and River Transportation

Tobacco was responsible for Petersburg's initial success and meteoric rise to the third largest town in Georgia. The town was established as a tobacco port from its birth, with the granting of tobacco warehouse and inspection privileges to Dionysius Oliver. Petersburg merchants shipped tobacco in large wooden hogsheads which were similar to barrels, but

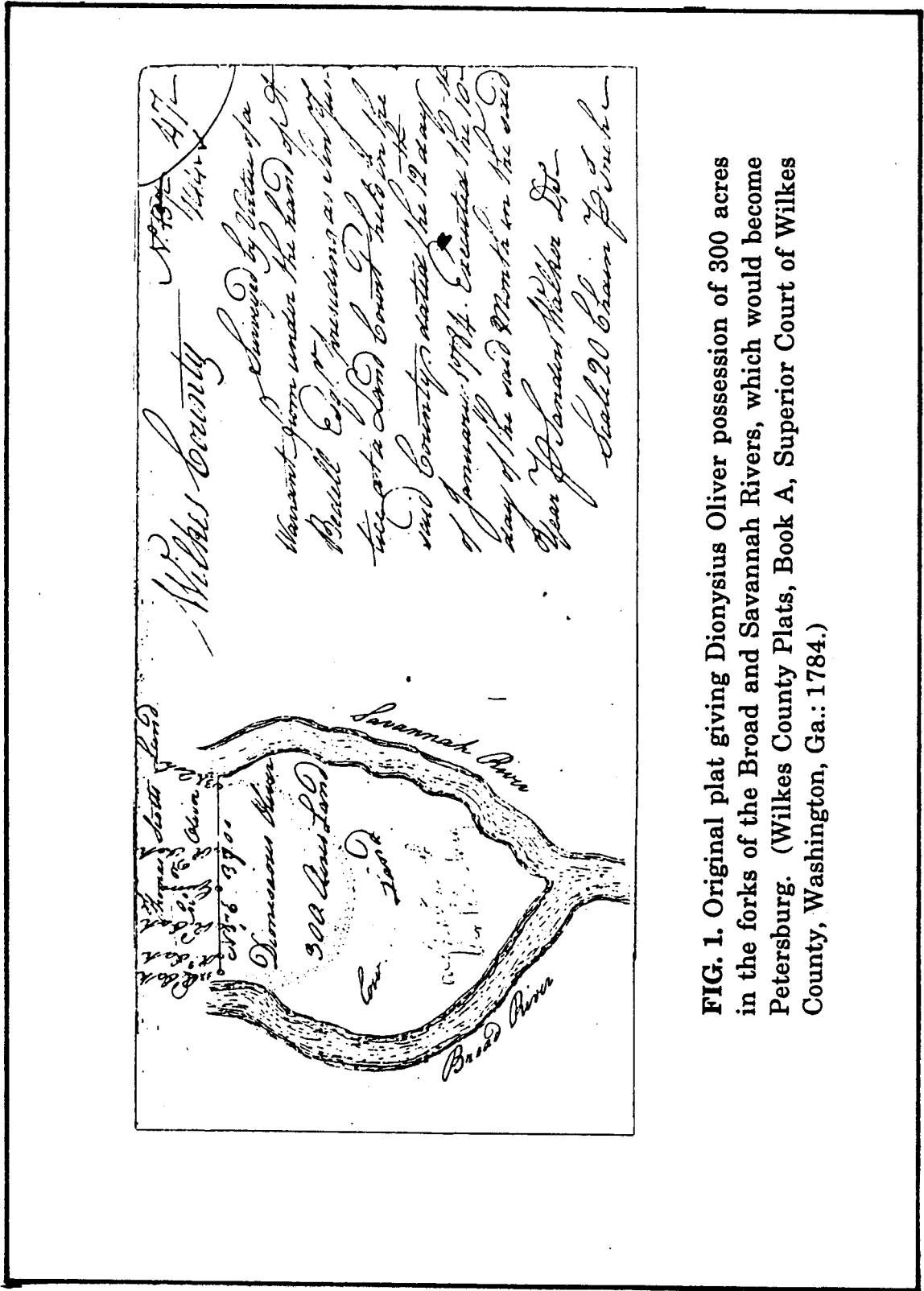
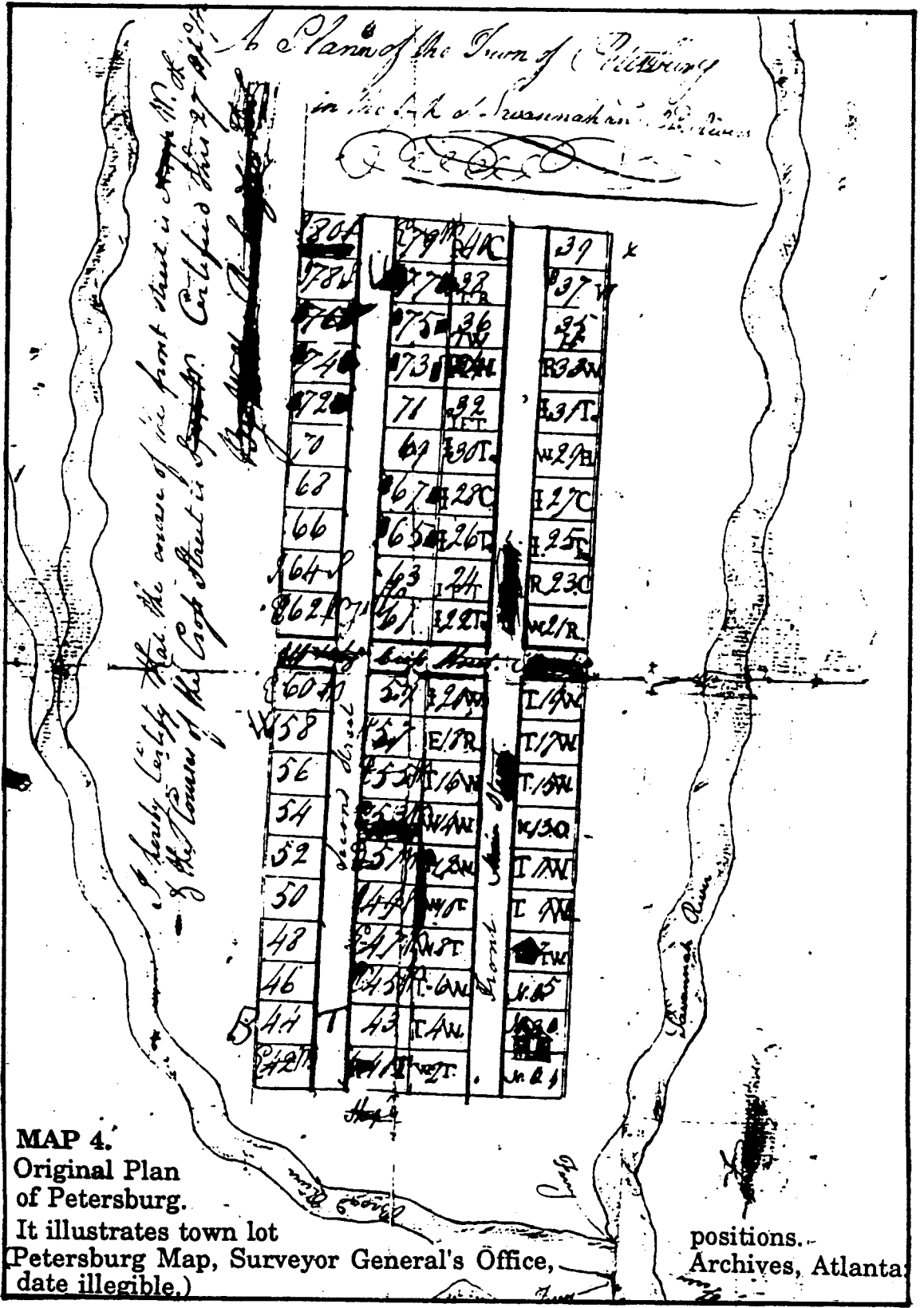


FIG. 1. Original plat giving Dionysius Oliver possession of 300 acres in the forks of the Broad and Savannah Rivers, which would become Petersburg. (Wilkes County Plats, Book A, Superior Court of Wilkes County, Washington, Ga.: 1784.)



MAP 4.
Original Plan
of Petersburg.

It illustrates town lot
(Petersburg Map, Surveyor General's Office,
date illegible.)

positions.
Archives, Atlanta

"...were stack and cylindrical, without the bulging midriff of a barrel..."⁹ Tobacco inspection was necessary since the crops were shipped in the hogsheads which offered no visibility to the buyer. For this reason government inspectors were established to grade the tobacco and stamp all pertinent information on the hogshead lid. The Georgia legislature was concerned with creating a good reputation for state-grown tobacco; therefore from 1778 to 1797 it provided a variety of acts regulating tobacco and tobacco inspection.¹⁰ In spite of stringent regulation, poor quality and green tobacco sometimes did get past inspectors because of carelessness or fraud. The state legislature discouraged bribery by passing strict laws enforced by harsh penalties. Inspectors who broke the laws faced punishments ranging from stiff fines to death.

Petersburg's existence and growth were directly related to its location at the confluence of two major rivers and its resulting interaction with the tobacco industry. The rivers provided a means of transporting tobacco where roads did not exist, were in poor condition, or provided too costly a means of transportation. The town's inland location northwest of Augusta, provided a fairly accessible commercial center for settlers in the Georgia frontier and the up-country of South Carolina. As an official inspection station, farmers routed tobacco through the town from outlying areas. Its location downstream from shoals on both rivers made Petersburg the uppermost area with suitable accommodations for shipping hogsheads of tobacco without interruption down river to Augusta.

Petersburg lay downstream from shoals on both the Broad and Savannah Rivers. Two miles of rocky water known as Anthony Shoals occupied a stretch of the Broad River upstream from Petersburg. These shoals exhibited a steep fall of seventeen feet, precluding river travel. Trotter's Shoals upstream from Petersburg had a fall of seventy-five feet within seven miles of the Savannah River. These shoals also were unnavigable for freight vessels.¹¹ Goods shipped from farther upstream on the Broad River inevitably encountered these shoals. Shippers could navigate the shoals during freshets in the springtime, but these floods often proved unpredictable and dangerous. More frequently, shippers removed the freight from the vessels and loaded it into wagons. The wagons by-passed the shoals overland, and the goods were then loaded onto "Petersburg boats" for shipment to Augusta. Before the introduction

of Petersburg boats, early tobacco carrying vessels plied the rivers. These rather flimsy craft were hardly more than "tobacco flats" transporting between fifty to seventy-five hogsheads of tobacco.¹²

The tobacco flats eventually disappeared and Petersburg boats, used between the town of their namesake and Augusta, replaced these vessels to dominate the rivers. The Petersburg boat was a unique vessel type designed to fulfill specific requirements. A shallow draft was necessary to navigate the shoal-ridden waters, which were particularly hazardous during the dry season. Vessel owners wished to reap the largest profit possible, therefore, they demanded boats built with a large cargo capacity, yet still able to maneuver winding, shallow waterways. The Petersburg boat met these demands more completely than any other vessel type in Georgia.

Occasionally merchants sold their vessels through newspaper advertisements, such as this one located in the *Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State*. In 1790 John Hammond of Mt. Airy, and a merchant named Henry McDonald, advertised a two-year-old boat in complete repair, for sale. The boat was half-decked and could carry fifty hogsheads of tobacco burden.¹³ Unfortunately, the notice did not state a selling price for the vessel.

Petersburg boats originally carried tobacco and later, without vessel alteration, shipped cotton when the market changed. They were similar to pole boats found on the river. (See Figure 2.) Petersburg boats, however, were specifically designed to navigate in river conditions found between Petersburg and Augusta, and were lighter, shallower vessels than poleboats.¹⁴ One 1849 source described the typical Petersburg boat as being:

...generally 75 feet in length, six feet wide, pointed at both ends, and having round bottoms. When loaded they drew 15 inches. They are under the care of a patroon and six hands, and carry from 40 to 60 bales of cotton. The trip to and from Augusta consumes six or seven days. Rates of boating to Augusta, from 75 cents to \$1.00 per bale.¹⁵

A modern writer's description coincides with the length and general attributes of the above description, but differs in a several details. This



FIG. 2. These poleboats on the river are similar to Petersburg boats.
(Ruby A. Rahn, *River Highway for Trade*, Savannah, Ga.: 1968.)

second writer depicts the Petersburg boat as having had a flat bottom. In addition, he states that the vessels had six inch beams and were between ten to twenty inches deep. The boats were plank-built in Petersburg by rivermen.¹⁶ These two written accounts differ, and it is quite likely that the accuracy of each will be confirmed or denied only through the archaeological record.

Boat crews required a great deal of skill, strength, and teamwork to operate a Petersburg boat successfully, particularly when traversing various rapids. Careless handling resulted in delays, at best, and wrecks, at worse. Crew members were also required to be cooperative, and at least minimally sociable because they cooked, slept, and generally lived on the vessels they served. Petersburg boats averaged one and a quarter miles per hour travelling upstream. Downstream travel was significantly quicker at four and one half miles per hour. Duration of travel fluctuated with river conditions.¹⁷

Judge Junius Hillyer lived upstream from Petersburg on the Broad River as a boy. His memoirs offer additional insight into Petersburg boats and river transportation. Hillyer described how a bale of cotton would lie across the boat with both ends hanging over. Deckhands placed an entire row of bales in this manner and continued loading by arranging a second layer of cotton bales on top of the first. Crewmembers then propelled the vessel by a method of poling. Two crewhands stood at the bow, dropped a pole into the river bottom, and pushed against the end of the pole sticking out of the water. This would cause the boat to glide through the water while the crewhands continued to push the pole as they walked to the stern. Upon reaching the stern, they quickly returned to the bow and repeated the procedure. The crewhands were relieved periodically by other crew members.¹⁸

Hillyer also described communication between boaters and farmers. The crews carried special bugles to signal their arrival to planters along the river. Petersburg boats were one of the main opportunities for outlying planters to send produce to market on commission and receive supplies upon the vessel's return.¹⁹ Many planters with farms or plantations near the river took advantage of this convenient opportunity.

Successful river navigation was incumbent upon keeping the

waterways free of natural and man-made obstructions. While river traffic eventually constituted a large portion of Petersburg's activities, the rivers were not always easily navigable. The largest obstacle in clearing the Savannah River was the river's location. Lying between Georgia and South Carolina, legal state ownership of the Savannah River was not determined at the time of Georgia's colonization and remained unclear during Petersburg's era. The chronic disagreement between the two states easily might have been an extension of earlier hostilities experienced during the British conflict with the Spanish and the War of Jenkins' Ear. During that incident Georgia and South Carolina set a precedent for a less-than-friendly relationship. Thus, for decades the two states argued not only over ownership, but the obligations and responsibilities of clearing the river.

From 1786 to 1854 a wide variety of methods were employed in attempts to improve river navigation. Citizens of Georgia and the Georgia Legislature made concerted efforts and contributed almost all of the financial support to improve the river. South Carolina made very few attempts to remedy the situation, relying predominantly on legislative acts that were not enforced. In 1786 Georgia tried raising money to finance improvements by taxing landowners adjacent to the Savannah River and levying tolls downstream.²⁰ This proved both unpopular and unfair. Landowners adjacent to the river were not the only people using it. Many people living in the interior of town, or in outlying plantations also used the river for commerce and navigation. These people would not have been taxed according to the law. For this reason the law was repealed and town commissioners established a lottery as an alternative fund raiser. The lottery failed to raise the necessary amount of money when too few people participated. The legislature tried in vain to pass a bill that would be a panacea for its river problems. Bills aimed at producing a more navigable watercourse were, in reality, unenforceable, as fishermen refused to remove fish traps permanently, and citizens did not readily assist in cleaning debris from the river.

In 1799 the General Assembly of Georgia tried a commercial approach to the problem and incorporated the Savannah Navigation Company to improve river navigation between Petersburg and Augusta. The company sold 400 shares of stock at \$100.00 each. The stock could be purchased by anyone with \$100.00 worth of gold, silver, or United States bank bills.

Initial funds of \$40,000 would clear the river adequately enough for a boat to carry fifteen hogsheads of tobacco when the river was normal.²¹

If the company cleared the river, then the state would give it certain privileges. The Georgia legislature authorized the Savannah Navigation Company to levy tolls on all articles brought downstream. The company could legally levy the following maximum tolls:

For every hogshead of tobacco thirty seven and half cents; for every barrel of flour four cents; for every hundred weight of all other articles except lumber two cents; for every thousand feet of lumber ten cents, and shall also levy a toll in proportion to the distance from any other place in the said river between the said town of Petersburg (sic) to the falls of the said river ...above the city of Augusta...²²

Stock sales in the company lagged. While some investors purchased stock, the company was unable to sell the entire 400 shares. Unable to sell enough stock to raise the necessary capital, the company could not afford to clear the river and soon went out of business.

While various actions on individual, commercial, and state levels were taken to clear the river, all efforts failed for the following reasons. The segment of the Savannah River along Petersburg and farther downstream was too long and too filled with debris to keep clean constantly. Not enough river valley residents (especially South Carolinians) worked together to clear the river. Finally, Petersburg commissioners could not discover a successful, fair method of funding and support for river navigation improvements.

Early nineteenth-century Petersburg saw a continuous struggle between commissioners, river navigators, and fishermen. Commissioners charged with the task of clearing the rivers were hindered by fishermen building dams and fish traps across the waterways. Often the fish traps obstructed a greater section of the river than was legally allowed. Other fishermen also complained because large numbers of fish were being trapped, reducing the amount of fish along the remainder of the channel. Vessel operators also voiced complaints about fish traps slowing, or even stopping, boat traffic. The frequent legal revisions, as seen in Augustin Clayton's, *A Compilation of*

the Laws of Georgia, concerning the use and abuse of the river gave testimony to the struggle to create equitable laws for everyone. The continual battle between special interest groups, however, assured Petersburg commissioneers that the river would remain a constant problem.

Weary commissioners turned attentions away from their townspeople and continued attempts to interest South Carolina in an improved river course. River obstructions constituted a major problem for Petersburg, whose livelihood depended on the water transportation network. In spite of the gravity of this issue, the *Georgia and Carolina Gazette* of Petersburg failed to mention the situation in any of the papers published. During the time of the newspaper's existence, between 1805 and 1806, the editors did not report any information concerning efforts to clear the river. By 1818 Georgia commissioners virtually abandoned the idea of receiving any assistance from South Carolina and invested large amounts of money into clearing the Savannah River of obstructions.²³ As late as 1854 citizens were still unsuccessfully fighting for river improvements.

Ferry boat transportation on the Broad and Savannah Rivers also appeared. The Georgia legislature authorized a number of individuals to establish ferries operating at convenient locations across the Savannah and Broad Rivers. The South Carolina legislature gave Petersburgers the right to run ferries across the Savannah River and charge tolls on the South Carolina side of the river. Authorized tolls varied, depending on who, or what, was being ferried across the river. Prices differentiated between wagons, carts, chaises, foot passengers, passengers on horseback, and four-footed animals.²⁴

The Petersburg area enjoyed continuous ferry service from first settlement until the construction of Clark Hill Lake. Regular ferry service on the Broad and Savannah Rivers originated with the location of a militia company at Fort James. Later, in 1786, Dionysius Oliver established a ferry to transport goods and passengers to and from his new town of Petersburg. The following year Oliver deeded his son, John, two acres in the fork of the Broad and Savannah Rivers, the ferry, and all operating rights.²⁵ Ferries continued to operate in the early twentieth century, long after Petersburg's decline. Bob Culbertson, a storeowner in Lincolnton, Georgia, was one part-time ferry operator in the first half of the twentieth

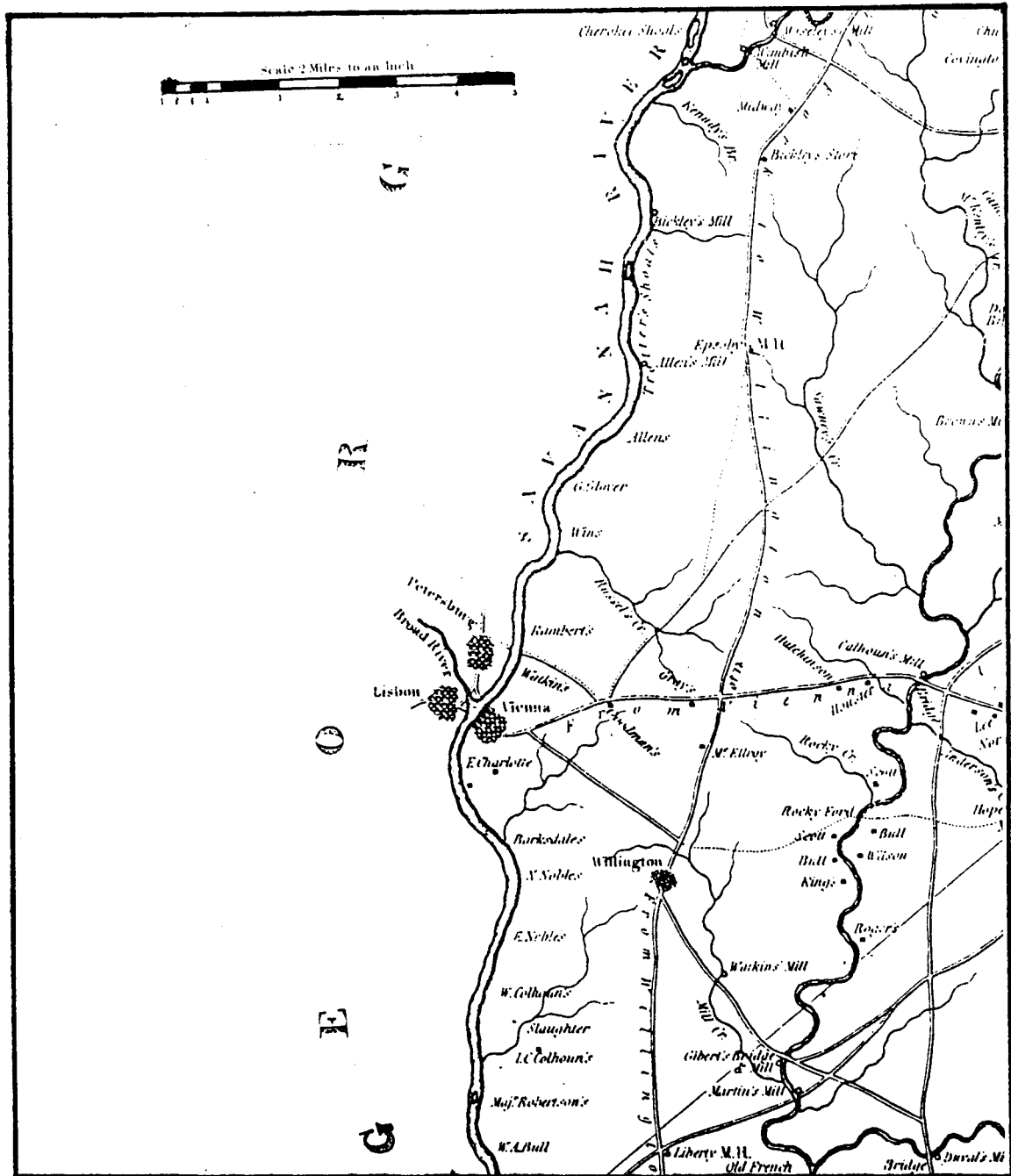
century. He navigated a three car-capacity ferry from Lisbon to the Petersburg area.²⁶ Numerous other individuals throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries operated public and private ferries along the Broad and Savannah Rivers.

Neighboring Towns

Other nearby settlements envied Petersburg's growth and prosperity. Across the Broad River the town of Lisbon struggled to attain the prominence that Petersburg enjoyed. South Carolina also tried to imitate Petersburg's success by chartering the town of Vienna, across the Savannah River. (See Map 5.) Citizens of both towns communicated with Petersburg via ferries and frequented the larger city's variety of establishments and amenities such as taverns, shops, and a billiards hall. Neither Lisbon nor Vienna reached the heights Petersburg achieved--nor fell as quickly.

Lisbon was established about the same time period as Petersburg. In 1786 Zachariah Lamar obtained permission from the state legislature to commence planning a town to be constructed on his property and to include a tobacco warehouse and inspection station. (The town's name was changed from Lincoln to Lisbon between 1796 and 1805.)²⁷ While Lisbon directly competed with Petersburg for the tobacco trade, it is possible that Lamar did not fully utilize his privilege to establish and operate a tobacco warehouse. Unfortunately, archival research has revealed no records concerning the amount of tobacco entering or exiting either Petersburg's port or the port of Lisbon. It is likely that regardless of the extent of Lisbon's warehouse, its location could not compete with the location of Petersburg's tobacco facilities. Petersburg's location on the Broad and Savannah Rivers attracted business from farmers in the upper valleys of both rivers. Lisbon, located on the Broad River, was less accessible to inland farmers and usually received only upper river valley produce that had intentionally by-passed Petersburg's larger market.

In 1795 the South Carolina legislature created the town of Vienna. Vienna was a state authorized meat packing station where publicly appointed employees packed pork and beef products. This South Carolina town courted some trade from upcountry Carolinians, but failed to secure



MAP 5. This map shows the location of Petersburg and the two neighboring towns of Lisbon and Vienna. (Robert Mills, *Mills Atlas: Atlas of the State of South Carolina, "Abbeville District": 7th ed., Reprint Easley, S. C., 1980.*)

any appreciable trade with Georgia. Inland Georgian traders preferred dealing with merchants in the most convenient and well established river ports. Vienna's poor location contributed to its demise. By 1829 little remained of the town.²⁸

New Savannah was yet another tobacco town similar to Petersburg. This town was situated on a bluff below Augusta at the mouth of Butler Creek. Its location attracted trade with farmers west of Augusta. Farmers doing business in New Savannah hitched up a horse to each hogshead, allowing the barrel to roll freely when pulled. In this manner farmers rolled their hogsheads of tobacco to Augusta down the "Tobacco Road" of literary fame. Judge Junius Hillyer recalled seeing this method used in transporting hogsheads in other areas also, such as hinterland regions without access to waterways, or areas requiring some overland travel before reaching rivers large enough to serve as transportation arteries (such as Petersburg's Savannah River). Hillyer wrote this description in his memoirs detailing the preparation of a hogshead for overland travel:

Pieces of timber were prepared about five inches square, and curved on the inner and outer sides like the felloes of a wheel, and forming segments of a circle corresponding precisely to the size of the hogshead. Then segments or fellowes were pinned to the hogshead about a foot from each end by strong pins driven deep into the solid mass of tobacco, thus forming very low wheels and supporting the hogshead two or three inches from the ground. Then axles made of square iron bars, sharp at one end and round at the other were driven into the centre of each head, the round end projecting about six or eight inches. To these axle shafts were attached, suitably and properly connected and framed together, having immediately in front of the hogshead a small platform on which the driver could sit, with his blanket and a few articles of clothing and his inevitable skillet and coffee pot. With a horse or ox between the shafts, the farmer could roll his hogshead of tobacco from upper Georgia...to Augusta.²⁹

New Savannah was comparable to Petersburg in that both served as collection and inspection points for tobacco which was then transported down the Savannah River. While Petersburg shipped to Augusta, New

Savannah's freight was sent directly to Savannah.³⁰ New Savannah did not directly compete with Petersburg because each town served different production areas and markets.

Early Commercial Growth

The prosperity of the tobacco industry greatly aided Petersburg during its early years of growth. Georgia ranked third in tobacco production among southeastern states by the early 1790's.³¹ In 1799 Petersburg merchants exported almost \$240,000 worth of tobacco.³² Tobacco's value was evident because it had been a commonly accepted, although unofficial, medium of payment for most debts since the colonial period. In 1808 Shaler Hillyer of Petersburg wrote to a wholesaler in an undisclosed city concerning bartering practices. Hillyer and his co-partner John Holt (Hillyer and Holt Company) were tobacco merchants and wholesalers in Petersburg. Hillyer wrote:

We have on hand a quantity of Manufactured Tobacco which I think is of an excellent quality - This we should be willing to Barter for Groceries in Your City if it can be done to advantage - Will you be so good as to inform us what can be had for about 20 or 25 hundred pounds payable on delivery of the Tobacco, in Sugar, Coffee, Rum and name the price of the last named articles.³³

In 1799 one hogshead held approximately thirteen hundredweight of tobacco. During this time period a hogshead was worth \$78.00 (at \$6.00 per hundredweight).³⁴ A short hundredweight equalled 100 pounds and a long hundredweight was the equivalent of 112 pounds. Legislation required hogsheads of tobacco packed in Petersburg to weigh a minimum of 950 pounds. In 1799 a Petersburg merchant could sell his 950 pound hogshead at either \$57.00 for a short hundredweight or \$50.00 for a long hundredweight. Obviously, he made a better profit by selling a short hundredweight.

While most merchants and businessmen accepted tobacco as payment for debts, there was some debate as to whether the state government should permit taxes to be paid in that substance. *The Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State* reported on February 5, 1791, the presentments

made by grand jurors in Elbert County. The jurors realized that tobacco could only be used to pay taxes at the lower inspection station (location illegible). Their major grievance against this policy was that inhabitants living farther away from the inspection point would be taxed more. Citizens in the upper reaches of Georgia had to pay more money to get their tobacco to market than those farmers living in the vicinity of the inspection point. In conclusion, the jurors felt that "...the loss better fall upon the public than the individual," indicating that the government would not accept tobacco as payment for taxes.³⁵

The Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State gave mute testimony to the preponderance of tobacco. Between May 29, 1790, and March 26, 1791, the newspaper contained at least six separate advertisements for people seeking lost or mislaid tobacco notes.³⁶ These valuable notes were the equivalent of receipts for tobacco stored in various warehouses such as Call's Warehouse in Augusta and the Richmond warehouse (location unknown). While the Augusta newspaper reported specific evidence of tobacco notes and sales, research revealed no information concerning the amount of tobacco that passed through Petersburg.

Petersburgers frequently shipped tobacco to Augusta. The Augusta newspaper commonly reported tobacco business news of interest to Petersburg merchants. Advertisements notified the readers of public auctions at the town's market house in which bidders could buy all the transfer tobacco that remained in the warehouse on a particular day of the year. The newspaper also advertised factorage businesses in Savannah that sold tobacco and other items.

Petersburgers also dealt with Savannah merchants and banks and factor/brokerage houses in New York City. Henry and Catherine Caldwell of New York City had extensive business dealings with Petersburgers and even owned several lots in the town. George Newbold and Henry Kneeland were other New York creditors who loaned money to townspeople.³⁷ Petersburg lots put up as collateral for loans were lost when several New Yorkers obtained holdings in the Georgia town. Petersburgers had the capabilities to conduct business transactions even further afield than New York, if they wished. A 1791 issue of the Augusta newspaper advertised an American bottom in Savannah available for shipping tobacco to "any part of Europe" on the patron's account. The

shipper would receive a 2 1/2 percent commission.³⁸

The combination of tobacco inspection station and transportation center created a large network of support industries facilitating Petersburg's growth. The number of warehouses, wharves, and ferries increased to meet the demands of a growing river port. Employment opportunities also increased. Men seeking work as deck hands, coopers, carpenters, merchants, and inspectors found jobs available in Petersburg. In 1800 there were approximately 150 slaves and as many free white inhabitants of Petersburg.³⁹ Another estimate claimed Petersburg later reached a peak of 2,000 townspeople.

Petersburg contained a wide variety of stores that sold goods, and shops that sold services. The town also boasted two taverns and the second Masonic Lodge in Georgia.⁴⁰ Deed records reveal a billiard hall, doctor's office, warehouse, ferry landings, domestic residences, and a public well. Petersburg even published its own newspaper, *The Georgia and Carolina Gazette*, in 1805. The editor experienced frequent problems with subscribers and advertisers who would not pay advances toward future subscriptions. The newspaper often carried notices intent on shaming the subscribers into paying, such as the one below:

A few [subscribers] ...have paid their advance, but the generality of those to whom our last address was directed, still keep back which surprises us the more when we know from information, they are mostly men of considerable respectability and well able to pay.⁴¹

The lack of public support resulted in the paper's termination only one year later. The town's post office fared better. In 1795 the government established a post office in Petersburg that existed until 1855, when it was moved to Lisbon.⁴²

A number of business firms called Petersburg home. Many townsmen tried to capitalize on the opportunity to make their fortunes in the merchandizing trade. Firms were established and dissolved quickly in Petersburg, and often the partners of one firm would disband only to start new, separate firms. Some merchants made an adequate living from

their employment, while others prospered.

Some of the more successful merchants included Archibald Stokes, Leroy Pope, and Shaler Hillyer. Stokes belonged to several firms at different times. He and his brother created the firm of Archibald and Thomas Stokes. Deed records also indicate that Archibald belonged to the firms of Pope and Company, and Stokes and Sayre. Leroy Pope was part of the following companies: Pope and Walker, James Holliday and Company, and Leroy Pope and Company. Shaler Hillyer, like Stokes and Pope, participated in a number of business firms throughout his life including Whyte and Hillyer, and Hillyer and Holt. In 1809 he organized the Petersburg Mercantile Company which offered stock for sale to area planters.⁴³ Stokes, Pope, and Hillyer each owned several town lots and additional parcels of land outside of town. These assets helped assure collateral for credit and provided capital when necessary.

Local merchants offered for sale both necessities and fashionable luxuries. Petersburg's *Georgia and Carolina Gazette* advertised new shipments of goods upon arrival. The variety of merchandise available in the town illustrated Petersburg's wide network of direct and indirect trade. Stores carried Jamaica rum, Philadelphia ale, London port, West Indian sugar, and Savannah hoes. Interested persons could also purchase African slaves in town.⁴⁴ Thomas Stokes advertised a wide assortment of goods for sale. From only one shipment he received:

Fancy, Calicoes and Chambr Muslins
 Plain Cambric Muslins
 Lace and Leno Veils and Leno Muslins
 Thread and Cotton Laces
 Cotton Shirting
 7-8 Irish Linens
 Brown and White Platillas
 3-4 and 4 4 Cotton Checks
 3 4 and 7-8 Bed Tick
 Plain and Striped Cotton Cassimeres
 Corderoys, Velveteens, and Thicksets
 Toilenett Swansdown and Fancy Cord and Vestings
 Superfine Cloths and Cassimeres
 1 Bale Kendell Cottons
 Drab Cloths and Bath Coatings
 Patent Woolen Cards
 Bombazetts and Durants
 India Muslins

Fringed Cambric Shawls
 Silk ditto
 Printed ditto
 Bandanna Handkerchiefs and Cotton Romalls
 Ladies Linen and Cotton Handkerchiefs
 Lustrings and Pelongs
 Flannels and course Woolens
 Silk and Cotton Umbrellas
 White Pic Nic Gloves
 Black and colored Silk do.
 Dimises and Marseilles
 Plain Indian Nankeens
 Diaper Table Cloths and Towelings
 Silk and Cotton Suspenders
 Men's Plain and Ribbed Cotton Hose
 Ladies plain and Lace Clock Hose
 A Handsome Assortment of Boots and Shoes
 Belt Black and Color'd London made Hats
 Leghorn and Willow Bonnets
 Beaver Caps
 Blue and Red Turkey Yarn
 2 Boxes Cotton Cards No. 10
 An assortment of Medicines
 4d Cut Nails
 6d Wrought do.
 10d and 20d do.
 1 Cask of Trace Chains
 1 do of Hoes
 2000lbs Iron assorted
 1 Faggot German Steel
 1 Hhd. Prime Sugar
 1 Bag Coffee
 20 Bags Patent Shot
 1 Keg FF Gun Powder
 1 C_e_t [crate] Best Hyson Tea
 Hardware & c.⁴⁵

Most merchants accepted payment in either cash or produce (usually tobacco), although they occasionally made exceptions. One slave trader accepted tobacco, cash, cotton, or credit for approved notes. In another instance a merchant firmly advertised the "best northward cheese...sold for cash only".⁴⁶ Some Petersburg merchants decided that they could earn more money through commissions. They purchased goods for Petersburg merchants who then sold the merchandise on a commission basis. Oliver White took this route and settled in Boston searching for appropriate merchandise to ship back to Petersburg. He advertised his

services to Petersburg merchants in the *Georgia and Carolina Gazette*.⁴⁷

Several other firms operated in the town in addition to the establishments of Stokes, Pope, and Hillyer. Deed records show purchases and sales by firms such as: Hill and Jackson, James and Memorable Walker, Robert Thompson, and Littlebury, Whitfield, and Wittich.⁴⁸ While merchants enjoyed a large consumer market in Petersburg and the smaller surrounding villages, they experienced chronic problems with customers who defaulted on their debts. If a successful merchant such as Shaler Hillyer lamented over the trials of persuading customers to pay their bills, smaller merchants probably experienced this financial stress to a greater degree.⁴⁹ These small scale merchants probably enjoyed a less extensive credit network than larger merchants and had less capital available. They may not have been able to successfully absorb losses from customers who did not pay their bills, causing them to eventually go out of business.

Petersburg and New York creditors were frequently forced to take legal measures to obtain money owed them. Legal confiscations occurred often in the deed record. The sheriff confiscated and sold at auction to the highest bidder lots owned by people having debts to individuals or owners with delinquent taxes. One example was Thomas Russell who owed taxes for the year 1795. By 1799 the delinquent taxpayer had his lot 69 confiscated and sold at public auction by the county tax collector, James Cosby. Memorable Walker was the highest bidder at thirty dollars.⁵⁰ Deed records indicate many instances when bidders received property for extremely low bids, as was the case of lot 66 confiscated by Sheriff Presley Christain and sold to Thomas Woolbright for under four dollars.⁵¹ While these low bids might be the result of collusion among the bidders, it is likely that the low prices indicate less valuable lots. Apparently potential lot purchasers did not hold either Lots 66 or 69 in high regard; each lot changed hands only twice in Petersburg's history. (See Appendix A.)

Prosperity in Petersburg

Following sixteen years of growth and expansion, Petersburg achieved real status as a town of importance with the appointment of town commissioners. On December 1, 1802, the Senate and House of

Representatives of Georgia passed House Bill 33 which authorized and enforced the regulation of the town through a local governing commission.⁵² Appointments were not based on the sole criteria of wealth, land ownership, or influence. Sammuel Watkins enjoyed an appointment as one of the original town commissioners, although there are no records showing him to have owned any lots in Petersburg. Leroy Pope, however, who owned twenty-seven lots during various times of his life and operated a successful merchant business also received one of the original appointments. Another merchant appointed commissioner, Robert Thompson, held title to nine lots on varying occasions. Richard Easter and John Ragland, who had owned a total of three and two lots respectively, completed the list of original town commissioners. (See Appendix A.) Chosen commissioners apparently possessed the trust and respect of the Petersburg community, mutual traits that earned them their positions. Commissioners' terms in office were one year, and they were empowered to choose their successors; vote for General Assembly members; and create by-laws, regulations, and penalties by which to govern Petersburg (providing the laws adhered to Georgia's constitution).

Quarrels soon arose among Petersburgers over the boundaries of the town and the area of the town commons. While no records report the townspeople's specific grievances, it is possible that prosperity and rapid growth created increased demands for larger size lots and community areas. The commission lacked the legal power to deal effectively with these disputes, resulting in an amendment to the act for the better regulation of Petersburg, passed by the Georgia General Assembly in 1804.⁵³ This amendment gave town commissioners additional powers including the authority to hire the county surveyor for the purpose of surveying and establishing correct town plats and boundaries for the town commons. If this survey was ever conducted, then possibly the original and copies were destroyed or lost. In any event, its whereabouts are unknown.

The General Assembly's amendment also gave commissioners a wide range of powers. In addition to the authority to control real estate usage, the commission was authorized to make laws regulating "the streets, public buildings and taverns, carriages, wagons, carts, drays, pumps, buckets, fire-engines, the care of the poor,...disorderly people, negroes," and the general welfare of the town.⁵⁴ In addition, the commission was

entitled to assess and collect property taxes, and appoint officials to administer these laws. These additional legal powers apparently aided town commissioners in solving boundary disputes because no such grievances appear in succeeding records.

Petersburgers enjoyed the advent of economic prosperity in the early years of the nineteenth century and took the opportunity to spend time and energy on community service projects. A group of well-known townsmen united to form the Petersburg Union Society, and in 1802 the General Assembly officially incorporated the new organization.⁵⁵ The society's two major goals were to spread and promote knowledge and to assist those in distress. Shaler Hillyer and John Walker claimed the titles of original president and secretary of the organization. Memorable Walker, William Wyatt Bibb, Robert Watkins, and Thomas Bibb joined the society and became the most famous members.⁵⁶ While the Society's incorporation is stated in Clayton's *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia*, and mentioned in Junius Hillyer's memoirs, archival research in the state of Georgia reveals no minutes or other detailed records of the organization. The lack of records might indicate a lackadaisical society, however, it is equally likely that, as in other instances of Petersburg's history, records either did not survive, or never existed.

The names of many Petersburg leaders frequently reappear in the historical record, such as in the rosters of different organizations and various public offices. The town claimed several famous sons. William Wyatt Bibb served the town as a physician until he became a member of the Georgia House of Representatives in 1803. He then served in the United States House of Representatives and later in the Senate. Bibb continued his political career after moving to the newly opened lands of Alabama where he became the first territorial governor and then the first state governor.⁵⁷ A fellow Petersburg, Charles Tait became a circuit judge in 1803, and then a United States Senator in 1809.⁵⁸

Petersburg's prosperity in the early nineteenth century resulted in extensive land speculation. Town lots changed hands frequently, some as often as two or three times in one year. Lot 27 was sold in 1798, then on September 14, 1799, then again on September 19, 1799, and once more in 1801.⁵⁹ During the town's peak years, real estate values soared. Speculators bought and sold Lot 82 ten times between 1799 and 1826,

reaching prices as steep as \$1,000.00. During this time many lots frequently sold, on the average, approximately every two years. (See Appendix A.) A more detailed discussion follows in the latter part of chapter five.

Economic Troubles

As early as 1808 the menace of war with England hung over the United States. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw cotton prices drop due to the interruption of established trade resulting from international tensions. Between 1800 and 1801 cotton prices dropped from 44 cents to 19 cents a pound. In 1803 the New Orleans cotton market plummeted to 15 cents a pound. This downward spiralling of cotton prices continued until 1811.⁶⁰ While trade embargoes created economic instability and extremely low prices for tobacco, the effects were most notable on cotton.

The United States' embargo against England hit the cotton market particularly hard. The Non-Intercourse Act prohibited trade with certain countries, such as England, causing merchants and factors to re-route freight on foreign bottoms and then ship the merchandise on to England. This legal loop-hole, and the illegal tactic of smuggling goods to England, were the only avenues merchants could choose to bring commodities to the market of prohibited countries. Re-routing freight cost merchants extra money in an already deflated market. This combination of transportation problems and low market prices caused the production of raw cotton to fall drastically in the pre-war and war years. In 1811, the United States produced 167,189 bales of cotton. Production fell to 156,740 bales in each of the two following years. In 1814 production hit the lowest levels since 1805; 146,290 bales.⁶¹ Decreased production did not greatly alter market prices and many planters, merchants, and factors found themselves sinking deeper and deeper into debt.

The general economy of the United States affected Petersburg, and the War of 1812 caused financial setbacks for merchants and planters alike. The Georgia legislature took measures to help debtors. From 1808 to 1814 a variety of laws extended the grace period for debtors. The "thirthing laws" as Georgians referred to them, gave a debtor three years to pay his debts, providing he paid in equal amounts and presented security for the

remainder of the debt.⁶² This law remained in effect between 1800 and 1810. By 1812 economic conditions had not improved, and the state legislature passed a new law. The law took away a creditor's right to bring legal action against a debtor, unless that debtor was wasting money. Also, creditors could only force payment against soldiers six months after they left the service.⁶³ While this certainly aided those who did not have the money to pay their creditors, it brought Petersburg merchants close to ruin. These businessmen were creditors and could ill afford to wait several months, or even years, before being paid. The merchant, Shalyer Hillyer, viewed the situation with disgust and harshly declared the legislature's solution as "oppressive... immoral... and demoralizing".⁶⁴

In spite of the recession during the War of 1812, Petersburg managed to bounce back and flourish in the years immediately following the war. During this period, lots continued to be bought and sold, town shops were successfully operated, and merchants maintained their businesses. Between 1815 and 1819 Petersburgers bought and sold five town lots, only one of which was a sheriff's sale due to insolvency or delinquency in paying taxes. (See Appendix A.) The lack of massive sell-outs, either voluntarily, or as the result of debts, indicates that the war's economic problems did not permanently harm the town.

The end of the war reopened trade with England, and cotton prices doubled between 1814 and 1816. The sudden surge of prosperity resulted in an inflated market in which cotton sold for 25 to 35 cents a pound and tobacco for 14 cents a pound.⁶⁵ Farmers realized the large profit they could make from cotton crops and planted not only the acres they owned, but purchased additional acreage to produce an even greater harvest. This rush to buy more land and grow increasing amounts of cotton peaked in 1819, when overproduction created a market glut and declining prices. Following this speculative period, both land sales and values fell.⁶⁶ Petersburg also experienced the earlier, brief period of prosperity following the war, but by the mid 1820s through the early 1830s, the town's decline was obvious.

Cotton Agriculture and Production

One factor responsible for the decline of Petersburg was the regional

switch from growing tobacco to the production of a more profitable crop - cotton. Tobacco had flourished in earlier times, becoming one of the chief commercial crops of the colonies. Farmers had continually planted tobacco, making few attempts at crop rotation or increased fertilization. Farmers could no longer grow large crops of good quality tobacco as the nutrients within the soil became depleted.⁶⁷ As a result of this wholesale soil depletion, planters in Georgia eagerly accepted the idea of growing a new and more productive crop. Export figures for Savannah, Georgia, illustrate the state's growing dependence on a cotton crop, instead of the traditional tobacco produce. Savannah exported 1,500 hogsheads of Georgia tobacco in 1818, while exports in 1826 dropped to a paltry 170 hogsheads.⁶⁸ This switch from tobacco to cotton is illustrated on the national level, also. In 1815 the United States exported \$17,529,99 worth of cotton, compared to \$12,809,000 in tobacco.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, this regional and national pattern cannot be proven statistically for Petersburg, since the historical record fails to contain tobacco warehouse invoices, export documents, freight receipts, or other forms of substantiation. Logical inferences, however, tend to support this pattern in Petersburg.

Coastal Georgia and South Carolina farmers grew cotton as early as 1786. The cotton they produced, however, was "sea-island" cotton introduced from the West Indies.⁷⁰ Sea island cotton thrived along the lower coastal plain and grew with considerably less success in upland areas. Sea island cotton was more expensive to grow and process than upland cotton, but sold for higher prices. A worker could pick between 25 to 100 pounds of sea-island cotton daily, compared to his counterpart who could gather approximately 200 pounds of the upland variety.⁷¹ The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 finally allowed upland farmers to grow and gin short-staple varieties of cotton for profit. Cotton agriculture and manufacture quickly swept the South, as it readily adapted to pre-existing plantation economies and foreign trade networks.⁷² Cotton's commercial value rose with England's increased demand for the crop. English millers quickly learned that cotton from gins was not only cheaper, but mechanically easier to spin and weave than either wool or flax.⁷³

Whitney's attempts to regulate production, usage, and ownership of cotton gins quickly failed. Local mechanics reproduced Whitney's gin and established them throughout the South. In 1796, Whitney himself co-

owned thirty gins in Georgia. Regardless of the numerous new gin construction, cotton ginning remained a domestic production for the first few decades of the nineteenth century. During this time individuals conducted domestic ginning on the plantation level, rather than on a commercial one.

Cotton gin construction began on a small scale but increased rapidly, resulting in an increase in the amount of cotton planted and harvested. In 1807 the United States claimed no more than 15 commercial cotton mills. In 1810, 102 mills existed.⁷⁴ The embargo placed on English textiles by the United States during the War of 1812 provided an impetus for constructing additional cotton manufacturing machinery. In 1831, the Committee on Manufacturers of the American Congress reported the number of mills in the United States rose sharply to 795. Georgia's efforts to establish cotton manufacturing realized success by the late 1840s with the construction of true factories, replacing manufacturing conducted on individual plantations.⁷⁵

The development of the cotton gin and the rising popularity of growing cotton resulted in a number of far reaching consequences. Between 1790 and 1815 the demand for cotton soared, and cotton production in the United States rose to meet this demand from 3,135 bales to 208,986 bales, more than a sixty-fold increase. In 1815 the United States reported a gross return on cotton to the amount of \$18,526,589.⁷⁶ Greater cotton production created an increased demand for slaves who could plant and harvest larger crops. The combination of purchasing more slaves and more acreage created larger plantations, which competed heavily with the small, yeoman farmer. This was especially true in South Carolina and the Georgia piedmont, where slave imports multiplied, and the large planters took over the lands of small farmers.⁷⁷ Eventually, the cotton farmer experienced many similar problems as the tobacco farmer before him. These problems included: decreasing fertility of poorly managed, abused soil; increased production costs, particularly in the form of higher prices for slaves; stiffer competition from other planters emigrating to new, not yet wasted lands; declining prices and lower profits due to overproduction of cotton; and the perpetuation of disastrous farming methods in new areas of the country.

While increased cotton planting and manufacturing did not occur in

earnest until several decades into the nineteenth century, Petersburgers felt its effects earlier. Enough upland farmers reduced or eliminated their tobacco crop to damage Petersburg's tobacco shipping and inspection trade. Unlike tobacco shipped in hogsheads, cotton was clearly visible in bales. This visibility eliminated the need for tobacco inspectors and a central inspection station; thereby apparently eliminating the need for Petersburg. The town struggled to adapt to this change by becoming downstream transporters of cotton instead of tobacco. While cotton statistics at the national and regional level are numerous, records reporting the amount of tobacco and cotton passing through Petersburg are non-existent. Tobacco data is documented less rigorously than cotton, with statistics existing for periods following colonial times. Neither cotton nor tobacco statistics survive in Petersburg's historical record. Examination of historical information and deed records, however, allow for a logical inference of events. It is most likely that while merchants such as Shaler Hillyer and others dealt in the cotton trade, not enough cotton was diverted through Petersburg to keep the town economically viable.

Railroad Transportation

The town further declined following the introduction of railroads. Early railroad construction produced more skeptics than believers. Most people viewed railroads as a foolish concept unable to provide timely, regular service or cheap transportation. They envisioned fires in the wake of engine sparks and casualties resulting from speeding (twenty to thirty mile per hour) trains. Few people realized the commercial potential of the railroad during its infancy.⁷⁸ Skepticism gradually vanished with each railroad track constructed and growing examples of successful railroad operation. By 1841 the new Western Railroad to Albany, New York, connected the eastern terminal of the Erie Canal with Boston, and demonstrated that railroads "could compete successfully with river and coastwise boat service."⁷⁹

Originally railroads were constructed primarily as transportation feeders for river and canal networks already used in shipping freight. By the 1840s, however, railroads demonstrated a new and successful method of transporting goods throughout the country, including inland areas

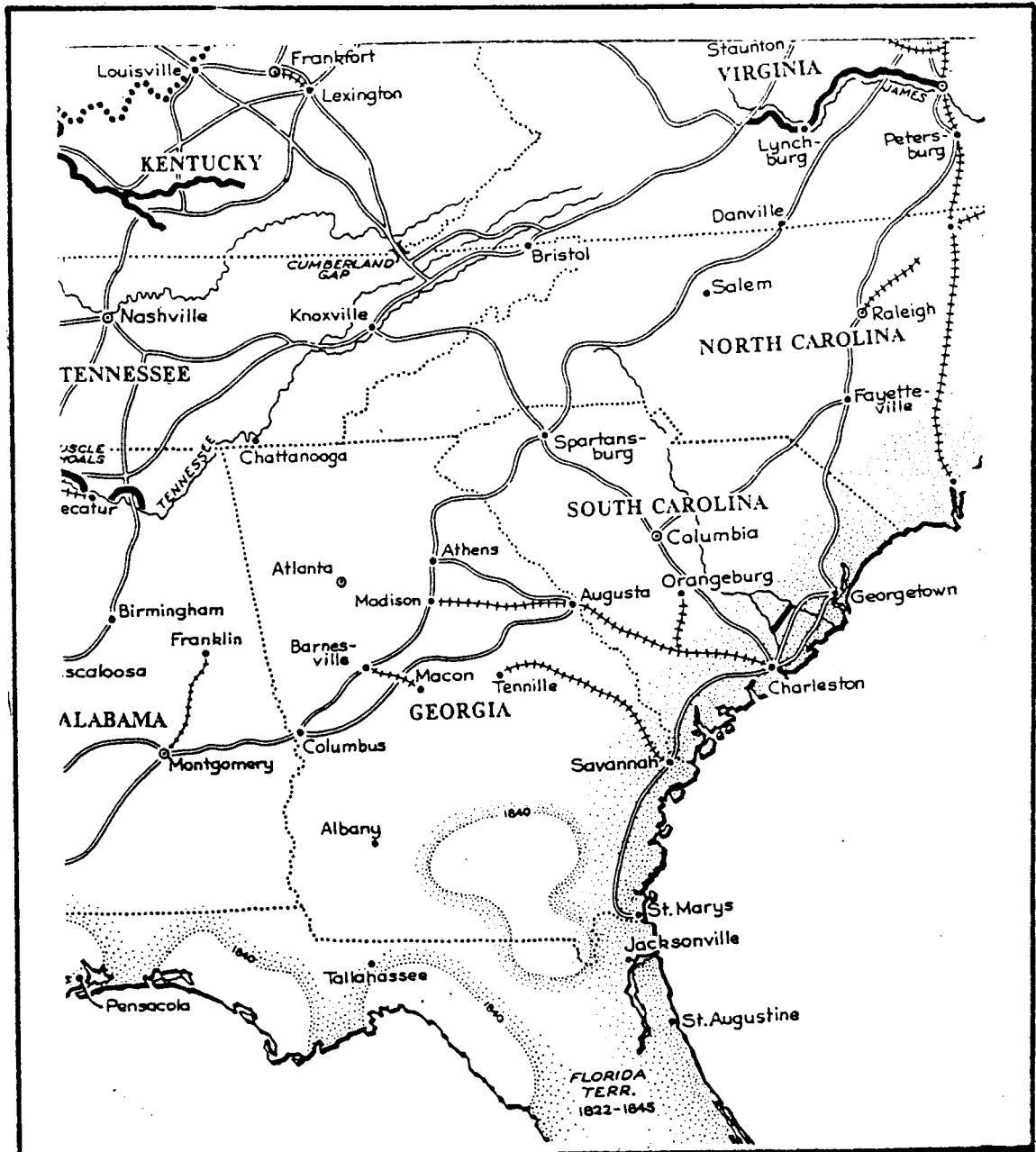
inaccessible to waterways. Railroads answered demands for improved land transportation unhindered by "political boundaries and custom barriers."⁸⁰ The vastness of cheap land in the United States encouraged railroad construction. The promise of shipping freight in boxcars, unexposed to long periods of inclement weather, increased support of the "iron horse."

The first railroad in Georgia was built in 1833, from Madison, to Augusta. (See Map 6.) Following 1833 railroads grew quickly in the south, entirely by-passing the dying town of Petersburg. In 1838 Georgia extended the Western and Atlantic Railroad from Decatur across the Chattahoochee River to the Tennessee River. This extension connected Charleston, South Carolina, with the Tennessee River, by way of Georgia. The state loaned \$1,500,000 towards this enterprise.⁸¹ The mid-1840s saw approximately 4,000 miles of railroad track laid in the South and East.⁸² The railroad was well on its way to becoming the major means of freight transportation.

Westward Expansion

A third cause of Petersburg's demise was westward expansion. The Mississippi Territory lured townspeople away from their town with the offer of large amounts of inexpensive, fertile land - soil not yet depleted from years of row planted tobacco. The high prices obtainable in the cotton market served as an incentive for farmers to travel west where they could buy fertile cotton fields. In 1809 territorial lands were offered for sale in the Nashville, Tennessee, land office, and in 1819 Alabama gained statehood.⁸³

Many Petersburgers answered the call of the west, including most of the community leaders, such as Leroy Pope, John Walker, William Wyatt Bibb, Charles Tait, and the Olivers. These leaders, by word of mouth and example, encouraged many other adventurous citizens to abandon Petersburg and start over in new towns in the Alabama territory.⁸⁴ In 1817 Judge Charles Tait of Petersburg requested that his son, Captain James Tait travel to Alabama in search of a new home for the family. The judge required the chosen acreage to contain:



MAP 6. The first railroad in Georgia connecting Madison and Augusta was soon followed by other tracks. (Theodore R. Miller, *Graphic History of the Americas*, "Transportation About 1840", New York, 1969.)

LEGEND

- ROADS
- CANALS
- RAILROADS



a stream near at hand for a mill and machinery- a never failing spring at the foot of a hillock, on the summit of which a mansion house can be built in due time,...on the right and left there is an extensive body of good land where will settle a number of good neighbors and from whom the pleasures and benefits of society will soon be realized.⁸⁵

In 1810 John Walker married Matilda Pope, both of Petersburg, and journeyed west with the Pope family to settle in Alabama.⁸⁶ Several other Petersburgers purchased land at this time and left Georgia. The loss of skilled leaders, talented artisans, wealthy land owners, merchants, and average townspeople rapidly depopulated Petersburg and devastated those inhabitants who remained.

Many citizens began leaving town in search of better opportunities. The doctor of Petersburg, Dr. William Reaves, sold his town lot (presumed to have contained his office) in 1820 for \$100.00. Between 1820 and 1826 four individuals and firms purchased the seven town lots up for sale. Of these seven lots, four were offered through sheriff sales. (See Appendix A.) These statistics suggest that those people choosing to remain in town took the opportunity to purchase the lots of those townspeople leaving. It also indicates that debt problems increased, as depicted by the number of lot owners unable to repay personal loans or government taxes, resulting in lot seizures and sales.

A sudden, final flurry of real estate transactions occurred between the years 1832 and 1837. During this time a variety of townspeople sold a total of fifteen lots. One individual purchased thirteen of the fifteen lots. (See Appendix A.) The buyer was Henry Kneeland, a New York investor and land speculator who did not reside in Petersburg. This purchase gave Kneeland the major interest in the town. The wisdom of his business actions is questionable, because Petersburg was rapidly becoming a ghost town. The last vestiges of town government in Petersburg vanished by 1840. While historical accounts report few inhabitants in Petersburg after the 1830s, chain of title records virtually stop at that time for most of the town lots. If lot owners sold their property to others, the legal transactions were lost in the historical record. Some owners might have actually preferred to retain ownership of their town lot, although it would seem more likely from a financial perspective that they would have sold

out to any interested purchaser. Regardless of events, only one lot continued to attract buyers after the 1830s.

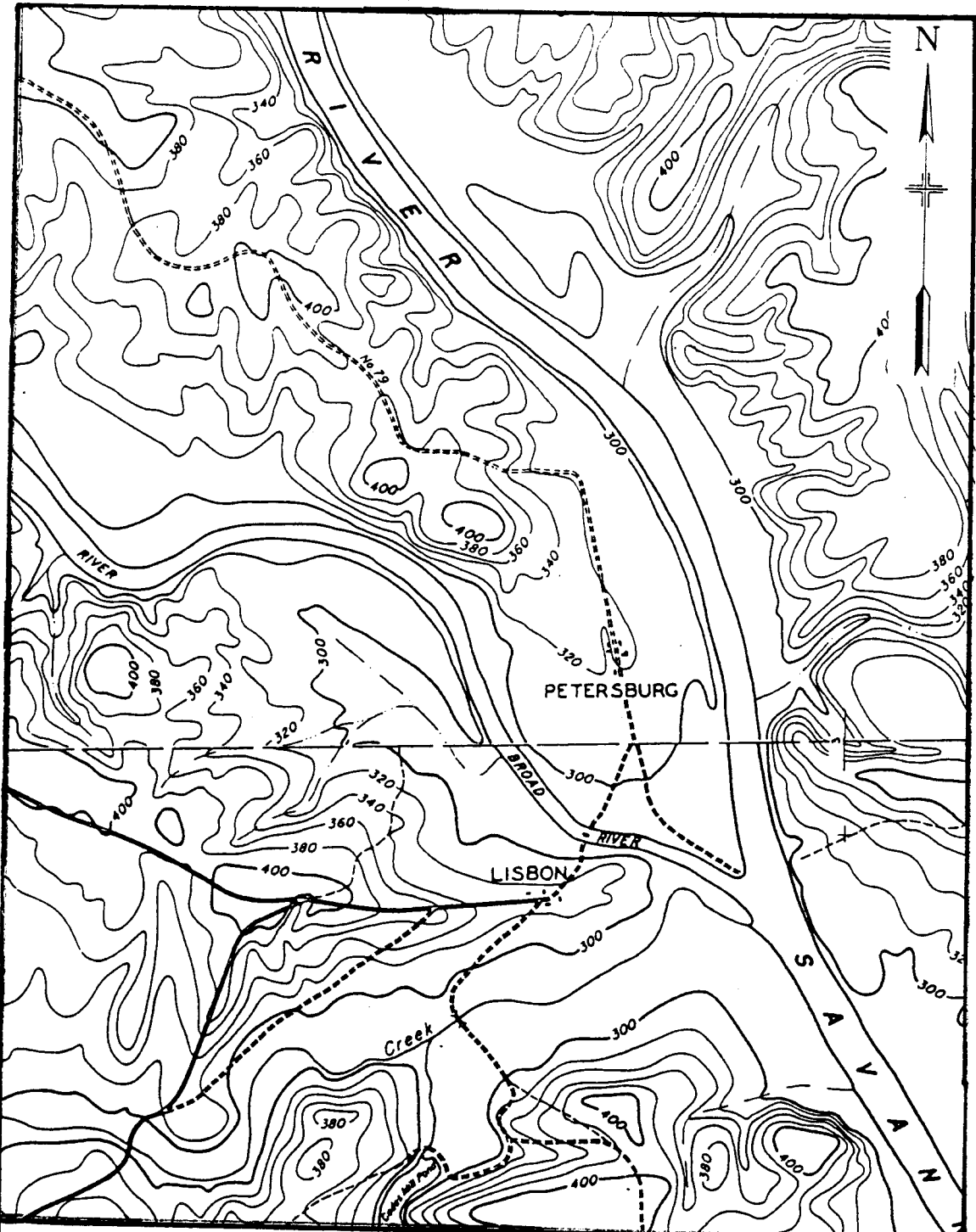
Between 1854 and 1876, four deeds surfaced for an unnumbered lot known only as "the Archibald Stokes store house lot adjoining lands of Drury B. Cade, Sr."⁸⁷ This lot was sold in 1854 by Sheriff Dozier Thornton to William Harper for \$75.00. Harper sold it for \$200.00 to Guilford Cade, Sr. on November 18, 1863. A month later Guilford Cade, Sr. sold the same lot to John Thompson for \$250.00. At this point there is a hiatus. The next transaction recorded for this lot occurred in April of 1876 when the lot sold for \$100.00.⁸⁸ The record is unclear as to buyer and seller. The names of D.B. Cade, Jr. and Bashiba Glindinning appear but their positions are doubtful. It is possible that, since Guilford Cade, Sr. owned the lot in 1863, perhaps D.B. Cade, Jr. (a relative other than son) inherited or purchased the lot later. Bashiba Glindinning might have been head of the black family that oral tradition reported to have last occupied the Cade residence.

According to local informants, the Cade house was a two story, wood structure with a large brick cellar. The Cades had purchased most of the land in the forks of the Broad and Savannah Rivers and cultivated around the ruins. They also had several tenant houses on their land. (See Maps 7 & 8.) In 1928 the last Cade of that area died. Informants report that two black tenant families, two members of whom were a farming couple locally known as "Uncle Mat" and "Aunt Florrie," moved into the Cade house around 1931.⁸⁹ Perhaps this family was descended from Bashiba Glendinning.

From 1946 to 1954 the United States Army Corps of Engineers constructed Clark Hill Lake and Dam. Clark Hill Lake construction represented one segment of major development of the Savannah River basin that included both the Richard B. Russell and Hartwell dams, farther upstream. Clark Hill Lake and dam currently serves many purposes including flood control, production of electricity, recreation, and decreased maintenance costs in the Savannah River harbor. It is one of the largest inland lakes in the southern United States and attracts approximately seven million guests a year. Today, most of Petersburg lies submerged under Clark Hill Lake.⁹⁰



MAP 7. Map of Petersburg Area in 1905. The D.B. Cade family (marked as D.B.C.) owned most of the land at the confluence, and little evidence of the town of Petersburg is visible. (J.W. Baker, Map of Elbert County Georgia, Atlanta, Ga.:1905.)



MAP 8. Topographic map from 1939. All that remains of Petersburg are a few standing structures. (Clark Hill Lake Preimpoundment Survey, Savannah, Ga.:1939.)

CONTOUR INTERVAL 20 FEET
IN FEET

Notes

Chapter III.

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81. Reginald Charles McGrane, *The Panic of 1837* (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1965), 20.

82. Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth*, 2.

83. Coulter, *Old Petersburg*, 167-8.

84. *Ibid.*

85. Frank L. Owsley, "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," *Journal of Southern History* 2 (May 1945): 173.

86. Hugh C. Bailey, "The Petersburg Youth of John W. Walker," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 43 (1959): 136.

87. Superior Court of Elbert County, Ga., *Deed Book CC* (1854): 124-5; *DD* (1863): 121; *EE* (1876): 531.

88. *Ibid.*

89. Mrs. Ruth Evans Culbertson (Storekeeper), interview with author, Lincolnton, Ga., 18 May 1987.

90. U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District, *Clarks Hill Lake Recreation*, 1-2.

IV. RESEARCH METHODS

The incorporation of a multidisciplinary approach towards the study of Petersburg required the use of historical research and archaeology. Examination of the historical record would reveal written records of the town revealing information concerning its history, economy, and real estate transactions. Archaeological investigations would supplement this knowledge with data concerning the physical layout of the town, the discovery of artifact assemblages, and the economic status of inhabitants. Both historical and archaeological investigations supplement the study by offering additional insight and act as checks on each other. For example, what one discipline lacks, the other may offer. If historical sources cover up, exaggerate, or omit the truth, then archaeological study might assist in providing a clearer, more accurate, and complete picture of past events. The Petersburg project utilized both approaches to investigate the dead town with the hope of obtaining the maximum amount of information possible.

Historical Research

The first phase of the Petersburg project consisted of historical research. Before beginning archaeological fieldwork, a detailed historical examination was necessary to locate and provide background information essential in understanding the town and the location of its remains. These sources were primarily located throughout the state of Georgia, but also included material in South Carolina. Initial research involved locating secondary sources to obtain a general picture of the town of Petersburg and its place in the historic record.

The majority of secondary sources produced only brief, repetitious remarks about the town. The one book concerned entirely with this subject is Ellis Merton Coulter's, *Old Petersburg and the Broad River Valley of Georgia*. Coulter draws on a variety of sources to paint a vivid picture of Petersburg and the surrounding area. Coulter's history displayed certain biases, however, and an overemphasis on genealogy. He viewed Petersburg sublimly, and called the inhabitants, "...ambitious,

industrious, and intellectual...", insisting that "...along the Broad River there was a more friendly attitude and greater honesty...."¹ Coulter also described Petersburgers in this light: "Although Petersburgers were not promoters of duels they were thoroughly imbued with a fighting spirit on proper occasions when the honor of their country was impugned or its dignity insulted."²

Coulter's history frequently turned into a rambling genealogy report. He recited the Gilmer family history between pages 10 and 13. He also detailed the Watkins' family from pages 38 to 40. Coulter took pages 40 through 44 to describe the Bibb family tree. He elaborated on other family geneologies, for instance, on pages 15 through 19 and pages 44 through 48. While it contained a definite geneological orientation, Coulter's book has been the only attempt to illuminate Petersburg's past.

Research conducted at the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah, produced interesting twentieth-century newspaper articles concerning Petersburg, but revealed no primary sources or useful secondary sources. The Atlanta Historical Society was also examined for possible Petersburg-related information. This search produced no data.³

Much of the historical research for the Petersburg project was conducted at the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta. The archives contains relevant information in a number of sources including contemporary gazetteers (*A Gazetteer of the State of Georgia*), 1820 manufacturing schedules, contemporary law digests (*A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia*), historical journals, 1790 and 1820 census records, apprenticeship records, contemporary travel journals (*Travels of William Bartram*), land lottery records, 1812 War records, and Wilkes County histories.

A search of the Surveyor General's Office in Atlanta revealed several historical maps and early plats relating to Petersburg. These maps include the original plan of the town depicting the distribution of lots, and also the original plat of land owned by Dyionisius Oliver on which the town was established. The Surveyor General's Office also contains the John H. Goff Collection of photographs which offered insights into rural living in the town of Lisbon and the general vicinity of Petersburg.

Research in the Atlanta area also included a survey of materials in the Special Collections Room at Emory University's Robert W. Woodruff Library. The Georgia Documents Collection within the Special Collections contain important legislative acts passed by Georgia's General Assembly in 1799 regarding navigational improvements in the Savannah River between Petersburg and the City of Augusta, Georgia. Considerable historical information was found in the University of Georgia library in Athens, Georgia. The Special Collections Division of the University library provided a wide variety of primary and secondary sources.

The Shalyer Hillyer Collection in the Special Collections Division of the University of Georgia library contains letters and an account book written by Hillyer while living in Petersburg from 1805-1819. Hillyer's letters and account book are particularly interesting as a reflection of a merchant's business during the town's prime. The Hillyer Collection also contains an unpublished manuscript of the "Memoirs of the Early Life and Times of Judge Junius Hillyer." These memoirs offer a unique and personal glimpse into Petersburg life, with a special emphasis on river activities.

The Ellis M. Coulter papers provided an interesting study collection. As a professor of history at the University, Coulter saved not only material collected while writing books, but also a variety of other information including twentieth-century newspaper clippings concerning the history of Petersburg.

Research was conducted in the University of Georgia's Science Library. The Library's Map Collection contains soil maps illustrating the chemistry and composition of soils in the Broad and Savannah River valleys. The 1928 Elbert County version depicts creeks, old roads, and major landmarks. The Science Library is also the repository for United States Department of Agriculture aerial photographs. An aerial photograph taken in 1942, prior to reservoir impoundment, was located for the Petersburg area.

The newspaper collection at the Main Library of the University of Georgia contains most issues of *The Georgia and Carolina Gazette*, which was printed in Petersburg from 1805-1806. Unfortunately, the newspaper focused more on the South than on the town of its origin. Each issue did carry a "Petersburg" column and local advertisements that allowed the extraction of historical data.

Another avenue of research led to the state archaeological site files located at the University of Georgia's Anthropology Department. The files contain all archaeological sites in the state of Georgia officially recorded by professional and avocational archaeologists. The files revealed six terrestrial sites located at the confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers in what is now Bobby Brown State Park. The official state site numbers include 9Eb112 through 9Eb117. The records for each site are incomplete and give no indication of the date the survey was conducted. Personnel from West Georgia College surveyed the park area and located eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century historic sites along the park nature trail. The sites consisted of a partial log foundation, stone field markers, a mule pen, a trash dump, historic ceramic scatter, and a brick/stone foundation. All sites were known to park personnel and were recommended for mapping and excavation before any land alteration. The survey did not extend into the water or across the rivers to Lisbon or Vienna, and did not locate any prehistoric sites. No other sites within the Petersburg area were recorded at the state site files.

The United States Army Corps of Engineers District Office in Savannah, Georgia, contains maps and information concerning reservoir construction. A 1949 Corps of Engineers Project Ownership map depicts acquisition tracts within Elbert County prior to construction of Clark's Hill Lake. Another Corps-produced map was particularly useful in planning thesis fieldwork. The United States Army Corps of Engineers Preimpoundment Survey of 1939 produced a topographic map based on twenty-foot contours. In addition to elevations, the map depicts the locations of Petersburg and Lisbon. The former contained five associated standing structures as of 1939, and the latter had four standing structures.

The Elbert County Courthouse in Elberton, Georgia, provided local histories and, most importantly, original deeds and plats of Petersburg. An effort was made to discover and evaluate the town's economy and general character by tracing the purchase and sale of town lots over a period of time. The year of the town's establishment, in 1786, was the first year selected for study. All lots purchased at that time were recorded along with the names of the buyers and sellers, the date, the price of purchase, lot number, and any useful comments such as "sold for taxes".

This information was recorded for all lots sold in 1786. The same data was collected for every year thereafter. The large number of town lots (95) and the chronic buying and selling of land speculators generated considerable data. (See Appendix A.) These data reflected changes in the economy such as inflation, recession, land speculation, and fluctuations in supply and demand. Lot data also produced a demographic picture of the town, indicating the value of certain areas, the utilization of particular lots, and different activities or occupations associated with various sections of town. Tracing the deeds from 1786 to 1878 graphs the town's rise and fall as reflected in lot prices and the general economy. (See Chapter 6 for an interpretation of appendix data.)

Archaeological Fieldwork

The archaeological survey and mapping of Petersburg fulfilled five research goals: 1) define the site boundaries, particularly those of the south end of town and along the Broad and Savannah Rivers; 2) locate, examine, and map submerged cultural resources, including brick scatters, building foundations, and river vessels; 3) determine the percentage of town actually submerged by Clark Hill Lake; 4) locate and examine the submerged remains of two major ferry crossings and their associated town ruins; and 5) examine terrestrial ruins, artifacts, and old roadbeds associated with Petersburg. This was a non-destructive project and researchers collected data, only, and did not disturb cultural remains.

Preliminary fieldwork involved a reconnaissance by boat of the townsite's general location to examine the landscape in comparison with both historic and modern maps. The project's main focus area centered on the modern confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers, including two islands contained within these waters. (See Appendix B.) A general examination of the project area by boat was begun in preparation for preliminary dives.

A seventeen foot runabout vessel served as the diving platform and carried all the necessary equipment such as spare scuba tanks, dive gear, buoys, first aid kit, cameras, and surveying equipment. Divers placed officially recognized dive flags on the vessel and at strategic locations in the water to notify other boating traffic of diving activity in the area.

Divers wore full wetsuits for protection against cold water temperatures and submerged tree limbs, stumps, and debris. Other equipment included compasses, dive knives in the event that monofilament fishing line and vegetation proved to be a problem, and underwater lights for increased visibility.

Initial orientation dives revealed a maximum visibility of three feet. Visibility and water temperature declined with depth and distance from shore. At a depth of forty feet visibility was two feet (with an underwater light) and water temperature was approximately 55 degrees. A large amount of red clay silt in the water aggravated conditions to such an extent that in several areas (especially in the Broad River) visibility never exceeded one foot. These rather challenging conditions required project methodology to be refined and focused on a smaller, more specific area within the rivers' confluence.

Once divers became oriented, they selected a location as near as possible to the diving activity, but with a full view of both rivers on which to erect a datum. The most southern island at the rivers' confluence (hereafter referred to as Black Squirrel Island), fulfilled these requirements, and Datum #1 was established there. (See Appendix B.)

This datum, in addition to a transit and Electronic Distance Measurer (EDM), allowed accurate mapping of terrestrial and submerged objects. Archaeologists established a Grid North line along a line connecting Datum #1 (0,0) with a known landmark--the Richard B. Russell Dam approximately five miles upstream on the Savannah River. Grid North lies 15 degrees, 20 minutes West of magnetic North. Black Squirrel Island, located about 300 feet offshore from the "modern-day" confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers, is too small to appear on area maps and needed to be accurately recorded on the project map. Archaeologists then recorded transit readings for numerous points on the island and on nearby landforms. These distance and angle measurements provided the data necessary to construct a map of the islands while linking it with known locations. Investigators also recorded transit readings for several terrestrial features such as brick piles, chimney pads, and house sites.

With the completion of this segment of terrestrial mapping, underwater work began in earnest. Pre-impoundment United States Army Corps of

Engineers topographic maps depict the remnants of Petersburg and the Broad and Savannah Rivers. The topographic contours which occur every twenty feet are not detailed enough to map accurately the 330 Mean Sea Level (MSL) shoreline of the impounded lake, whereby determining the location of the original Savannah River channel. For this reason divers located the channel by underwater reconnaissance.

Divers swam along the lake bottom in a northeasterly direction from Black Squirrel Island until discovering a pronounced and regular drop-off below them. At forty-five feet below water surface, divers discovered the colder, darker channel of the Savannah River and its original pre-impoundment bank, dotted with tree stumps. Archaeologists developed a system enabling the information to be transferred onto a comprehensive site map. This system required the divers to swim along the old channel bank, following it until they found the location of the pre-impoundment confluence. As the divers followed the edge of the channel, the dive boat trailed at a safe distance behind the divers' bubbles. Boat tenders at the water's surface periodically deposited weighted buoy behind the path of the divers. Upon completion of the dive, surveyors took transit and EDM readings at each of the buoys. The locations could then be plotted on a map to pinpoint the bank of the Savannah River channel prior to construction of Clark Hill Lake. (See Appendix B.)

The next phase of fieldwork involved discovering any submerged artifacts not visible from land. The generally poor visibility precluded the common technique of divers swimming wide transects to survey large areas. Instead, a baseline approach was used, which created a reference point for divers and a way of easily re-locating submerged objects within the area.

Divers established a baseline from the southern end of Black Squirrel Island towards the confluence. (See Appendix B.) This area was selected as being most likely to encapsulate part of Petersburg, judging from historic maps. Divers placed the 170 foot long baseline on the lakebed bottom, beginning in two feet of water and ending in thirty feet. They then marked the two ends of the baseline with buoys to allow transit readings to be recorded at the proper locations. Divers examined the area thoroughly for a width of fifty feet on each side of the baseline, for the entire 170 feet. Artifacts discovered in this vicinity were triangulated from marked stakes along the baseline, then mapped on underwater slates. During the survey

Artifacts discovered in this vicinity were triangulated from marked stakes along the baseline, then mapped on underwater slates. During the survey along this line divers discovered an interesting slope intersecting the 100 foot mark on the baseline. At this intersection the lake's depth averages twelve feet. Beginning at the 100 foot baseline mark, the lake bottom takes a precipitous downward slope. This twelve foot contour was suspected to mark the greatest extent of town construction possible without building on the frequently flooded low ground paralleling the rivers.

A team of divers descended to determine first, if this contour was consistently visible, and second, if it encircled the tip of Black Squirrel Island and projected into the rivers' confluence. Divers easily followed the drop-off along the Savannah River side of the island. They then followed the contour downstream toward the confluence until it gradually disappeared. At this point divers turned and swam up the more poorly defined contour along the Broad River. They employed the same method used in mapping the old riverbank to map this contour line. Surveyors recorded transit readings on buoys placed in the divers' wakes and the locations were later plotted on a map, providing a natural boundary for the town. (See Appendix B.)

During an underwater reconnaissance along the twelve foot plateau divers located several brick scatters, inlaid brick, and a rock and brick "wall", all of which were buoyed, mapped, and sketched. Divers also surveyed other sections including areas slightly beyond the defined contour, parts of the old channel, and a small area running East-West between Black Squirrel Island and Chimney Island (another officially unmapped small island). These general reconnaissances served as indicators of which types of areas held potential for containing artifacts and which had little or no cultural remains visible.

Divers established a second baseline approximately 1,500 feet upstream on the Broad River near a partially submerged house site with a dense artifact scatter. The original datum was too distant from the proposed second baseline area to obtain transit readings. Surveyors solved this problem by shooting a transit point from the original datum to the tip of Chimney Island. They established a third point on the mainland area near the previously mentioned house site. This final point produced a clear vantage for Baseline #2. Surveyors again set up the transit, this time on the third recorded point. The 170 foot baseline was approximately

aligned with grid North and stretched over the lakebed. Divers buoyed the baseline ends, as before, and surveyors recorded transit/EDM readings from the buoys for mapping purposes. Divers surveyed a fifty-foot strip on either side of the baseline for the entire 170 feet in search of any visible cultural remains.

Fieldwork included examining Petersburg's two major ferry locations. One ferry crossed the Broad River from Petersburg to Lisbon, Georgia, while the other transported people across the Savannah River to Vienna, South Carolina. Investigators could not easily discover the ferry landings on the Petersburg side of the rivers without knowing the exact submerged locations of the early town lots and the distance and direction of the landings in relation to the lots. For this reason, it was ascertained that the roadbeds leading to the ferry crossings might be more visible across each river from Petersburg. Investigators tested this theory by conducting a boating reconnaissance along the Georgia and South Carolina river fronts of the Broad and Savannah Rivers. Both locations proved easy to find.

The Lisbon landing is marked by a definite change in vegetation. A thirty yard stretch of privet, bushes, and vines front the Broad River in the midst of pines and some hardwoods. This suspicious sign did turn out to be an old roadbed. Terrestrial examination of the immediate area revealed a house site next to the continuation of the road. A submerged ridge extends approximately 300 yards out from this roadbed into the Broad River towards Petersburg. At its highest level, the sandbar is approximately fifty to seventy-five feet wide, covered predominantly with sand, and supports a sparse growth of grass. The sandbar was followed from shore into five and one half feet of water. Snorkelers visually examined this area and located some cultural remains.

The search for the Vienna ferry landing was initially conducted by boat in a manner similar to the Lisbon ferry search. The Vienna roadbed is not as overgrown as the Lisbon roadbed, and investigators located it through an absence of thick vegetation rather than due to the presence of specific plant types. Archaeologists reconnoitered the roadbed for approximately 200 yards North of the river. They also surveyed the shoreline and adjoining shallow water area for a distance of fifty yards East of the old roadbed. Close examination revealed two sites, as

discussed in Chapter 5.

Oral History Research

Another aspect of fieldwork involved local oral interviews. Many of the older citizens of the Clark Hill Lake area lived in the region before the creation of the reservoir in 1950. Although these people cannot give insight into life during Petersburg's prime, they offer valuable information about the condition the townsite eventually experienced, the inhabitants during the site's later years, their descendants, land ownership before reservoir construction, and the actual method of lake construction. Several of those interviewed remembered the condition of the Petersburg site during the early years of the 1900s. They recalled the names of individuals and families in the area who are direct descendants of the town's original lot owners. They provided equally important information concerning reservoir construction. This information revealed the amount and type of damage inflicted on the site as a result of lake construction and impoundment.

Most interviewees were between seventy and eighty years old. Questioning these people about events forty to seventy-five years ago was difficult and often complicated by their frequent memory lapses. Surprisingly, however, most interviewees demonstrated a great deal of knowledge about the history of the area. On almost every occasion the interviewee gave one or more referrals, resulting in a network of people to interview. This compilation produced a list of over a dozen potential interviewees, of whom seven were successfully contacted and interviewed. The responses were not only interesting, but assisted a great deal in determining the provenience of certain house sites, foundations, and brick scatters.

Notes

Chapter IV.

1. Coulter, *Old Petersburg*, 28, 64.

2. *Ibid.*, 100.

3. The Savannah River is the only boundary separating Petersburg from South Carolina, therefore historical research also encompassed that state. Research conducted at the state archaeological site files in the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina, in Columbia, revealed no records for Vienna, South Carolina. (Vienna was closely affiliated with Petersburg.) The University's Caroliniana Library was a potential source of relevant information. While some historical works referred to Vienna and Petersburg, the library offered no new information. The South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston also presented no additional information.

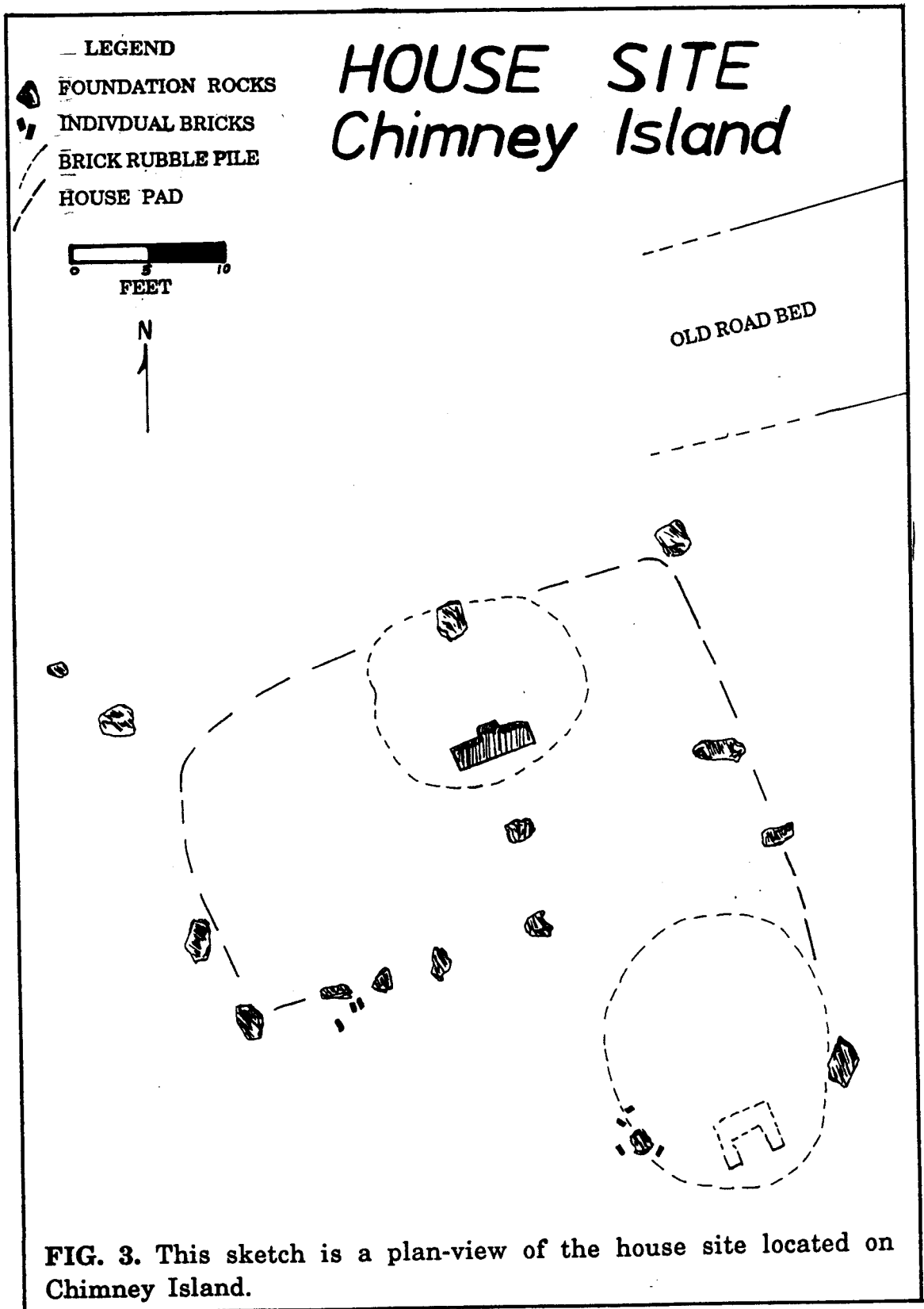
V. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATIONS

The Petersburg survey located three sites, two of which were multi-component and contained both Indian artifacts and historic artifacts from non-aboriginal Americans. The sites of Petersburg and Vienna both produced historic and prehistoric artifacts, while only historic artifacts were located during reconnaissance at the Lisbon site.

Terrestrial and underwater survey in Clark Hill Lake at the location of Petersburg revealed a variety of artifacts in that area. Chimney Island contained a house site with the remains of a partially intact double brick chimney, large field-stone foundation rocks, a second brick chimney pad, and two brick rubble piles. An old roadbed was also located immediately north of the house site. Both the house remains and road were mapped (See Figure 3.) While examining the southern end of Chimney Island, several prehistoric artifacts were located on the surface and directly offshore in shallow water. Artifacts included a resharpened, Early Archaic, quartz Big Sandy projectile point, a Mississippian Savannah Phase noded cane-punctate rimsherd, and several either plain or extremely weathered potsherds. All artifacts, after examination, were returned to their original location.

The surface reconnaissance of Black Squirrel Island exposed a number of artifacts and structures, the largest of which was a sixty-nine by thirty-two foot brick lined cellar. (See Figure 4.) This structure possibly represents the remains of a Federal period house. A wide variety of historic ceramics were observed on the surface including plain creamware, annular pearlware, blue transfer pearlware, plain pearlware, and green edged pearlware. Other ceramics consisted of red and green spongeware, ironstone, and plain whiteware. All sherds were returned to their surface locations after being recorded.

Also on Black Squirrel Island, approximately thirteen feet south of the cellar depression, lay the remains of an inlaid brick chimney footing next to a large brick pile. The island contains two additional brick piles, one concentrated in the area of datum number one and the other on the easternmost edge of the land form. Archaeologists examined a possible



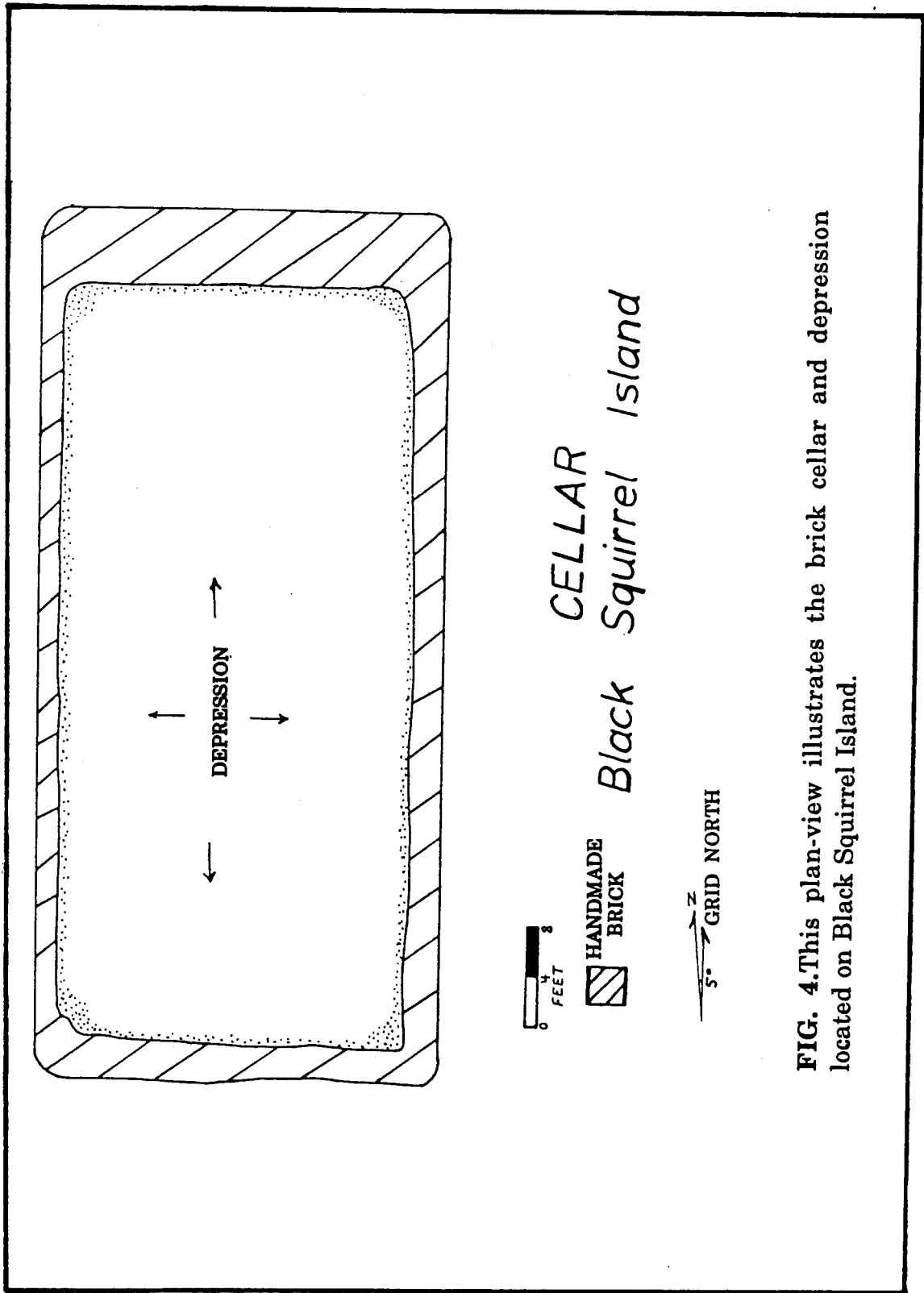


FIG. 4. This plan-view illustrates the brick cellar and depression located on Black Squirrel Island.

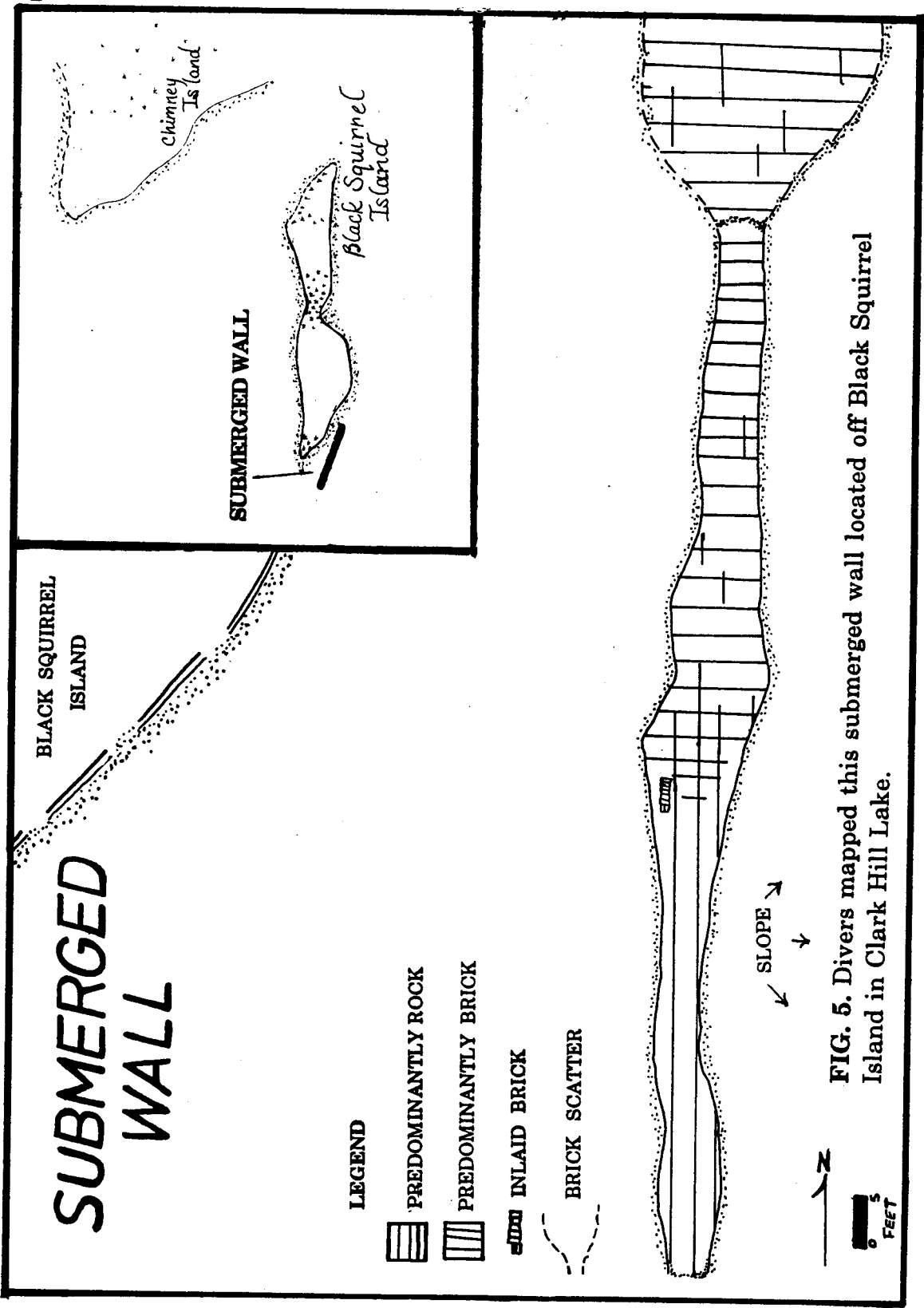
roadbed running east-west on the northern portion of the island. It was poorly defined, and therefore, not included in the mapping.

Underwater survey conducted offshore of Black Squirrel Island revealed a well defined, submerged, rock and brick "wall". (See Figure 5.) The wall runs north-south for a distance of 140 feet. At 140 feet north of the wall's origin, the shape becomes poorly defined and widens into a fifty foot long brick scatter. The southern section of the wall is predominantly rock, while the brick content increases northwardly. At the wall's midpoint some in-laid brick was discovered, possibly part of a chimney footing. Survey along baseline number one, located south-east of Black Squirrel Island, revealed no other structural remains. This baseline intersected the submerged wall and continued along the lakebed 125 feet beyond it.

Divers placed baseline number two approximately twelve hundred feet north-east of Black Squirrel Island in an effort to define the limits of the entire site. There was a greater amount of submerged tree and branch debris along this baseline, but no visible evidence of structural remains. Divers located no brick or rock scatters and found no artifacts within the immediate vicinity.

Archaeologists did locate artifacts 130 feet northeast of baseline number two, however. At this location the shoreline extends slightly into the lake, then recedes into a marshy inlet. Artifacts were found in shallow water along the shoreline from the point towards the beginning of the marsh. They located several bricks at this point and some ceramics along the shoreline. They recorded the following sherds: hand-painted pearlware, whiteware, melted glass (alone and melted onto earthenware and creamware sherds), non-descript metal fragments, polychrome earthenware, stoneware, and transfer print. Hand-fanning an area of the sand underwater revealed a thin layer of silt covering a layer of sherds.

In addition to locating artifacts and structural remains, the survey revealed areas with little or no visible signs of use or habitation. Divers discovered one such area along a survey transect conducted between Chimney Island and Black Squirrel Island. Another transect consisted of divers swimming along the submerged bank of the old Savannah River



and its forty-five foot channel. This transect revealed the old bank and channel, but failed to locate signs of any artifacts. The angle of the slope of the submerged bank was fairly steep, but no artifacts, wharf structures, or submerged vessels were located at the bottom of this slope in the channel.

Transects surveyed by divers over the twelve foot deep contour was useful for mapping purposes, but revealed little in the way of artifacts. Divers located one brick along the contour approximately 240 feet from the southern tip of Black Squirrel Island. They saw no other structural features or artifacts visible on the lakebed bottom in the contour area.

Surveyors located a second site, that of Vienna, South Carolina. The old roadbed leading from Vienna to the Savannah River is deeply entrenched and runs into Clark Hill Lake. While archaeologists observed no artifacts along the old road itself, they noticed signs of occupation along the modern lake shoreline. They discovered several inlaid bricks north of the roadbed, 15 feet from shore and a few loose bricks just south of the road approximately 25 feet from shore. South of the road, 70 feet, surveyors found a 60 foot shoreline and off-shore area dense in both historic and prehistoric artifacts. The northern shoreline section contained predominantly aboriginal sherds, while the southern section consisted of historic ceramics. Directly offshore both prehistoric and historic sherds appeared. Prehistoric pottery included plain or weathered, checkstamped, and unidentified potsherds from the Woodland and Mississippian periods. Archaeologists recorded the presence of lithics in the form of flakes and unidentified quartz bifaces. They also observed historic artifacts such as blue edge ware, polychrome handpainted pearlware, green edged ware, plain pearlware, plain whiteware, and a hand-blown bottle with the pontil scar visible. In addition, archaeologists discovered a light scatter of brick and large rock.

Archaeologists located a third site, Lisbon, during the survey. It is a single component, historic site. Surveyors noted the presence of the partially submerged ferry road extending back on shore. Terrestrial survey revealed a house site covered in privet vegetation. Archaeologists noted the remains of a well, brick stairs, and a privy. On the shore investigators discovered brick scatter, while on the submerged ferry road ridge, they recorded several whiteware sherds. Approximately fifty yards

offshore along the ridge snorkelers encountered foundation cornerstones and large rock remains of a house. A terra cotta lined well was located within ten feet of the housesite.

Archaeological investigations resulted in discovering the current condition of the site. The difficulty in locating large amounts of artifacts and cultural features during the survey was a result of reservoir processes occurring in Clark Hill Lake. The National Parks Service *Reservoir Inundation Study* described the following ongoing process in reservoirs such as Clark Hill Lake:

The dominant geological process that occurs within a reservoir is sediment transport and deposition. Sediment is derived primarily from stream inflow and secondarily from shoreline degradation which is accompanied by onshore-offshore sediment transport. Since man-made lakes are essentially closed systems, with sediment input greatly exceeding sediment output, all reservoirs are transitory phenomena...The net long-term result of reservoir sedimentation is the burial of the preinundation landscape under tons of fine-grained sediments.¹

These sediment deposition processes were evident at Clark Hill Lake. The site of Petersburg lay shrouded in fine grain sediment at least four inches deep, although possibly much deeper. This sediment created difficulty in locating the physical remains of the town by visual means only. A magnetometer search might have produced additional evidence of cultural remains.

A large portion of historical research involved locating and recording deeds. Research located over 274 Petersburg lot deeds in the Elbert County Deed Books. These were recorded and arranged in a table format. (See Appendix A.) Very few deeds indicate specific lot functions that Ellis Merton Coulter depicts in his book, although he cites the deed books as his source.² The numerous empty lots on the map itself gave no clues for logical inference. The majority of deeds located in the records contained lot numbers which coincided with the numbered lots on the 1786 Petersburg map. Those deeds without lot numbers, or with illegible lot numbers could often be identified through descriptions included on the deed. Several lot descriptions were too ambiguous, however, and could

not be located on the map. Information for each deed transaction was recorded individually on note cards and placed on an oversized map which was divided into numbered town lots. Each card was placed in the appropriately numbered lot area within the map. Distributing the deeds in this manner resulted in several easily seen observations concerning the town, including: uninhabited areas; commercial zones; value of lots; land speculation; land use; profit or loss; and economic conditions. These observations are further explained in the interpretations of Chapter 6.

Historical research, especially deed records, revealed a large amount of data to be interpreted. Compilation of deed records resulted in determining several major land owners and the extent of their holdings. John Oliver, Archibald Stokes, and Leroy Pope, were three Petersburgers with extensive lot holdings. This information becomes apparent after transferring the deed information on to maps. (See Figures 6, 7, & 8.)




Lot prices were important in answering economic questions concerning Petersburg. Many of the early town lot deeds contain prices recorded in pounds, although the medium of exchange was dollars. Petersburgers (and other Georgians) continued to use the older, traditional pound when keeping account records, while actually paying their debts in dollar values. They were aware of the contemporary relationship between their monies of account (the pound), and their monies of transaction (the dollar).³ Clerks did not copy this relationship onto the real estate deeds because it was common knowledge. Today, however, the relationship between the monies of account recorded on the deed and the actual cost in dollars must be computed.

In 1793/94 the United States government began issuing national currency.⁴ These time periods correlate with dates on Petersburg deeds; earlier deeds are usually in denominations of "pounds" or "state money," while later deeds were recorded in United States dollars. Lot twenty-two contained one deed with the price in both pounds and dollars. It sold for ten pounds, or forty-three dollars. This provided a conversion rate of £1=\$4.30, effective for the last two decades of the eighteenth century.

This conversion was applied to all lots selling for pounds. Transactions involving several lots required the total price to be divided by the number of lots sold. While this does not present an accurate picture for the individual price of improved and unimproved lots, it does result in an

ALL LOTS
 EVER
 OWNED BY
 JOHN
 OLIVER

LEGEND

-  LOTS NOT OWNED BY JOHN OLIVER
-  EMPTY LOTS LATER SOLD TO JOHN OLIVER BY HIS FATHER, DIONYSIUS OLIVER, FOR \$1000.00
-  LOTS ALREADY OWNED BY JOHN OLIVER

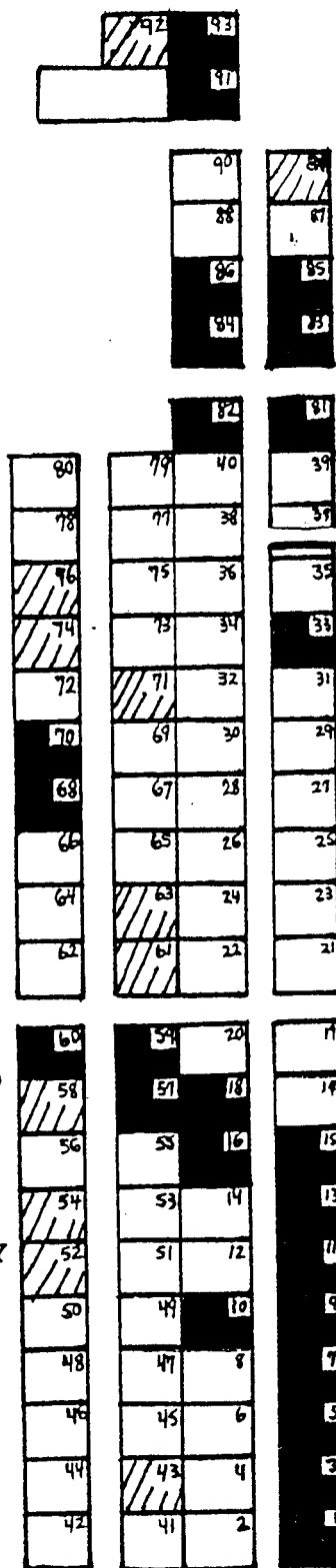
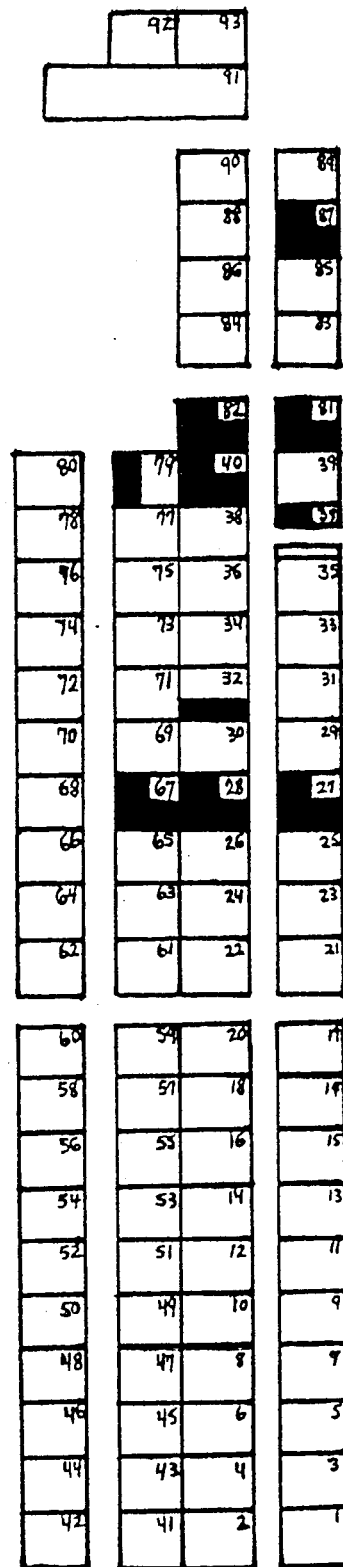


FIG. 6. This illustration of the town plan depicts real estate owned by John Oliver.

ALL LOTS
EVER
OWNED BY
ARCHIBALD
STOKES

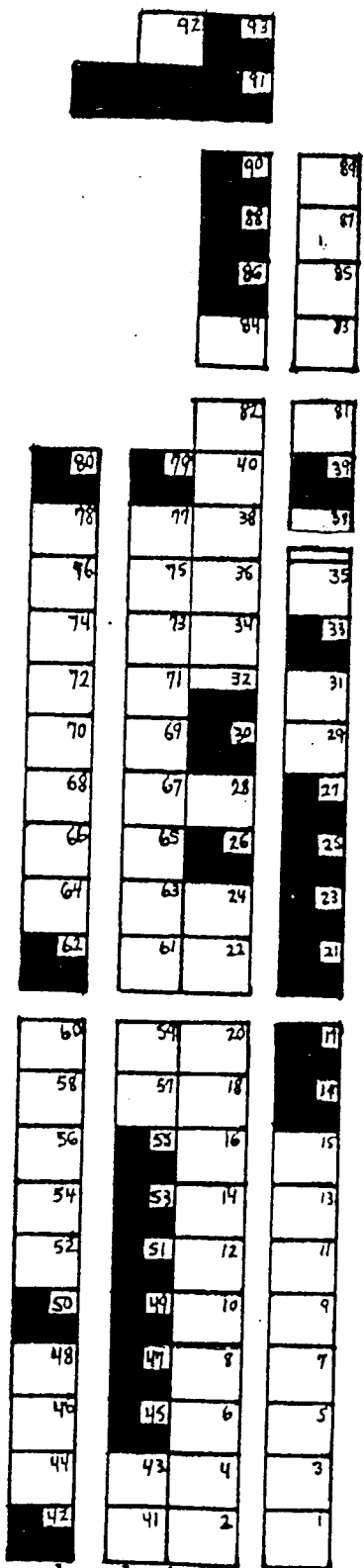


LEGEND

OWNED
 PARTIALLY OWNED

FIG. 7. This illustration of the town plan depicts real estate owned by Archibald Stokes.

ALL LOTS
EVER
OWNED BY
LEROY
POPE




LEGEND
 OWNED

FIG. 8. This illustration of the town plan depicts real estate owned by Leroy Pope.

"across the board" average for the entire town. Averaging the value of all lots by year produced a graph illustrating fluctuations in real estate, indicative of the town's economy. (See Figure 9.) Transactions including lots, extra acreage, and slaves were not included in computations. Comparing the graph of lot value averages with the wholesale price index for the same years reveals a very similar pattern. (See Figure 10.) Petersburg's economy reflected national trends.

While the conversion rate of 4.3 is correct for 1796, it does not account for the inflation or deflation in each year studied. Using conversion values without applying inflation or deflation rates would not give a true estimate of the amounts of goods and services a Petersburger could purchase with the same amount of money, in any given year. These economic changes can be compensated for by applying the commodities price index (CPI) values for each year. The CPI in *Historical Statistics of the United States* uses 1910-1914 as the base years.⁵ Using the CPI values in Petersburg lot price computations results in a graph representing actual annual dollar value. (See Figure 11.) This graph represents a similar economic cycle illustrated by the wholesale price index. The CPI graph depicts sharper peaks, however, and a generally less even distribution of values. The valleys and peaks of both graphs occur in basically the same time periods. The years between 1794 and 1818 include all major peaks on both graphs, while 1786 to 1790 and most of the years following the 1820s consist of valleys or straight lines.

The raw deed data also enabled the formation of broader interpretations involving Petersburg's relationship to the economy of the United States. This data, analyzed in conjunction with wholesale price index, and commodities price index data produced a picture of the correlation between the health of the town's economy and the health of the national economy. This relationship is interpreted in the following chapter.

AVERAGE PRICE OF LOTS
in dollars by year

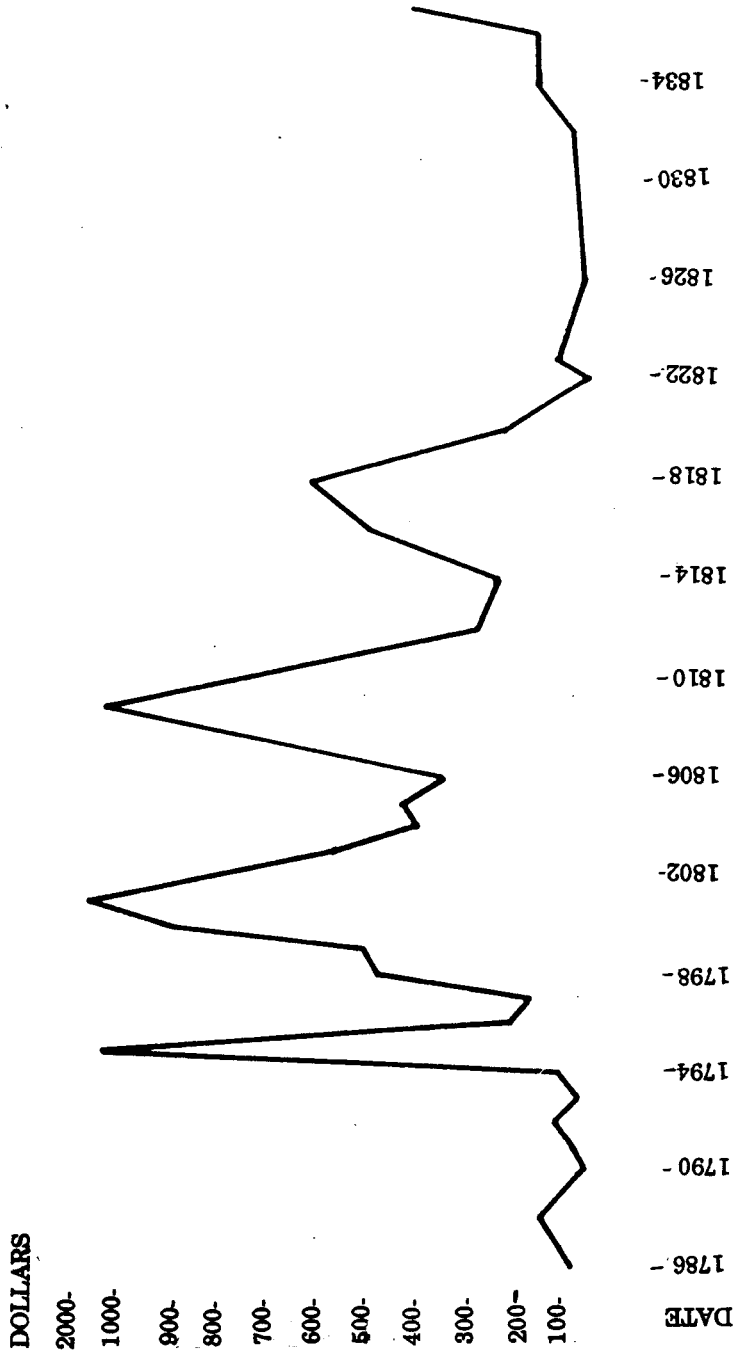


FIG. 9. This graph represents the average price, in dollars, of lots by year

ECONOMIC TRENDS

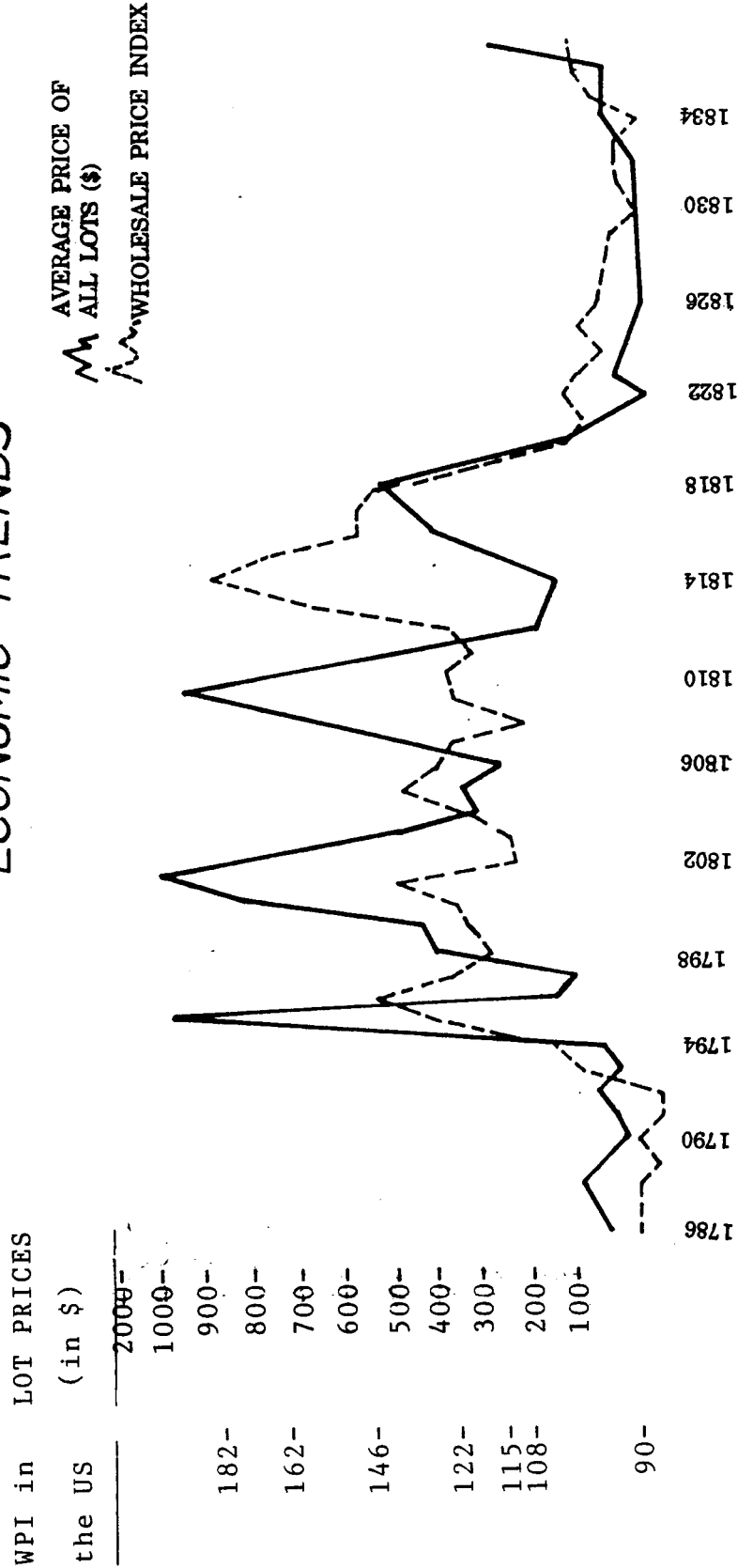


FIG. 10. This graph illustrates the similarity between the average price of Petersburg lots and the Wholesale Price Index. (Ravi Batra, Regular Cycles of Money, Inflation, Regulation, and Depression, Dallas, Tex.: 1985.)

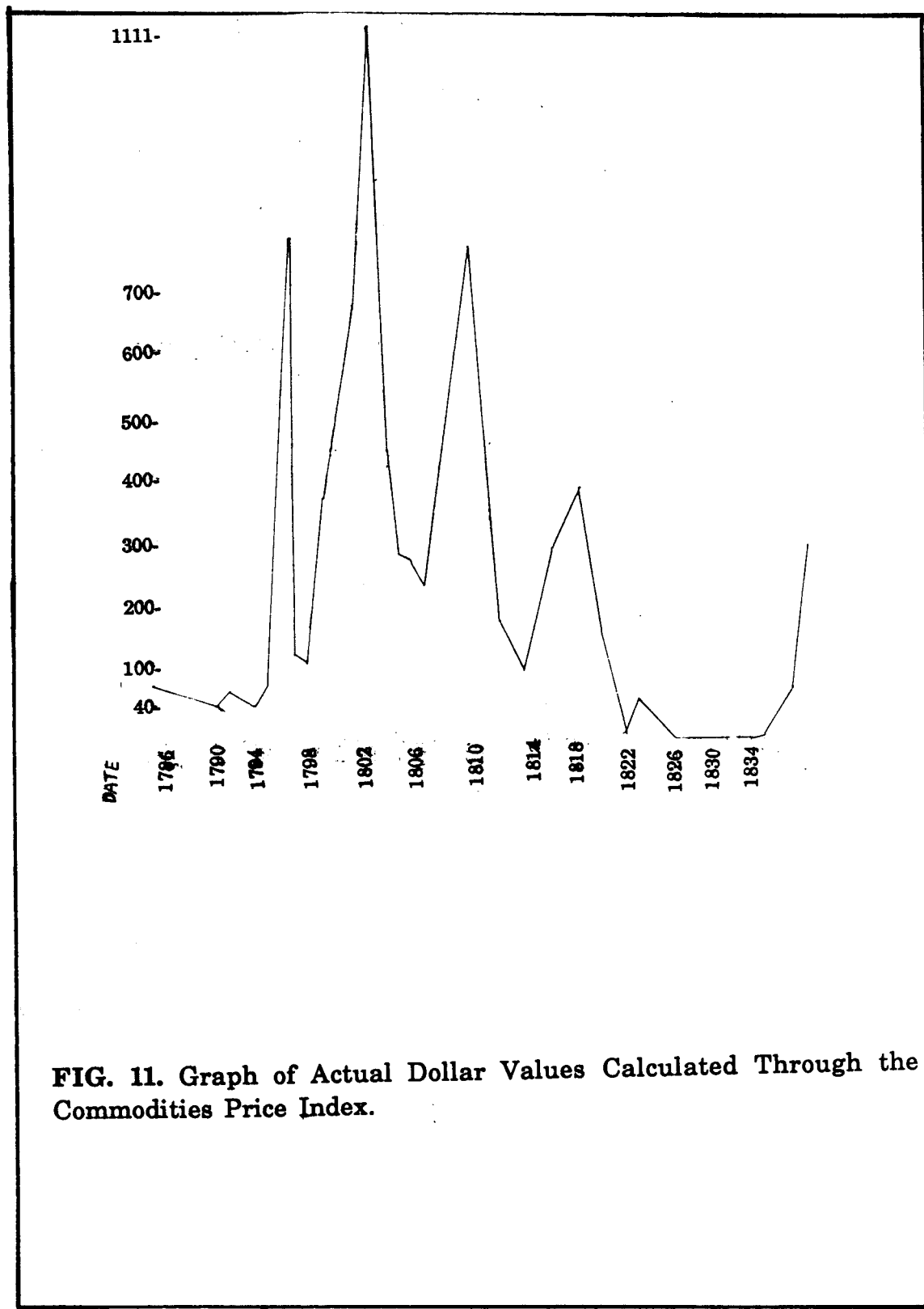


FIG. 11. Graph of Actual Dollar Values Calculated Through the Commodities Price Index.

Notes

Chapter V

1. National Parks Service, *Reservoir Inundation Study*, 82.
2. Coulter, *Old Petersburg*, ii.
3. Professor John J. McCusker (University of Maryland, American Economic History), letter to author, 28 November 1987; telephone conversation, 5 April 1988.
4. Eric Newman, *Early Paper Money of America* (Racine, Wisconsin, 1976), 414-18.
5. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the U. S. (Colonial Times to 1970)* Washington, 1975), 201-2.

VI. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This thesis, that a multidisciplinary approach incorporating history, economics, historical geography, underwater archaeology, and oral history can successfully produce an important, detailed picture of a frontier town in the early history of the United States, was proven through the abundance of varied information recovered concerning Petersburg. The relationship of this frontier town to local, regional, national, and international events, as examined and illuminated in this thesis, offers significant information for other frontier towns in America's past. The success of each approach utilized proves the worth of incorporating a variety of scientific fields. The approach of underwater archaeology held special significance in determining whether this field could provide a valuable contribution to other sites located in the southeastern United States in similar conditions. The success of underwater archaeology at Petersburg confirmed this field's value for other such sites. This chapter further analyzes and interprets the results of the Petersburg project and its significance.

The Petersburg project successfully located and mapped the tobacco town, giving it relative and absolute locations. Historic research, in conjunction with archaeological fieldwork, brought new insights into the town and its activities. The investigations also located two other sites associated with Petersburg and offered additional information about the river port.

Ceramics found in an uprooted tree near the cellar on Black Squirrel Island were types which date to the age of Petersburg, indicating that the cellar was part of a structure belonging to the town. The well defined, twelve foot deep contour "ledge" along the Savannah River side of the island revealed the extent of flat area for town construction before encountering low ground. The highest ground was best suited for construction and less likely to experience severe floods. The highest pre-impoundment flood level in local memory reached an elevation of between 315 to 320 feet above mean sea level. The elevation of Black Squirrel Island is approximately 332 feet above mean sea level. At this level the cellar on Black Squirrel Island would have remained dry.

The Broad River side of the island is considerably less defined. It possesses less of an obvious "ledge" and more of a gradually sloping ancient river terrace. Its poor definition does not allow it to be a very precise boundary for the town.

The Chimney Island house site revealed only a few artifacts which could date either to the time of Petersburg, or later. Mapping and reconnaissance level investigation were unable to determine a precise time period for this structure. The archaeologist can determine some information, however, from the structural remains, materials, and floorplan of the house. Only a few brick scatters remained, which indicated that they probably came from the chimneys and not the walls. The walls were probably wood, either exposed hand-hewn logs or more refined logs sheathed with clapboard siding.¹

The floor plan fits neither the dogtrot style of architecture nor the great hall style typical in Georgia during this period. The structure's builders were probably not wealthy, and added on rooms as the need arose and the budget allowed. Builders resourcefully used commonly occurring rocks for foundation stones. They constructed the chimney from bricks that were possibly locally produced. The chimney ruins exhibit signs of interior stucco, used not only for appearance, but to protect the poor quality, low fired brick.² Testing and actual excavation of the house site would, almost certainly, produce diagnostic artifacts, and give the house a more accurate date range. If the house did exist during the Petersburg era, mapping indicates it would have been on the out-skirts of town, instead of on one of the original town lots.

The submerged rock and brick wall is an interesting structural feature. Its north-south alignment indicates some association with the town plan, which was also aligned along that axis. Possibly, the wall's placement occurs along an early town boundary line. Its establishment may have been intentional as an embankment or boundary marker, or its formation may have been the unintentional result of accumulation along a later boundary line while post-Petersburg farmers cleared the area of rock and brick. The presence of a section of inlaid brick within the wall indicates a structure was built at that spot prior to the wall's existence.

The site of Vienna, South Carolina, contained ceramics of the same time period as Petersburg, indicating that the survey was being conducted at the correct location. The well entrenched roadbed appeared to be both old and frequently travelled in the past. The condition of the road and its direction leading to the river illustrate its function as the road to the Vienna-Petersburg ferry. Old inlaid brick concentrations indicate the presence, at one time, of structures in the vicinity.

The site of Lisbon, Georgia, offered only whiteware sherds, which are less diagnostic than many other ceramics. Surface reconnaissance, therefore, was unable to determine if the structures existed during Petersburg's prime, or later. Excavation would assist in answering temporal questions. Local informants provided relevant information concerning the area.³ They remembered two houses, a post office and a store in Lisbon in the early twentieth century. The store had a well near it and the post office had brick steps. The archaeological record supports this information.

The most unexpected result of the survey and reconnaissance of Petersburg was the dearth of artifacts and structural remains located. A visit to the site during the drought of 1985/86 revealed large amounts of artifacts left on shore by receding lake levels. Square nails, metal buckles, ceramics, and bottle glass were abundant and inlaid brick was seen south of Black Squirrel Island.

The events of 1985/86 dramatically illustrate the harmful effects of nature and man on a delicate archaeological site such as Petersburg. The drought removed artifacts from a fairly stable aquatic environment where they were relatively conserved, and exposed them to air, which hastened their deterioration. During this period exposed metal artifacts such as nails, buckles, buttons, and tools oxidized quickly. Wood artifacts suffered drying, cracking, and shrinking from exposure. Additional drought-related damage took the form of looting. During the drought visitors to the site removed an unknown amount of artifacts, many of which were diagnostically important. Items removed included clay pipes, ceramic sherds, bottles, stamped bricks, and metal tools.

The 1987 survey revealed little artifactual evidence of this nature. The return of the lake to normal levels buried remaining artifacts in the silt. The constant flow of the Broad and Savannah Rivers, and Petersburg's

location directly at their confluence, combine to create the deposit of large volumes of silt and sediments. The Richard B. Russell Dam, directly upstream from Petersburg, generates daily and stirs up sediment in two already silty rivers. This combination of factors resulted, over many years, in the deposit of a layer of sediment enshrouding most of the submerged remains of Petersburg.

While Petersburg remains covered in silt, it still offers a great deal of information that can be gathered both through archaeological and historical research. The survey and mapping was substantially supplemented by gathering and interpreting data from the historical record.

Deed books produced an enormous amount of raw data relevant to this study. (See Appendix A.) Deed records contain 222 Petersburg deed transactions with lot numbers, and several additional transactions without designated numbers. These deeds represent 83 of the 95 lots existing in the town. Twelve lots do not appear in the historical record either because they were never sold, the transactions were lost, or they appear in the form of transactions without lot numbers. In addition to these omissions, several deeds contain confusing grantor-grantee information, which does not seem to follow in a natural, chronological order. This problem is either a result of missing deeds which would fill in the gaps, or incorrect recording of deed information during the original transaction. Regardless of these inconsistencies, the deed records answer a wide range of questions concerning Petersburg and lot transactions.

Merchants participated in many Petersburg real estate transactions. The merchants Littleberry and Whitfield Wilson, for example, sold Lot 10 to James Coleman for \$400.00 on August 28, 1799. A more interesting chain of title transaction occurred between two sets of merchants. On September 14, 1799, the merchants Memorable Walker and Leroy Pope purchased Lot 27 from William Hobby for \$300.00. Only five days later the partnership of Walker and Pope sold Lot 27 to the merchant brothers, Archibald and Thomas Stokes for \$400.00. Apparently, their investment increased at the substantial sum of \$20.00 per day! In 1801 Thomas Stokes sold out his share of Lot 27 to his brother Archibald for \$1,000.00. This scenario illustrates that merchants speculated in and profited from land transactions. (See Appendix A.)

Other transactions indicate that merchants most frequently dealt with other merchants when purchasing or selling real estate. One example of this relationship is illustrated by the sale of Lot 32 by Leroy Pope and Company to the merchant Robert Thompson. Lot 34 provided another example in 1800 when the merchants Littleberry and Whitfield Wilson sold it to James Holliday, also a merchant. While merchants in Petersburg heavily participated in land speculation, this activity was not confined to local businessmen. Deed records reveal merchants from several cities and states speculating on town lots and indirectly affecting Petersburg's economy. Merchants in Charleston, North Carolina, Boston, New York, and other parts of Georgia purchased town lots. The majority of these merchants did not change their place of residence, therefore, it is most likely that purchases represented investments and business speculations. (See Appendix A.)

The "pulse" of Petersburg can be read by plotting the average price in dollars, by year, for all lots. (See figure 9.) A few peaks on the graph are artificially inflated. In 1795 only two lots changed hands; one at thirty dollars and one at two thousand. In 1837 only one lot transaction occurred at \$350. While these two peaks are slightly higher due to the small sampling size, the overall graph accurately depicts the life and death of Petersburg through real estate prices.

During the town's establishment following 1786, real estate immediately began selling. Prices fluctuated for the next eight years, but the overall trend was upward. In 1794 prices began climbing and between 1801 and 1808 Petersburg lots sold, at an average, for the highest prices in the town's history. Between 1812 and 1818 lot prices fell as an indirect result of the War of 1812. Signs of postwar prosperity hit Petersburg in 1818 as lot prices peak. An increase in Southern post-war prices helped Petersburg recover from the overwhelming wartime recession. Between 1803 and 1807 cotton made up 22 per cent of the United States' exports at a value of \$9 million. Post war prices for cotton soared from 1815 to 1819. During this time cotton exports reached over \$23 million, making up 39 per cent of the exports for the United States.⁴ Petersburg reaped profits from higher cotton prices, which resulted in an increase in the value of town real estate. This sudden prosperity led increasing numbers of farmers and speculators to cultivate cotton on most, if not all, arable land.

Thus, the South established total dependence on one crop. (See Chapter 3.)

High cotton prices led to credit extensions by banks in the United States and by British exporters. Southern and Western banks gave extensive credit for new land purchases on the frontier.⁵ Inflation in the cotton market encouraged westward expansion and the circulation of western bank notes. A down-swing in the English market and the contraction of Eastern United States bank loans created deflation in the economy. Problems increased in 1819 when large amounts of surplus cotton finally hit the market. Speculators who eagerly cultivated the crop when prices were expected to reach 30 cents a pound, discovered their harvests were worth a meagre 9 cents a pound.⁶ The drastic decline in the cotton market coupled with the credit over-extensions led to the Panic of 1819. Petersburg strongly felt its reverberations, as revealed in real estate transactions. Only four years following strong signs of prosperity, town lot owners could hardly give their land away. Between 1820 and 1829 Petersburgers sold only seven lots. Most prices were low, particularly for Lots 66, 67, and 82 which sold for \$3.75, \$13.00 and \$19.00, respectively. Of the remainder of the lots, none garnered more than \$135.00 on average. (See Appendix A.)

By the beginning of the second decade of the nineteenth century Petersburg was a dying town. Excluding a few minor peaks, between 1824 and 1838 lots were sold at extremely low prices. The panic of 1837 wielded the final blow to Petersburg's economy. This panic resulted from a combination of economic conditions that developed in the 1830s. Recovery from the scare of 1833, when money, employment, businesses, and high stocks were scarce, led individual consumers and states to overindulge in expenditures. Federal land sales provided a surplus in the United States Treasury. This surplus created a false sense of security.

The aura of financial security caused many states, including Georgia, to establish banks and spend large sums of money on internal improvements. In 1830, fifty-one banks existed in the South, while the number jumped to eighty-two only seven years later.⁷ These banks operated under virtually no regulation or restrictions, and frequently under fraudulent methods. The South's internal improvements were directly linked with the poorly managed banking system. Southern railroads were financed with bank loans. Most of the banks over-extended

their credit and provided more loans than they had money to back them.⁸

In addition to banking problems, in the 1830s, the United States experienced several other economic problems. Between 1832 and 1837 the United States participated in an unfavorable balance of trade, importing more than exporting. The trade deficit was compounded by revenues lost from land sales to speculating land companies. The economy reached its worst point when European banks called for immediate payment of debts in specie, not notes. This combination of economic conditions quickly led to the panic of 1837.

Southerners, especially those along the cotton belt, keenly felt the economic alarm seizing the country. Georgia enjoyed enough coin circulation for everyday, small transactions, which delayed the state's economic distress. By 1840, however, Georgia experienced the economic problems already engulfing other states. The panic did not leave Petersburg unscathed, either. No town deeds exist after 1838 that contain specific lot numbers, which also indicates the town's demise. After 1838 lot numbers were apparently meaningless, since there were so few people left in the town. These people purchased the empty lots in aggregates. By 1876 the Drury B. Cade family owned most of the land that had been Petersburg.

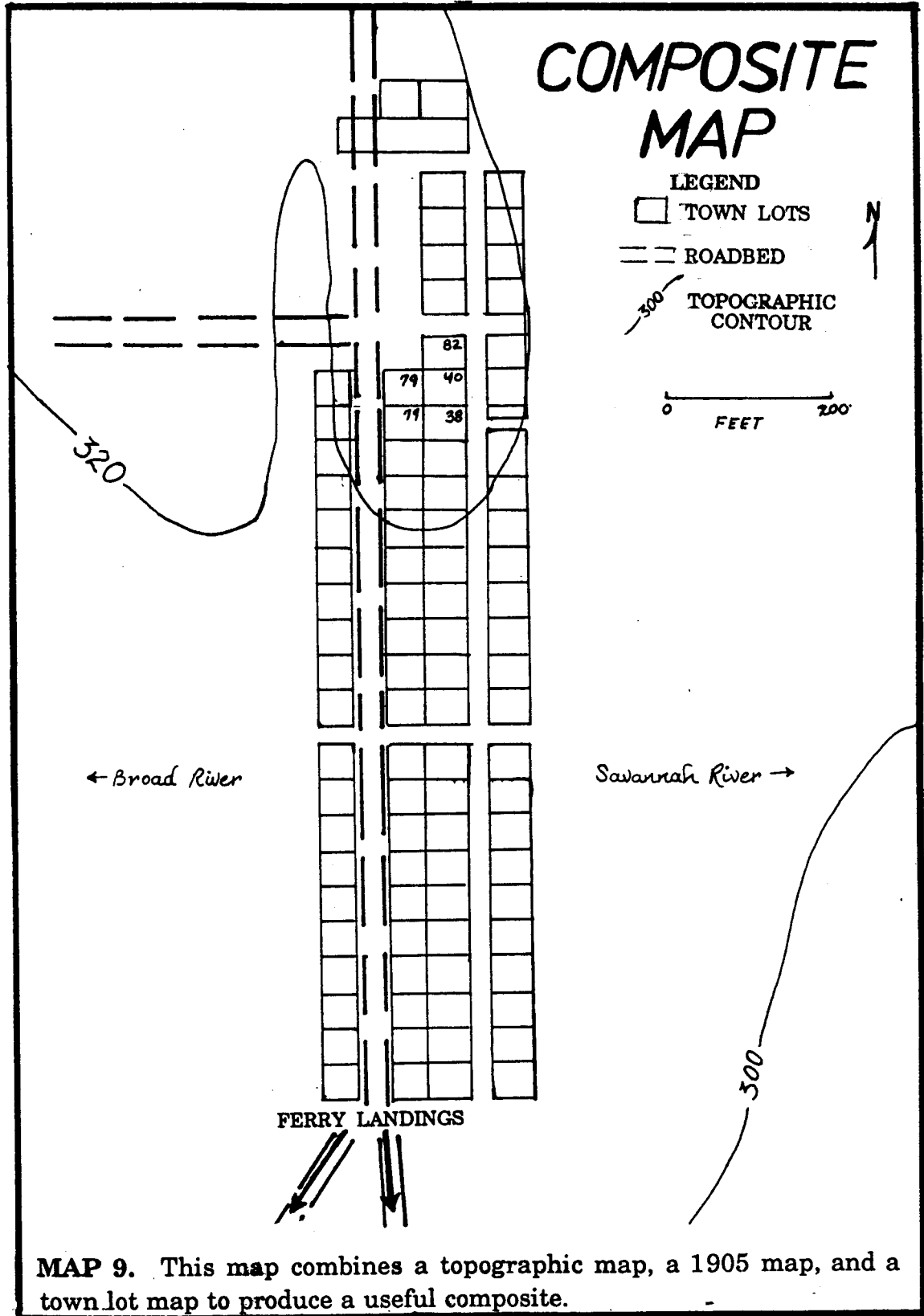
The rise and fall of Petersburg's economy can be seen in the broader perspective of the national economy. The wholesale price index, indicative of the condition of the United States' economy shows remarkable similarity to the economy of Petersburg during its existence (as determined through lot prices). (See Figure 10.) Both the local and national economy show some initial low, but stable activity. Both graphs peak during the same period between 1794 and 1818, and then fall. The 1818 peak reflects southern prosperity also experienced in Petersburg due to an increase in cotton prices. The panic of 1819 abruptly curtailed economic success in Petersburg, as well as the South. After 1822 the two economies again experienced low, but relatively stable activity with a slight peak in 1836 before the panic of 1837. The graph suggests that national economic trends were mirrored at the local level in Petersburg's economy.

GEOGRAPHIC INTERPRETATIONS

Despite an awareness of the existence and general location of Petersburg prior to this study, the exact location of the town was not known. The town's precise location was identified as a result of this study. Combining the United States Army Corps of Engineers topographic map, the 1928 Soil Conservation map, the 1786 town lot map, and the archaeological field map, allowed the establishment of the location of the cellar on Black Squirrel Island. All maps were enlarged or reduced to the same scale. A composite map was made including all but the town lot map. This town map was over-lain on the composite map and rearranged until the roads lined up properly. (See Map 9.) This alignment placed the cellar depression in the vicinity of lots 77, 79, 82, 38, and 40. The area could be pinpointed even closer, however.

Local informants described the cellar as the ruins of the D.B. Cade house. Deed records show that Drury B. Cade Jr. purchased the lot of land "known as the Archibald Stokes storehouse." Unfortunately, the storehouse lot is not numbered, but records indicate that Stokes held lots 40, 82, and half of 79. This does narrow the cellar's location to these three lots. Deeds also show that Cade's purchase of the Stokes's place covered one acre, or the size of two lots. The cellar is bigger than the north-south width of one lot, therefore it was located either on lots 82 and 40, or lots 40 and 79. Examination of the ruins depicted on the field map indicate that lots 82 and 40 are most likely to accomodate the ruins. (See Map 9.) Determining the owner of the cellar lot provides identification of the lot number. This identification, in turn, allows proper alignment of various maps to reveal the exact location of the Petersburg ruins today.

Investigation of the cellar ruins revealed strong, brick construction. Possibly the original owners used the structure as a store, since earlier town inhabitants would have been less likely to afford a fancy, brick home. They would, however, have been able to afford a brick business structure, especially if the business was financed by multiple partners. It is possible that later financially sound owners converted the structure into a home. As a home, the building's dimension's indicate its participation in the "great hall" style of architecture common in Georgia between 1800 and 1820. The great hall was reminiscent of smaller English manor houses and usually contained two rooms divided by a stairway. The stairs



frequently led to either a loft, a half story, or entire second story.⁹ Investigations cannot produce more than speculation since little diagnostic structure remains.

The town deeds are diagnostic, however, and can reveal which areas of town were the "hot spots," or more desirable lots. (See Figure 12.) The area of town containing the most transactions is the very center, excluding the western most column of lots closest to the Broad River. Areas of value can also be ascertained by examining the maximum value of lots. Figure 13 combines lots selling for both dollars and pounds. Figure 14 illustrates lots sold later in Petersburg's history when dollar values were not only the monies of transactions, but also the monies of account. Figure 15 depicts lots sold early in the town's history with values written in pounds as the traditional money of account. The maximum value of all lots converted to dollars indicate the center of town as containing lots with highest values. (See Figure 13.) Dollar values can also be examined over time. During Petersburg's early history, as well as later in time, lots in the center of town were worth more than other lots. (See Figures 14, 15.) Lots all along the Broad River and at the bottom of town were never as valuable and were sold less often than other lots. Lots in the center of town were located on the highest ground and less likely to flood, unlike many of the surrounding lots.

Today most of Petersburg lies under Clark Hill Lake. Only a small area of what was once the town rises slightly above the water. This area containing D.B. Cade's cellar, which was formerly Archibald Stoke's storehouse, is on Black Squirrel Island. (See Map 10.) This ruin was a key element in relocating the original town and could serve as an important reference point for any future archaeological studies.

SUMMARY

The thesis, that a multidisciplinary approach involving history, underwater archaeology, economics, geography, and oral history can provide useful results when applied to the site of Petersburg, proved tenable. Combined use of tools from these disciplines resulted in a clearer understanding of a frontier town that did not survive beyond the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The study of this particular frontier town is an important contribution to the study of the American frontier.

NUMBER
OF
TRANSACTIONS
PER LOT

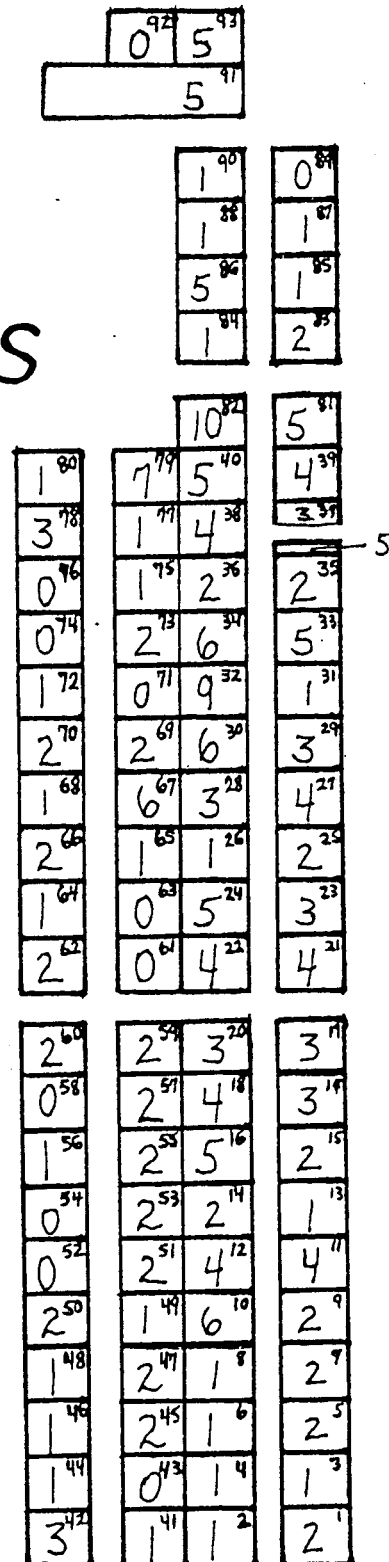


FIG. 12. This illustrated town plan records the number of times each lot was sold.

MAXIMUM VALUE OF LOTS IN \$

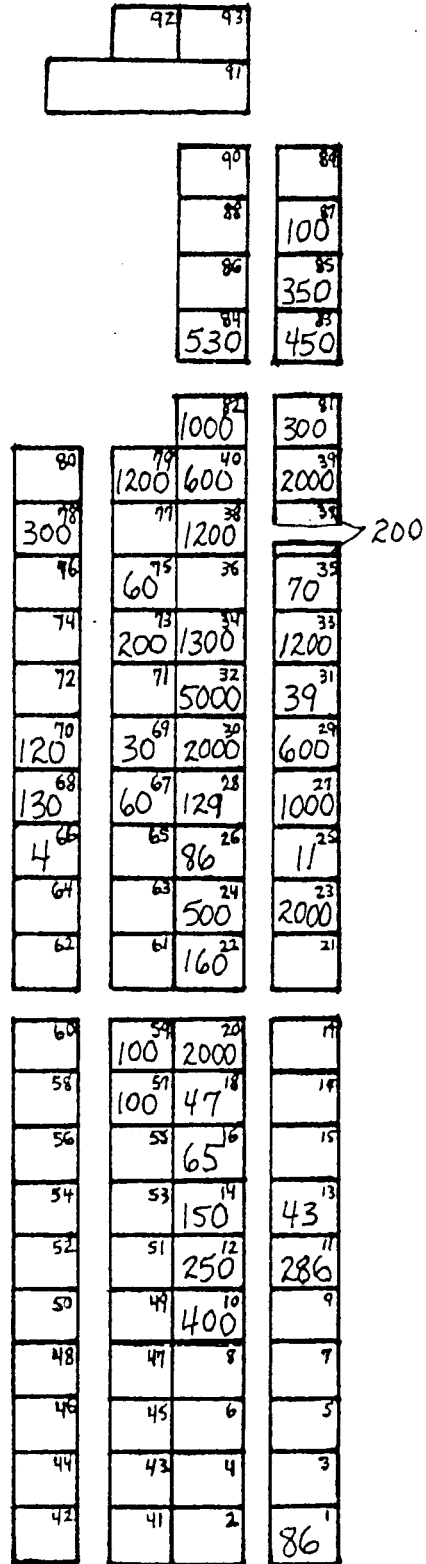


FIG. 13. This town plan illustrates the maximum value of lots including those listed on deeds with both dollar and pound values. (Pound values converted to dollars; L1=\$4.3.)

MAXIMUM
VALUE
OF LOTS
IN \$

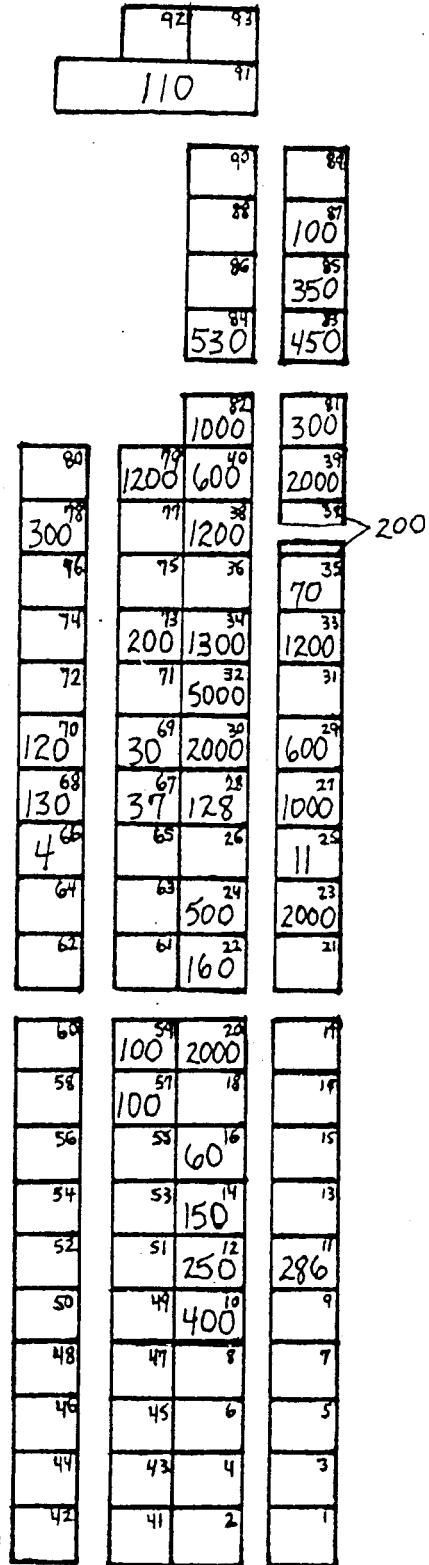


FIG. 14. This town plan illustrates the maximum value of all lots listed on those deeds with dollar values only.

MAXIMUM
VALUE
OF LOTS
IN £

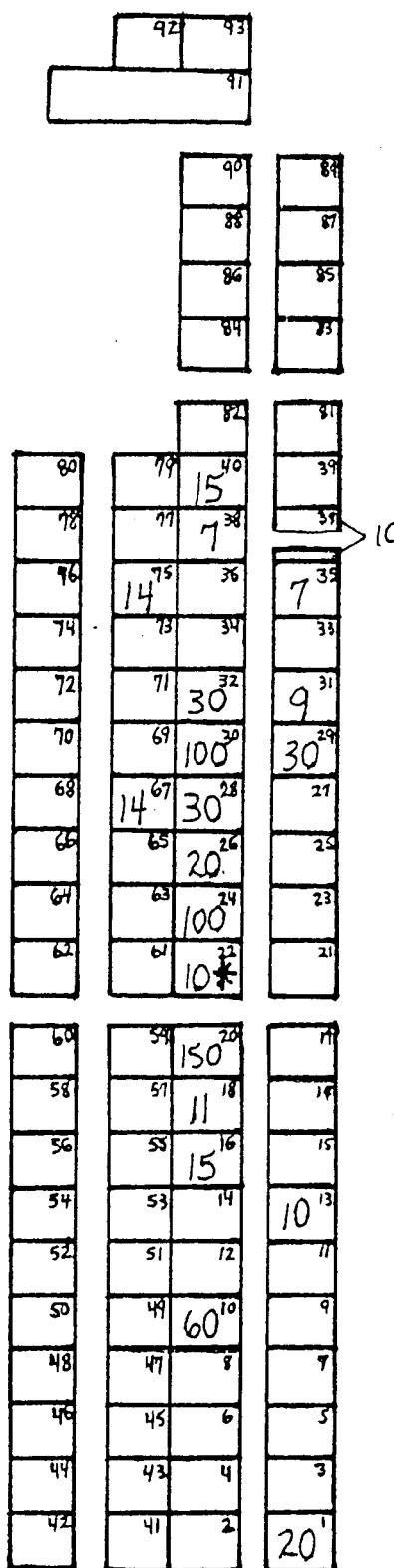
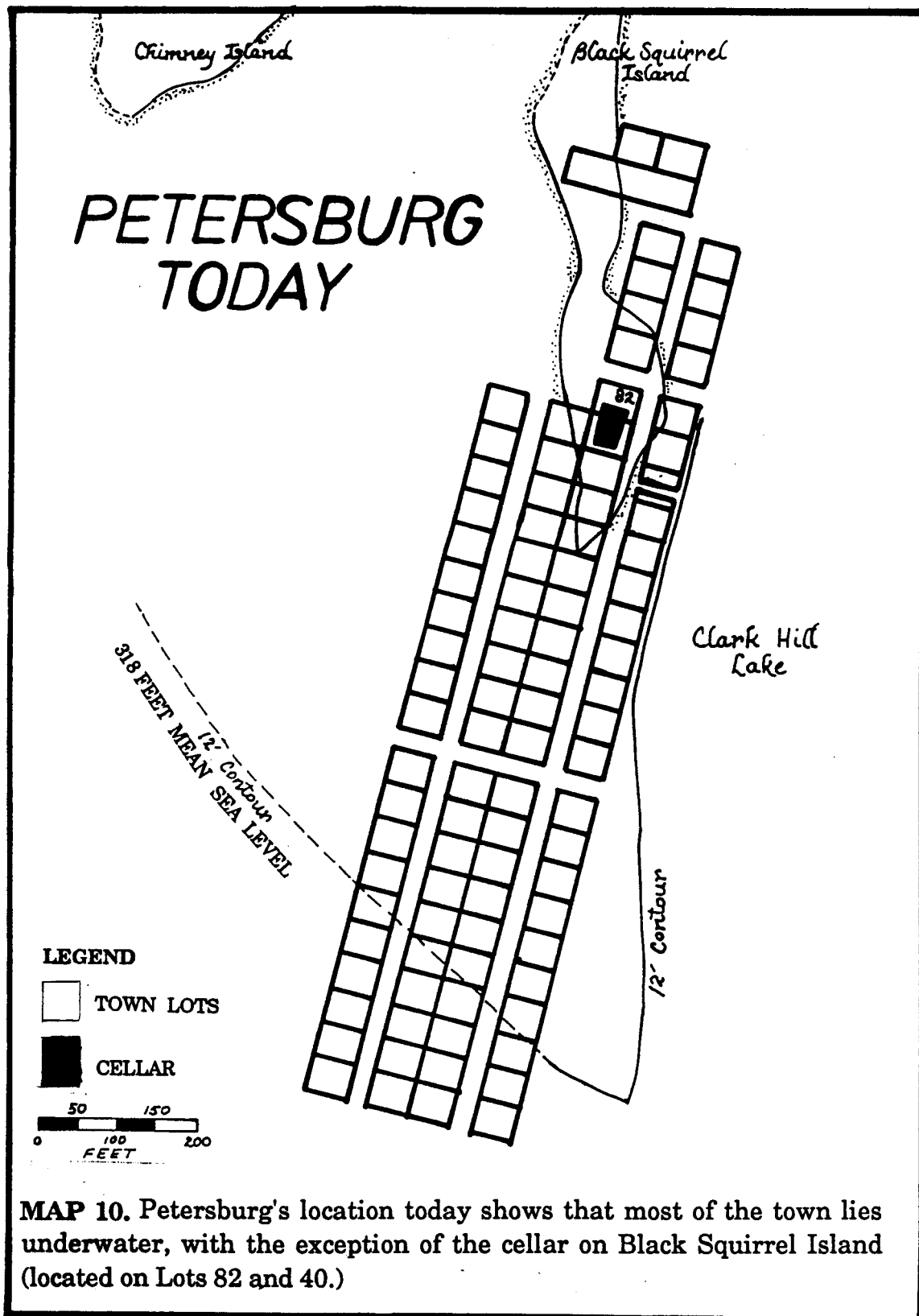


FIG.15. This town plan illustrates the maximum value of all lots listed on those deeds with pound values.



Historical research provided an abundance of primary and secondary information that had not been compiled previously. Underwater archaeology revealed fewer results for this particular site. Underwater survey, combined with the deed evidence, resulted in a precise location of the townsite. It also provides enough unique data to substantiate its use and demonstrate the potential for additional archaeological work not only at that particular site, but at other similar submerged sites in the southeastern United States. The economic study of Petersburg disclosed a large amount of useful data, and opened up an enormous field of provoking economic questions only answerable by indepth study. Geographical study proved most useful in discovering site locations and the way in which the town was situated at the confluence. Map study was essential in determining which areas to conduct dives. Oral history was primarily used for determining the location and names of the last residents of the site. This allowed the study to be conducted from the present, backward, while simultaneously being done from the site's early history (in the historical record) to the present day. In summary, each approach attempted produced positive results, with varying degrees of success.

Recommendations for the Petersburg, Vienna, and Lisbon sites involve additional archaeology. Terrestrial shovel testing, test unit excavation, and magnetometer surveys, in addition to underwater test dredging, would better delineate individual structural remains. Subsurface archaeological work would produce a wider range of temporal and functional artifacts, resulting in new information. Once the third largest town in Georgia, Petersburg substantially affected the state's history. The site should be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places to ensure its future protection.

Recommendations for future historical research also should be considered. Historical research virtually is never finished. Additional research should include extensive study of primary sources. Archives in Virginia, North Carolina, and Alabama would undoubtedly contain references and papers dealing with Petersburg and its inhabitants. Additional economic questions could be applied to Petersburg, resulting in more indepth information. While this study represents the first multidisciplinary examination of Petersburg, it is a first step towards a broader understanding of this important frontier town.

Notes

Chapter VI.

1. Middle Georgia Area Planning and Development Committee, *Architectural Heritage of Middle Georgia: The Nineteenth Century* (Macon, Ga.: n. p., 1976), 19.
2. *Ibid.*, 21.
3. Ruth Evans Culbertson and Robert Culbertson, (Storekeepers), interview with the author, Lincolnton, Ga., 18 May 1987.
4. Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States 1790-1860* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1966), 179.
5. *Ibid.*, 21.
6. *Ibid.*, 182-6.
7. Reginald Charles McGrane, *The Panic of 1837* (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1965), 24.
8. *Ibid.*, 27.
9. Middle Georgia Area Planning and Development, *Architectural Heritage of Middle Georgia*, 21.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX -- PETERSBURG DEEDS

Lot	Amount	Date	Grantee	Grantor	Deed Book Reference	Miscellaneous Information
1	---	6-26-1786	Henry Caldwell	William and Susannah Watkins	Wilkes Bk EE-97	
2	L20	3-9-1788	John Oliver	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk A-75-76	Includes Warehouse
3	L25 (Avg)	2-22-1792	Robert Watkins	Robert and Sarah Thompson	Ebert Bk A-56-57	Includes Lots 2, 5, & 7
4	L13.3 (Avg)	7-17-1793	John Oliver	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk B-54	
5	L25 (Avg)	7-28-1786	William Thompson	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk CC-14	Includes Lots 8, 4, 6, & 41
6	\$300 (Avg)	2-22-1792	Robert Watkins	Robert and Sarah Thompson	Ebert Bk A-56-57	Includes 3 acres low ground & Lots 2, 5, & 7
7	L25 (Avg)	5-6-1804	John Oliver	Robert and Jane Watkins	Ebert Bk J-50	Includes Lots 4, 8, 9, & 11
8	\$300 (Avg)	7-24-1786	William Thompson	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk A-56-57	Includes Lots 2, 5, 7, & 3 acres low ground
9	---	2-22-1792	Robert Watkins	Robert and Sarah Thompson	Ebert Bk J-50	Includes Lots 4, 8, 9, & 11
10	\$300 (Avg)	7-26-1786	William Thompson	Robert and Jane Watkins	Wilkes Bk CC-14	Includes Lots 5, 7, 9, & 11
11	L40	3-30-1787	William Watkins	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk CC-35	Includes Lots 4, 8, 9, & 41
12	L60	5-6-1804	John Oliver	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk J-50	Includes Lots 9, 11, 19, 34, & 7
13	\$400	3-30-1787	William Watkins	Robert and Jane Watkins	Ebert Bk J-50	Includes Lots 4, 8, 9, & 41
14	\$10 (Avg)	8-3-1796	Richard Esler	William and Susannah Watkins	Ebert Bk A-77	Includes Lots 10 & 12
15	\$10 (Avg)	8-28-1799	James Coleman	John and Francis Oliver	Ebert Bk G-42	Includes Lots 33, 24, 22, 10, & 12
16	\$21,500 (Not Avg'd)	3-21-1832	Henry Kneeland	Litesberry and Whitfield Wilson (merchants)	Ebert Bk W-148	Includes Lots 9, 11, 19, 34, and 7
17	\$21,500 (Not Avg'd)	12-20-1834	Henry Kneeland	Zimriah Tale and Drury Cade	Ebert Bk F-165	Joining Harper's Lot... Parcel where Warehouse Stands
18	---	9-9-1800	William Patterson	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk J-50	Includes Lots 5, 7, 9, & 11
19	\$298 (Avg)	5-6-1804	John Oliver	Robert and Jane Watkins	Ebert Bk F-49	Includes Lots 10 & 12
20	\$200 (Avg)	3-30-1787	William Watkins	John Medison	Ebert Bk W-40	Includes Lots 33, 24, 22, 12, & 10
21	\$200 (Avg)	5-6-1804	John Oliver	Robert and Jane Watkins	Ebert Bk A-78	
22	\$250	3-30-1787	William Watkins	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk A-78	
23	\$10 (Avg)	10-29-1798	Jeremiah Walker	Henry and Catherine Caldwell (New York)	Ebert Bk W-148	
24	\$21,500 (Not Avg'd)	3-21-1832	Henry Kneeland (New York)	William Richardson	Ebert Bk W-148	
25	L10	12-20-1834	John Oliver	Zimriah Tale and Drury Cade	Ebert Bk A-78	
26	\$160	1-12-1797	Henry Manning	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk A-78	
27	---	1786	Henry Caldwell	Henry and Catherine Caldwell (New York)	Ebert Bk D-73	
28	L25 (Avg)	2-22-1792	Robert Watkins	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk CC-14	
29	\$332 (Avg)	6-30-1792	John Oliver	Robert and Sarah Thompson	Ebert Bk A-56-57	
30	L6 (Avg)	5-21-1792	John Oliver	Robert and Sarah Thompson	Ebert Bk E-17	
31	\$166 (Avg)	5-30-1792	John Oliver	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk A-78	
32	\$60	1-3-1798	Middleton Woods	Robert and Jane Watkins	Ebert Bk E-17	Includes Lots 16, 18, & 60
33	\$11.50	10-10-1815	John Oliver	John and Sarah Hopper	Ebert Bk E-13	Includes one half of the lot
34	L25 (Avg)	2-22-1792	Robert Watkins	William Woods (member of Middleton Woods)	Ebert Bk F-154	Lot conveyed from John Oliver to J. Patterson then to Middleton Woods
35	\$500 (Not Avg'd)	5-30-1797	Leroy Pope	Robert and Sarah Thompson	Ebert Bk A-56-57	
36	L7	10-26-1797	Wills Thompson	Jane and Robert Watkins	Ebert Bk G-87	Includes Lots 17 & 19
37	\$140 (Avg)	5-30-1797	Leroy Pope	Leroy and Judith Pope	Ebert Bk E-11	One of two and one half lots (half of Lot 17, 19, and 21)
38	L6 (Avg)	6-21-1795	Eben Rogland	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk C-123	No Improvements
39	L11	4-6-1796	James Coleman	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk A-78	Includes Lots 16, 18, & 60
40	---	3-30-1787	Robert Watkins	Evan Rogland	Ebert Bk C-125	Not Including Improvements
41	\$500 (Not Avg'd)	6-30-1797	Leroy Pope	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk CC-35	Includes Lots 9, 11, 19, 34, & 7
42	\$260 (Avg)	10-26-1797	Wills Thompson	Jane and Robert Watkins	Ebert Bk G-87	Includes Lots 17, 19, & 21
43	L7	4-6-1786	Jeremiah Walker	Leroy and Judith Pope	Ebert Bk E-11	
44	\$2,000	9-23-1795	John Rogland	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk C-30	Includes half of the lot and half of the balance
45	L10	4-25-1796	Leroy Pope	Henry Walker and James Coleman	Ebert Bk C-41	Includes half of the lot
46	\$500	11-20-1811	John Watkins, Jr.	Henry Walker and James Coleman	Ebert Bk C-124	Includes houses, improvements, and Lots 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 50, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
47	\$200	10-11-1814	William Richardson	John Walker, Jr.	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes Lots 23, 25, 21, 27, and 7
48	\$26.70 (Avg)	3-21-1832	Henry Kneeland (New York)	Hetty S. Gantt	Ebert Bk E-91	
49	\$20	3-7-1797	Leroy Pope	James and Rebecca Tall	Ebert Bk D-45-48	
50	\$150 (Not Avg'd)	12-20-1834	Henry Kneeland	Thomas and Mary Russell	Ebert Bk B-47	Includes Lots 33, 24, and 22
51	\$200 (Not Avg'd)	3-7-1797	Leroy Pope	William Richardson	Ebert Bk W-40	Includes Lot 33, 24, 22, 12, & 10
52	\$2,000	5-13-1799	Robert Thompson	Zimriah Tale and Drury Cade	Ebert Bk W-148	Settlement--formerly owned by Thomas Russell
53	L100	2-3-1798	Leroy Pope	Robert Cosby (Shurf Cad)	Ebert Bk D-54	Includes Lot 23, 25, 21, 27, and 7
54	\$500	11-20-1811	John Watkins, Jr.	Hetty S. Gantt	Ebert Bk E-91	Including house
55	\$200	10-11-1814	William Richardson	Colin Peed	Ebert Bk K-108	Includes buildings and improvements
56	\$26.70 (Avg)	3-21-1832	Henry Kneeland (New York)	Milton and Nancy Anthony	Ebert Bk O-64	Includes Lots 33, 24, 22, and not including dwelling on Lot 24
57	\$21,500 (Not Avg'd)	12-20-1834	Henry Kneeland	John Watkins, Jr.	Ebert Bk S-86	Includes Lots 33, 24, 22, 12, 10, and improvements

25	\$11	3-7-1797	Leroy Pope	Robert Cosby (Sheriff)	Erbert Bk D-52-53	Seismen-Perry vs. Thomas Russell
26	\$1500 (Not Avg'd)	2-3-1798	Leroy Pope	Henry S. Gantt	Erbert Bk E-91	Includes Lots 23, 25, 21, 27, and 7
28	L30	7-21-1791	John McDowell (Charleston)	Colin Reed	Erbert Bk A-23-24	
27	\$1500 (Not Avg'd)	2-3-1798	Leroy Pope	Henry S. Gantt	Erbert Bk E-91	Includes Lots 23, 25, 21, 27, and 7
27	\$300	9-14-1799	Memorable Walker and Leroy Pope	Leroy Pope & Memorable Walker (merchants)	Erbert Bk G-50	
27	\$400	9-19-1799	Archibald & Thomas Stokes (merchant)	Leroy Pope & Memorable Walker (merchants)	Erbert Bk G-48	
27	\$1,000	4-22-1801	Archibald Stokes	Thomas Stokes	Erbert Bk G-48	
28	--	3-23-1788	William Reynolds	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk EE-25	
28	L30	4-25-1797	Oliver White	William and Martha Reynolds	Erbert Bk D-99	
29	\$128	9-8-1823	Archibald Stokes	Sheriff	Erbert Bk T-43	
29	L30	1-4-1797	William Reynolds	William and Priscilla Halliwell (?)	Erbert Bk D-100	
29	\$400	4-1-1799	Solomon Fauntleroy (?) and Hugh Taylor	William and Martha Reynolds	Erbert Bk J-220	Includes house
29	L14	9-29-1786	William Hatcher	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Erbert Bk C-14	
30	L8	3-22-1791	Benjamin Porter	Isham and Sally Thompson	Erbert Bk A-8	
30	L25 (Avg)	2-22-1792	Robert Watkins	Robert and Sarah Thompson	Erbert Bk A-54-57	
30	L100	2-24-1792	William Allen	Benjamin Porter	Erbert Bk A-40-41	
30	\$2,000	5-6-1800	Memorable Walker	Judith and Leroy Pope	Erbert Bk G-49	
30	\$550	2-20-1803	William Patterson	George and Patsy Claghorn	Erbert Bk H-153	
31	L9	9-8-1790	Esther Singletary Barnes	Isham Thompson (Planter)	Erbert Bk A-18-17	
32	L30	1-17-1794	Henry G. Walker	Foley Thompson	Erbert Bk C-121	
32	\$150	1-14-1797	George Whitfield, Jr.	Richard and Mary Easter	Erbert Bk D-30-31	
32	\$1,300	7-28-1798	James Holliday & Co. (merchant)	George Whitfield (N. Carolina) & Joseph & Frances Berkeley	Erbert Bk F-83	Two thirds of Lot 32
32	\$5,000	4-18-1801	Robert Thompson (merchant)	Leroy Pope and Company (merchant)	Erbert Bk G-132	Two thirds of Lot 32
32	\$550	1-27-1803	William Patterson	Albert Bruc (?)	Erbert Bk H-125-126	
32	\$2,000	11-22-1809	Samuel Graham	Thomas Bibb	Erbert Bk M-56	Two thirds of Lot 32
32	\$1,000	10-28-1811	Alexander Graham (N. Carolina)	Samuel Graham	Erbert Bk M-218	Two thirds of Lot 32 including buildings and improvements
32	\$96	12-1-1836	Berrien Oliver	Archibald Stokes	Erbert Bk X-128-129	One third of Lot 32
33	L25 (Avg)	2-22-1792	Robert Watkins	Robert and Sarah Thompson	Erbert Bk A-54-57	
33	\$70	9-23-1798	Joseph Graves	Robert Watkins	Erbert Bk E-79-80	Includes improvements
33	\$1,200	5-30-1801	John Oliver	Leroy and Judith Pope	Erbert Bk H-16-17	Includes house
33	\$26.70 (Avg)	3-21-1832	Henry Kneeland (New York)	William Richardson	Erbert Bk W-40	Includes Lots 33, 24, and 22
33	\$21,500 (Not Avg'd)	12-20-1834	Henry Kneeland	Zephaniah Tate and Drury Cade	Erbert Bk W-148	Includes Lots 24, 22, 10, and 12
34	--	3-30-1787	Robert Watkins	Littiberry, Whitfield Wilson	Wilkes Bk CC-35	Includes Lots 9, 11, 19, 34, and 7
34	\$100	1-14-1797	Littiberry and Whitfield Wilson	Richard and Mary Easter	Erbert Bk D-31	
34	\$1,300	7-28-1798	James Holliday and Co. (merchant)	Dionysius and Patsy Claghorn	Erbert Bk F-83	Includes two thirds of Lot 34
34	\$1,050	5-25-1800	James Holliday	Littiberry, Whitfield Wilson	Erbert Bk G-24	Includes house and improvements (acquired through auction)
34	\$800	8-7-1805	George Claghorn	James Hamilton	Erbert Bk K-39	
34	--	5-4-1819	James Hamilton	George Claghorn	Erbert Bk R-223-224	Includes house
35	L7	5-10-1786	Sobomon Freeman	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Erbert Bk E-78	
35	\$70	11-15-1798	William Watkins	Sobomon and Peninah (?) Freeman	Erbert Bk E-78	
36	\$350 (Not Avg'd)	2-4-1799	Thomas Moulter (?)	Charles James and Gilbert Hayes & William Hayes (deceased)	Erbert Bk G-1	Includes Lots 36 and 37
37	--	2-5-1788	William Reynolds	Brian Ward	Wilkes Bk EE-25	
37	L10	8-5-1793	James Mutchell	William and Patsy Reynolds	Erbert Bk B-41	
37	L10	4-12-1794	George Pluman	John Mutchell	Erbert Bk B-81	
37	\$60	11-8-1798	William Watkins	George Thompson	Erbert Bk E-75-76	
37	\$100	4-10-1801	William Chisolm, Sr.	William and Susannah Watkins	Erbert Bk G-129	
37	\$200	8-21-1805	Caleb Tate	William Chisolm, Jr.	Erbert Bk N-209	Partial lot between Lots 37 and 38 between Walker's red house and Walker's warehouse
37	\$75	6-28-1832	Drury B. Cade	Caleb Tate	Erbert Bk X-33	
37	\$100	10-7-1834	Archibald Stokes	Drury B. Cade	Erbert Bk X-33	
38	--	5-1786	Thomas Burton	Abraham Bradley (son) and Jean Bradley (mother)	Wilkes Bk CC-11	
38	L7	10-8-1792	John Hubbard	Thomas Burton	Erbert Bk C-73-74	
38	\$1,200	11-2-1797	Memorable Walker	Thomas Douglas and Louis Sale	Erbert Bk D-116	
38	\$600	2-17-1818	Alexander McDonald	John Watkins	Erbert Bk G-60	
39	--	8-23-1786	Edward White	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, and 62
39	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston Agent Amasa Jackson)	Erbert Bk K-39	Includes improvements and houses and Lots 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
39	\$2,000	5-6-1800	Memorable Walker	Leroy and Judith Pope	Erbert Bk G-49	
39	\$2500 (Not Avg'd)	11-12-1818	Robert Sayre	William B. Hering	Erbert Bk R-186-187	Includes Lots 39 & 81
40	L8	11-19-1790	Colin Reed	George Dooly	Erbert Bk A-23	
40	L15	7-13-1796	Charles Taylor	Colin Reed	Erbert Bk D-100	

40	\$600	2-18-1804	Joseph Watkins	Nathaniel Beach and William Watkins, Jr.	Ebert Bk J-37	Includes house
40	\$400	5-14-1805	Joseph Watkins	Charles and Ann Taylor	Ebert Bk L-40	Includes half of Lot 40
40	\$700 (Avg)	9-12-1811	Archibald Stokes	Ferdinand Pirley for John & Josiah Caldwell (N. York)	Ebert Bk N-219	Includes Lot 40 and one half Lot 79
41	..	7-26-1786	William Thompson	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk CC-14	Includes Lots 4, 6, and 41
42	L200 (Not Avg'd)	6-23-1786	Edward White	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, and 62
42	\$25 (Avg)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes Lots 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
42	\$25 (Avg)	6-28-1799	John Russell	Leroy and Sarah Pope	Ebert Bk F-79	Includes Lots 42 and 44
44	..	6-28-1799	John Russell	Leroy and Sarah Pope	Ebert Bk F-79	Includes Lots 42 and 44
45	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, & 62
46	L7 (Avg)	12-11-1786	Zachariah Lamar	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes Lots 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
47	..	5-23-1786	Edward White	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk L-101	Includes Lots 46, 44, and 50
47	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60 & 62
48	L7 (Avg)	12-11-1786	Zachariah Lamar	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk L-101	Includes Lots 46, 44, and 50
48	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes houses and improvements
50	L7 (Avg)	12-11-1786	Zachariah Lamar	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk L-101	Includes Lots 46, 48, and 50
50	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes houses and improvements and Lots 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 78, & 80
51	..	6-23-1786	Edward White	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, and 62
51	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes houses and improvements and Lots 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 78, & 80
53	L200 (Not Avg'd)	6-23-1786	Edward White	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, and 62
55	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes houses and improvements and Lots 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 78, & 80
55	L14 (Not Avg'd)	6-15-1786	William Moore	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, and 62
57	L13 (Avg)	7-17-1793	John Oliver	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes houses and improvements and Lots 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, and 62
57	\$100	6-5-1798	Benjamin Bagland	Dionysius Oliver	Wilkes Bk AA-143	Includes Lots 56 and 67
59	L13 (Avg)	7-17-1793	John Oliver	John and Fanny Oliver	Ebert Bk B-54	Includes Lots 57 and 59
59	\$100	6-5-1798	Benjamin Bagland	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk B-54	Includes Lots 57 and 59
60	..	6-23-1786	Edward White	John and Fanny Oliver	Ebert Bk E-56	Includes Lots 57 and 59
60	L6 (Avg)	6-21-1792	John Oliver	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, and 62
62	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk A-77	Includes Lots 16, 18, and 40
64	..	7-6-1787	Penia Bagland	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes houses and improvements and Lots 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 78, & 80
66	L36 (Not Avg'd)	12-30-1786	Bryant Ward	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
66	L10 (Avg)	8-14-1786	Middleton Woods	Joseph Sheppard	Wilkes Bk EE-42	Includes Lots 66 and 67
66	\$37.6	9-2-1822	Thomas Woodhigs	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk CC-23	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
67	L14 (Not Avg'd)	6-15-1786	William Moore	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk AA-143	Includes Lots 56 and 67
67	L10 (Avg)	8-14-1786	Middleton Woods	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk A-1	Includes Lots 66 and 67
67	L35 (Not Avg'd)	12-30-1786	Bryant Ward	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk CC-23	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
67	\$37.31	2-28-1798	Oliver White	James Cosby (Tax Collector)	Ebert Bk E-14	Includes houses and improvements and Lots 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 78, & 80
67	L14	11-6-1798	Dionysius Oliver	William Moore	Ebert Bk E-100	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
68	\$13	9-8-1823	Archibald Stokes	Sheriff	Ebert Bk T-43	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
68	L35 (Not Avg'd)	3-3-1798	Robert Martin	John and Fanny Oliver	Ebert Bk E-18	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
68	\$30	12-30-1786	Bryant Ward	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk CC-23	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
69	\$30	6-8-1799	Memorable Walker	James Cosby (Tax Collector)	Ebert Bk F-48	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
70	L10	6-21-1792	John Oliver	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk A-76	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
70	\$120	12-25-1797	Burham Porter	John and Fanny Oliver	Ebert Bk E-15	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
72	L35 (Not Avg'd)	12-30-1786	Bryant Ward	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Wilkes Bk CC-23	Includes Lots 65, 67, 69, and 72
73	\$350 (Not Avg'd)	2-4-1799	Thomas Mourger (Mangur?)	Charles James, Gilbert Hayes, and William Hayes (deceased)	Ebert Bk G-1	Includes Lots 36 and 73
73	\$200	6-6-1800	Memorable Walker	Thomas and Lucy Mourger	Ebert Bk G-110	Includes Lots 66 and 67
75	L13	11-5-1798	William Moore	Dionysius Oliver	Ebert Bk F-184	Includes Lots 66 and 67
77	L10 (Avg)	8-14-1786	Middleton Woods	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk A-1	Includes houses and improvements & Lots 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 50, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
78	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes buildings
78	\$200	2-14-1804	William Reynolds	Leroy and Judith Pope	Ebert Bk J-112	Includes houses and improvements & Lots 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
78	\$200	1-4-1808	James Pace	William and Martha Reynolds	Ebert Bk J-174	Includes houses and improvements & Lots 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
79	L200 (Not Avg'd)	6-23-1786	Leroy Pope	Daniel Rogers (Boston agent Amasa Jackson)	Wilkes Bk DD-123	Includes Lots 39, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, and 62
79	\$80	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Dionysius and Mary Ann Oliver	Ebert Bk K-39	Includes houses and improvements & Lots 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
79	\$80	2-28-1799	Memorable Walker	Thomas Douglas	Ebert Bk F-49	One third of Lot 79
79	\$75	3-23-1800	Memorable Walker	Lewis and Charity Sales	Ebert Bk G-53	Northwest half of lot
79	\$75	4-9-1803	Joseph Watkins	Memorable and Sally Walker	Ebert Bk L-41	Western half of Lot 79 and includes Lot 40
79	\$1060 (Not Avg'd)	9-23-1803	Philip King (Abbeville, S.C.)	Thomas Evans (Free man of color)	Ebert Bk H-169	Includes houses and improvements & Lots 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80
80	L200 (Not Avg'd)	3-22-1797	Leroy Pope	Ferdinand Pirley (for John & Josiah Caldwell) (New York)	Ebert Bk N-219	Includes houses and improvements & Lots 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 79, 42, 60, 62, 39, 21, 49, 78, & 80

81	\$300	6-7-1799	Mathew Hill & John Jackson (merchants)	John & Frances Oliver	Ebert Bk G-3	79, 42, 50, 62, 39, 21, 49, 76, & 80
81	\$175 (Not Avgt)	3-31-1813	Archibald Stokes	Robert & John Babon & Hill & Jackson (firm)	Ebert Bk P-116	Includes Lot 39 and Patrick Pace's lot
81	\$2500 (Not Avgt)	11-12-1818	Robert Sayre	William B. Harding	Ebert Bk R-184-187	Includes improvements and Lot 39
81	\$275 (Not Avgt)	5-30-1828	Thomas Barnes and Benjamin Bald	James Harding	Ebert Bk W-39	Includes Lot 39
81	\$160 (Not Avgt)	3-30-1832	Henry Kneeland	Benjamin Baird	Ebert Bk W-39	Includes Lot 39
81	\$360	5-10-1837	William Olem	Zemfiah Tate and Drury Cade	Ebert Bk X-228	One half acre bounded north by Public Street, running from Public Well to River; on east & south by A. Stokes lots; west by Main Street
82	\$1,000	2-25-1799	Archibald Stokes (merchant)	John and Fanny Oliver	Ebert Bk G-99	
82	\$1,000	4-22-1801	Thomas Stokes	Archibald Stokes	Ebert Bk G-99	
82	\$200	1-10-1803	John Rupert	John and Frances Oliver	Ebert Bk H-126-127	
82	\$400	6-22-1804	John Pope (Wilkes County)	Johnathon Call (Charleston ?)	Ebert Bk J-205	
82		6-1-1815	Archibald Stokes	Thomas Russell	Ebert Bk R-216-218	One half of lot
82	\$450	6-20-1816	Hamilton Goss (merchant)	Hamilton Goss (merchant)	Ebert Bk R-40	One half of lot and into to one house
82	\$650	4-20-1818	James Russell (Vernon, S.C.)	Hamilton Goss (merchant)	Ebert Bk R-142	One half of lot
82	\$500	...	Charles Willick, Henry Ross & Benjamin Mackley (firm of ...)	James Russell (Vernon, S.C.)	Ebert Bk R-103-104	Includes warehouses and out stores
82	\$75	...-12-1820	Charles Willick & Co., Petersburg	Charles Willick, Henry Ross & Benjamin Mackley (firm of ...)	Ebert Bk 8-12	One half of lot, nine 22 yards on Front Street & 55 yds toward Broad Street
82	\$19	9-5-1828	Benjamin Baird	John Pope	Ebert Bk U-165	
83	\$450	4-25-1806	Charles Taylor	Leroy Upshaw (Sheriff)	Ebert Bk J-151	Includes house
83	\$425	3-1-1808	William Watkins	John and Frances Oliver	Ebert Bk K-22	Two thirds of lot
84	\$300	6-4-1800	William Patterson	Charles and Ann Taylor	Ebert Bk F-159	
85	\$350	6-8-1799	John Watkins	John and Frances Oliver	Ebert Bk F-164	
85	\$2000 (Not Avgt)	1-27-1800	Leroy Pope	John and Frances Oliver	Ebert Bk G-66	Includes Lots 86, 90, & 93
86	\$4002 (Not Avgt)	6-31-1806	David McRae (Charleston merch.)	Leroy Pope	Ebert Bk K-10	Includes Lots 91, 93, 88, 96 and additional acres
86	\$666 (Avgt)	7-20-1810	George Newbold (N.Y. merchant)	Leroy and Judith Pope	Ebert Bk L-70	Includes Lots 86, 91, & 93
86	\$1850 (Not Avgt)	1-25-1810	Nathaniel Allen, Jr.	George Newbold (N.Y. merchant)	Ebert Bk N-33	Includes Lots 86, 91 & 93
86	\$300 (Avgt)	2-5-1812	William Jones	Nathaniel Allen, Jr.	Ebert Bk O-25	Includes Lots 86, 91 & 93
87	\$100	3-15-1820	Archibald Stokes	William Reeves (Petersburg doctor)	Ebert Bk T-99	
88	\$8002 (Not Avgt)	6-31-1806	David McRae (Charleston merch.)	Leroy Pope	Ebert Bk K-10	Includes Lots 91, 93, 88, 96 and additional acres
89	\$2000 (Not Avgt)	1-27-1800	Leroy Pope	John and Frances Oliver	Ebert Bk G-66	Includes Lot 86, 90, & 93
91	\$110	3-26-1801	Nathaniel Widder	John and Frances Oliver	Ebert Bk G-109	One third of lot
91	\$8002 (Not Avgt)	6-31-1806	David McRae (Charleston merch.)	Leroy Pope	Ebert Bk K-10	Includes Lots 91, 93, 88, 96 and additional acres
91	\$666 (Avgt)	1-22-1809	George Newbold (N.Y. merchant)	Leroy and Judith Pope	Ebert Bk L-70	Includes Lots 86, 91, & 93
91	\$1850 (Not Avgt)	7-20-1810	Nathaniel Allen, Jr.	George Newbold (N.Y. merchant)	Ebert Bk N-33	Includes Lots 86, 91 & 93
91	\$300 (Avgt)	2-5-1812	William Jones	Nathaniel Allen, Jr.	Ebert Bk O-25	Includes Lots 86, 91 & 93
93	\$2000 (Not Avgt)	1-27-1800	Leroy Pope	John and Frances Oliver	Ebert Bk G-66	Includes Lots 86, 90, & 93
93	\$8002 (Not Avgt)	6-31-1806	David McRae (Charleston merch.)	Leroy Pope	Ebert Bk K-10	Includes Lots 91, 93, 88, 96 and additional acres
93	\$666 (Avgt)	1-22-1809	George Newbold (N.Y. merchant)	Leroy and Judith Pope	Ebert Bk L-70	Includes Lots 86, 91, & 93
93	\$1850 (Not Avgt)	7-20-1810	Nathaniel Allen, Jr.	George Newbold (N.Y. merchant)	Ebert Bk N-33	Includes Lots 86, 91 & 93
93	\$300 (Avgt)	2-5-1812	William Jones	Nathaniel Allen, Jr.	Ebert Bk O-25	Includes Lots 86, 91 & 93
95	\$6002 (Not Avgt)	6-31-1806	David McRae (Charleston merch.)	Leroy Pope	Ebert Bk K-10	Includes Lots 91, 93, 88, 96 and additional acres