

8-9-2014

# Hard Rows to Hoe: Free Black Farmers in Antebellum South Carolina

David W. Dangerfield  
*University of South Carolina - Columbia*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd>

 Part of the [History Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Dangerfield, D. W.(2014). *Hard Rows to Hoe: Free Black Farmers in Antebellum South Carolina*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd/2772>

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you by Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact [dillarda@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:dillarda@mailbox.sc.edu).

HARD ROWS TO HOE:  
FREE BLACK FARMERS IN ANTEBELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA

by

David W. Dangerfield

Bachelor of Arts  
Erskine College, 2005

Master of Arts  
College of Charleston, 2009

---

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

History

College of Arts and Sciences

University of South Carolina

2014

Accepted by:

Mark M. Smith, Major Professor

Lacy K. Ford, Committee Member

Daniel C. Littlefield, Committee Member

David T. Gleeson, Committee Member

Lacy K. Ford, Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

© Copyright by David W. Dangerfield, 2014  
All Rights Reserved.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation and my graduate education have been both a labor and a vigil – and neither was undertaken alone. I am grateful to so many who have worked and kept watch beside me and would like to offer a few words of my sincerest appreciation to the teachers, colleagues, friends, and family who have helped me along the way. Before recognizing those who joined and sustained me in this task, I would like to first acknowledge the funding received from the University of South Carolina’s Department of Research, the History Department, and the Institute for Southern Studies. I was given grants for research and conference presentations from the John Hope Franklin Center at Duke University, the South Carolina Chapter of the Colonial Dames, and from the St. George Tucker Society. Each of these resources was vital to the archival research and ideas behind this work. I am also especially grateful for research assistance offered by several institutions: Nic Butler and the staff at the Charleston Library, Mary Jo Fairchild and the South Carolina Historical Society, Eric Emerson and the staff, particularly Steve Tuttle and Wade Dorsey, at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, and Allen Stokes, Henry Fulmer, and the staff at the South Caroliniana Library – particularly Lorrey Stewart, Harold Newfield, and Graham Duncan.

As an institution, the University of South Carolina has given me so much. I cannot fully say how much Mark M. Smith has meant as a teacher and advisor. His scholarly wisdom offered much to improve my research and writing and, more than this, he was constant source of encouragement and stalwart advocacy. In short, I could not

have asked for a better mentor. I am also grateful to Lacy K. Ford for insights into rural, antebellum South Carolina and to Dan Littlefield for his sage advice for taking this work forward. Matt Childs, Dean Kinzley, Don Doyle, Marjorie Spruill, Kathryn Edwards, David Snyder, and Ann Johnson, among others, are all owed a debt thanks for their many contributions to my scholarly development.

Fellow graduate students have all touched the project by way of reading my work, offering research advice, and simply for being supportive friends. Caroline Peyton and Tyler Parry have been through it with me, thick and thin, from day one. Michael Woods, an already accomplished and brilliant scholar, never hesitated to give me sound and sage advice as I entered the program at USC. Likewise, Allen Driggers, Laura Foxworth, Evan Kutzler, Timothy Minella, Jay Richardson, Beth Sherhouse, and several others have meant so much to me. They are all doing exciting work of their own. I am privileged to have worked beside them and call them my friends.

At the College of Charleston, where this project began, I was fortunate in my first semester of coursework to land in David Gleeson's Old South class and later his "Plain Folk" research seminar. His courses were a trial by fire in the best possible form. They helped me mold ideas and left me well-prepared for doctoral training. His influence and mentorship continue to be invaluable to my work and career. Bernard Powers was particularly helpful with this project in its infancy, drawing on his expertise on Charleston's urban free black population to help me sharpen my focus. Other faculty during this time also left an important mark on my development -- Joelle Neulander, Irina Gigova, and Kyle Sinisi. My graduate student colleagues at the College of Charleston were yet another rich source of inspiration. Otis W. Pickett was finishing his thesis when

I entered the program. Though Otis is Clemson man, he is still salt of the earth – a trusted friend and Christian brother. At “the College,” I also met Kate Jenkins, Ivy Farr McIntyre, and Miles Smith – wonderful colleagues and collaborators that I am lucky to know.

At Erskine College, James W. Gettys inspired me to pursue a career as a professional historian and teacher. Encapsulating my respect and admiration, personally and professionally, would fill a volume. It must suffice to say that Jim Gettys represents one of the finest examples of a gentleman scholar that I have ever known. Other members of the Erskine community that I wish to thank for their guidance and friendship: Sandra Chaney, David Grier, Bill Crenshaw, Lowry Ware, Randy Moore, Mark Peeler, Buddy Ferguson, Steve Southwell, and David Danehower.

Scholars from other institutions contributed advice and help with this project for which I am humbled. James L. Roark offered much appreciated guidance after reading the seminar paper that became this dissertation. Emily West’s insights into rural free black life and their status in South Carolina were particularly helpful. And, I am also grateful to the St. George Tucker Society and the Cleanth Brooks Dissertation Forum for their comments and probing analytical questions.

Outside of the academy, numerous people provided support, wisdom, guidance, meals, shelter, and charity that have helped this project along. Rev. Timothy Shaw and my church family at Asbury-St. James United Methodist prayed diligently for me as I applied to and entered graduate school and they were a constant source of strength throughout. I am blessed to know them and wish especially to thank Earline Snow and her fellow “lemonade conspirators” for their support. Frank and Raejean Beattie have

been dear friends, adopted family really, and sponsors who helped inspire me. I am eternally grateful to Dr. James Aymond for giving me a new lease on life when he repaired my lumbar spine. I am also appreciative of friends, Joe and Renee Culler, Jim Quinn, Stewart and Emma Driggers, Josh and Cowles Whitley, Andrew and Beth Dennis, Shawan Gillians, Lindsay Grosso, Melody Lane, Pete and Sharon Bailey and several others who have all contributed to this project's completion in various ways.

My Saturday's in the fall would not have been the same without Mike and Kelly Bryant whose friendship has meant the world to me. And, while thinking of Mike, particularly, I am compelled to thank the Gamecocks for the fun and diversion they provided throughout my career at USC. Two National Championships for baseball, a conference championship from women's basketball, three record-setting eleven win seasons for football, and beating "that team up the road" for five consecutive years has been fun to watch and be some part of as a student!

The people I am perhaps most indebted to for this dissertation are my family. My cousins and many aunts and uncles, Donna and Albert Heath, James, Shiela, Franklin, and Susan Yates, and Kathy and Virginia Dangerfield were all prayerful encouragers. As brothers often are, mine are due special thanks. Mark and Philip, never neglected a chance to call and check on me; often to see if I had found the time to watch the game. Most times I had, thanks to them. My grandparents, J.W. and Katie Yates, encouraged me to pursue this degree. Though they never fully understood what kind of work I was doing, they supported me firmly. Both were children of the Great Depression – my grandfather an Arkansas sharecropper's son – and they knew the importance of an education better than most. More than that, they imparted a love for the past, for

understanding where I came from, and from that understanding, knowing a bit about who I am. South Carolina writer Ben Robertson said that our grandparents are a “voice to us, a cry.” This was assuredly true for my own grandparents. I lost my grandfather the semester before completing this project, but the stories that he passed down and that voice remain with me. A “historian” in his own right and an unequaled raconteur, his enthusiasm for stories (most that began with “when I was a boy”) informs my work and teaching. A part of this dissertation is dedicated to him and to my grandmother.

In the midst of writing this dissertation, Lauren Bailey agreed to be my wife, surprisingly enough even after helping me double-check thousands upon thousands of statistical data points. She has been a steadfast source of strength and encouragement through seasons of adversity and success. I am truly thankful for her. Finally, I was fortunate to have a mother and father who taught me not only the value of an education, but also made sure that I had one. And they were even more concerned that my life and education be rooted in faith, character, and a loving family. I am humbled beyond words as I reflect on their sacrifices, labors, and unwavering commitment to their children. Nothing that I can say would suffice to thank them for everything they have done and sacrificed for me and my brothers. To Lauren and to my parents, this work is dedicated to you. And, to God be the glory.



## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines free people of color and the economic and social conditions they shared with neighboring common-class whites from 1790 to 1860 in rural portions of South Carolina. Though Ira Berlin's *Slaves Without Masters* has accurately described free blacks' liminal legal, social and economic statuses, self-sufficient free black farmers signaled that their actual positions in the countryside were sometimes more complicated. Based on a careful study of free black farm production in three rural Charleston parishes as well as Abbeville, Newberry, and Sumter Counties, this dissertation examines free black farm production, their economic status, and the ways that economic stability cultivated important, yet often fragile and contingent, social advantages for free black farmers. Indeed, while not a majority among the free blacks in rural South Carolina, free black farmers' economic achievements and complex social statuses challenged the ties between color and slavery and rendered them more than simply slaves without masters.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	viii
LIST OF TABLES .....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xiii
INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER 1: SLAVES WITHOUT MASTERS RECONSIDERED: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR AND WHITE PLAIN FOLK .....	18
CHAPTER 2: FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY: GAINING FREEDOM AND THE RESOURCES FOR SUCCESS .....	50
CHAPTER 3: HARD ROWS TO HOE: FREE BLACK FARMERS.....	79
CHAPTER 4: HARD PRESSED BUT NEVER CRUSHED: FREE BLACKS AND WHITE SOCIETY .....	130
CHAPTER 5: PREVENTING VICE AND VILLAINY: BLACK FREEDOM, WHITE COOPERATION, AND THE LAW .....	162
CONCLUSION.....	198
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	205
APPENDIX A – AN EXPLANATION OF APPENDICES AND METHOD .....	222
APPENDIX B – 1850 ST. STEPHEN’S PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	223
APPENDIX C – 1860 ST. STEPHEN’S PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	226

APPENDIX D – 1850 ST. JAMES SANTEE PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	229
APPENDIX E – 1860 ST. JAMES SANTEE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	232
APPENDIX F – 1850 ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	234
APPENDIX G – 1860 ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	236
APPENDIX H – 1850 ABBEVILLE DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	238
APPENDIX I – 1860 ABBEVILLE DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	291
APPENDIX J – 1850 NEWBERRY DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	332
APPENDIX K – 1860 NEWBERRY DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	364
APPENDIX L – 1850 SUMTER DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	390
APPENDIX M – 1860 SUMTER DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	436

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 3.1 1850 AND 1860 ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH AGRICULTURAL SURVEY AVERAGES ...	89
TABLE 3.2 ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH FREE BLACK FARMERS IN 1850 .....	90
TABLE 3.3 ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH FREE BLACK FARMERS IN 1860 .....	90
TABLE 3.4 1850 AND 1860 ST. JAMES SANTEE PARISH AGRICULTURAL SURVEY AVERAGES .....	98
TABLE 3.5 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN ST. JAMES SANTEE PARISH IN 1850 .....	99
TABLE 3.6 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN ST. JAMES SANTEE PARISH IN 1860 .....	99
TABLE 3.7 1850 AND 1860 ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH AGRICULTURAL SURVEY AVERAGES .....	102
TABLE 3.8 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH IN 1850 .....	103
TABLE 3.9 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH IN 1860 .....	103
TABLE 3.10 1850 AND 1860 ABBEVILLE DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL SURVEY AVERAGES .....	111
TABLE 3.11 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN ABBEVILLE DISTRICT IN 1850 .....	112
TABLE 3.12 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN ABBEVILLE DISTRICT IN 1860 .....	113
TABLE 3.13 1850 AND 1860 NEWBERRY DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL SURVEY AVERAGES .....	117
TABLE 3.14 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN NEWBERRY DISTRICT IN 1850 .....	118
TABLE 3.15 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN NEWBERRY DISTRICT IN 1860 .....	118
TABLE 3.16 1850 AND 1860 SUMTER DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL SURVEY AVERAGES .....	123
TABLE 3.17 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN SUMTER DISTRICT IN 1850 .....	124
TABLE 3.18 FREE BLACK FARMERS IN SUMTER DISTRICT IN 1860 .....	125

TABLE B.1 1850 ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	223
TABLE C.1 1860 ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	226
TABLE D.1 1850 ST. JAMES SANTEE PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	229
TABLE E.1 1860 ST. JAMES SANTEE AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	232
TABLE F.1 1850 ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	234
TABLE G.1 1860 ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	236
TABLE H.1 1850 ABBEVILLE DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	238
TABLE I.1 1860 ABBEVILLE DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	291
TABLE J.1 1850 NEWBERRY DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	332
TABLE K.1 1860 NEWBERRY DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	364
TABLE L.1 1850 SUMTER DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	390
TABLE M.1 1860 SUMTER DISTRICT AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES .....	436

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 0.1 SOUTH CAROLINA COASTAL PARISHES .....	9
FIGURE 0.2 SOUTH CAROLINA DISTRICTS, 1815-1867.....	10
FIGURE 4.1 FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR FAMILY GROUPING IN ST. STEPHEN’S PARISH .....	135
FIGURE 4.2 MOSES JACKSON’S LAND IN ST. JOHNS BERKELEY PARISH.....	138
FIGURE 4.3 JOY FAMILY LAND ON THE WHITE OAK SWAMP IN SUMTER DISTRICT .....	139
FIGURE 4.4 JOEL BEDENBAUGH OF NEWBERRY DISTRICT, SOUTH CAROLINA .....	158

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALSC .....	Addlestone Library Special Collections, College of Charleston
CCPL.....	Charleston County (SC) Public Library
SCDAH.....	South Carolina Department of Archives and History
SCHS.....	South Carolina Historical Society
SCL .....	South Caroliniana Library

## INTRODUCTION

James Cleveland was a typical farmer in St. Stephen's Parish, South Carolina, a small rural farming community along the Santee River just north of Charleston. Cleveland's most conspicuous neighbors were the great planters that dominated the choicest ground, kept a number of slaves, and forced them to sow and harvest rice. But often tucked behind these plantations and distant from the valuable land on the river's edge lived men like Cleveland, the plain people – those southerners who were neither planter nor slave. These simple farmers represented an economic spectrum that ranged from sturdy yeoman to tenant farmers to poorer laborers. Farmers such as James Cleveland fit squarely within the yeomanry: those who owned their land, sometimes had a few slaves, but were themselves the primary laborers on their farms. Though he owned no slaves, in 1850 Cleveland reported 250 acres of land, twenty-five of which were improved. He grew neither cotton nor rice, but concentrated his own labor on his own land to grow staple food crops like corn and potatoes, feeding his family, and perhaps trading some of his surplus production.<sup>1</sup> In most respects, Cleveland was not unlike most of the other small farmers in his district, save for one important distinction – James Cleveland was free man of color.

---

<sup>1</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC; The Federal Agricultural census is available on microfilm. Microfilms were accessed at Charleston County Public Library and the originals accessed at the South Carolina Department of History and Archives, hereafter "CCPL" and "SCDAH."



Cleveland's land and farming techniques located him within the yeomanry but the economic traits that he shared with some white neighbors are simultaneously qualified by, and perhaps made remarkable through, his designation as a man of color. Indeed, "free" and "person of color" were a contradiction in terms as South Carolina determined that slavery was the presumed, natural condition of people of color. While it was not completely ruled out by the law, achieving and exercising degrees of freedom was made an increasingly arduous task by the South Carolina legislature. Throughout the antebellum period, the South Carolina General Assembly amended the Negro Act of 1740 to, among other things, systematically restrict manumission (the process by which slaves could become free), to impose yearly capitation taxes on free blacks; to outlaw teaching literacy to all persons of color; and, to deny them the right to testify against whites in court.<sup>2</sup> Cleveland's family fell victim to the consequences of such diminished legal rights after the death of his mulatto great-aunt, Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle. Hardcastle, a native of Africa who came to South Carolina in 1764 as a free woman with James Cleveland's mother, was able to secure planter status through inheritance and marriage. After her death, her will was challenged in the probate court by local whites and her niece, Kate Cleveland, was then stripped of nearly all of her inheritance except for the "Racoon Hill" tract that James Cleveland farmed in 1850.

---

<sup>2</sup> The Negro Act of 1740 was created as a result of the 1739 Stono Rebellion and replaced South Carolina's slave code that dated back to its provincial infancy. In fact, the comprehensive slave code was not passed until 1696, nearly forty years after the colony's founding. The 1740 Act, or simply the "Negro Act" as it came to be known, was perpetuated in 1783 and subsequent legislative acts "for the better ordering and governing of negroes" revise or amend the 1740 law. See, Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740-1790* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 25 and 282; For the 1696 slave code see, Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 68.

Before this hardship, Hardcastle's economic successes had elevated her own social standing and proven the degree to which antebellum law and racial boundaries could be challenged under certain, specific conditions. Hardcastle's biracial ancestry had given her access to money that she used to buy property, her marriage to a white surgeon further advanced her economic status, and she seemed to enjoy a degree of privilege that was legally denied to her fellows among people of color. On at least two occasions, Hardcastle signed as a legal witness to wills written by neighboring whites.<sup>3</sup> Such social mobility was not typical for free people of color, even the most economically secure, but it proved that economic similarity could supersede racial difference and allow free people of color to challenge the tenets of antebellum law. These challenges were tenuous, as James Cleveland and his mother learned after their aunt's death, but collectively James Cleveland and his family's experience as antebellum farmers represents an important segment of rural antebellum life for free people of color. Their experiences reveal the unique paths that could lead to freedom, the ways white ancestry could help free blacks gain freedom and economic security, the possibilities for rural self-sufficiency, and the degrees to which rural free people of color could and could not challenge the limits of their legal status.

---

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Cecy Guerry for pointing out the extensive account of the Cleveland family in E. Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle, 1741-1808: A Lady of Color in the South Carolina Low Country* (Columbia: Phoenix Publishers, 2001), 1-5; The Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:53-57, Addlestone Library, Special Collections, College of Charleston, hereafter ALSC; For Hardcastle's plantation purchases see Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 71 and 261; Medical practice in Louse, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 77; Her medical practice and her relationship with prominent white citizens is also remembered in The Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:55, ALSC.

This dissertation examines free people of color like James Cleveland who farmed and whose day-to-day lives shared characteristics, both economic and social, with neighboring common whites that allowed them to challenge the boundaries of both race and class in rural, antebellum South Carolina. In the decade before the Civil War, the Palmetto State was home to 8,960 free people of color. Indeed, a significant number lived in the state's only major city with some 3,441 residing in Charleston in 1850. Another portion lived in Columbia 3,237 in 1860.<sup>4</sup> The largest segment of South Carolina's free people of color, however, lived in the rural countryside. Free black artisans and a few business owners comprised a portion of economically successful free people of color in the South's urban centers but the vast majority were laborers who scratched out a living as teamsters, washwomen, or other menial jobs. In rural locales most free people of color differed little from those in the cities and worked as laborers. But just as the city had more successful artisans and merchants, an important portion of rural free people of color cultivated a fruitful living as James Cleveland did -- by working the soil on their own farms as yeomen. For the purposes of this study, yeomen are

---

<sup>4</sup> J. D. B. De Bow, ed., *Statistical View of the United States: Embracing Its Territory, Population – White, Free, Colored, and Slave – Moral and Social Condition, Industry, Property, and Revenue; The Detailed Statistics of Cities, Town, and Counties; Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington: A.G.P. Nicholson, 1854; reprint, New York and London: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1970), 63 (page citations are to the reprint edition; Columbia's free black population in 1860 from David O. Stowell, "The Free Black Population of Columbia, South Carolina in 1860: A Snapshot of Occupation and Personal Wealth," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Volume 104 Number 1 (January 2003), 6.

generally defined as “self-working farmers;” those who owned their own land and provided the labor on those farms with little or no help from slaves.<sup>5</sup>

Free people of color who farmed stand in stark contrast to our traditional historical understanding of the old South’s free blacks as wholly marginal. In 2006, *The Southern Quarterly*’s winter journal included several essays dedicated to free people of color study and bound these articles under the heading “Between Two Worlds,” indicating their liminal positions as neither fully free or enslaved. Or, as Marina Wikramanayake has commented: “The free black community is of particular interest as a social phenomenon occupying a marginal position between two societies, the slave and the white.” Indeed, Ira Berlin agreed in his 1974 study, *Slaves Without Masters*, where he determined these assessments are accurate for the bulk of free blacks in the Old South. Berlin maintained that “Free negroes stood outside the direct governance of a master, but in the eyes of many whites their place in society had not been significantly altered. They were slaves without masters.” And while Berlin acknowledges that some free blacks

---

<sup>5</sup> As Stephanie McCurry has observed, definitions for “yeoman” vary broadly from small farmers described by Frank Owsley, to definitions by Steven Hahn and Lacy Ford which locate the yeomanry among farmers who owned land but fewer than five or six slaves respectively. For the purpose of this discussion, the yeoman is defined best by Stephanie McCurry. McCurry contends that the yeoman farmer “worked the land with their own hands” and that while they may have owned a few slaves, they “and their families composed the primary labor supply of their household.” See McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pages 47-48, particularly page 47 note 24; Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); Lacy K. Ford, *The Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Stephen Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); See also, Bill Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1992).

were able to elevate their economic statuses through hard work, very few had opportunities to achieve meaningful degrees of freedom. Berlin observed that “Negro freedmen had a good deal less liberty than the law allowed,” and those who pressed against these laws were soon met with “new laws proscribing just what they were doing.” As the antebellum period progressed, Berlin found that “the desire to keep the South a white man’s country governed white racial thought and policies . . . Whites could not conceive of a society in which whites and blacks lived as equals. . . Free negroes, like unruly slaves, were out of ‘their place.’ ” Focusing on the laws and policies erected to preserve the white man’s country, Berlin observed ample evidence to render antebellum free blacks simply slaves without masters.<sup>6</sup>

More recently, however, historians have responded to Berlin by exploring the small spaces for freedom and security that free people of color carved out when conditions were right. Michael Johnson and James L. Roark’s *Black Masters* (1984) examines William Ellison, a Sumter, South Carolina person of color whose skills as a cotton gin mechanic allowed him to purchase his freedom and eventually helped place him among the planter class in Sumter District. Larry Koger’s *Black Slaveowners* (1985) further explored free black slaveowners throughout antebellum South Carolina and their various motivations for owning slaves – from forced labor to those who owned family members. Other recent studies have examined the circumstances and strategies that afforded property and degrees of fragile privilege to free blacks. Melvin Patrick Ely’s *Israel on the Appomattox* (2005) examined a community of free blacks who inherited

---

<sup>6</sup> Marina Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 1-2; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon, 1974) xiii, 9, 182.

freedom and property in Virginia during the Early Republic, and Amrita Chakrabarti Myers' *Forging Freedom* (2011) reveals free women of color in antebellum Charleston who carefully navigated freedom and achieved some economic and social security, often through strategic marriage.<sup>7</sup>

Studies on free people of color such as these have typically treated the successful or self-sufficient as exceptions to the *Slaves Without Masters* thesis. Apprising these exception studies as a whole, Kirt von Daacke's *Freedom Has a Face* (2012) suggests this body of scholarship collectively invites a new paradigm; one that "resituate[s] free blacks within the communities in which they lived" and evaluates important "gaps between law and local practice." Indeed, von Daacke adds to the growing body that reevaluates Berlin through his study on free blacks and their social integration into Albemarle County, Virginia in the nineteenth century. While von Daacke evaluates a free black community's social integration with local whites, few studies, however, have considered their economic status and its relationship to free blacks' social standing in rural districts.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Michael Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York: Norton, 1984); Larry Koger, *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790-1860* (Jefferson, NC: McPharland, 1985); Melvin Patrick Ely, *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, *Forging Freedom: Black Women and the Pursuit of Liberty in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011); See also, Edwin Adams Davis and William Ransom Hogan, *The Barber of Natchez* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973).

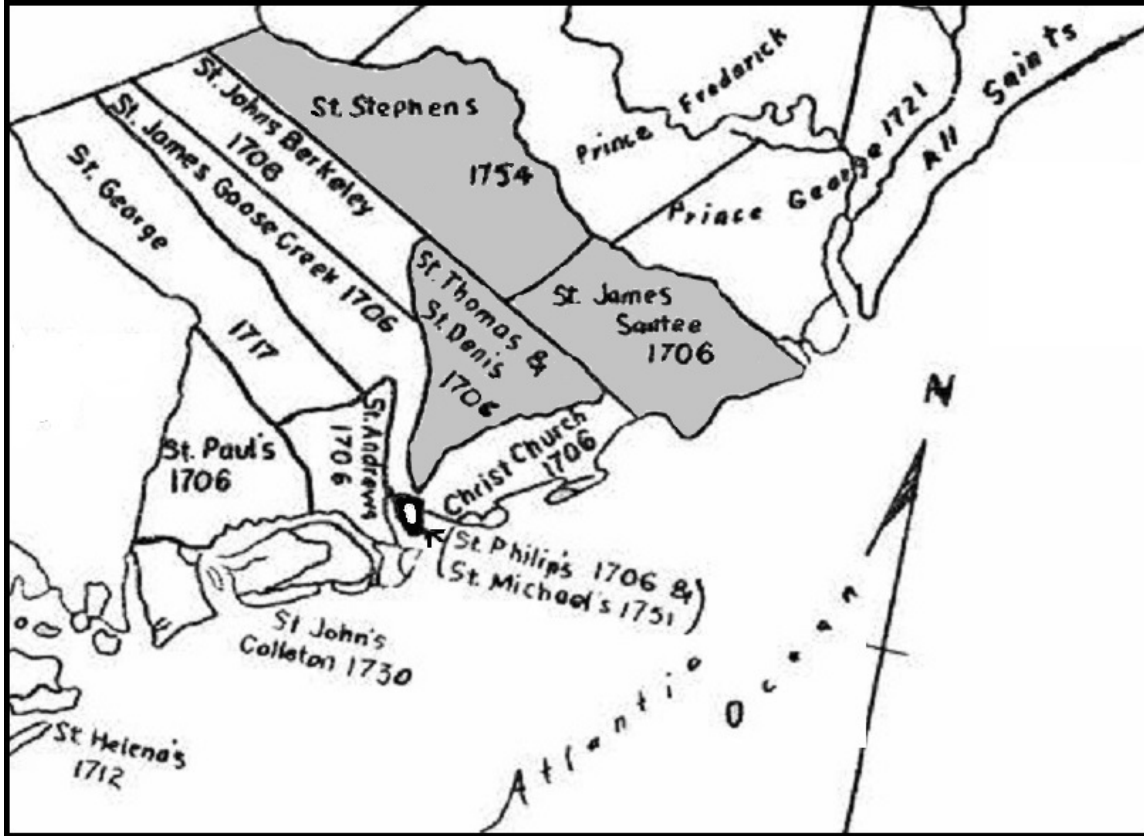
<sup>8</sup> Kirt von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face: Race, Identity, and Community in Jefferson's Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 3-5.

Moreover, no study has comprehensively examined free black farm production within a given district since John Hope Franklin first mentioned free black yeomanry in *The Free Negro in North Carolina*. Franklin's chapter on economic productivity highlighted "free negro yeomanry" who owned or rented their own farms in rural portions of North Carolina. Franklin determined that the paucity of slave labor in parts of North Carolina allowed free blacks the economic opportunity to earn wages and eventually purchase or rent their own land. Still, despite the exceptions and nuances to the Berlin thesis and Franklin's reference to free black yeomanry, the mid-nineteenth century agricultural censuses have not been examined to pinpoint yeoman farms operated by free people of color and to determine the free person of color's economic standing compared to neighboring common-class white farmers.<sup>9</sup>

This dissertation locates free people of color and their farms in four rural communities: Abbeville, Sumter, and Newberry Counties and rural portions of Charleston District in South Carolina (see **Figure 0.1** and **Figure 0.2**) and assesses their economic status, community formation, social conditions, and commonalities with neighboring common-class whites to reveal significant ways that rural free people of color blurred the lines that typically divided antebellum whites and blacks. These four districts are particularly instructive because they represent three distinct regions across the state, with Charleston representing the lowcountry, Sumter the midlands, and

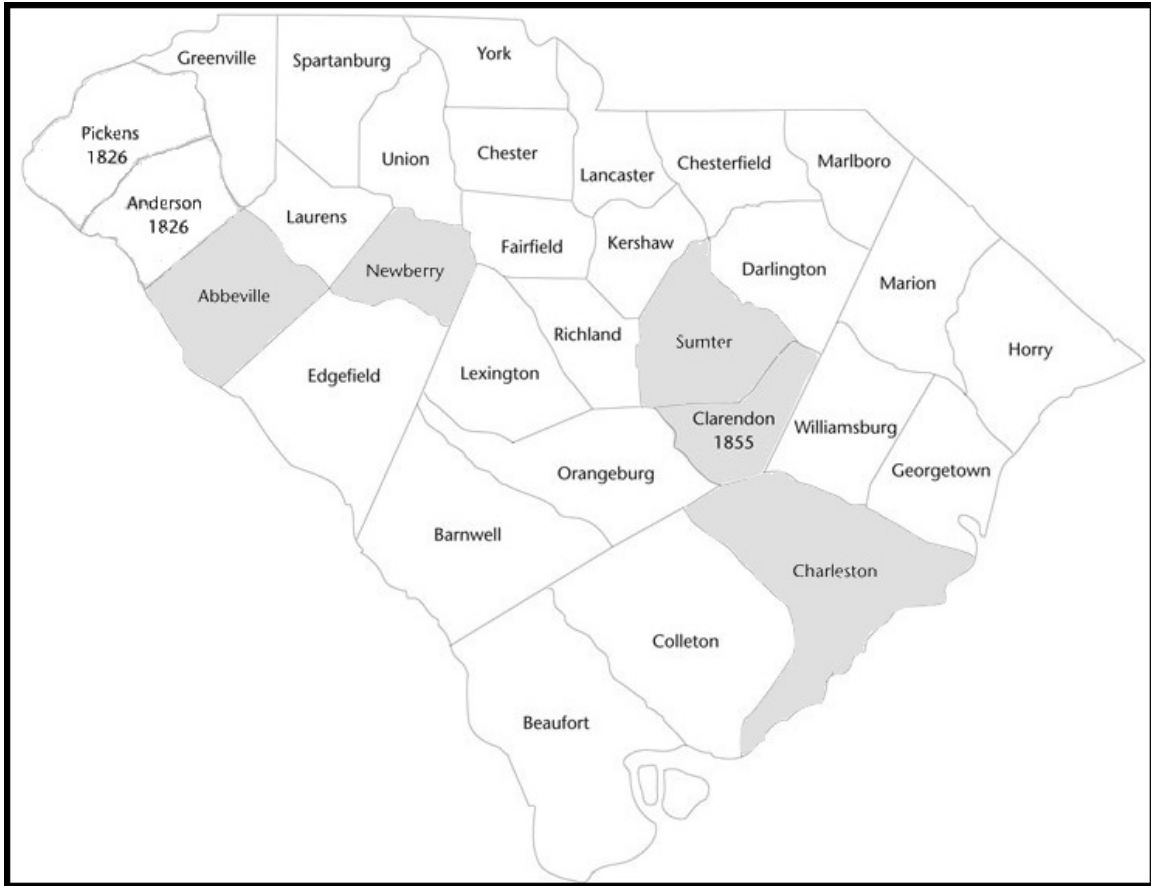
---

<sup>9</sup> John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina: 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943); Orville Vernon Burton's *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985) briefly noted farmers, landowning and tenants, among the free black community in Edgefield District, South Carolina, during the 1850s; Loren Schweninger also mentions the presence of free black farmers in South Carolina in his, "A Vanishing Breed: Black Farm Owners in the South, 1651-1982," *Agricultural History* Vol. 63 No. 3 (Summer 1989): 41-60.



**Figure 0.1:** South Carolina Coastal Parishes. This map shades the parishes examined in this dissertation – St. Stephen’s, St. James Santee, and St. Thomas & St. Denis. The South Carolina parish system was created in the colonial period for the Church of England but the parishes remained the standard political boundaries in the lowcountry until the Civil War. The Charleston District included the parishes: St. John’s Berkeley, St. Stephen’s, St. Thomas & St. Denis, Christ Church, St. Andrews, St. James Goose Creek, St. James Santee, and St. Philip & St. Michael (representing the city of Charleston). Map Source: Parishes of South Carolina Map, 1938 Historical Records Survey Map, Works Progress Administration, SCDAH.





**Figure 0.2:** South Carolina Districts, 1815-1867. This map shades Charleston, Sumter, Newberry, and Abbeville Districts. Clarendon District was carved out of Sumter in 1855 and is included in the analysis of Sumter’s 1850 Agricultural Data. Source: Map of South Carolina Districts, 1815-1867, SCDAH.

Abbeville and Newberry providing a sample for the upcountry. This offers a helpful comparison between rice and cotton economies and lowcountry versus upcountry political and social conditions. Building on works like Wikramanayake's *A World in Shadow*, which briefly encounters a few free black farmers in Abbeville District, and Johnson and Roark's *Black Masters*, which examines a single prosperous planter in Sumter, this dissertation offers a comprehensive study on rural free black farmers within the sample counties and compares rural free blacks economic and social conditions against those of neighboring common whites.

This comparison not only intersects with the historiography of free people of color but also with works on common-class whites. In terms of methodology, this dissertation utilizes the types of source materials that historians such as Frank Owsley, Lacy K. Ford, and Stephanie McCurry have used to access common-class whites who, like free people of color, did not often leave behind manuscript collections. Locating rural free people of color and through government records, court and legislative records, probate records, newspapers, church registers, and various manuscript collections from neighboring whites illuminates the complicated economic and social dynamics among free blacks and common whites in rural antebellum South Carolina.

In chapter one, this dissertation examines historiographical approaches to free people of color beginning with early works, such as Berlin's, that emphasized free blacks' liminal positions and their statuses as little more than slaves without masters. It then explores the growing body of scholarship that uncovers free people of color who, when conditions were right, experienced important degrees of independence and freedom in the American colonies and United States. It will also consider trends in scholarship

focused on common class whites in the antebellum South, and determines these studies suggest important similarities with free people of color and degrees of community between free blacks and common whites.

In its second chapter, this dissertation examines manumission and the various ways that people of color could become free in antebellum South Carolina, the circumstances that created spaces for freedom, and the economic advantages that sometimes came with it. Becoming free was increasingly difficult through the antebellum period as state legislatures sought to ensure paternalistic controls over their black populations, both free and enslaved. Lawmakers systematically restricted the ways that people of color could be manumitted and limited their civil liberties once freed. This section examines these legal changes and how they often came about in response to white slaveowners who, seeking to free slaves, found loopholes in anti-manumission legislation or who brazenly ignored the law. In each instance, they demonstrated white and black willingness to circumvent the law and their resistance to paternalism's fundamental tenets – that blacks needed white oversight and care. Manumission arrangements could provide the property and means necessary for people of color to defy paternalism's expectations through economic viability when freedom was given along with land and or slaves.

After establishing black freedom's many origins and the opportunities it sometimes afforded, this dissertation studies free black farmers, their crop strategies, production, and precisely how their farms compared with neighboring white farms of the same size in Abbeville, Sumter, Newberry Counties and rural portions of Charleston District. Using the 1850 and 1860 Federal Censuses of Agriculture, property tax books, and slave schedule records, this section is able to reconstruct and analyze entire counties

and individual farmers. Scholarship on yeomen and small white farmers provides a framework for identifying and categorizing these farmers through their cotton or rice versus corn yields, acreage, property ownership, and slaves. Collectively these districts indicate a conspicuous portion of rural free people of color who were able to achieve yeoman status.

Chapter four delves deeper into free black community formation, its commonalities with white “plain folk,” and the complicated and changing interactions between the races within the rural landscape from the early nineteenth century until the Civil War. It will examine property and church records to locate free black and common white communities and to understand how the two groups co-mingled. It highlights marriages and friendships revealed in church and probate records and begins to illuminate spaces in the rural communities where free blacks enjoyed important but fragile degrees of freedom. Just as Kirt von Daacke observed gaps between law and local practice in rural Virginia, similar spaces were carved out in rural South Carolina where class similarities and social integration sometimes trumped racial differences.

Chapter five further examines efforts by the South Carolina legislature to control free people of color and white interactions. Examining legislative petitions, this chapter reveals evidence of an important margin and degree of community between free blacks and whites at the local level. The chapter examines the strategies that whites and free people of color used to both individually and collectively resist efforts to denigrate free black citizenship. Legislative records demonstrate alliances between whites and free people of color as whites petitioned the legislatures on behalf of free black friends and neighbors to ask for relief from capitation taxes or that they be given some other degree

of legal privilege. And white southerners frequently petitioned state legislatures asking, if not demanding, that they be allowed to teach people of color, both free and enslaved, how to read the Bible. Collectively, these petitions demonstrate a variety of relations that were forged in rural communities despite racial divides between common whites and free people of color. In addition to their social relations with whites, these middling-class free people of color were also able at times to evade the laws meant to separate white and black by avoiding the annual capitation taxes that were required of free blacks, and even sometimes voting in local elections – in both instances behaving more like white citizens than denigrated people of color. This section illuminates the various ways that rural free people of color challenged their racial status. These challenges build on those explored in the previous chapter, when free blacks forged social and familial relationships with neighboring common-class whites as evidenced by wills, marriages, and membership in white churches.

Some petitions decried miscegenation and “vice and villainy” evidenced by some whites that feared when members of their own race met “on a common hand” with free people of color and slaves. These interactions ranged from otherwise traditional families with bi-racial components to merely illicit sexual liaisons but in each instance signified breaks in white solidarity. These breaks were often the results of rural communities formed between whites and blacks and economic commonalities between the two – which both fostered hazy distinctions between white and black. Indeed, at times the demarcations were so imprecise that free people of color gained status as white, and whites could slide into blackness. By the 1830s, communities sometimes had to take citizens to court so a jury could decide an individual’s racial status. It was precisely the

economic and social similarities between free blacks and common whites, their associations, and liaisons that created these ambiguities.

Finally, this dissertation highlights the increasingly imperiled condition that befell free blacks and their legal status during the 1850s as a result of the heightening sectional crisis. These changes include severely limited access to manumission, an increased attention to capitation tax enforcement and, as historian Emily West has recently explored, even voluntary enslavement. Despite these hardships, a number of free people of color, particularly the yeomen, seemed stable within, if not loyal to, aspects of the slave regime during the same period. Though their positions in the community were not permanently strengthened by shows of allegiance, at least a few of those categorized as free people of color seemed willing to take up arms and fight for the Confederacy. Whether believing military service would push their families more securely into whiteness or at least offer degrees of freedom as it had in the past, these free people of color seized opportunities to tout their community membership and loyalty when convenient and profitable. These gains were temporary though and struck down after emancipation.

In each part, this dissertation will contrast South Carolina's rural free blacks with those in neighboring states, and will do so by both primary and secondary sources. Georgia offers a particularly helpful case for the conditions necessary for free black success because it had similar antebellum laws governing its free people of color and slave populations. For example, free people of color in South Carolina and Georgia were required to register annually with the county court, to provide the name of a white guardian, to pay capitation taxes. In both, the opportunity for slaves to pass from

bondage to freedom was systematically diminished through the 1800s. Unlike in South Carolina, Georgia authorities were more committed to enforcing these capitation tax and anti-manumission laws – a difference that greatly restricted free blacks’ legal protections and therefore their opportunities for economic self-sufficiency. By the 1850s, when agricultural statistics were federally enumerated, Georgia’s free blacks seldom lived in nuclear families but were dispersed as individual laborers and servants among white households. As the laws were enforced, rural self-sufficiency became difficult for free blacks in Georgia.<sup>10</sup>

In South Carolina, however, conditions in rural communities sometimes allowed free people of color to achieve degrees of freedom. Their economic security fostered class alliances that bridged racial divides. Whites and free people of color shared social and economic experiences, muting the distinctions between the two races. Moreover, these experiences challenged paternalist notions about black freedom. Berlin observed that paternalism was a driving force behind South Carolina and other Lower South states’ commitments to preserving the white man’s country and assumptions that slavery was the natural condition for people of color. Paternalism, for its proponents, rested on assumptions that people of color were wholly unprepared and incapable of productive freedom and therefore the doctrine defended planters and their slaves as a father providing care for an extended family of perpetual children -- slaves. “The poverty, indolence, and criminality that whites identified with the free Negro were not the legacy of slavery or the result of white prejudice, but simply the product of the Negro’s innately

---

<sup>10</sup> Examples of key secondary works for understanding free blacks in antebellum North Carolina and Georgia include John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina: 1790-1860*; Edward Sweat, “The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Georgia,” Phd Dissertation (Indiana University, 1957).

limited abilities. Only bondage allowed blacks to lead a normal, useful life.” Without direct white protection, these proponents of the “positive good” ideology believed that blacks were “naturally lazy, criminal, lustful, and seditious and that those without masters refused to work.”<sup>11</sup>

Yet, in many ways South Carolina’s free people of color challenged this ideology: their freedom, the degrees of community and comity they formed with one another and with neighboring whites, their industry and farm production all challenged the boundary between white and black and the assumptions that underpinned paternalism and laws meant to protect the racial boundaries within the white man’s country. In rural South Carolina, free blacks’ positions were quite complex and they were sometimes more than merely slaves without masters.

---

<sup>11</sup> Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 194 and 384; Discussions on paternalism have included the doctrine’s impact on master-slave relations, best encapsulated by Eugene D. Genovese’s *Roll Jordan, Roll*. Genovese contended where slavemasters exploited their own self-conception as benign paternalists giving fatherly care to helpless people of color, slaves sometimes manipulated the relationship to “forge [paternalism] into a weapon of resistance.” See, Genovese, *Roll Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 1-7; For the self-deception aspect of paternalism among its slavemaster proponents, see Eugene D. Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Fatal Self-Deception: Slaveholding and Paternalism in the Old South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Other discussions on paternalism have focused on the ways that southerners understood the doctrine and utilized its positive-good argument to reform slavery and defend the institution against abolitionists and even critics from within the South. For an example of this defense and its tensions see Lacy K. Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 7-10.



CHAPTER 1  
SLAVES WITHOUT MASTERS RECONSIDERED:  
THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR  
AND WHITE PLAIN FOLK

Since 1974, studies on free blacks in North America have responded to Ira Berlin's *Slaves Without Masters*, a history that examined the legal restrictions and socio-economic immobility encumbering free blacks and mulattoes in the antebellum United States. Berlin was influenced by the other major on free people of color in the New World, Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen*, which compared Latin American and North American slave societies. Tannenbaum's 1947 study found that the character of slavery in Latin American differed significantly from that in the United States -- evidenced by the citizenship extended to or denied to free people of color in those societies respectively. Berlin's thesis later upheld these differences by exploring the various legal challenges and restrictions that officially denied full citizenship to free blacks in the antebellum United States.

Historians following Tannenbaum and Berlin have continued to acknowledge important institutional differences for free blacks in the United States and in Latin American slavery but they have also observed many common experiences. Though the laws offered important degrees of citizenship in Latin America, free blacks suffered local racism that tempered their privileges. Conversely, free blacks denizens in the antebellum

South enjoyed contingent degrees of freedom and acceptance locally. Such studies suggest that despite legal differences, actual experiences were often similar for free people of color in Latin and North America.

As they have responded to Berlin, scholars of slavery in the United States have examined important instances when free blacks, despite their official legal statuses, were able to achieve economically, exercise freedoms, and meaningfully commune with their white neighbors. Once treated more or less as exceptions to Berlin's thesis, these studies now collectively expand our understanding of antebellum free blacks and begin to offer key similarities in the privileges free people of color exercised under the law in Latin America and in spite of the law in the antebellum United States.

This dissertation responds to Tannenbaum and, particularly, Berlin, but it also is informed by scholarship that focuses on the common whites who also occupied the rural South. Traditionally, free black and common white historiographical discussions have been separated, but as historian David Gleeson suggested in *The Irish in the South*, free people of color like the Irish immigrants shared important roles as “distinctive [minorities].” For Gleeson, their stories “tell us a lot about ‘the antebellum South’ and all the economic, social, religious, and political features implicit in that term.”<sup>1</sup> Indeed common-class whites and free people of color may share the broadest definitions for southern “plain folk,” meaning those in old South who were neither planter nor slave, but the two have seldom been examined through the same methodological and interpretive lens. Again, influenced by Berlin, historians have typically approached free people of color through legal, legislative, and court records which confirmed their liminal positions.

---

<sup>1</sup> David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 5.

When works on free blacks, however, have transitioned from legal to social history, they have encountered free blacks with much akin to common class whites. Following this trend, this dissertation approaches free people of color methodologically and interprets them in the ways that historians like Lacy K. Ford and Stephanie McCurry have studied small rural farmers. Thus is it necessary to consider where historians continue to respond to and sometimes differ, particularly, with Berlin, the ways in which the historiography and methodology for studying common white southerners inform this dissertation, and finally to propose where those two subjects begin to meet.

Before discussing Berlin it is beneficial to understand the scholarship that influenced his work. Scholarly antecedents to both Tannenbaum and Berlin are represented by two key studies on free people of color in slave societies, one on Brazil and the other on North Carolina, that were both published just before Tannenbaum and informed his *Slave and Citizen*. The first, John Hope Franklin's 1943 *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860*, examined free people of color in North Carolina with specific attention to census and property records. Franklin found that free blacks in North Carolina did not usually live in urban areas, but were a "rural" and "agricultural" people who were given some "protection from . . . public attack," or degradation, in the countryside.<sup>2</sup> Franklin then noted that free blacks were able to carve space for themselves in rural North Carolina for a variety of reasons; chiefly because "slavery in North Carolina never achieved the degree of importance that it did in Virginia and South Carolina."<sup>3</sup> Franklin also cited that free blacks exercised some extraordinary degrees of

---

<sup>2</sup> Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina*, 9.

freedom in antebellum North Carolina. For example, they had considerable rights to legal counsel and jury trial in North Carolina, and, before 1835, they also had the right to vote in elections. Despite these privileges, North Carolina increasingly restricted free people of color's legal rights by the middle of the nineteenth century and reduced their "position to one of quasi-freedom."<sup>4</sup> This systematic reduction in free people of color's legal rights would influence the way that both Tannenbaum and Berlin interpreted the United States' slave society.

Gilberto Freyre's 1946 *The Masters and the Slaves* laid further foundations for Tannenbaum as his analysis of plantation slavery in colonial Brazil determined that the "interpenetration of cultures – chiefly European, Amerindian, and African culture" created spaces for slaves to find social mobility and even freedom.<sup>5</sup> Although Freyre's work concentrated on slavery's development, the unique positions that he determined free and enslaved people of color occupied in colonial Brazil began to suggest differences among the slave societies in the New World. These findings particularly interested Tannenbaum, who noticed that Freyre "implied . . . the divergent position of the Negro" in the United States and the rest of the New World.<sup>6</sup> Tannenbaum continued: "For in Brazil the Negro, and especially the mulatto, had an access to the culture and a role in

---

<sup>4</sup> Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina*, 223.

<sup>5</sup> Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, trans. Samuel Putnam (Rio de Janeiro: Jose Olympio, 1946; reprint, New York: Knopf, 1971), xiv. Page citations are to the reprint edition.

<sup>6</sup> Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Knopf, 1947), 4.

social life unknown in the United States.”<sup>7</sup> Building on Freyre, in 1947 Tannenbaum drew distinctions between or “separated” the type of slave society in “the United States from the other parts of the New World.”<sup>8</sup> Scholarship since Tannenbaum, including Berlin, has built upon his thesis but has also nuanced his approach by underscoring certain commonalities and contrasts in free people of color’s statuses throughout the Americas. Collectively, these studies suggested free people of color occupied more complicated social positions despite the rule of law in the Americas, geographically and temporally, than Tannenbaum described.

Tannenbaum’s *Slave and Citizen* sought to explain the divergence between slave systems in the United States and the rest of the New World that Freyre had subtly suggested. Tannenbaum determined that the “legal tradition of the Spanish people” and influence from the “Catholic doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God, was biased in favor of freedom and opened the gates to manumission when slavery was transferred to the New World.”<sup>9</sup> This tradition in Spanish and Portuguese slavery meant that bonded servitude was not seen as the natural position for people of color. Tannenbaum further noted that slaves in the Iberian systems could purchase their own freedom, “be freed if unduly punished by [their] master,” and were “at liberty to marry a free non-slave.”<sup>10</sup> Moreover, people of color, once converted to Christianity, were

---

<sup>7</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 42.

<sup>9</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 53.

<sup>10</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 56; For a foundational account of Spanish culture and its influence in the Americas, see Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

afforded a degree of protection by the Catholic Church.<sup>11</sup> Tannenbaum explained that these privileges assumed an identity for people of color that was unheard of in North American slavery where “a barrier [had] been drawn against the Negro” and the “mere fact of being a Negro was presumptive of a slave status.”<sup>12</sup> Such presumptions had consequences for slaves and impacted the ways that free people of color were regarded in North America. Foremost among these consequences was the slave’s limited access to manumission in North America; again because the person of color’s natural position was assumed as slave. Tannenbaum determined that a slave society’s policy on manumission was a good indicator on the way that it treated slaves and that it foreshadowed a slave’s “role in case of freedom.”<sup>13</sup> Thus, “the relative status of free people of color within the slave” society may also serve as “principal index” for determining the “character of slavery and race relations” within that society.<sup>14</sup>

Several studies emerged after Tannenbaum’s that “carried forward a concern for the basic comparative question of relative brutality and has maintained an interest in the importance of ‘national traditions’ in New World race relations.”<sup>15</sup> Still, it was not until

---

<sup>11</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 63.

<sup>12</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 42.

<sup>13</sup> Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 69.

<sup>14</sup> David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, “Introduction” in *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, edited by David W. Cohen and Jack P. Green (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972): 2.

<sup>15</sup> Cohen and Greene, “Introduction” to *Neither Slave Nor Free*, 2; Among studies that continue Tannenbaum’s comparative question, Cohen and Greene cite, Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*

the early 1970s that free people of color were the center of studies on New World slavery. Carl Degler's important comparative history was among the first to emphatically respond to Tannenbaum in his 1971 work *Neither Black Nor White*. Degler's comparative history generally accepted Tannenbaum's conclusions that slavery and race relations were different in the United States and the Iberian New World. Yet, as his study explored de facto race relations in Brazil, Degler found that while "technically free under Brazilian law, such Negroes were not so treated by Brazilians."<sup>16</sup> In this, Degler confirmed the powerful analytical paradigm set forth in *Slave and Citizen* as he recognized fundamental legal differences between the United States and Iberian slave societies, but also begins an important critique to Tannenbaum by iterating that slaves and free people of color's *de facto* positions may have differed from their official legal statuses.

Responses to Tannenbaum continued when David Cohen and Jack P. Greene edited a volume of essays focusing exclusively on free people of color in the Americas. Their *Neither Slave Nor Free* (1971) consisted of ten essays by leading scholars on slavery in the Americas with a range of geographic focus. For example, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall examined free people of color in Saint Domingue, Herbert Klein studied the group in nineteenth-century Brazil, and Eugene D. Genovese offered an analysis of free

---

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959); Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966); and Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1969).

<sup>16</sup> Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York: McMillan, 1971), 58.

people of color in the United States. Essays such as Frederick P. Bowser's on "Colonial Spanish America" generally confirmed Tannenbaum's contention that legal and church forces created a different form of slavery in the parts of the Americas outside of the United States. The essays also continued Degler's critique of Tannenbaum's thesis as they examined the statuses that free people of color actually held in these various societies. Bowser, for example, recognized official Spanish legal and religious protections but was skeptical about their translation into practice. He noted that even when slaves were manumitted, their "prospects for a substantially better life were dim;" and that while "in law, the condition of free persons of color was significantly better than slaves, but [still] inferior to the status of Spaniards, Indians, and mestizos."<sup>17</sup> At the same time, Genovese's essay confirmed the hostile environment for free people of color in the American South that only worsened through the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, works on the French New World suggested a middling place between the Iberian and North American systems, wherein the French *Code Noir* "guaranteed in unequivocal language full citizenship rights to slaves emancipated in the French islands, considering them the same as native-born French citizens."<sup>19</sup> Such a code might have reflected the

---

<sup>17</sup> Frederick P. Bowser, "Colonial Spanish America," in *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, edited by David W. Cohen and Jack P. Green (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972): 34, 38.

<sup>18</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, "The Slave States of North America," in *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, edited by David W. Cohen and Jack P. Green (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972): 276; Genovese echoes these sentiments in, *Roll Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 398-413.

<sup>19</sup> Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "Saint Domingue," in *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, edited by David



Iberian legal leniency for people of color, but as Gwendolyn Midlo Hall points out, the actual freedoms exercised under the code diminished greatly in the late eighteenth century when “racial discrimination became intense.”<sup>20</sup> Indeed, Cohen and Greene noted that status differences existed between free people of color in various New World slave societies, but they all, perhaps those in Brazil excepted, “came under increasing attack from the eighteenth century onward in all societies.”<sup>21</sup>

Following *Neither Slave Nor Free*, two works appeared on free people of color in the United States that continued to cite their marginal legal and social positions. Marina Wikramanayake’s 1973 study, *A World in Shadow*, used antebellum South Carolina as a case study to approach the complicated status occupied by antebellum free people of color in the United States South. She contended that the free black and mulatto “was not recognized as a citizen per se but classified as a ‘denizen,’ who enjoyed limited rights.”<sup>22</sup> Without full citizenship and lacking the ability to actually defend their rights, she concluded that free people of colored occupied a precarious and shadowy existence that only dimmed as the Civil War approached.<sup>23</sup> The following year Ira Berlin offered what remains the only comprehensive study on free people of color in the United States South. Berlins’ 1974 *Slaves Without Masters* continued to observe the liminal positions that free

---

W. Cohen and Jack P. Green (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972): 184.

<sup>20</sup> Hall, “Saint Domingue,” 191.

<sup>21</sup> Cohen and Green, “Introduction” to *Neither Slave Nor Free*, 17.

<sup>22</sup> Marina Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 1.

<sup>23</sup> Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 168.

people of color occupied in the American South. Berlin alluded to Tannenbaum's title as he described free people of color in the South as "neither citizen nor slave," and noted that they "dangled awkwardly in the middle of the southern caste system."<sup>24</sup> Berlin cited legal restrictions and racial discrimination in the South as hindrances to free black citizenship. "Weighed down by racial proscriptions, many free negroes sank into abject poverty."<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Berlin echoed Cohen and Green's *Neither Slave Nor Free*: as time progressed, hardships grew for free people of color. Berlin observed that for free people of color in the American South, "the onrushing sectional conflict pushed the free negro caste to the edge of extinction."<sup>26</sup>

Berlin contended that the free people of color enjoyed an initial degree of official freedoms in the colonial era, most notably the rights to property and "to travel freely." He further maintains that free blacks' official freedoms faded quickly when put into actual practice. As his title suggests, Berlin believes that free blacks were essentially slaves without masters. Freed slaves "usually found themselves without property or steady work. Sometimes they had to hire themselves back to their former masters on long-term contracts at low wages." Berlin also states that with many free black communities "tucked way well off the main road," their true makeup and identity remain "shrouded in mystery." These small, nearly hidden communities were sometimes regarded as "maroons" of escaped slaves hiding in isolation while posing as free blacks. More than likely, however, these communities could compare with the back road farms

---

<sup>24</sup> Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 250.

<sup>25</sup> Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 232.

<sup>26</sup> Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 343.

that belonged to white plain folks. Interestingly, the labor issue also arises in *Slaves Without Masters*. Berlin maintains that “the stigma of ‘nigger work’ ” actually aided free black’s “economic opportunities.” Essentially, the same Old South traditional view that labor was disgraceful created an opportunity for free black employment when white laborers refused to take on work.

The historiography following *Slaves Without Masters* has largely consisted of works focusing on specific individuals or locations and highlighting free people of color in the United States who achieved degrees of success despite their quasi-citizen statuses. Gary Mills’ *The Forgotten People* (1977) was among the first to appear on this subject and highlighted a community of free people of color in central Louisiana. Mills focused his examination on one family that was able to achieve some economic success while living an environment of “racial tolerance and relative acceptance.”<sup>27</sup> Following *The Forgotten People*, historian David Whitten offered his 1981 book analyzing another successful free person of color in the same state, *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in Antebellum Louisiana*. Durnford capitalized on his mixed-racial ancestry and relationships with white relatives to acquire a sugar plantation and slaves in 1828.<sup>28</sup> Shortly after Whitten’s book, attention shifted to relatively successful free people of color in South Carolina through Michael Johnson and James L. Roark’s 1984 work *Black Masters* and Larry Koger’s 1985 study *Black Slaveowners*. Johnson and Roark highlighted William Ellison’s remarkable rise from slavery to planter in Sumter County,

---

<sup>27</sup> Gary B. Mills, *The Forgotten People: Cane River’s Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 143.

<sup>28</sup> David Whitten, *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in Antebellum Louisiana* (Natchitoches, LA: Northwestern State University Press, 1981) 16.

South Carolina. Born enslaved in 1790 and freed in 1816 by a jury of local freeholders, Ellison used his valuable skills as a cotton gin maker and mechanic to gain importance and wealth in his community despite increasing laws to restrict free people of color in nineteenth-century South Carolina.<sup>29</sup> Koger's work also detailed South Carolina's laws passed to prevent manumission during the nineteenth century, but also highlighted the minority presence of free people of color who owned slaves. Koger noted that some free people of color owned family who could be legally freed, but also uncovered many free people of color who owned and used slaves for agricultural production.<sup>30</sup> These works collectively suggested free people of color's positions were legally fragile, as Tannenbaum and Berlin suggested, but not without the possibility for success in spite of the law.

Scholarship on free people of color continued to converse with and correct both Tannenbaum and Berlin in the 1990s. A panel at the 1994 conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians produced a collection of essays published in 1996, *Against the Odds: Free Blacks in the Slave Societies of the Americas*. Edited by Jane Landers, the collection included studies on early manumission in South Carolina, free people of color on the eve of the Haitian Revolution, and essays on free people of color in New Orleans, Florida, and Suriname. From the book's beginning, Landers noted the study was an attempt to follow "the general comparative thesis laid out by Frank Tannenbaum in

---

<sup>29</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*.

<sup>30</sup> Koger, *Black Slaveowners*.

1947.”<sup>31</sup> Through the comparative lens, the essays began to emphasize the emerging nuances to Tannenbaum’s thesis as they highlighted “several important and common ways in which enslaved persons of African descent became free – notably, through gratis manumission, through political rewards for military service or religious conversion, or more commonly, through the arduous self-purchase process.”<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the essays collectively demonstrated that free blacks who were manumitted because of miscegenation were able to use their white relationships to navigate “difficult obstacles of

---

<sup>31</sup> Jane Landers, “Introduction” to *Against the Odds: Free Blacks in the Slave Societies of the Americas*, edited by Jane Landers (London: Frank Cass, 1996): vii; Landers’ volume followed several works on slavery in Latin America that demonstrate local racism and hardships, even while free blacks held privileges under the law. For examples: Edited by Manuel Morena Friginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman, *Between Slavery and Free Labor*, contained thirteen essays on slavery in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. To be clear, the study was not focused exclusively on free people of color, but still responded to Tannenbaum by citing that differences indeed existed between Iberian colonies and those of England and France. Nonetheless, the editors concluded that there were important nuances within the Spanish colonies and their slave regimes. Specifically they cite that the plantation economy came late to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic and the slave population was never larger than the free population. They concluded these circumstances also altered the ways their slave systems evolved. See, Manuel Morena Friginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman, “Preface” to *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Manuel Morena Friginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985): xiv-xv; Christine Hünefeldt describes Peruvian free blacks who were subjected to poverty and were unable to buy their family and kin out of bondage. See her work, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima’s Slaves, 1800-1854* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 200; For another discussion on free blacks subjected to greater racism and hardships as a result of their skin tone, see Jay Kinsbruner, *Not of Pure Blood: The Free People of Color and Racial Prejudice in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 5; Ada Ferrer’s *Insurgent Cuba* noted the legal “constraints” placed on free people of color in Cuba such as “prohibitions on the consumption of alcohol, bans against marriage to white men and women, and restrictions on the use of public space, to name a few.” See, Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 2.

<sup>32</sup> Landers, “Introduction” to *Against the Odds*, viii.

legal and social discrimination” – a point this dissertation further reflects.<sup>33</sup> Thus, even in differing legal climates North America and Latin America, free people of color may have actually experienced quite similar pathways to freedom and negotiated their freedom with the same strategies.

Following *Against the Odds*, a series of monographs continued to complicate the differences between legal status and reality for free people of color in North America. Thomas Ingersoll’s *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans* determined that the French *Code Noir* gave “no indication that free blacks enjoyed all rights and privileges of free people” and they were explicitly required to “show ‘profound respect’ to whites.”<sup>34</sup> Ingersoll further provided examples of free people of color that at least had legal rights, for example, to sue whites in court, but noted that “in practice this was very rare.”<sup>35</sup> Judith Kelleher Schafer’s 2003 work *Becoming Free, Remaining Free* examined manumission and slavery in New Orleans from 1846 to 1862 determined that during that time, free people of color “struggled mightily to keep their liberty” despite increasingly restrictive laws on their population as the Civil War neared.<sup>36</sup> Schafer found that the Louisiana’s French-influenced *Code Noir* actually made free people of color suffer “a

---

<sup>33</sup> Landers, “Introduction” to *Against the Odds*, viii.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819* (Knoxville : University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 136.

<sup>35</sup> Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*, 136.

<sup>36</sup> Judith Kelleher Schafer, *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846-1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), xiii.

number of serious legal disabilities.”<sup>37</sup> Indeed these hardships only increased with the sectional crisis. Thus, the hardships Schafer described among free blacks reflected the Code Noir and the darkening political climate in the sectional crisis of the 1850s.

Further complicating the free black’s position in antebellum America, Tim Lockley’s *Lines in the Sand* (2001) indicated that free blacks and slaves utilized illicit connections with whites for social and economic advancement. Despite Georgia laws being particularly harsh on free people of color, but free blacks, slaves, and common whites united in criminal mischief such as trading alcohol. Recent works such as Kathleen Hilliard’s *Masters, Slaves, and Exchange* (2014) have continued to chronicle this underground economy as well as trading networks that emerged and fostered degrees of community between whites, slaves, and free blacks.<sup>38</sup>

Melvin Patrick Ely’s *Israel on the Appomattox* (2005) further examines the importance of property among free blacks as he chronicles the remarkable story of Israel Hill, a free black community in antebellum Virginia. This community gained their freedom from slavery when Virginia planter Richard Randolph manumitted and granted property to a group of slaves in his 1796 will. Slowly, following her husband’s death, Randolph’s widow began to emancipate the family’s slaves. Taking her time, in an effort

---

<sup>37</sup> Schafer, *Becoming Free, Remaining Free*, 97.

<sup>38</sup> Kathleen M. Hilliard, *Masters, Slaves, and Exchange: Power’s Purchase in the Old South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 25; See also, Lawrence T. McDonnell, “Money Knows No Master: Market Relations and the American Slave Community,” in *Developing Dixie: Modernization in a Traditional Society*, ed. Winfred B. Moore, Jr., Joseph F. Tripp, and Lyon G. Tyler, Jr., (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 31-44; Though his work does not necessarily consider antebellum free people of color, Dylan C. Penningroth offers background on the phenomenon of slaves’ property and exchange. See, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

to prevent drawing ire from the surrounding white society, Judith Randolph also had to balance frustration from slaves who had yet to be granted their freedom. Following the Israel Hill free black community into the Civil War, Ely notes that free blacks grew increasingly strained when “white Southerners, prompted by agitation of the slavery issue on the federal level in the 1850s, tried to reduce free blacks to near slavery.” As an example of increased hostility toward these free people of color in the 1850s, Ely notes the South Side Railroad line’s construction in 1851 ran through Israel Hill. Naturally, white property owners were compensated for their land at a higher rate than the free blacks. And where Richard Randolph’s noble experiment demonstrated the degree of efficiency that former slaves could achieve when given their freedom and land, Ely’s work still demonstrates the social disparity that free blacks had to endure in spite of their freedom. Moreover Israel Hill’s efficiency is not unlike the success demonstrated in rural South Carolina when free people of color were granted freedom and land by white fathers.<sup>39</sup>

Scholarly works on free people of color in South Carolina have also tended to emphasize the general hardships endured by most and the small spaces for success enjoyed by some. Bernard E. Powers Jr. 1994 *Black Charlestonians* chronicles Africa-Americans in urban Charleston from the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy in 1822 until 1885. Powers observed that that “a significant number [of free blacks] succeeded economically

---

<sup>39</sup> Timothy J. Lockley, *Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia, 1750-1860* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2001), 106 and 110.; Melvin Patrick Ely, *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 7-9; Illicit unions between slaves, free people of color, and common class whites are detailed further in, Jeffrey Forret, *Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).



and eventually became property holders” in the antebellum period.<sup>40</sup> Though much of Powers’ work is devoted to black Charlestonians following of the Civil War, he also affirmed increasing social and economic difficulties for free blacks in the 1850s. By 1850, in light of the sectional crisis, “the governor recommended the removal of all free blacks, except those who owned real estate or slaves.”<sup>41</sup> White Carolinians, understanding that “many free blacks were former slaves,” tended to believe that free blacks espoused dangerous abolitionist views.<sup>42</sup> These fears undoubtedly created suspicion and contributed to free black’s increasingly marginalized social and economic position in the years before the Civil War.

Though Powers noted whites’ tendency to view free blacks as almost universally committed to abolition, Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark offer a stark contrast through William Ellison’s remarkable rural slaveholding story in *Black Masters* and, in part, *No Chariot Let Down*. Born a slave named April, Ellison was trained as a cotton gin maker and purchased his own freedom before taking his former master’s name, William.<sup>43</sup> After moving to the Statesburg settlement in Sumter County, Ellison established himself as a successful gin builder and mechanic. This success allowed him,

---

<sup>40</sup> For an older study on free blacks in the city of Charleston, see E. Horace Fitchett, “The Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1950); Powers, *Black Charlestonians*, 47.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-3.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 15-6.

by 1860, to own sixty-three slaves and an 800 acre estate.<sup>44</sup> While “Ellison’s personal experience was largely confined to the South Carolina upcountry” and Statesburg, his family relations connected him directly to “Charleston’s free mulatto elite.” Some collected letters among these elite were edited by Johnson and Roark and published as *No Chariot Let Down*. Such writings “by free persons of color to free persons of color” provide the ultimate insight into their world in the years before the Civil War.<sup>45</sup> William Ellison’s affluence and social stability was certainly exceptional, but he was not the only free black slaveholder in antebellum South Carolina. Larry Koger’s *Black Slaveowners* examines other free black South Carolinians who were able to purchase slaves. Though very few free people of color qualified as planters, some owned a few slaves.

In distinction from Johnson and Roark and Koger, two recent books, one by Amrita Chakrabarti Myers and the other Emily West, have detailed the particular hardships faced by free women of color in South Carolina and the strategies they used to cope and overcome. Myers’ *Forging Freedom* examines free women who used relationships with white men, marriages, and job skills to achieve degrees of freedom and tentative security in urban Charleston. Conversely, Emily West’s *Family or Freedom* encounters rural free women whose gender, isolation, and poverty so degraded them that they sometimes resorted to seeking enslavement for themselves and even their children to escape their plights. Most often these women were single and single mothers, but occasionally she found free women whose husbands were still enslaved. As southern state legislatures increasingly debated expelling their state’s free blacks in the 1850s,

---

<sup>44</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 127, 340.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, 108; Johnson and Roark, *No Chariot Let Down*, 4.

these women sought to be enslaved alongside their husbands rather than risk separation – literally choosing family over freedom.<sup>46</sup> Whether they sought enslavement for shelter and security or to keep their families together, the women that West encounters represented how fragile freedom could be for people of color, particularly single women in the rural setting. But her work also begs the question, what of the free blacks who achieved a degree of self-security in the countryside?

A recent book by Kirt von Daacke approaches an answer by examining a rural community of free blacks in Albemarle County, Virginia. Von Daacke's *Freedom Has a Face* (2012) immediately recognizes the call for a new historiographical paradigm for free people of color. Tracing Berlin's model back to U.B. Phillips, von Daacke determines that:

[a] smaller but growing body of scholarship seeks to complicate the slaves-without-masters model on nearly every level. Some scholars have highlighted the economic freedoms and opportunities available to free blacks and have found an at times startling degree of economic and

---

<sup>46</sup> Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, *Forging Freedom: Black Women and the Pursuit of Liberty in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011); The degrees of privilege that Myers observed among free women of color closely resembles the advantages and strategies for advantage that Wilma King observed among free women of color across the antebellum South and that Jane Landers observed among free women in Spanish Florida. King found free women of color “displayed independence in challenging accepted conventions” while they navigated a legal and social system set against them. See, Wilma King, *The Essence of Liberty: Free Black Women during the Slave Era* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 3 and 36-7; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Studying North Carolina, Victoria E. Bynum found that financial hardship among free blacks there meant they seldom sought divorce and the increased financial burden that it brought on. See Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 77; See also, *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, edited by David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Emily West, *Family or Freedom: People of Color in the Antebellum South* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2012).

financial success among individual African Americans. They shift the focus to free black agency in the face of racism and legal disability. . . . Other historians have created in-depth biographies of free black families that bring to light lives that do not fit the Phillips-Berlin model. Still others have engaged in fine-grained community studies that have begun to resituate free blacks within the communities in which they lived. A few historians have done all these things. The combined weight of this body of scholarship suggests the need for a revision of the Berlin-Phillips paradigm.<sup>47</sup>

From this perspective, *Freedom Has a Face* highlights the degrees of freedom that some African-Americans were able to access after patriotic service during the American Revolution and community formation in rural Virginia. He determines that in these rural locales, free people of color existed in a “gap between state law and local practice” wherein they were not “dangerous free blacks” but, instead “people with names, faces, and personal histories” that tied them intimately into the rural community.<sup>48</sup>

Free people of color such as James Cleveland who achieved important degrees of economic security and social stability in the antebellum South may reveal much about the larger society and deepen the ways that we understand the free black experience in the years before the Civil War. Historians like John Hope Franklin, Michael Johnson and James L. Roark, Vernon Burton, Larry Koger, and Kirt von Daacke have provided glimpses of economically or socially stable free blacks, but farming and middling-class free people of color have never been comprehensively studied through the methodological and interpretive approaches traditionally applied to common-class whites or “plain folk.” Instead the historiography has responded to Tannenbaum and Berlin, but

---

<sup>47</sup> Kirt von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face: Race, Identity, and Community in Jefferson's Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 4-5.

<sup>48</sup> von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face*, 3.

as it continues to examine free people of color who resemble common-whites economically and socially the interpretive paradigm should more carefully consider the implications of their commonalities and what is to be gained by studying this “distinctive minority” not simply as slaves without masters but perhaps as farmers without masters and plain folk of color. The gap that existed between law and local practice, was not simply a divide. It was a margin – a place where free black enterprise, economic positions, and social similarities with whites brought the two races together. This dissertation seeks to merge a study on free people of color with the methodology prescribed for studying common-class whites and therefore invites an evaluation of that scholarly discussion and its development.

Some of the earliest references to common whites in the Old South did not come from scholarship, but from antebellum-era political writings that were concerned precisely with the margin between common whites and blacks. Hinton Rowan Helper’s 1857 work, *The Impending Crisis of the South*, was an attack on slavery as an “unprofitable and ungodly institution.”<sup>49</sup> Helper argued that slavery guaranteed a continued planter class oligarchy and forced slaveless white southerners to live under an economic and political system that he deemed as “second degree slavery.” Citing economic, cultural, and industrial advances in the free North, Helper, himself a native North Carolinian, advocated immediate abolition as the only moral solution to slavery’s ills and the only measure that could free white southerners from grave economic

---

<sup>49</sup> Hinton Rowan Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It* (New York: Burdick Brothers, 1857), 28.

disparities.<sup>50</sup> Helper, however, had opposition in trying to recruit common white southerners' support. Charlestonian J. D. B. De Bow's 1860 pamphlet, "The Interest in Slavery of the Southern Non-Slaveholders," was a pro-slavery perspective offered to refute Hinton Helper's work.<sup>51</sup> As De Bow disputed Helper's assertion that the majority of southern slaveholders were among the planter oligarchy, he maintained "the poor men of the South are the holders of one to five slaves, and it would be equally consistent with truth and justice to say that they represent, in reality, its slaveholding interests."<sup>52</sup> Even more importantly, De Bow tapped the common white's fears that freed slaves created "prospective degradation" through economic competition.<sup>53</sup> Though De Bow and Helper represented conflicting views on slavery, both acknowledged two crucial points. First,

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 33-34; A good analysis of Helper's argument and its effect can be found in J. William Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society: White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta's Hinterlands* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 72-73; For more on Helper, see his biography by David Brown, *Southern Outcast: Hinton Rowan Helper and The Impending Crisis of the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

<sup>51</sup> De Bow as a response to Hinton Helper in Jon Wakelyn, ed., *Southern Pamphlets on Secession, November 1860 – April 1861* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 78; Wakelyn also relates that De Bow's writing began as a speech given on December 5, 1860 in Nashville, Tennessee. "It created such a stir that Robert Gourdin of the South Carolina 1860 Association asked De Bow if he could reprint it as pamphlet number five of his secession pamphlets. De Bow also reprinted the speech in *De Bow's Review*," his own publication; For more on J. D. B DeBow see Ottis Clark Skipper's biographical work, *J.D.B. De Bow: Magazinish of the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958).

<sup>52</sup> J.D.B. De Bow, "The Non-Slaveholders of the South: Their Interest in the Present Sectional Controversy Identical with that of the Slaveholders," *De Bow's Review* vol. 30 no.1 (January 1861): 68; This was De Bow's work, under a new title, but the same text that Robert Gourdin published.

<sup>53</sup> W.O. Brown, "Role of the Poor Whites in Race Contacts of the South," *Social Forces* 19 (December 1940): 263.

they both recognized common white southerners as a major component of southern society. Moreover, as a major component of white southern society, Helper elicited their support for abolition while De Bow acknowledged that common whites' support for slavery would prove crucial to secessionist's political ends.

Despite Helper, De Bow, and other's great political interest in common whites, and their position as the majority of southerners, traditional Old South scholarship nearly forgot them, instead emphasizing "the planter class and its presumed almost total social and cultural dominance."<sup>54</sup> In his 2008 introduction to an updated version of Frank Owsley's 1949 *Plain Folk of the Old South*, historian John B. Boles noted Ulrich Bonnell Phillips' *Life and Labor in the Old South* may have been a "landmark" study on the Old South, yet, Phillips "devoted but one brief and inconsequential chapter to 'The Plain People.'"<sup>55</sup> To be fair, Phillip's 1929 work recognized common slaveless whites as representing "six of the eight million whites" in 1860. Phillips then cited several examples of men, such as Andrew Johnson and Christopher Memminger, who rose from common birth to achieve success.<sup>56</sup> Phillips' chapter further noted the paucity of letters and other writings from plain folk, rendering them a particularly difficult subject to study. Nonetheless, "The Plain People" chapter maintains that poor whites cannot be wholly

---

<sup>54</sup> John B. Boles, introduction to *Plain Folk of the Old South*, Updated Edition, by Frank Lawrence Owsley (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), xxiii (page citations to the reprint edition).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiv.

<sup>56</sup> Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1929; reprint, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963) 339-340 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

dismissed as “ ‘ancestrally degenerate,’ ” or as the stereotypical poor white trash.<sup>57</sup> Though the impoverished did represent a small fraction of southern plain people, Phillips maintains the large body of working middle-class southerners was “provincial in speech and outlook, jealous of authority, resentful of superior pretenses, matter-of-fact in daily life, self-respecting and substantial.”<sup>58</sup> Thus, Phillips’ discussion essentially recognizes two categories of plain folk, the poor and working middle-class, which he envelops into a single plain people.

Robert Spencer Cotterill’s 1936 work, *The Old South*, also distinguished two segments among common white society. Like Phillips, Cotterill only glances at plain folk amid a much broader Old South discussion. Nonetheless, Cotterill determined the “great mass of white people in the South” were farmers and working people that were “ignorant of the supposed fact that white people could not endure the Southern sun and equally oblivious of any hypothetical stigma on manual labor.”<sup>59</sup> Cotterill further portrayed the southern yeoman farmer as “given to hard drinking and even harder swearing, that he read little beyond the almanac if he read at all, and that he was inclined to be boorish but not inhospitable.”<sup>60</sup> Though their lives were laboring and rudimentary, Cotterill still places these southerners above “the lowliest of the lowly in the Old South”

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 353.

<sup>59</sup> Robert Spencer Cotterill, *The Old South: The Geographic, Economic, Social, Political, and Cultural Expansion, Institutions, and Nationalism of the Ante-Bellum South* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936), 271.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 272-273.



– the “poor white trash.”<sup>61</sup> Cotterill then goes on to describe poor whites as fundamentally lazy, shiftless, bare-footed, clay-eating, sand hill and pine barren dwellers.<sup>62</sup>

Portrayals of poor white trash in the hills and pine-barrens are not limited to early Old South histories. Shields McIlwaine’s *The Southern Poor-White from Lubberland to Tobacco Road* traces “white trash” imagery in literature. McIlwaine maintains that poor white trash were humorous and satirical stock characters, presented in their piney wood homelands, in part, to represent the “land monopoly of the planters” in the slave economy.<sup>63</sup> Boles also points out poor whites as stock literary characters in his new introduction to Owsley’s *Plain Folk of the Old South*. He notes that Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone with the Wind* represented common whites with “one lonely poor-white-trash family, the Slatterys.”<sup>64</sup> Boles maintains that Owsley “believed, not without cause, that both the scholarly and the popular portrayals of the Old South were badly flawed.”<sup>65</sup>

Owsley was not alone. In the decade before Owsley’s 1949 *Plain Folk of the Old South*, plain folk historiography began in earnest through a series of essays and journal articles. These writings, some offered by Owsley, sought to reinterpret common whites

---

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 273.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 273-277; The shiftless, clay-eating stereotype is also discussed in Paul H. Buck’s “The Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South,” *The American Historical Review* vol. 31 no. 1 (October 1925):41-54.

<sup>63</sup> Shields McIlwaine, *The Southern Poor-White: From Lubberland to Tobacco Road* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1970), 52.

<sup>64</sup> Boles, “Introduction,” xxiii.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., xxii.

and their place in Old South society. Avery Craven's 1930 article "Poor Whites and Negroes in the Ante-Bellum South," primarily reveals contact between poor whites and slaves which included whites trading whiskey to slaves and whites laboring beside slaves in planter's fields.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Craven, like Phillips and others before, maintained that common whites can be regarded as two groups, poor whites and a working middle-class.<sup>67</sup> A. N. J. Den Hollander's 1935 essay, "The Tradition of 'Poor Whites,' " appeared in W. T. Couch's *Culture in the South*. Den Hollander's work, like Craven, acknowledges that stereotypical poor white trash "were present in the ante-bellum South," yet "white farmers, who held only a few slaves if any at all, made up an independent yeoman group of primary importance numerically." Despite a marked difference between the "poor white trash" minority and the yeomanry, the yeoman's capacity to labor contrasted with Old South tradition that " 'work is a disgrace.' " <sup>68</sup> Obviously, their labor immediately separated the working middle-class, non-elite southerners from the gentlemen among the planter class.<sup>69</sup> Thus, as a category, common whites encompassed both poor whites and a working middle-class through two key

---

<sup>66</sup> Avery O. Craven, "Poor Whites and Negroes in the Ante-Bellum South." *The Journal of Negro History* vol. 15 no. 1 (January 1930): 14-25.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>68</sup> A. N. J. Den Hollander, "The Tradition of 'Poor Whites,' " in *Culture in the South*, ed. W. T. Couch (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 403 and 418-19.

<sup>69</sup> W.O. Brown's maintains that labor was a distinguishing feature for the yeomanry and competition between working whites and slaves and was a point of friction in the years before the Civil War. See W.O. Brown, "Role of Poor Whites in Race Contacts of the South," *Social Forces* 19 (December 1940): 258-268.

distinctions, they were both white and, unlike the planters, they needed to perform at least some of their own labor.

Owsley's own plain folk articles marked his burgeoning effort to reinterpret the common white's place in Old South history.<sup>70</sup> Born out of his 1940 article, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," his *Plain Folk of the Old South* represents the first landmark book dedicated to plain folk study and seems to specifically attempt to bring dignity back to southern yeomanry. Beginning with plain folk's "predominantly British" ancestry, Owsley wholly rejected and refuted the "ancestrally degenerate" argument for plain folk origins that had also troubled Phillips years earlier in *Life and Labor in the Old South*.<sup>71</sup> Owsley focuses largely on herders and small farmers on the southern frontier, and he maintained that plain folk existed as a "closely knit people" who naturally tended to settle in close proximity to one another. Their grouped settlements on the southern frontier formed for a variety of reasons, but the two most common factors were kinship and land value. Plain folk often settled in places where planters could not profitably institute slave-based agriculture. Thus, Owsley's plain folk typically made homesteads among the piney woods and hills of the southern frontier. Plain folk also tended to migrate west in family groups. When the landscape created neighbors who were not already related, family bonds might soon be made by

---

<sup>70</sup> Boles, "Introduction," xxv-xxvi; Boles' new introduction to *Plain Folk of the Old South* cites two journal articles that Owsley and his wife, Harriet C. Owsley, published before the landmark *Plain Folk of the Old South*. See "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," *Journal of Southern History* vol. 6 no. 1 (February 1940): 24-45; and "The Economic Structure of Rural Tennessee, 1850-1869," *Journal of Southern History* vol. 8 no. 2 (May 1942): 161-182.

<sup>71</sup> British ancestry in Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 91; Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, 340.

marriage.<sup>72</sup> Again, Owsley acknowledges that plain folk predominantly settled where land value was low, but this, too, was offered to refute claims of plain folk laziness and to demonstrate the plain folk work ethic in spite of their often difficult frontier environment.

In defending plain folk's "folkways" against blanket allegations such as clay-eating and drunkenness, Owsley sometimes verges more on nostalgia than history; but his work nonetheless remains the center of plain folk historiography. More importantly, *Plain Folk of the Old South* demonstrates the quantitative approach that is necessary for studying southern plain folk.<sup>73</sup> Owsley noted the daunting task of studying plain folk, because they left behind far less written material than their planter neighbors. This shortage led Owsley to utilize "church records, wills, administration of estates, county-court minutes, marriage licenses," and other source materials such as the census to discern their lives.<sup>74</sup> Plain folk works that followed Owsley tended to employ the same methodology, thus they reaffirm Owsley as the central plain folk work. Studies which followed utilized the same methodology, but can also be more easily divided into poor and landless white studies and yeomanry examinations.

With poor whites, Charles Bolton noted the same scarcity of written plain folk materials when researching for his own work, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*. In studying poor whites of North Carolina and Mississippi, Bolton noted the "meager" records and employed many of the same type sources which Owsley utilized. Bolton's writing focuses "the role landless whites played in antebellum politics," but his work is

---

<sup>72</sup> Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 91, 133, 34.

<sup>73</sup> Quantitative method discussed in Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 4.

<sup>74</sup> Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 6-8.

relevant because of his discussion on relations between poor whites and slaves. He contends that poor whites were sometimes hired to work beside slaves in the peak of the agricultural season. Working closely together, poor whites and blacks shared a unique experience. The two sometimes met with “violence.” While, at other times whites actually engaged in “illegal trade with slaves.” Whites might have purchased produce while selling liquor. These relationships “challenged the accepted boundaries of the slave regime” and elicited the suspicion of the landed class who responded with stepped up slave patrols and vigilance committees.<sup>75</sup>

Another study of poorer whites, Jeff Forret’s *Race Relations at the Margins* also examines their relations with slaves. Relying heavily on criminal court proceedings, Forret, like Bolton, chronicles poor whites’ selling whiskey and forging passes for the slave population. Forret finds these relations actually challenged white supremacy, as poor whites very social interactions with slaves demonstrated they “could boast of light skin but not the wealth, respect, and other trappings of whiteness.” Forret continues to classify poor whites’ societal positions as essentially “ambiguous” and, “indeed, at times they more closely resembled slaves than masters.”<sup>76</sup> Moreover, given their own frustration with such ambiguity, Forret reconfirms Bolton’s contention that violence often accompanied poor white associations with slaves. To be sure, however, poor whites did not limit their violence to their enslaved black associates. Charles Bolton and Scott

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 6; Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994), 9, 6-7, 44-6, 51.

<sup>76</sup> Jeff Forret, *Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 52, 136, 183.

Culclasure's *The Confessions of Edward Isham* reveals the violent side of poor white southerners through an interesting, if not scandalous, story. The volume records Isham's own account of his life, fraught from beginning to end with "one violent conflict to another," from fighting to rape, until Isham was "ultimately hanged for the murder of his North Carolina employer."<sup>77</sup> Undoubtedly, Bolton and Culclasure's attention to the poor white's propensity for violence do little to aid Owsley in repairing dignity to plain folk. Yet it must be carefully remembered, Owsley focused primarily on the yeomanry, and these poor white studies must be considered accounts of a different segment of common white society in the Old South.

Ultimately, works focusing more closely on Owsley's working middle-class remain those dedicated to yeomanry. The classic studies, Steven Hahn's *The Roots of Southern Populism* (1983) and Lacy Ford's *Origins of Southern Radicalism* (1988) both examine the relationship between the yeomanry and planter classes in portions of the rural South, Georgia and the South Carolina upcountry respectively. Hahn's study contrasts their relationship in the antebellum and post-war periods, determining that pre-war economic co-interests and racial order were tested during severe economic decline following the war. But, in their attention to the antebellum period, both Hahn and Ford determined that property, economic success, and desire for slave-ownership all served to unify political interest for the yeomanry and planter class. Similarly, Bill Cecil-Fronsman's 1992 *Common Whites* focuses primarily on the yeomanry in Antebellum North Carolina. Immediately, Cecil-Fronsman notes that "common whites" is a "slippery

---

<sup>77</sup> J. William Harris, Introduction to *The Confessions of Edward Isham: A Poor White Life of the Old South*, Edited by Charles C. Bolton and Scott P. Culclasure (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1998), xvi.

term” because it invokes both plain folk yeomanry and plain folk poor whites. “However different in character poor white trash and prosperous yeomen may have been, they (along with the other nonelite white groups) had enough in common that it seems reasonable to use a single term to describe them.” To be clear, Cecil-Fronsman does not advocate complete congruence among the working middle-class and poor whites. Rather, he reaffirms that both categories comprise plain folk, or the class that he deems “common whites.” The study also designates middle-class professionals such as doctors and lawyers as having been elites instead of plain folk.<sup>78</sup> This assessment of professionals continues Den Hollander’s contention that labor separated plain folk from the gentry.

In addition to Ford, the most pertinent on study yeomanry for the South Carolina remains Stephanie McCurry’s *Masters of Small Worlds* (1995). Like Ford, McCurry’s work examines small white farmers’ market economy and political integration, determining that property ownership and rural self-sufficiency yielded their own fierce mastery over their own domains. McCurry maintains that “the very existence of a class of yeoman farmers has been denied, almost without exception, by modern historians” when dealing with the South Carolina lowcountry. Like Ford, McCurry uses property ownership and labor as the defining factors for yeomanry – as one yeoman self-described he and his fellows as “ ‘self-working farmers’ ” in the lowcountry’s swamps and lowlands. McCurry further distinguishes the yeomanry from poor whites who also belonged among the plain folk category, while simultaneously acknowledging the gray area between definitions for the yeomanry and small planters. “Distinguished on the lower end from poor whites by the ownership of real property, yeomen are necessarily

---

<sup>78</sup> Quotations from Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 1 and 13.

less clearly distinguished on the upper end from small planters whose ownership of slaves was enough to make their labor chiefly managerial. The issue is not simply the number of slaves household heads owned but more precisely the amount of labor the owners thereby acquired in addition to that of family members. Surprising as it might seem, farmers could well have owned as many as nine slaves and still have found themselves dependent on family members even for field labor.” Thus, land and slaves, the same criteria that separated the yeomanry from poor whites, also served to confuse distinctions between some slaveholding yeoman and small planters.<sup>79</sup>

Ford and McCurry’s works both offer the methodological framework for identifying free black yeomanry and understanding the strategies that some rural free people of color used for economic and social stability. Moreover, free blacks displayed many of the characteristics that scholars have assigned to common-class whites. Their economic and social similarities led to degrees of community amongst free blacks and with neighboring whites and complicate the way historians interpret their status in parts of the rural South. In their commonalities and relationships with common whites, these free black farmers were more than slaves without masters and signify a complex margin that existed between whites and blacks in South Carolina.

---

<sup>79</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 37, 48.



## CHAPTER 2

### FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY:

#### GAINING FREEDOM AND THE RESOURCES FOR SUCCESS

James Cleveland's family's unusual entry into free society represents key factors that offered stability to free people of color living in rural South Carolina. Rather than transition from slavery to freedom as was usual for free people of color, the Cleveland family forbearers crossed the Atlantic as free people rather than as slaves. James Cleveland's great-aunt, Elizabeth Cleveland, was the daughter of an English seaman and slave merchant, William Cleveland, and a mulatto African native named "Kate, the only child of King Skinner Corker." Born free in 1741 on the Banana Islands off the coast of Sierra Leone, Cleveland's father sent her to be educated in England and eventually to South Carolina with her five year-old mulatto niece, Catherine, in 1764. Catherine, or "Old Kate," as she came to be known, was James Cleveland's mother and the 1850 Census she reported her birthplace as simply "Africa." With money provided in part by her family, in 1768 Elizabeth Cleveland purchased the 750 acre Brick House Plantation and, in her brother's name, she also acquired the 600 acre Wampee Plantation, both in St. John's Berkeley Parish north of Charleston. Few people of color entered the colonies free and directly from Africa, and even fewer could boast such a wealthy estate as could the Clevelands. Yet, many of South Carolina's rural free blacks had important degrees of economic stability, were aided by white ancestry, property or assets gained through white

ancestry, and through other ties to area white families. These factors proved pivotal to free black economic standing and were often in hand at the same time that people of color gained their freedom whether by manumission, self-purchase, inheritance, or merit.<sup>1</sup>

Emancipation and the opportunities it afforded were met with increasing legal obstacles in the nineteenth century, but the boundaries were far from absolute. And, when freedom and opportunity were gained, the circumstances surrounding these achievements revealed both the means for economic stability and, often, the willingness among white emancipators to circumvent antebellum law and paternalism's most basic tenets. Scholars like Frank Tannenbaum have emphasized legal restrictions correlated with free blacks' liminal positions in slave societies, but South Carolina's increasingly restrictive legislation signaled their system was being undermined from within through differences between the law and local practice.<sup>2</sup> In short, the legislature's frequent revisions to manumission laws indicated that slave owners were indeed testing limits and finding ways to free slaves. And as emancipation was sometime accompanied with the means for free blacks to gain an economic footing, both the act itself and the opportunity it gave yielded challenges to antebellum order.

This was particularly true in South Carolina, where colonial law was set starkly against black freedom. Following the Stono Rebellion, South Carolina's Negro Act of

---

<sup>1</sup> E. Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 1-5; The Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:53-57, ALSC; for Hardcastle's plantation purchases see Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 71 and 261; Medical practice in Louse, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 77; Her medical practice and her relationship with prominent white citizens is also remembered in The Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:55; ALSC.

<sup>2</sup> von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face*, 3.

1740 declared “that it ‘shall always be presumed that every negro . . . is a slave.’ ”<sup>3</sup> Neither white nor slave, the prospect of people of color’s liberty was a “contradiction in terms” and in direct opposition to the colony and state’s legal and social norms. And becoming free was made more difficult in the nineteenth century South Carolina by virtue of legislative restrictions meant to regulate manumission and the size of the free black population. While upper South states such as Virginia saw manumission as a means to promote the “whitening of their society,” by “assuring upper South slaveholders and other whites that, once freed, blacks would” leave the region, Lacy K. Ford determines a rather different stance emerged in the lower South during the early nineteenth century. Ford explains that in an effort to “achieve greater security and peace of mind, lower South whites sought not a demographic reconfiguration but an ideological one, centered on a better rationale of holding and managing of slaves: the idea of paternalism.” As a doctrine in defense of slavery, paternalism represented slave masters and the plantation as an “extended family,” likening their slaves to children to whom masters were responsible physically, emotionally, and spiritually. Manumission and relinquishing that master-slave relationship was therefore fundamentally counterintuitive to the paternalism ideology. Moreover, independent or stable free persons of color in the slave society were living challenges to the idea that people of color needed the paternalist’s oversight and care.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> 1740 Negro Act as quoted in Olwell, “Becoming Free,” 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> For “contradiction in terms, see Robert Olwell, “Becoming Free: Manumission and the Genesis of a Free Black Community in South Carolina, 1740-90,” *Slavery and Abolition*, vol. 17 no. 1 (April 1996): 1; Lacy K. Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 7-8.

Policing their slave populations and reinforcing white paternalistic controls over people of color, both free and enslaved, influenced a barrage of legislation limiting access to freedom in the nineteenth century. In the first major legislation, the Act of 1800, the South Carolina legislature began to drastically alter manumission laws, stating that the laws “ ‘heretofore enacted for the government of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, have been found insufficient for keeping them in due subordination.’ ” The Act of 1800 required both master and slave to appear before a magistrate and jury of five local freeholders before a manumission could proceed. After hearing the master’s testimony, “if the magistrate and freeholders were satisfied, they were authorized to issue a certificate of manumission to the master, who was then required to give a copy of the certificate and of his personal deed to manumission to the slave and to record both documents with the clerk of court. If the master failed to comply with any of these steps, the manumission was void.”<sup>5</sup> Mulattoes, or any other free person of color, could no longer simply fail to file their manumissions, not could owners simply free slaves through release, self-purchase, nor via their wills. South Carolina’s tightened manumission policy was rooted in several factors, the Haitian Revolution and the state’s increasing free black population among them.

Where manumission agreements were already difficult after the Act of 1800, they were tightened still by the Act of 1820, which decreed that any manumission had to be approved by both houses of the state legislature before it was declared legal. Lacy K. Ford has determined that the Act of 1820 “had nearly the same effect as an absolute ban” and that “not a single slave was manumitted during the first year of the legislative

---

<sup>5</sup> South Carolina Act of 1800 quoted in Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 35

petition system.” Ford found the South Carolina legislature eventually allowed for occasional manumissions, but “usually approved only those requests that provided for the freed slave’s certain and immediate removal from the state.”<sup>6</sup> But the legislature was not finished. In the Act of 1822, following the Denmark Vesey conspiracy, the South Carolina legislature again sought greater restrictions on free blacks by disallowing them from reentering the state if they were to ever leave for any reason. Finally, the Act of 1841 “closed all loopholes to emancipation” by declaring “void all trusts ‘intended to take effect after the death of the owner whereby the removal of any slave without the limits of the State, is secured or intended, with a view to the emancipation of such slave.’”<sup>7</sup> To be sure, legislative remedies for their concerns with free blacks were not limited to restricting manumissions but also included laws restricting literacy, access to courts, and various other civil rights that will be discussed in later chapters. For the moment, however, it is beneficial to examine the circumstances, currents, and methods that gave freedom and opportunity despite impediments.

Much as Ford suggests, historians Michael Johnson and James L. Roark contend in *Black Masters* that manumission itself was much less common in the lower South than in the upper South, and that “slaves who achieved their freedom in the Lower South were usually special in some way. Typically they were mulatto. . . . Often they were the children or the concubines of the masters who manumitted them. Or, if they were not blood relatives of their master, they were likely to be a domestic servant, a nurse, a skilled craftsman, or an overseer – one of the mulatto elite who had frequent personal

---

<sup>6</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 196.

<sup>7</sup> Act of 1841 and discussion cited in Wikramanayke, *A World in Shadow*, 43.

contact with the master.”<sup>8</sup> The population censuses themselves begin to confirm this pathway to freedom, particularly for free people of color closest to Charleston. Of the 420 free people of color living in the rural Charleston District parishes in 1850, 307, or roughly 73 percent, were mulatto. Such a high percentage of mixed ancestry immediately suggests what later became known as “miscegenation” as a key factor through which free people of color received their freedom. For example, a white slaveowner might have legally manumitted his mulatto children – a case where his paternity might override the doctrine of paternalism and the belief that slaves needed white oversight. Nonetheless, miscegenation was not so clear in upcountry districts. There mulattos were a considerably smaller segment of the free person of color population. In Sumter District in 1850, just over 50 percent of the 340 free people of color were mulatto, in Abbeville District 113 of the district’s 331 free people of color were mulatto, and in Newberry District, only 43 of the district’s 212 free people of color were enumerated as mulatto.<sup>9</sup> These statistics do not necessarily reflect that miscegenation was more prevalent in the lowcountry parishes, but perhaps that its acknowledgement through manumissions was more common. Several factors likely influenced this disparity between the upcountry and lowcountry’s free mulatto populations. By the 1820s when cotton plantation society blossomed in the upcountry

---

<sup>8</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 32-33.

<sup>9</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District, SC. In both Sumter and Abbeville, the census taker marked two more free people of color in the actual count than he recognized his aggregate count of total free people of color in the district.

districts, legislative acts had already curtailed owners' abilities to quietly manumit slaves. If they wished to free a slave or child after some illicit sexual liaison, after 1800 the manumission would have to accompany what amounted to an allocution to a local magistrate court or eventually the legislature. Of course, this also brought the influences of the upcountry's religious community to bear. The lowcountry however was an older slave society. As will be discussed later, manumissions via wills from the Charleston District sometimes explicitly admitted to miscegenation when freeing slaves, but these brazen admissions were nearly unheard of in emancipatory wills from the upcountry. Nonetheless, miscegenation is just one factor, among others including official manumission, self-purchase, freedom in exchange for merit, and marriages, which all represent the principal origins for free people of color in South Carolina.

The first wave of legal emancipations in South Carolina included a number of mulattos, but historian Robert Olwell has determined that the percentage recorded for them is highly disproportionate to their free populations. "While three fourths of nineteenth-century South Carolina's free people of colour [sic] were described as 'mulatto', only a third of those whose manumissions were recorded before 1786 were similarly perceived."<sup>10</sup> Olwell contends that freed mulattoes may not have felt as compelled to register their manumissions. Perhaps believing that their skin tone and white relatives afforded them some protection, these freed mulattoes may not have seen great need to secure against any doubts that they were indeed free by formally filing their manumissions.<sup>11</sup> Olwell's 1996 article in *Slavery and Abolition*, "Becoming Free:

---

<sup>10</sup> Olwell, "Becoming Free," 5.

<sup>11</sup> Olwell, "Becoming Free," 5-6.

Manumission and the Genesis of a Free Black Community in South Carolina, 1740-90,” focused specifically on these colonial era manumissions and confirmed that the Enlightenment and mulatto-ness had strong correlations with emancipations. Olwell uncovered “379 separate deeds of manumission” for the period between 1737 and 1785 in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History’s “Miscellaneous Record Books”.<sup>12</sup> Olwell further contends that these manumissions only represented some of the contracts from the period as “not all manumissions were publicly recorded.” Analyzing manumissions by date, Olwell determines that 53 percent occurred between 1775 and 1785 and were undoubtedly influenced by the “importance of the Revolution.”<sup>13</sup> A short-lived wave of late colonial-era manumissions were inspired by Enlightenment ideology that influenced some slaveowners to offer freedom to their slaves in the spirit of American liberty.<sup>14</sup> Still, during this time “the most favoured [*sic*] group were mulatto, female, children, and the least favoured [*sic*] were black men” suggesting that miscegenation was a powerful factor even for these colonial era manumissions and that access to freedom was still strongly tied to skin color.<sup>15</sup>

What remains clear for manumissions in the seventeenth century is the prevalence of mulatto manumissions and, as Johnson and Roark point out, the actual rarity of

---

<sup>12</sup> Olwell, “Becoming Free,” 4.

<sup>13</sup> Olwell, “Becoming Free,” 5.

<sup>14</sup> Olwell, “Becoming Free,” 31; Johnson and Roark also point to a relatively small number of slaves who were freed after serving as “substitutes for their white masters, with the personal promise of freedom after their term of service.”

<sup>15</sup> Olwell, “Becoming Free,” 5.



manumissions in the Lower South's slave society. They estimate that "probably not many more than one slaveholder in a thousand manumitted his slaves."<sup>16</sup> Eighteenth-century manumission documents illustrated varied reasons for emancipation. In Sumter, South Carolina, William Pearson's 1783 will gave freedom to his "trusty Negro fellow Jem" and the use of twenty acres during his natural life.<sup>17</sup> Miscegenation seems to be among the factors for release from slavery. For example, the 1746 manumission by Berkeley County resident Sarah Somerville who freed her slave boy named Billey. Somerville, a widow, noted that Billey was the mulatto son of her "negro woman named Juno."<sup>18</sup> The exact identity of the father is unclear, and it is even possible the child could have been the son of Somerville's late husband. Regardless of the father's identity, it is clear that the child was from mixed racial heritage. Further suggesting the evidence for the child's illicit origin, Somerville freed the boy without noting any exchange of money. Other manumissions required payment in exchange for freedom. For example, Charles Cordes, an adult slave in Christ Church Parish near Charleston, was freed as a faithful servant, yet still had to pay £750 for his freedom in 1749.<sup>19</sup> Reflecting on William Ellison's now widely known transition from slavery to freedom through his skills as a

---

<sup>16</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 32.

<sup>17</sup> Will of William Pearson of Camden District, Sumter County Will Typescript, S108093:25:52, SCDAH; Also cited in Gregorie, *History of Sumter County, South Carolina* (Sumter, SC: Library Board of Sumter County, 1954), 131.

<sup>18</sup> Sarah Somerville to Billy, Miscellaneous Records, Charleston Series 1743-1746, FF:436, SCDAH. It should be noted that this manumission was recorded for Berkeley County, but likely represents a portion of the Charleston District.

<sup>19</sup> Hester Dwight to Charles Cordes, Misc. Records, Charleston Series, HH:101, SCDAH.

cotton gin mechanic, Johnson and Roark determined “self-purchase,” was only available “to the relatively few slaves who had the skills and ambition necessary to earn extra money, the discipline and self-sacrifice needed to save it, and masters willing to accept it in exchange for freedom.”<sup>20</sup>

Perhaps the most famous self-purchase in South Carolina, however, did not involve a slave who had saved industriously for cash. Late in 1799, a slave named Telemaque won \$1,500 in the “ ‘East-Bay Lottery.’ ” Better known as Denmark, he then paid \$600 for his freedom and soon adopted his former owner’s surname, Vesey.<sup>21</sup> Twenty-two years later, Denmark Vesey was at the center of an alleged conspiracy to lead a slave insurrection in and around Charleston. “In all, related to Vesey’s plan, the Charleston courts arrested 131 slaves and free blacks. Thirty were released without trial. Of the 101 men who appeared before the tribunals, the magistrates ordered 35 hanged and 37 . . . transported to Spanish Cuba. Twenty-three were acquitted, 2 more died while in custody, 3 were found not guilty but were whipped, and 1 free black was released on condition that he leave the state.”<sup>22</sup> Ironically, at least some of Charleston’s free black population came from the same island that had inspired Vesey’s insurrection. But, in stark contrast to Vesey, these were “mulatto refugees who had fought on the side of the

---

<sup>20</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 32.

<sup>21</sup> Douglas R. Edgerton. *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey* (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1999; reprint, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004),73-74 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

<sup>22</sup> Douglas R. Egerton, “Denmark Vesey,” in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 998-999.

losing planters in the Haitian revolution at the end of the eighteenth century.” Vesey’s self-purchase came just one year before the Act of 1800.<sup>23</sup>

The Act of 1800 severely complicated self-purchase agreements, but scholar Marina Wikramanayake found “little evidence that this measure of regulation either hampered manumission or checked the growth of the free black population.”<sup>24</sup> Despite the act’s prescription that all manumissions be approved by local magistrate courts, owners continued to utilize what was perhaps the most common method for freeing slaves – an owner’s last wishes. These arrangements continued to reveal evidence, some undisguised, of miscegenation and a persistent willingness among some whites to circumvent the law while freeing slaves. Thus there seemed to be little consistency enforcing the Act of 1800 against these probate arrangements. Wills continued to bequeath freedom as they had before the act, and when the Act of 1800 sought to stymie emancipation, some industrious executors found ways to sidestep the laws until the Act of 1841 emphatically declared any provision to give freedom null and void without the legislature’s direct consent.

Miscegenation and unconventional manumissions both represented challenges to traditional order at the local level. In most states, “no black, free or slave, could legally sleep with a white,” but in South Carolina, however, laws before the Civil War did not punish white men for their sexual relations with black women, thus miscegenation was

---

<sup>23</sup> Vesey’s plan to migrate freed slaves to Haiti or set up Haitian- like republic in Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 38-9; For mulatto Haitian refugees in Charleston see Jack Bass and W. Scott Poole, *The Palmetto State: The Making of Modern South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 26.

<sup>24</sup> Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 35.

not expressly illegal. Regardless of its legality, miscegenation's dishonor created a culture of secrecy, as "interracial sex was said to be a violation of both natural and divine law."<sup>25</sup> Edward Ball, writing *Slaves in the Family*, a memoir of his own Charleston District planter family, recalled discussing the possibility of miscegenation in his own family. When Ball asked a relative if any of the Ball family slept with their slaves, the relative quickly denied the possibility. Ball remembered: "I did not believe I would hear many reports from the white side about whether any Ball men slept with their slaves, so I let the subject drop."<sup>26</sup> In truth, Edward Ball discovered several instances as he delved into his family's past. The most prominent example was Edward Tanner, born in 1741 and likely the mulatto son of a slave and patriarch Elias "Red Cap" Ball. Edward Ball concluded the Tanner simply gained his freedom by habit, the family treating him as free and the neighbor acquiescing to the arrangement. Establishing himself economically through leatherwork and cobbling, Tanner lived among his white relatives and eventually acquired ten slaves.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Miscegenation as illegal in most states in Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 8; Miscegenation laws in SC, see Bernard E. Powers Jr., "Free Persons of Color," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 341-342; Legality of interracial marriage in South Carolina also discussed in Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 53; Interracial sex as violation of divine law in Edward Ball, *The Sweet Hell Inside: A Family History* (New York: William Morrow, 2001), 25; Charles Frank Robinson II has determined that "by the eve of the Civil War, twenty-one out of thirty-four states had some legislation that proscribed or punished interracial sexual contacts," most among the slave states. See, *Dangerous Liaisons: Sex and Love in the Segregated South* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 2003), 9.

<sup>26</sup> Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 58.

<sup>27</sup> Ball, *Slaves in the Family*, 188-189; For Tanner's economic position and slave ownership, see Hayden Ros Smith, "Rich Swamps and Rice Grounds: The Specialization

Where the Ball family, at least in the older generations, chose to hide their family's sexual relationships with slaves in favor of at least one quiet emancipation, other South Carolinians sometimes openly documented their relations in their wills. In short, wills often represented times when "[d]eathbed contrition occasionally led to breaches of the taboo against personal, public confession."<sup>28</sup> Coming just before the Act of 1800, Conrad Noll's 1797 will decreed that his "mulatto boy William be brought up as my executor shall think proper, and at the age of Twenty one years be made free."<sup>29</sup> Noll's free mulatto descendants remained in the Charleston District and in the 1850 census were farming in St. James Santee Parish. Vincent Peter made a more explicit admission in his 1842 will, bequeathing all of his earthly property to "Elizabeth Peter, Mary Peter, and Lewis Peter my children of color, duly emancipated by me according to the laws of the said State as will appear on record in the Clerk of Courts office at Charleston." Coming just after the Act of 1841, Peter not only acknowledged his three biracial children, but he also documented they were duly manumitted and not subject to seizure under the

---

of Inland Rice Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1670-1861," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Georgia, 2012), 237-238.

<sup>28</sup> Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982; reprint, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007), 311 (page citations to reprint edition); Victoria Bynum also discusses the dishonor associated with miscegenation and excuses sometimes offered for interracial sexual relations in her article "On the Lowest Rung: Court Control over Poor White and Free Black Women," *Southern Exposure* vol. 12 no. 6 (November – December 1984): 42.

<sup>29</sup> Conrad Nowell was enumerated as a single white male with three slaves living in Christ Church Parish in 1790. 1790 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; Will of Conrad Noll, Charleston County Wills, 26:577; William Noll paid the capitation tax (levied on free blacks) and property taxes for 284 acres of land in St. James Santee in 1824. His descendants are listed in the 1850 population. See, William Noll Tax Return for 1824, St. James Santee Parish, S126061:1824:2425, SCDAH; and, 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

legislature's most recent restrictions. In short, his will was a final safety measure to ensure their enduring freedom and unquestionable status as free people. Notably, Vincent Peter did not free his slave, Betty, who he recorded was the mother of his children. Rather than free the woman, Peter expressed his wish that she never be sold, but treated "with every attention and care."<sup>30</sup>

While some wills seemed to acknowledge the limitations South Carolina placed upon manumissions and its procedures, others, particularly before the Act of 1841, seemed to go about manumitting slaves with what might be called an innovative regard for legal procedure. In 1815 James Henry Montgomery, of Sumter District, directed a total of eleven slaves be left to his wife and daughter, but asks that "two children of a free wench nam.d [sic] Susanha" be freed. Written the previous year, Montgomery's intentions to free two slaves clearly violated the Act of 1800. Later in 1815, addressing this limitation, Montgomery's widow petitioned the South Carolina Senate stating that "James Henry Montgomery on his deathbed requested of petitioner (because he could not do it by will) to emancipate the two following female slaves Sarah and Susan together with their children consisting of eight in number who are all under ten years of age and incapable of earning their support." While it is unclear if Leonora Montgomery meant that her husband was physically incapable of amending his will, it appears she recognized that his request violated South Carolina law. Because court records are incomplete, it is unclear if she presented her manumission request to the Sumter's magistrate's court, and

---

<sup>30</sup> Will of Vincent Peter, Charleston County Wills, 42:373-374, CCPL; Vincent Peter appears to have purchased the slave Betty in 1811 from Thomas Sheppard. See Thomas Sheppard to Vincent Peter, Bill of Sale for a slave named Betty, S213003:004D:99, SCDAH.

then sought remedy with the legislature. When her petition was promptly rejected by the Senate Judiciary Committee in December of 1815, Montgomery disregarded legislative opinion and simply freed the slaves through a deed in the spring of 1816.<sup>31</sup>

While Lenora Montgomery wholly disregarded the legislature, other South Carolinians turned to more creative solutions to challenge manumission restrictions. The 1836 will of George Broad of St. Johns Berkeley Parish attempted to provide virtual freedom for a slave woman, their eleven mulatto children, and two grandchildren in the rural Charleston parish. Rather than simply disregard the law, Broad's will acknowledged that his will could not provide direct manumission without the legislature's approval. So instead, Broad simply bequeathed his entire family to his friend John R. Dangerfield. The will explicitly assigned ownership under the condition that Dangerfield allow them to "apply and appropriate their time & labor to their own proper use . . . without the intermeddling or interference of any person."<sup>32</sup> Broad's creative, albeit illegal, *de-facto* manumission was met with community protest and neighbors actually attempted to seize the slaves on two separate occasions after Broad's death, but the courts ruled in favor of Dangerfield as long as he paid taxes on the slaves

---

<sup>31</sup> Will of James Henry Montgomery, S108093: 25:265, SCDAH; Petition of Lenora Gamble Montgomery S165015:1815:136, SCDAH; Judiciary Committee Report Concerning Petition of Lenora G. Montgomery, S165005:1815:174, SCDAH; Sumter County historian Anne King Gregorie made no mention of James Henry Montgomery's will or his widows subsequent petitions, but does record Lenora Gamble freeing eleven slaves by deed. See Gregorie, *History of Sumter County*, 132; In his 1799 will, Henry Wakefield of Abbeville County directed that at his widow's death, his slave Robert should be freed. It is unclear if Henry Wakefield's heirs ever freed the slave and the following year the Act of 1800 would have required them to appear in magistrate's court seeking approval for the release. Will of Henry Wakefield, S108093: 4:72, SCDAH.

<sup>32</sup> Will of George Broad, Charleston County Wills, 40:428-429, CCPL.

and kept the terms of the will. According to Dangerfield's son, Starling, the family finally had to forfeit the slaves back to the state when his father broke the terms of will shortly before he died in 1853. Starling Dangerfield's 1856 petition to the legislature indicated that his father violated the terms by selling three of the slaves after an argument. One neighbor, Dr. Theodore Gaillard, actually petitioned the General Assembly requesting that the forfeited mulattoes be turned over to his stewardship, so he could send them to Liberia.<sup>33</sup> Again, such a reaction from the community highlights their contempt for Broad's effort to provide virtual manumission to his mulatto children through his will. Wills like George Broad's and deeds like those drawn by Lenora Montgomery were precisely the types of arrangements that the Act of 1841 explicitly prohibited: manumissions "by wills, deeds of trust or any other conveyances," and decreeing " 'that any bequest, gift or conveyance of any slave or slaves, accompanied with a trust or confidence, either secret or expressed that such slave or slaves shall be held in nominal servitude only, shall be void and no effect.' " The law further warned that violating the Act of 1841 would result in the state seizing the slaves.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> See Citizens of St. Johns Berkeley Petition and Supporting Documents, Petitions to the General Assembly 1855-1856, 1855:51, SCDAH; Sterling J. Dangerfield and Jane Locklear, Children of John R. Daingerfield Petition, Petitions to the General Assembly 1855-1856, 1856:38, SCDAH; For more on the Broad-Dangerfield Slaves see, Helen Tunnicliff Catterall, ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Negro Slavery and the Negro* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1968), 2:367-368, 371, 447; Broad's will also mentioned in McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 118-119.

<sup>34</sup> Analysis and quotation from the Act of 1841 in Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 65; See also, Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 169; An arrangement meant to skirt the Act of 1841 appeared in 1851. Lamb Stephens was enumerated in the 1850 census as an eighty year-old free black man, alone in his household in St. James Goose Creek Parish. Stephens' slave schedule entry for the same year listed him as the owner for thirty slaves. Ten years later, Stephens appears in the 1860 census with a sixty-five year-old free black wife and thirteen year-old black son. Looking back to the 1850 slave schedule, the age



Wills and deeds that did not necessarily offer manumission still provided glimpses of challenges to state order, evidence of miscegenation, and sometimes important provisions for people of color who were already free. Michael Fowler's 1810 estate records begin to reveal a unique set of free mulatto families in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, outside of Charleston where white ancestry offered freedom and property. There the Anderson, Collins, and Fowler families were all mulatto descendants of white planters, John Holman Sr., Robert Collins, and Michael Fowler. John Holman Sr., an English slave trader migrated from Sierra Leone to South Carolina in 1790 with his five mulatto children and established a rice plantation in the parish. Robert Collins was "a white planter and patriarch of a mulatto family" in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish and Michael Fowler, a white planter from neighboring Christ Church Parish, named six mulatto children in his 1810 will. While noting the advantages in white ancestry for free people of color, historian Larry Koger observed that when the Holman and Collins families and a Collins relative, James Anderson, also a free black planter, began to intermarry, they wed "two property-owning classes." They joined a "slaveholding class

---

and race of some of Stephen's slaves might match the individuals living with him in 1860. Larry Koger's *Black Slaveowners*, confirms that Stephens did indeed keep a slave family. Koger relates that at one point in 1851, Stephens transferred his enslaved granddaughter and great-grandchild to a neighbor, Christian Alfs, after Stephens' granddaughter had been accused of theft. Stephens believed "that a slave who was owned by a black man would not receive justice in the courts." Koger further relates that when Stephens sued Alfs to return ownership, the courts actually found in Stephens' favor. Though unorthodox, Stephens' actions to protect his slave family reflect the restrictions imposed by the Act of 1820. Koger uses the spelling Stevens. It is possible that Lamb Stephens could not write his own name and it was simply spelled differently depending upon who was recording the name. At times, even Stephens' given name, Lamb, can be interpreted as the abbreviated form for Samuel, "SamL." See, Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 55-56.

with a landholding class, thus providing the two key ingredients for rice planting.”<sup>35</sup>

Indeed, Fowler’s children were still listed as slaveowners and farmers in the 1850 Agricultural Census and 1860 Tax Return Books for St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish.<sup>36</sup>

Though it did not offer the same level of economic security that the Fowler and Collins will gave, the 1824 will of Henry Glencamp indicated six children that he fathered with a free woman of color named Jenny in St. Stephens Parish. Glencamp served as the Superintendent of the Santee Canal in St. Stephens Parish, where his descendants still farmed in the 1850s.<sup>37</sup> In Newberry, Casandre Williams’ 1825 will listed several white children as descendants, but it singled out his grandson, Sheppard Williams, a free man of color to receive all the land that owned at the time of his death. Casandre Williams then directed that his personal property be sold and the profits divided among his daughter, three sons, and his grandson, Sheppard Williams. Likely on the land

---

<sup>35</sup> Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 41 and 118-119.

<sup>36</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Tax Return Books, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH; Fowler descendants as slaveowners also discussed in Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 41.

<sup>37</sup> Will of Henry Glindkamp, Charleston County Wills, 36:985, CCPL; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; The Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:9, ALSC; Glencamp’s will identifies him as the Superintendent of the Santee Canal and Frederick A. Porcher’s memoirs recalled that Glencamp, a German, had been the assistant to Col. Senf, the Santee Canal’s architect; Larry Koger also relates this material in *Black Slaveowners*, 29; Glencamp’s Estate paid taxes on seven blacks, one free person of color, and 500 acres of property in 1824, see Tax Return for Estate of H. Glendkamp, Individual Tax Returns for 1824, Item 3190, SCDAH; It is unclear whether or not if Glencamp and Jenny were legally married, but lived as man and wife. Glencamp also made arrangements in his will that would provide for Jenny as long as she remained unmarried.

he inherited, Sheppard Williams farmed sixty improved acres in 1850.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the most advantaged individual free person of color in the entire state was Reuben Robertson of Abbeville District, who though already free, gained an incredible economic opportunity through his inheritance. First studied by historian Lowry Ware, Robertson's white father left him twenty-seven slaves, 200 acres, livestock, and farming implements. Ware determined that by 1850, a prosperous Robertson owned fifty slaves and 700 acres. Aided by his inheritance, Reuben Robertson had become the largest slave-owning free person of color in the state.<sup>39</sup>

Other free people of color gained freedom and opportunity not through kinship with whites or self-purchase but through merit and reward. In Charleston District, Peter Desverneys' 1861 will recounted that he was "a free man of color, enfranchised by the State of South Carolina for meritorious conduct."<sup>40</sup> Desverneys was freed in 1822 for giving "evidence" which "led to the arrests made in the [Denmark] Vesey affair."<sup>41</sup> Desverneys was also granted an annual cash award. Desverneys' estate papers indicate that he left several parcels of property in the Barnwell District and a savings account to

---

<sup>38</sup> Will of Cassandre Williams, Newberry County Wills Typescript, S108093:19:866, SCDAH; 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District, SC.

<sup>39</sup> Lowry Ware, "Reuben Robertson of Turkey Creek: The Story of a Wealthy Black Slaveholder and His Family, White and Black," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* Vol. 91 No. 4 (October 1990), 261-264; See also Will of Robert Robertson, Abbeville District Wills Typescript, S108093:3:72:3, SCDAH.

<sup>40</sup> Will of Peter Desverneys, Charleston County Wills, CCPL, 49:866-867.

<sup>41</sup> Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 10.

his wife and children, but neither his will nor estate list his heirs by name.<sup>42</sup> An Isabella Desvernies and her young son, both mulattoes, lived in Christ Church Parish in 1850 and later lived in the City of Charleston where she paid the capitation tax in 1859. It is likely that she was one of Peter Desverneys' descendants.<sup>43</sup> Peter Desverney's emancipation was a particularly ironic case. At a time when slave emancipation was increasingly seen as counter to white security, he was freed precisely for his role in defending it.

In another, older, case an extraordinary group of free people of color gained tenuous access to white society in Sumter after their forbearers demonstrated patriotic service during the American Revolution – a service their descendants continued to trade upon well into the nineteenth century. Reflecting on the sordid stories about their origins, Marina Wikramanayake called them the “baffling breed called ‘Turks’ ” or “ ‘Free Moors’ ” who lived as free people of color but “claimed and received recognition as white citizens.”<sup>44</sup> Varying stories report their origins, including: that they were Mediterranean pirates, descendants of Moroccan Muslims or “Moors,” Turkish laborers

---

<sup>42</sup> Peter Desvernay Papers, 1854-1861, South Carolina Historical Society (hereafter SCHS).

<sup>43</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC, SC; *List of the Taxpayers of the City of Charleston for 1859* (Charleston: Steam Power Press of Walker, Evans, & Co., 1860), 388; For all the importance attributed to Desverneys in helping uncover the Vesey plot, he is not clearly referenced with the Desverneys surname in the leading scholarship on the event. Desverneys does not appear to have been an actual witness at the Vesey trial. It is likely, however, that Desverneys was the enslaved, mulatto cook named Peter who first alerted his master, Colonel John C. Prioleau after hearing about the conspiracy. Peter, a cook, is referenced in Egerton's South Carolina Encyclopedia entry, “Denmark Vesey,” 999. Also see Douglas R. Egerton, *He Shall Go Out Free*, 175-202.

<sup>44</sup> Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 20-21.

brought the colony by Thomas Sumter, or even Native Americans.<sup>45</sup> But the “most commonly accepted explanation of their origin is that two ‘foreigners,’ Joseph Benenhaley and a man named Scott, served General Thomas Sumter during the Revolutionary War and later settled on the general’s plantation.”<sup>46</sup> Sumter historian Cassie Nicholes related in her county history that the Thomas Sumter happened upon several men participating in and gambling on a cockfight. After chastising them for the sport two of the men decided to join Thomas Sumter to fight in the Revolution. “These were Yusef Ben Ali (later called Joseph Benenhaley), a Caucasian apparently through Arab descent, and a man who called himself Scott, who was thought to have been French, using an assumed name.” After the war, the Sumter reportedly offered land from his own

---

<sup>45</sup> Turk descendent Terri Ann Ognibene offers a concise summary of the various stories relating the Turks’ origins in South Carolina in a dissertation written for her doctorate in language and literacy education at Georgia State University. See, Terri Ann Ognibene, “Discovering the Voices of the Segregated: An Oral History of the Educational Experiences of the Turkish People of Sumter County, South Carolina,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgia State University, 2008), 10-17; In terms of their confusing origins, researcher Wes Taukschiray, formerly known as Wes White, sharply criticized interpretations of Turk origins in articles written on the Turks from 1953 to 1961 "So much hard feeling was generated and so much nonsense written about the Turks between 1953 and 1961 that I would like to pass over the subject as quickly as possible." He specifically noted "a rather poorly written article appeared during this time, on pages 53 to 56 of the January 1957 issue of *Ebony Magazine*" and a March 8, 1969 article in *The New Yorker*. White, cited a 1972 visit to the Turk community by University of South Carolina student Mike Boliver. White reported that Boliver found, “The mood of the community strictly opposes any sort of historical investigation. The people will tell any would-be historian that they don't know anything, don't think that anyone else does either, don't see any point in it, and think that he should go talk to some other member of the community.” [underlining in the original]. See, Wes Taukschiray Papers, Folder 10, South Caroliniana Library.

<sup>46</sup> Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 20-21; See also Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 19-20.

estate near Statesburg, in the Sumter District, where the two men raised families and where their descendants kept modest farms in the 1850s.<sup>47</sup>

There is no evidence that Sumter granted over title to the land, but his great-grandson Thomas Sabastian Sumter recounted that his family offered paternalistic protection to the Turks well into the twentieth century. Thomas Sabastian Sumter reported in his history of Statesburg that at some point both men's race called into question their rights to sit on a county jury. At that moment, "General Sumter was sent for" and an eyewitness reported to Thomas Sebastian Sumter, that he saw "General Sumter walk in, place his pistol on a desk and deliberately shake hands with both men and turning, asked if that was sufficient."<sup>48</sup> The story simultaneously indicates the Turks' racial status was not unquestioned and, save for Thomas Sumter's community influence, was likely fragile. Thus, even though they were not considered quite the same way as freed slaves or otherwise freed people of black descent, they were still marginalized as people of color and dependent on the Sumter family's paternalism for their degrees of freedom.

While white ancestry and merit could give freedom and opportunity, perhaps the most intriguing instance of emancipation and white support is a largely untold story from

---

<sup>47</sup> Cassie Nicholes, *Historical Sketches of Sumter County* (Sumter, SC: Sumter County Historical Association, 1975) 1:136; 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District, SC.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Sebastian Sumter, *Statesburg and Its People* (Statesburg, SC: Sumter Printing Company, 1922, reprint Sumter, SC: Sumter Printing Company, 1949) 69-70. Page citations to the reprint edition.

Newberry, Abbeville, and Lauren's Districts. In 1799, merchant Thomas Wadsworth recorded in his will:

Whereas I have been induced from notion of humanity to set free and emancipate, all the negro slaves that have been intrusted [*sic*] to my care, or that I may die possessed of: I do hereby leave them under the special care & direction of the Society of Quakers or Friends residing on Bush River, Newberry County, in the State of South Carolina; & I do hereby give to that Society full & complete authority to receive from my executors titles for as much land, as when divided . . . will amount to fifty acres for each of my said slaves aforesaid. . . . I do further give & bequeath to each of my said slaves so to be emancipated as aforesaid, one good milch [*sic*] cow and a sow, or the value thereof in other stock or farming utensils, to be delivered to them by my executors when set free, and which it is my wish might take place as soon after my death, as the necessary & requisite arrangements for that purpose can be made or at any rate within six months thereafter. And I do hereby give & bequeath to a mulatto free girl named Silvey, & a mulatto free boy named Archibald, both of whom make part of my Family at this time, the same to each of them, as I have given to my negro slaves, as above mentioned, or the value thereof.<sup>49</sup>

By itself Thomas Wadsworth's will was highly unusual in South Carolina -- both in scope and the provisions offered in emancipation, but the story does not end there. Wadsworth's business partner William Turpin continued to provide for their emancipated slaves in his will thirty-six years later.

Turpin, who had relocated from Charleston to New York, decreed in his lengthy 1835 will that \$8,000 be divided equally among the families of "twenty-one slaves set free by the will of my partner Thomas Wadsworth, in the year 1799, to their heirs and assigns forever, as a proper remuneration for their services, when slaves to Wadsworth and Turpin." Turpin's will also provided for at least four more free people of color that were all former slaves. Turpin left: his "freed black woman Jenney . . . all that lot of land

---

<sup>49</sup> Will of Thomas Wadsworth (Copy), Thomas Wadsworth Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

. . . together with the two story brick house, and all other improvements thereon . . . in Charleston, South Carolina” on Society Street. He further asked that one room be reserved for “my black man Will, during his natural life.” Then, Turpin gave “to my freed black people, Tom, March, Feb, Mary, and Edward” a two story wooden house on Magazine Street and decreed that a white woman, Sarah Gray, have a tenement in the house, “on condition only that she shall reside therein, and act as guardian and protector to these coloured [*sic*] people.” And, finally, to “my free black man, Lund Turpin (a Methodist preacher),” Turpin left \$1,000. This was all in addition to similar arrangements that Turpin made for other former slaves in New York.<sup>50</sup>

At first glance, early historians determined that Wadsworth and Turpin freed their slaves and placed them under the care of the Bush River Quakers in Newberry out of religious convictions. One early United Daughters of the Confederacy historian, Anne Bachman Hyde, briefly mentioned Wadsworth: “This old Quaker may have been the originator of the ‘forty-acres-and-a-mule’ theory, which he certainly carried into practice.”<sup>51</sup> Still, Wadsworth and Turpin’s motivations were more complex than simple

---

<sup>50</sup> Turpin’s will located: seven families “now living in Newberry District; 1<sup>st</sup> Family, James and Bets; 2d family, Priss and three children; 3d family, Jenny and three children; 4<sup>th</sup>, John and two children; 5<sup>th</sup> Betty and four children; 6<sup>th</sup> family Mike ----; 7<sup>th</sup>, Fanny and two children, and to 2 families in Abbeville District; 8<sup>th</sup> family, Let and five children; 9<sup>th</sup>, Rachell and children to 11 families in Laurens District; 10<sup>th</sup> family, Sarah Kain Jones and eight children; 11<sup>th</sup> family, Liz and seven children; 12<sup>th</sup> family, Line -----; 13<sup>th</sup>, Cloe and five children; 14<sup>th</sup> family, Philis -----; 15<sup>th</sup>, Charlotte and two children; 16<sup>th</sup> family, Thomas and -----; 17<sup>th</sup> family, Edmund ----; 18<sup>th</sup> family, Miley ----; 19<sup>th</sup>, Martha; 20<sup>th</sup>, Rubin and ----; one family in Union District; 21<sup>st</sup>, Silvey and two children.” Will of William Turpin (Typescript), SCDAH, S108093:4:562.

<sup>51</sup> Anne Bachman Hyde, “Early Efforts to Suppress the Slave Trade and Abolish Slavery in the South,” in *The Missionary Survey* vol. 12 no. 2 (February 1922), 102; For another early mention of Wadsworth see Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and*



Quaker abolitionism. Neither appeared to have joined the church but only attended the Charleston Quaker meeting occasionally.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Wadsworth left no money to any Quaker congregation and Turpin only bequeathed \$200 – a relatively small sum compared to his other beneficiaries – to the “Fellowship Society.” Late in life William Turpin touted himself to James Madison as the lone advocate for the “cause of the oppressed Africans” for nearly 40 years and he rejoiced that “now God has raisd [sic] up 40 millions of consiensious [sic] people throughout the world to advocate their cause & is dailey [sic] adding more.”<sup>53</sup>

In addition to freeing slaves, Turpin left considerable money to well-known early abolitionists. His will directed that Benjamin Lundy, “editor of the paper called *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*,” and William Lloyd Garrison, editor of *The Liberator*, receive \$1,500 each. Turpin further directed that American Anti-Slavery Society leader, Arthur Tappan, and Israel Coarse receive “two hundred shares in Mechanics Bank, in trust and confidence that they shall give and transfer them to such society or institution, as in their opinion will best promote the education and welfare of the descendants of Africa. To Peter A. Jay, Thomas Hale, and Charles Collins he left

---

*Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 227.

<sup>52</sup> Ellis Yarnall, “A Visit to Friends in Charleston, South Carolina, 1819,” *Bulletin of Friends’ Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. 9 no. 3 (May 1920), 122. I am particularly grateful to Christopher Densmore for bringing this citation to my attention for his thoughtful advice and explanations surrounding Quakers and slavery.

<sup>53</sup> William Turpin to James Madison, December 25, 1833, James Madison Papers, Founders Early Access Website – The University of Virginia, Accessed February 15, 2014, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=FOEA-print-02-02-02-2893>.

“one hundred shares in Mechanics Bank, to be conveyed and transferred to the New York Society for promoting the manumission of slaves, for the benefit of the African Free School.” In short, William Turpin was not simply a man compelled to help free slaves out of simple passing religious convictions –whatever his motivations he was an ardent abolitionist. Turpin’s will and the arrangements that Wadsworth and Turpin made were touted in Boston’s *The Daily Atlas*, *The Liberator*, and presumably in more northern publications – but they seem to have gone relatively unnoticed in South Carolina.<sup>54</sup>

It may not be surprising that Turpin’s final arrangements went without protest in South Carolina. Turpin died in New York, where his estate was presumably settled, and it was his partner’s South Carolina will that, years earlier, actually emancipated so many slaves – in a time just before southern legislatures began to crack down on manumissions. More than this, white South Carolinians were clearly willing to disregard and creatively circumvent the laws restricting manumission and they often provided the newly freed people with means for economic independence. Thus, except for its scope, Thomas

---

<sup>54</sup> Will of William Turpin (Typescript), SCDAH, S108093:4:562; Gifts to abolitionists also noted briefly in Rosser H. Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 48; Turpin’s will in: *The Daily Atlas*, (Boston, MA), January 28, 1835; *The Liberator*, (Boston, MA) January 31, 1835; *The Liberator* cites the *New York Journal of Commerce* as their source for Turpin’s will and it is very likely that other regional newspapers carried the record; There is also some record that Garrison received his share, see letter from Garrison to Lewis Tappan, February 29, 1836. In Louis Ruchames, Editor, *A House Dividing Against Itself: The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1971) 2:49-54. ; For Turpin’s money put to use for black education in the North, see articles in the *Colored American* titled “Phoenix School” dated July 1, 1837 and “The Turpin Legacy” dated December 30, 1837; William Turpin wrote letters to Thomas Jefferson and James Madison advocating for abolition. In one letter to Thomas Jefferson in 1825, Turpin urged the aging former president to free his slaves and liberate them to Haiti. See William Turpin to Thomas Jefferson March 29, 1825, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, National Archives Online, Accessed on February 15, 2014, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-01-02-0513>.

Wadsworth's 1799 will and its arrangements may not have been particularly unusual at the time. Even after the legislature restricted manumissions to those approved by local juries in the Act of 1800 and then required legislative approval under the Act of 1820, Larry Koger determined that illegal manumissions continued, despite the law, with executors allowing wills to illegally manumit slaves who simply blended "into the free black community."<sup>55</sup> The practice was common enough that the legislature enacted the more stringent Act of 1841 that "closed all loopholes to emancipation" by declaring "void all trusts 'intended to take effect after the death of the owner whereby the removal of any slave without the limits of the State, is secured or intended, with a view to the emancipation of such slave.'"<sup>56</sup>

The state's increasingly restrictive manumission laws were direct responses to gaps between law and local practice, but South Carolina was still slower than some of its neighbors when restricting manumission. The evidence that white Carolinians continued to free slaves while ignoring regulatory laws, the legislature's need for sturdier restrictions, and South Carolina's slower progression toward more forceful anti-manumission laws all suggest something was different about slavery and freedom in South Carolina. And there appears to have been a tolerance – maybe not always from the legislature but often enough in day-to-day life. North Carolina's legislature reserved manumissions to their own discretion and for county courts in 1796. Reflecting on this law, John Hope Franklin determined that "slaves were manumitted with ease" and that

---

<sup>55</sup> Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 35-36; For a discussion of manumission in North Carolina, see John Hope Franklin, "Slaves Virtually Free in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *The Journal of Negro History* vol. 28 no. 3 (July 1943): 284-310.

<sup>56</sup> Act of 1841 and discussion cited in Wikramanayke, *A World in Shadow*, 43.

“by 1830, the laws concerning manumission had become something of a dead letter and were rather generally disregarded.” Franklin found that during that year the North Carolina General Assembly took steps to require newly freed slaves to leave the state, but that slaveowners continued to free slaves through their wills until that practice was outlawed by legislative act in 1861.<sup>57</sup>

Georgia lawmakers were more strident enforcing manumission restrictions than South Carolina and also gave the process over to legislative prerogative much sooner than South Carolina. Scholars suggest that Georgia’s laws were massaged to close existing loopholes during the same period that South Carolina’s lawmakers worked to close all gaps in the manumission procedure. In 1801 the Georgia legislature dictated that all manumissions must be approved by individual acts of the legislature and that any “attempt to set free a slave by any other mode than by application to the legislature was visited with severe penalties.” This act also made it illegal for county clerks to “enter on record any deed of manumission or other paper which had for its object the manumitted or setting free any slave or slaves.” Disregarding the law carried a two hundred dollar fine; and the charge was increased to five hundred dollars in 1818 – Lacy K. Ford called this act the “centerpiece of Georgia’s postwar crackdown.” The Act of 1818 further “rendered void all subsequent manumission by testament,” a decree that was reaffirmed in 1859. Historian Ruth Scarborough determined that white Georgians were apparently disregarding the Act of 1801 and thus gave legislature cause to tighten regulations throughout the nineteenth century. Like South Carolina, Georgia seemed to enforce these laws inconsistently with local courts and individuals disregarding the rules and thereby

---

<sup>57</sup> Franklin, *The Free Negro in Antebellum North Carolina*, 22-29.

challenging the legislature to pass stronger laws. Even the legislature itself was not always galvanized in limiting the free black population. Scholar Edward Sweat found at least a few instances wherein the Georgia legislature freed slaves, even into the 1830s, without requiring them to leave the state.<sup>58</sup>

Compared to Georgia, South Carolina took longer to relegate all manumission to the state legislature's discretion, but white citizens continued to resist efforts to control emancipations. Freeing slaves under the law and outside of it produced a modest free black population and, in many cases, the emancipations were accompanied with resources that provided degrees of economic security. Thus manumissions immediately undermined the law and paternalism by releasing people of color from white oversight. And, once these people of color harnessed their freedom and opportunity, their varying degrees of economic sustainability further eroded paternalistic notions that Africans were lazy, helpless, perpetual children that needed white care and control to survive. As will be shown in the next chapter, land that people of color inherited or were given upon receiving their freedom, often by white planter ancestors, was usually held and used to carefully cultivate a living.

---

<sup>58</sup> Ruth Scarborough, *The Opposition to Slavery in Georgia Prior to 1860* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), 148-152; Lacy K. Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 195; See also Watson W. Jennison, *Cultivating Race: The Expansion of Slavery in Georgia, 1750-1860* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2012), 300; Edward Sweat, "The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Georgia," 18-22.

## CHAPTER 3

### HARD ROWS TO HOE: FREE BLACK FARMERS

James Cleveland was a typical farmer in St. Stephen's Parish -- a rural farming community along the Santee River just north of Charleston. Cleveland's most conspicuous neighbors were the planters that dominated the choicest ground, kept a number of slaves, and forced them to sow and harvest rice. But tucked behind and wedged among the plantations, away from the valuable land on the river's edge lived men like Cleveland, commonly called "plain people" – those white southerners who were neither planter nor slave. These common people ranged from sturdy yeoman to tenant farmers to poorer laborers. Farmers like James Cleveland fit squarely within the yeomanry. They owned their land, sometimes had a few slaves, but were themselves the primary laborers on their farms. In 1850, Cleveland farmed twenty-five improved acres on his 250 acre tract. He grew neither cotton nor rice, but concentrated his own labor on his own land to grow staple food crops like corn and potatoes, feeding his family, and perhaps trading or taking some of his surplus production to market. In nearly all respects, Cleveland was like most of the small farmers in his district, save for one important distinction – James Cleveland was free man of color.<sup>1</sup>

Cleveland's small parcel of land and his farming strategies located him among the yeomanry but his economic status was made remarkable by his race. "Free" and "person

---

<sup>1</sup> Yeomen as primary laborers on their farms in McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 47-48; 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

of color” were a contradiction in terms according to South Carolina laws that determined slavery was the natural condition for people of color.<sup>2</sup> Clearly there were exceptions that allowed for the free people of color, but their race still denoted subordination and, often, degradation under the law and custom. As determined in chapter one, contemporary historiography has treated the South’s free blacks as such and few studies examine the lives of relatively economically independent populations of economically free men like Cleveland. Ira Berlin’s *Slaves without Masters* argued that most free people of color, constrained by laws, “were pushed into dismal poverty, forced to live and work under conditions barely distinguishable from those of the mass of slaves.” While Berlin recognized that some free people of color “made a comfortable living,” he determined these were mostly craftsmen or specialized laborers. Furthermore, he concluded that a “hard life in the countryside drove free Negroes to the cities.”<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Olwell, “Becoming Free,” 1.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 5; Berlin’s focus on legal parameters for free people of color in the United States cannot be separated from Frank Tannenbaum’s *Slave and Citizen*, which contrasted Iberian slave systems in Latin America and the citizenship they extended to free people of color against the racialized slave system in North America. In one comparison, Tannenbaum determined “in Brazil the Negro, and especially the mulatto, had an access to the culture and a role in social life unknown in the United States.” He concluded that in North American systems, “a barrier [had] been drawn against the Negro” and the “mere fact of being a Negro was presumptive of a slave status.” See Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 4 and 42; Charleston’s rural parishes present an important sample population for telling free black farmers’ stories who elected to make their way in the countryside rather than seek a life in the urban center of Charleston. Their rural numbers were substantially fewer than those in the city; just 420 among the 5,196 whites in the eight rural parishes surrounding Charleston in 1850. That same year, 3,441 free blacks lived within the city, with many working as laborers and craftsmen as Berlin reported was typical among urban free people of color. Examining their occupations in antebellum Charleston, historian Bernard Powers found that 68 percent of free blacks were employed as skilled laborers in 1850. In fact there so many skilled black laborers in the city, both free and enslaved, that they posed serious

The James Clevelands of the Old South make few appearances in Berlin's book. And though Berlin's work accurately described free blacks' liminal legal, social and economic statuses, self-sufficient free black farmers like Cleveland signaled that their actual positions in the countryside were sometimes more complicated than simply slaves without masters. Historians have typically ascribed free blacks' poor economic prospects to their liminal legal positions and have treated those successful free blacks like Sumter's William Ellison and William Johnson of Natchez, Mississippi as exceptions to the *Slaves Without Masters* paradigm. This chapter examines Cleveland and other free black yeomen and farmers that suggest a more conspicuous number of free blacks who were able to achieve degrees of economic independence in rural South Carolina. They crossed the boundary between race and class by establishing economic self-sufficiency through farm production. While not a majority among the free blacks in Charleston's rural parishes, their significant presence in the lowcountry and their existence in the upcountry challenged the ties between color and slavery and their story belongs among a growing

---

competition for white workers. White mechanics' associations repeatedly petitioned the state and city governments for help in the 1850s by asking that authorities discourage their enterprises by strictly enforcing capitation taxes on free blacks. Powers suggests that some free blacks workers were shielded by stigmas attached to their work which prevented some whites from competing with them in the city; Johnson and Roark detail the Charleston Mechanics' petitions to the City Council and state asking for relief from competition with black laborers. Most of their attention was trained on competition from slaves, but they also decried free black competition. Their 1858 petition to the state legislature that complained " 'the practice so extensively prevailing among free persons of color – carrying on business on their own account, making contracts for the erection of houses and other undertakings' as 'evils which demand the prompt intervention of the law.' " See, 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC;. De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States*, 302 and 397; Powers, *Black Charlestonians*, 41-48; Mechanics' Petition in Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 184; For similar controversies between urban free people of color and the white working-class in Savannah, see Lockley, *Lines in the Sand*, 64-74.



body of scholarship that takes their history seriously. Based on a careful examination of free black farm production in three rural Charleston parishes and three upcountry counties, Abbeville, Newberry, and Sumter, it begins to flesh out the ways that economic stability could offer important degrees of freedom for some rural free blacks. And, in those degrees of sufficiency, suggests how these free black farmers challenge the most assumptions that supported the ideology that slavery was a positive good – that African-Americans were perpetual children, lazy, and could not make their own way without white oversight and protection.<sup>4</sup>

In December 1859, William Bass, a free person of color from the Marlboro District in the South Carolina upcountry petitioned the state legislature for the right to be sold into slavery. Bass maintained:

his condition as a free person of color, a negro, is more degrading and involves more suffering in this state, than that of a slave, who is under the care, protection and ownership of a kind and good master; that as a free negro he is preyed upon by every sharper with whom he comes in contact, and that he is very poor, though an able bodied man, and is charged with and punished for every offence [*sic*], guilty or not, committed in his neighborhood; that he is without house or home, and lives a thousand times harder, and in more destitution, than the slaves of many of the planters in this [d]istrict.<sup>5</sup>

The timing of the Bass Petition and the legislature's response should be noted carefully.

Upon receiving the petition, the South Carolina Senate immediately voted to publish the

---

<sup>4</sup> Studies on free people of color since Berlin have typically treated the economically successful or self-sufficient as exceptions to the *Slaves Without Masters* thesis. For examples see, Edwin Adams Davis and William Ransom Hogan, *The Barber of Natchez* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973); Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark's *Black Masters*, Larry Koger's *Black Slaveowners*, and Melvin Patrick Ely's *Israel on the Appomattox*. Each work describes free people of color in the Old South as having varying degrees of economic success, despite the rule of law.

<sup>5</sup> *The Charleston Courier, Tri-Weekly* (Charleston, SC), 22 December 1859.

petition in state newspapers, even before the body's Committee on the Judiciary had a chance to debate the request. This action highlights the political motivations of the day. Less than three months after John Brown's abolitionist raid at Harpers Ferry, the South Carolina legislature publicized the Bass Petition in defense of slavery as positive institution.<sup>6</sup> Ironically, this same increasing sectional tension was also a likely cause for Bass's plight. While discussing this petition in *Black Masters*, Johnson and Roark suggest that "for whites, the most satisfying way to attain consistency [with proslavery ideology] was to have free Afro-Americans volunteer to become slaves."<sup>7</sup>

Clearly, the Bass Petition's publication was motivated by the political need to defend slavery in the sectional crisis, but why would Bass actually request to become a slave? Yet again, the petition's timing is relevant as it appeared during a period of high sectional tensions. Emily West's research on voluntary enslavement petitions found only four such requests in South Carolina, and maintains that similar petitions for voluntary enslavement in other southern states were largely confined to the "1850s and early 1860s" at the height of the sectional crisis over slavery. Moreover, West has also suggested that voluntary enslavement petitions were not always born out of economic hardship, but often engendered multiple considerations. West determines that economic hardship, particularly among single free black mothers, was indeed a consideration, but the desire to keep families together when, for example, a husband or father was enslaved

---

<sup>6</sup> For a brief discussion of the increased sectional tensions in South Carolina and the South following John Brown's raid see Ford, *The Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 367; Political motivations for the Bass Petition's publicity is also discussed in Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 165-66.

<sup>7</sup> *The Charleston Courier, Tri-Weekly* (Charleston, SC), 20 December 1859; Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 165.

was another strong motivation late in the sectional crisis – a time when state legislatures were debating expelling their free black populations.<sup>8</sup> Again, the timing of these extraordinary petitions may be more a reflection of tense sectional politics rather than the condition of a few free persons of color in the antebellum South. Moreover, to many slaveholders, requests for voluntary enslavement only confirmed their beliefs that people of color needed white ownership. Conversely, perhaps, free blacks farmers might have been conspicuous examples that they did not.

Determining just how many free blacks achieved economic self-sufficiency as small or yeomen class farmers requires a research approach that has typically been used to study white “plain folk” – those common whites who were not planters and left behind few manuscript records.<sup>9</sup> Pioneered by Frank Owsley’s *Plain Folk of the Old South* (1949) and continued in more recent works by Bill Cecil-Fronsman, Charles Bolton, Lacy K. Ford, Steven Hahn, and Stephanie McCurry, studies of these “common whites” use the census, court and probate records, newspapers, and government and legislative records to develop social histories for those who remain silent in manuscript

---

<sup>8</sup> Emily West, “ ‘She is dissatisfied with her present condition’: Requests for Voluntary Enslavement in the Antebellum American South,” *Slavery and Abolition* vol. 28 no. 3 (December 2007): 331; Emily West, *Family or Freedom*, 7.

<sup>9</sup> As Stephanie McCurry has observed, definitions for “yeoman” vary broadly from small farmers described by Frank Owsley, to definitions by Lacy Ford and Steven Hahn which locate the yeomanry among farmers who owned land but fewer than five slaves. For the purpose of this discussion, the yeoman is defined best by Stephanie McCurry. McCurry contends that the yeoman farmer “worked the land with their own hands” and that while they may have owned a few slaves, they “and their families composed the primary labor supply of their household.” See McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 47-48 and particularly page 47 note 24.

collections.<sup>10</sup> Examining farm production helps identify small farmers that grew food stuffs ahead of cotton or rice, and enables us to locate them within the bounds of the more broadly constituted “plain folk.” This examination relies on these sources to identify free people of color and identify their commonalities with white yeomanry -- or those small farmers who owned and served as the primary labor force on their own farms. This chapter begins by locating free people of color in the population and agricultural censuses in three rural Charleston district parishes where census records are most accurate: St. Stephen’s, St. Thomas and St. Denis, and St. James Santee and applies the same methodology to three upcountry districts – Abbeville, Newberry, and Sumter.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*; Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*; Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*; In addition to the methods used by McCurry, this dissertation adapts techniques for studying agricultural production among yeomanry in the federal agricultural census are also adapted from Ford’s *The Origins of Southern Radicalism*.

<sup>11</sup> Of the Charleston District Parishes, these three offer the most accurate records for the rural portions of the district. Both St. James Goose Creek and St. John’s Berkeley were also both rural and well-populated, however the common boundary was confused during the 1850 population enumeration thus preventing an accurate comparison with the agricultural census for both districts; The parish system described in this paper was part of the Church Act of 1706 which divided South Carolina into ten parishes for the Church of England. According to historian Edson Whitney, “once established, the advantages arising from the parish system became so apparent that very early the parish became the unit of local government in South Carolina.” Though the Church of England was dissolved in South Carolina during the American Revolution and the state created judicial districts in 1785, the parish system and its political boundaries remained standard in the lowcountry until 1865. Spellings for these parish names, particularly in original sources, are much in dispute. In this piece, I have adopted the most standardized spellings for St. James Santee, St. John’s Berkeley, St. Stephen’s, and St. Thomas and St. Denis Parishes. I have kept the original source spellings when quoting. See, Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 125; Edson L. Whitney, *Government of the Colony of South Carolina* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1895), 69-76; See also a series of entries on individuals parishes by Matthew A. Lockhart in Walter Edgar’s *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, including “St. John’s Berkeley Parish” and “St. Stephen’s Parish,” in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 826 and 830.

Free black farms, such as James Cleveland’s “Raccoon Hill,” were hardly unique in St. Stephen’s Parish. Cleveland was recorded in the 1850 agricultural census with 250 total acres, twenty-five of which were improved. He grew neither cotton nor rice, instead focusing on foodstuffs like corn and sweet potatoes – a typical strategy among white yeomen.<sup>12</sup> Common white farmers did this too. In North Carolina, historian Bill Cecil-Fronsman determined that this “ ‘safety first’ form of agriculture” ensured food on the table.<sup>13</sup> Lacy Ford called it a means to “guarantee self-sufficiency” rather than risk all efforts on cash crops.<sup>14</sup> With comparatively far fewer acres than his planter neighbors and without any slaves, Cleveland eschewed the risks of growing rice (and the market vagaries inherent to the crop), and instead used his limited resources to feed his family first. Only after this need was met could a typical yeoman consider trading surplus food stores on the market or planting rice or cotton. Cleveland’s land, his labor, and the way that he harnessed them to support his family place him squarely within Stephanie McCurry’s definition of a yeoman -- a “self-working” farmer.<sup>15</sup>

Cleveland was not alone in the parish as he turned the earth and farmed his own land as a free man of color. Determining precisely how many of Cleveland’s neighbors were self-working farmers requires careful excavation and examination of both the agricultural census and property tax returns. The 1860 South Carolina tax returns for St.

---

<sup>12</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC

<sup>13</sup> Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 102.

<sup>14</sup> Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 73.

<sup>15</sup> McCurry’s self-working farmer definition for yeomen in *Masters of Small Worlds*, 48; See also, Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 71n64.

Stephen's indicate that seven out of twenty, or 35 percent, of free black households owned land. Thirty-six of the parish's eighty-two total free people of color lived in these households. Moreover, four of the twenty St. Stephen's households, representing twenty free people of color, were slave-owning. Thus, nearly 44 percent of St. Stephen's Parish's free people of color lived in a household that owned land, and nearly 25 percent of the parish's free people of color lived in a household that owned slaves.<sup>16</sup> Ten years earlier, in 1850, the agricultural census for St. Stephen's listed eight farms that were operated by free people of color. With thirty-four total free people of color households in the parish in 1850, these eight farms represent about 23 percent of the parish's free black households. Seven of these farms were operated on land the families owned. Although these figures do not indicate a land-owning or slave-owning majority among the parish's free people of color, they represent a substantial free black yeomanry in the decade before the Civil War.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> 1860 Tax Return Books, St. Stephen's Parish, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

<sup>17</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Slave Schedule, Charleston District, SC; Eight free people of color farms in St. Stephen's were operated in 1850 by Isaac Glencamp, Henry Glencamp, James Cleveland, Jonathan Eady, Daniel Peagler, Sam More, and Robert Peagler; At least two other farms in St. Stephen's Parish appear to have been operated by free people of color in 1850. The agricultural census lists farms operated by Elizabeth Lindon and Sarah Lockelier. Elizabeth Lindon was white, but the rest of her household was mulatto. Lockelier, a sixty-five year-old woman, lived with two teenaged boys, no slaves, and next door to John and Stephen Lockelier, both mulatto households. Neither of the mulatto Lockeliers appear on the agricultural schedule, and it is likely that they labored on Sarah Lockelier's farm. No evidence exists suggesting a familial relationship between the three Lockeliers; Glencamp land ownership found in Will of Henry Glindkamp, CCPL; Cleveland land proved in Will of Catharine Cleveland, Charleston County Wills, 49:400-401, CCPL; Eady land in Will of Jonathan Eddy or Eady, Charleston County Wills, 49:562, CCPL;

While property ownership helps us identify yeomen among St. Stephen's Parish free people of color, it is the agricultural census that reveals their capacity for agricultural production. For this purpose, a few farm production categories from the 1850 and 1860 agricultural censuses can be averaged for the entire parish for free people of color farms and white farms with fifty-one to one hundred improved acres and those with fifty improved acres or less (see **Table 3.1**, **Table 3.2**, and **Table 3.3**). Comparing free blacks' farms against white farms of similar size removes large planters from the assessment and provides a fair comparison between common whites and free persons of color farms.

St. Stephen's Parish's free person's farm production was remarkably similar to that of white plain folk. In both 1850 and 1860, free person of color farmers with between fifty-one and one hundred improved acres kept milk cows and cattle in quantities that were only slightly lower than neighboring white farms of the same size. And despite keeping far fewer milk cows and cattle in 1850, smaller free black farms of fifty or fewer improved acres were much closer to parity with the small white farmers by 1860. Self-working farmers, white and black, tended to raise smaller quantities of livestock by 1860, reflecting a trend that Stephanie McCurry also observed in the

---

Peagler land in Will of Robert H. Peagler, Charleston County Wills, 47:772, CCPL and Will of Henry Peagler, Charleston County Wills, 43:817-818, CCPL.

**Table 3.1:** 1850 and 1860 St. Stephen's Parish Agricultural Survey Averages:

Populations	Number Of Farms	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Entire Parish 1850	72	26.10	51.20	55.20	522.20	2,128.50	1,086.90
1860	73	25.50	46.80	63.90	432.40	1,557.90	510.30
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	5	27.00	35.4	96.0	154.0	2,900.0	255.00
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	3	14.67	28.67	66.67	350.0	866.67	1,050.00
White Farms 1860	6	13.67	22.33	53.00	275.00	3,945.83	333.33
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	1	20.00	40.00	50.00	400.00	0	1,500.00
Farms with 50 or Fewer Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	37	8.14	14.81	41.24	141.22	779.73	187.16
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	5	2.60	4.60	29.00	156.00	0	179.00
White Farms 1860	46	7.52	11.76	57.59	125.33	416.30	183.70
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	7	6.71	10.86	13.57	150.00	585.71	850.00

Note: Farm production numbers represent averages for each category. F.P.O.C. denotes free person of color. Farm averages for free people of color only represent farms that were operated by those enumerated in the correlating population schedule as people of color during the same year. This includes James Peagler's farm from 1860 f.p.o.c figures, though he was enumerated as white that year, Peagler's racial identity in 1850 was as a free person of color. Sources: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.



**Table 3.2:** St. Stephen's Parish Free Black Farmers in 1850

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms with fewer than 50 Improved Acres								
Sam More	0	0	4	5	45	180	0	400
R. Peagler	15	235	6	14	25	75	0	100
James Cleveland	25	225	3	4	25	125	0	225
Isaac Glencamp	30	70	0	0	25	200	0	150
Henry Glencamp	30	70	0	0	25	200	0	20
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres								
J Peagler	60	290	20	30	80	350	1000	1200
D Peagler	75	925	12	13	80	450	1200	1500
J. Eady	100	700	12	43	40	250	400	450

Note: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.

**Table 3.3:** St. Stephen's Parish Free Black Farmers in 1860

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushel
Farms with fewer than 50 Improved Acres								
J Locklier	10	693	0	0	0	100	0	100
S Locklier	10	192	0	0	15	50	500	50
T. Freeman	14	890	20	40	30	150	0	500
S. Freeman	15	700	5	5	0	150	0	4500
T. Jefferson	16	0	6	6	10	250	0	300
N. Lewis	20	0	8	17	20	150	900	200
H. Glencamp	40	350	8	8	20	200	2700	300
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres								
J. Peagler	100	800	20	40	50	400	0	1500

Note: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.

Beaufort District during the same period. McCurry noted that “for reasons that are unclear, all yeomen reduced the size of their herds, especially swine, during the 1850s.” In the same decade, however, free black farmers consistently outpaced their white neighbors in corn and sweet potato production. In nearly every comparison to white farmers of the same acreage, free person of color farmers grew far more sweet potatoes -- a crop that could be stored for foodstuffs or sold locally.<sup>18</sup>

These black rural farmers embraced a safety-first mentality, not unlike that adopted by common white farmers in North Carolina and in the South Carolina upcountry. Still, safety-first agriculture did not signify an absence from the market economy but rather the yeoman’s tendency to carefully plan crops and avoid risk by “allocating enough acreage to subsistence crops to guarantee self-sufficiency and then planting staples on whatever land was not needed for the production of food.” As Stephanie McCurry has remarked, “virtually everything produced . . . was simultaneously a subsistence and a market crop” that could be eaten or traded.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, the market crop that “dominated the low-country economy” was rice, a staple that could be eaten or sold. Even Beaufort yeomen grew it with some frequency.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 69; For comparison, McCurry found that white yeomen in the Beaufort District with fifty or fewer improved acres grew an average 173 bushels of corn, see *Masters of Small Worlds*, 64.

<sup>19</sup> For safety-first agriculture see Cecil-Fronsmon, *Common Whites*, 102; and, Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 72-73; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 70.

<sup>20</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Slave Schedule, Charleston District, SC; Rice as a dominant factor in the lowcountry economy from Peter A. Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in*

Fewer than half of St. Stephen's free person of color farmers grew rice in 1850 or 1860 and their production depended both on the quality of their land and labor sources. Moreover, simply growing the crop was not a guarantee for long term success. Those who grew it likely did so opportunistically when conditions were right. Slaveholding was also a critical variable. In 1850 Daniel Peagler, James Peagler, and Jonathan Eady, were the only rice growers among the eight free person of color farmers in St. Stephen's; a somewhat smaller proportion than the 47.6 percent of white farmers with one hundred or fewer improved acres that grew rice that year. At the time, these rice growers were among the parish farms owned by free people of color who also owned slaves, a deciding factor in rice production. The 1850 slave schedules indicate that Daniel Peagler kept seventeen slaves and James Peagler owned fifteen. Also, in 1849 brothers Robert and Daniel Peagler acquired 800 acres with access to the Santee River, two creeks, and a lake. Consequently, Daniel Peagler produced 1,200 pounds of rice on seventy-five improved acres and James Peagler produced 1,000 pounds of rice on sixty improved acres in 1850. These two free mulattoes had both the controlled labor force and the water access critical for rice cultivation. These were factors that could have combined to promote the Peaglers from the ranks of the yeomanry to a status nearing that of small planters. Meanwhile, the parish's third rice growing free person of color, Jonathan Eady, had one hundred improved acres, but only produced 400 pounds of rice the same year. Eady had more

---

*the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 118; McCurry observed that "the most striking things about lowcountry yeomen's farming operations, however, was the frequency with which they grew rice, a notoriously, or so it is usually assumed, labor- and capital-intensive crop. About half of all yeoman households grew rice. Big farmers were more likely to grow it, but a surprising 45 percent of even the smallest farm households did so as well." See, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 65.

improved acres than the Peaglers but owning fewer slaves undoubtedly slowed his rice growing.<sup>21</sup>

The Peaglers and Eady averaged about 866 pounds of rice, significantly less than the 2,900 pounds averaged by white farmers with fifty-one to one hundred improved acres. These three free black farmers, however, grew an average of 350 bushels of corn while their white equivalents averaged only 154 bushels. Rice might have been a more saleable crop but these farmers valued corn's security over the risk of planting rice for sale on the market. Still, it is unclear why the Peaglers did not risk growing more rice and less corn, despite their access to water and slaves. By 1860, James Peagler grew no rice at all and Daniel Peagler did not appear in the agricultural census. That year, instead, three different free person farmers were producing rice in the parish -- Henry Glencamp, Nancy Lewis, and Stephen Locklier. Each of these farmers had fewer than fifty improved acres and only Glencamp and Lewis owned slaves (eight and seven respectively). It should be noted that Stephen Locklier and his family were enumerated in the 1860 census as white farmers, but he appears in 1850 as a twenty-eight year-old mulatto laborer. As will be discussed later, racial designation may have changed as a free person of color improved their economic status. Remarkably, Glencamp, Lewis, and Locklier produced an average of 585.71 pounds of rice when white farms of fifty of

---

<sup>21</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Slave Schedule, Charleston District, SC; Robert H. and Daniel Peagler Plat for 800 Acres on Santee River, SC State Plats, Charleston Series, 43:39, SCDAH; Daniel and James Peagler as brothers in Will of Henry Peagler, Charleston County Wills, 43:817-818, CCPL 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Slave Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

fewer acres only grew 416.30 pounds in 1860. Moreover, these farmers did not sacrifice corn production to grow more rice -- they averaged twenty-five bushels more corn than white farmers in 1860 (see **Table 3.1**).<sup>22</sup>

Access to water helped free farmers like the Peagler brothers but their farms should not be confused with those belonging to planters who were able to use tidal water flow. Indeed the Peaglers had access to the Santee River but likely used it and the lowland swamps on their property to grow rice using the inland rice cultivation techniques that were likely shared by the yeomen rice growers identified by Stephanie McCurry in the Beaufort District. McCurry determined that yeomen rice producers likely “sowed [rice] in inland swamps or used one of the various dry rice cultivation methods, both of which yielded less and inferior-quality grain, not competitive in the international marketplace but perfectly adequate for home consumption.” Historians Peter Coclanis and J.C. Marlow described these techniques while comparing inland rice culture in Orangeburg District, South Carolina with findings by Amelia Wallace Vernon in Marion County, South Carolina. Coclanis and Marlow found that “both black and white growers sometimes depended on rainfall alone for their water supply, but more often employed rivers, wells, ponds, or reserves to ensure sufficient moisture for their rice.” Inland rice

---

<sup>22</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Slave Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; See also, Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 228.

planting innovatively harnessed what water could be accessed by these middling farmers, but it could not produce the same results as tidal rice plantations.<sup>23</sup>

Regardless of the quality of their fields and cultivation techniques, St. Stephen's Parish's free blacks that undertook rice growing did so with slave labor. All three rice growers in 1850 and two of the three in 1860 owned slaves. Only Stephen Locklier produced rice without help from forced labor by growing 500 pounds in 1860 and his crop was likely used for consumption rather than for the market. With Locklier's exception, the overall trend differs from Beaufort yeomanry that McCurry found among those producing rice for consumption without slave labor. Though rice could be eaten if not sold perhaps St. Stephen's parish free people of color farmers saw the staple crop as a risk only to be undertaken when they had access to labor and suitable land. Instead of growing rice, most farming free people of color in St. Stephen's depended on safety-first crops and livestock, as suggested in **Table 3.1**.<sup>24</sup>

The most obvious statistic that set the yeomen, both black and white, apart from planters was their tendency to hold much smaller parcels of land. Plain folk's smaller acreage compelled them to improve greater percentages of their overall property

---

<sup>23</sup> Peter A. Coclanis and J.C. Marlow, "Inland Rice Production in the South Atlantic States: A Picture in Black and White," *Agricultural History* Volume 72 Number 2 (Spring 1998): 212; See also, Amelia Wallace Vernon, *African Americans at Mars Bluff, South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993); McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 66; The inland rice method was actually one of the first techniques employed in South Carolina and was widely used until the tidal river method grew in popularity near 1750. See also, Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 88-89.

<sup>24</sup> See McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 65-66; For the difficulties and labor intensity of rice cultivation see Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941) 1:283.

holdings. On average, the plain folk of color within St. Stephen's Parish improved roughly 14 percent of their total acreage, the number for neighboring plain folk white farms was 12 percent. Both white and black yeomen sought the most production from their acreage by improving a greater percentage of their property. In contrast, planters did not seem to share the need to improve greater percentages of their land holdings. The three largest planters in St. Stephen's, who owned more than 10,000 acres, improved only 2 percent of their total acreage. Most tellingly, free people of color increased their improved acreage from 14.1 percent in 1850 to 28.9 percent in 1860, a 105 percent increase in improved farm land. Though the free people of color farms did not increase improved acreage at quite the same rate as small white farms (126 percent), they still showed the willingness to improve their farms.<sup>25</sup>

Free black yeomen were present in St. James Santee Parish, but their presence was much less pronounced than in St. Stephen's (see **Figure 0.1**). The Santee Parish's 1860 Tax Return Books reveal 106 property owners. Only three were people of color. Based on the agricultural census and population schedule, these three property owners can only be matched with any degree of confidence with three land owning families among the parish's eleven free people of color families, with only one family owning

---

<sup>25</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Slave Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule; For a similar comparison on white and black's improved acreage in midland and piedmont counties, Barnwell, Abbeville, and Richland, see Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 99.

slaves. Thus, 27 percent of free people of color households in the parish owned land and only 9 percent owned slaves.<sup>26</sup>

Two facts emerge from an examination of the agricultural records for St. James Santee Parish in 1850 and 1860. First, most common farmers in the district kept fewer than fifty improved acres in both 1850 and 1860 there were no free black farmers with more than fifty improved acres. But compared to white farmers with similar acreage, the small free person of color producers held their own (see **Table 3.4**). Second, the great quantity of rice produced in the entire parish for 1860 indicates that white rice planters dominated this parish. Indeed, with its location on the Santee River and near the coast, tidal rice planters dominated the parish's economy. Still, some of St. James Santee's free people of color farms produced rice and, at times, in greater quantity than the whites who farmed similar sized acreage. In 1850, the eight free person farmers with fewer than fifty improved acres grew an average of 677.50 pounds of rice compared to whites with the same acreage who grew only 541.16 pounds. By 1860, there were only four farms operated by free people of color in the parish and only two grew rice. Robert Cumbo and Francis Scott's farms each grew 900 pounds of rice that year, while the average small white farmer harvested 1,010 pounds.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> William Noll and Francis Scott's estates are both listed in the tax returns, and thus shared by their heirs who farmed the land in 1860. Elias Cumbo is listed as the third free person of color who owned property in St. James Santee. See, 1860 Tax Return Books, St. James Santee Parish, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Cumbo is not listed as a property owner in 1860 but it is quite possible that he farmed on part of the 675 acres that Elias Cumbo, likely his brother, paid taxes for in 1860. 1860 Tax Return Books, St. James Santee Parish, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District, SC;



**Table 3.4:** 1850 and 1860 St. James Santee Parish Agricultural Survey Averages

Populations	Number of Farms	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Entire Parish 1850	82	21.54	23.82	31.95	243.84	64,737.71	598.78
1860	45	20.82	47.95	55.16	388.11	54,396.67	380.44
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	7	11.57	16.43	16.00	322.86	31,511.00	2,088.00
White Farms 1860	5	23.80	59.20	35.20	400.00	270.00	240.00
Farms with 50 or Fewer Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	43	20.88	16.72	29.67	95.93	541.16	179.86
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	8	18.75	20.63	50.75	100.00	677.50	68.13
White Farms 1860	20	13.70	39.95	52.70	185.75	1,010.00	257.25
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	4	17.50	28.50	72.50	175.00	450.00	193.75

Note: Farm production numbers represent averages for each category. F.P.O.C. denotes free person of color. Includes Francis Scott and Thomas Noll's 1860 farms among free people of color, as they were enumerated in 1850. Neither individual was enumerated at all in the 1860 population schedule. There were no free person of color farmers with more than 50 improved acres in the 1850 nor 1860 agricultural census years. Sources: 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.

1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC;

**Table 3.5:** Free Black Farmers in St. James Santee Parish in 1850

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres								
Robert Cumbee	1	0	4	4	25	0	400	30
J. Aiken	7	0	22	35	50	75	1400	40
Coker	8	0	5	2	11	150	260	0
Francis Scott	10	85	30	44	120	100	640	150
John Noll	13	274	35	10	12	100	400	50
Elias Cumbee	15	635	32	50	120	85	720	150
Friderick Davis	15	0	13	5	8	150	1000	100
Thomas Aiken	20	0	9	15	60	140	600	25

Note: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.

**Table 3.6:** Free Black Farmers in St. James Santee Parish in 1860

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres								
Thomas Noll	10	198	9	11	10	100	0	400
Robert Cumbo	15	0	6	6	30	100	900	0
Francis Scott	20	80	35	57	150	400	900	175
Elias Cumbo	50	350	20	40	100	100	0	200

Note: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.

What is most remarkable about the free person of color farmers in St. James Santee Parish was their ability, when compared against other farmers with fewer than fifty improved acres, to produce near equal or greater quantities of food crops and livestock. (See **Table 3.4, Table 3.5, and Table 3.6**). In 1850, the eight free person of color farmers produced slightly more corn, noticeably more swine, and raised similar quantities of milk cows and cattle than white farmers that worked fifty or fewer improved acres. By 1860, they continued to produce respectable numbers but the more successful farmers clearly skewed their averages. For example, Francis Scott had fifty-seven cattle and 150 swine while Elias Cumbo kept forty cattle and one hundred swine – both representing much more beef and pork than the average white farmer herded. Work by Eugene Genovese and Stephanie McCurry may help explain why Scott and Cumbo kept such large stocks. Observing common farmers living among planters, Genovese determined that besides their political and kin relations with the planter class, one obvious tie binding them was local economic exchange. Rather than drive their extra beef or corn to the market, yeomen might make better deals trading with local planters. McCurry also observed that Beaufort District yeomanry undoubtedly traded or sold their surplus in local markets, reaffirming their commitment to safety-first agriculture and their measured engagement with the market economy. It is unlikely that Scott or Cumbo's households were consuming that much meat; rather, they were trading or selling excess cattle and hogs to other farmers or to planters seeking food for slaves. Although a minority in the parish, these self-working farmers used the resources at hand and

represent a small but important number of sturdy free black farmers in a parish dominated by rice planters.<sup>28</sup>

The majority of free people of color in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish were quite successful in their farming ventures – some may have even qualified as small planters. Beginning with the parish’s 1860 tax returns, five out of the seven households, or 71.4 percent, owned land. These five households represented nineteen individuals out of thirty-one total free people of color. Thus, a little more than 61 percent of the free people of color in the parish lived in households that owned land. Six out of the parish’s seven free people of color households, or 85.7 percent, owned slaves. These six houses represented twenty-seven free people of color. Thus, 88 percent of the free people of color in the parish were members of slave-owning families. These figures suggest that, in this parish, free people of color were mostly land- and slave-owning yeomen farmers. Coupled with their production categories, a few of these families were clearly approaching planter status.<sup>29</sup>

Like those in St. James Santee, free people of color that farmed fifty or fewer improved acres in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish tended to lag behind whites on small farms in some production categories (see **Table 3.7**, **Table 3.8**, and **Table 3.9**). In 1850, free people of color’s farms had no milk cows and were also behind in corn production in

---

<sup>28</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, “Yeomen Farmers in a Slaveholders’ Democracy,” *Agricultural History* Volume 49 Number 2 (April 1975): 337-338; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 63.

<sup>29</sup> 1860 Tax Return Books, St. James Santee Parish, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

**Table 3.7:** 1850 and 1860 St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Agricultural Survey Averages

Populations	Number of Farms	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushel	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Entire Parish 1850	48	6.42	44.40	26.88	432.34	63,131.91	795.68
1860	40	10.33	27.68	31.33	423.13	35,838.80	551.13
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	5	11.80	53.20	23.00	376.00	28,000.00	920.00
White Farms 1860	7	1.00	18.00	16.29	342.86	0	530.00
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	1	15.00	33.00	30.00	400.00	19,200.00	300.00
Farms with 50 or Fewer Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	16	5.38	30.63	28.75	145.00	800.00	316.25
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	3	0	47.67	26.67	73.33	8,800.00	233.33
White Farms 1860	14	6.86	26.93	16.93	144.29	2,285.71	150.36
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	4	13.75	21.50	40.00	123.75	4,600.00	307.50

Note: Farm production numbers represent averages for each category. F.P.O.C. denotes free person of color. Sources: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.

**Table 3.8:** Free Black Farmers in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish in 1850

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushel
	Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres							
Stanhope Fowler	25	100	0	13	0	0	0	0
Jacob Bough	25	235	0	80	30	120	2400	200
Andrew Anderson	25	515	0	50	50	100	24000	500

Note: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.

**Table 3.9:** Free Black Farmers in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish in 1860

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Sweet Potatoes /bushel
	Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres							
Janet Collins	15	117	15	33	70	150	10000	800
Nelly Collins	15	117	3	3	20	125	2400	130
Stanhope Fowler	15	235	12	0	0	70	0	100
Jacob Boag	25	245	25	50	70	150	6000	200
	Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres							
AG Anderson	71	592	15	33	30	400	19200	300

Note: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District.

both 1850 and 1860. What is most striking about the free people of color farming in this parish is their rice production, which far outpaced the average white farmer with similar acreage. In 1850, two of the three free people of color farmers grew rice; Jacob Bough's crop yielded 2,400 pounds while Andrew Anderson boasted 24,000 pounds. By 1860 four of the five free people farmers planted rice and each harvested more than the average white small farmer. Superior rice production numbers over their white plain folk peers helps explain why these farms sometimes produced smaller staple crops than their neighbors. Instead of concentrating labor and resources on corn, potatoes, and livestock, their efforts appear to have been successfully centered on cash crop production, whereby profits could be used to buy foodstuffs that might still be needed. These free people of color, it seems, were actually integrated into the market economy as thoroughly as successful yeomanry or small planters. In fact, as they produced more rice per farm than their white plain folk neighbors, they were remarkably more involved in commercial agriculture than their white counterparts.<sup>30</sup>

Free people of color's advanced economic position in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish was due largely to their inheritances from white ancestors. There the Anderson, Collins, and Fowler families were all mulatto descendants of white planters, John Holman Sr., Robert Collins, and Michael Fowler. Holman Sr., an English slave trader,

---

<sup>30</sup> Of the free person of color farmers growing rice in 1860, Janet Collins produced 10,000 pounds, Nelly Collins reported 2,400 pounds, Jacob Boag grew 6,000 pounds, and Andrew Anderson 19,200 pounds. Anderson was the only free person of color farmer to have more than 50 improved acres. In both 1850 and 1860, Stanhope Fowler was the only free person of color whose farm did not grow rice.; 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District. For crops and market activity, see Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 125.

migrated from Sierra Leone to South Carolina in 1790 with his five mulatto children and established a rice plantation in the parish. Robert Collins was “a white planter and patriarch of a mulatto family” in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish and Michael Fowler, a white planter from neighboring Christ Church Parish, named six mulatto children in his 1810 will. While noting the advantages of white ancestry for free people of color, Larry Koger has observed that when the Holman and Collins families and a Collins relative, James Anderson, also a free black planter, began to intermarry, they wed “two property-owning classes.” They joined a “slaveholding class with a landholding class, thus providing the two key ingredients for rice planting.”<sup>31</sup> Indeed, in 1860, family members Andrew J. Anderson, Jacob Boag, Nelly Fowler Collins, and Charlotte Collins represented four of the parish’s five free people of color farms and, in addition to their slaves, each paid the two dollar per acre tax rate on their individual land holdings. This rate was established by the South Carolina legislative Act of 1815 as the rate for “all pine barren lands adjoining [tide] swamps, or contiguous thereto with respect to the benefit of water carriage.”<sup>32</sup> Their inheritances were not simply land, but land suitable for rice cultivation.

Like the prosperous free people of color in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, ancestral advantages and inheritance equipped some families in St. Stephen’s Parish to move easily into the yeomanry. Thus, their biracial heritage mattered much when it

---

<sup>31</sup> Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 41 and 118-119.

<sup>32</sup> Koger cites Andrew Anderson as a Collins relative and Jacob Boag’s wife Sarah Collins as direct descendant, *Black Slaveowners*, 125-126; 1860 Tax Return Books, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH; Act of 1815 in David J. McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia: A.S. Johnson: 1839), 6:7.



provided property and some economic security. More than this, economic similarities began to supersede racial difference and challenged boundaries between free people of color and white neighbors. But these challenges were not absolute and did not offer the type of mastery that McCurry observed among white yeomen. Thus, their status requires an important qualifier – they were indeed yeomen of color, more than slaves without masters, in many ways similar to common whites, but still subject to racial degradation. Such was the case for James Cleveland’s family in their lengthy legal fight to protect the tract of land called “Raccoon Hill” that they were to inherit for Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle. Once they secured Raccoon Hill, the family farmed the land and apparently kept it until the early 1940s when it was flooded as part of a New Deal-era hydro-electric dam construction.<sup>33</sup> Though few families arrived from Africa with freedom in hand like the Cleverlands, most free people of color could trace their freedom to white ancestry. In Charleston’s rural parishes, 73 percent of free people of color were enumerated as mulatto rather than black in 1850, indicating that some white ancestry itself meant a greater likelihood of achieving freedom.<sup>34</sup> Like the Collins, Anderson, Fowler, and Cleveland families were able to benefit from white ancestry and inherited land, many free black farmers could trace their initial economic footing to resources acquired with their manumissions or to white ancestry. In St. Stephen’s Parish the 1824 will of Henry

---

<sup>33</sup> See, Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 372; The Cleverlands stayed there until a New Deal Era hydroelectric dam flooded the grounds for the creation of Lake Moultrie. See *Cemetery Records: A Documentary of Cemetery or Burial Ground Reports and Grave Relocations by Santee Cooper From the Project Area* (Moncks Corner, SC: Berkeley County Historical Society, [1986]), 111-113.

<sup>34</sup> Wikramanayake, “The Free Negro in Antebellum South Carolina,” 5; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

Glencamp sought to protect his children's free status and so indicated that his six mulatto children were all born by his wife Jenny, a free woman of color. Glencamp served as the Superintendent of the Santee Canal in St. Stephen's Parish, where his descendants counted among the rice producing free person of color farmers in the 1850s.<sup>35</sup>

Elsewhere in St. Stephen's Parish, mulattoes Robert and Daniel Peagler farmed adjacent tracts of land after their white father, Henry Peagler, divided his plantation, "Upton," into two parts in his 1844. A third brother, James, received another piece of land where Henry Peagler was living at time of his death. Peagler's slaves were divided and granted to the brothers Robert, Daniel, and James, with an equal share to their sister Rosanna Mims. The will does not offer detail, but Henry Peagler was the only white person in his St. Stephen's household when enumerated in 1840. Also enumerated with Henry Peagler were an adult female and four juvenile free people of color. The sons to whom Henry Peagler bequeathed his land in 1844 were enumerated in 1850 as mulattoes farming in the parish. Like the Glencamps and the Clevelands, the Peaglers gained access to economic opportunity in St. Stephen's through white ancestry. Moreover, Henry Peagler's will demonstrates a pattern that Steven Hahn observed among yeomanry and small planters in Georgia and one that explains another reason why some free people

---

<sup>35</sup> Will of Henry Glindkamp, Charleston County Wills, 36:985, CCPL; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; The Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:9, ALSC; Glencamp's will identifies him as the Superintendent of the Santee Canal and Frederick A. Porcher's memoirs recalled that Glencamp, a German, had been the assistant to Col. Senf, the Santee Canal's architect; Larry Koger also relates this material in *Black Slaveowners*, 29; Glencamp's Estate paid taxes on seven blacks, one free person of color, and 500 acres of property in 1824, see Tax Return for Estate of H. Glendkamp, Individual Tax Returns for 1824, Item 3190, SCDAH.

of color tended to settle in groups. As Hahn explains, farmers tended to leave their whole estates to their wives or, in other cases, divide their land among sons and leave personal property to their daughters. These arrangements required large enough land holdings that they could be divided among heirs and remain economically viable farms. Hahn further determined that the smallest farmers whose property could not be divided and remain viable would instead sell their estates and divide the proceeds.<sup>36</sup>

Surveying free black farmers in upcountry districts continues to reveal a significant presence of economically self-sufficient people of color, but there appear to be some important differences between upcountry and lowcountry. Immediately the free black population was significantly smaller than the number outside of Charleston, with district populations in 1850 as follows: Abbeville County had 357 free blacks, 12,699 whites, and 19,262 slaves. Sumter counted 342 free people of color, 9,813 whites, and 23,065 slaves. Newberry counted 213 free people of color, 7,242 whites, and 12,688 slaves.<sup>37</sup> With fewer free blacks, there were fewer free black farmers who clearly owned

---

<sup>36</sup> Will of Henry Peagler, Charleston County Wills, 43:817-818, CCPL; Henry Peagler is listed as white head of household in 1830 with five free persons of color and five slaves living in the St. Stephen's Parish household. One of the free person of color females was between twenty-four and thirty-five years of age and was likely Peagler's wife. There four juvenile free people of color, three boys and one girl; 1840 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; For Steven Hahn's discussion on partible inheritance among Georgia yeomen, see *The Roots of Southern Populism*, 78-84; It should be noted that historian Larry Koger cites the Peaglers' changing racial identities in the historical record, as he points out this was likely due to improved economic circumstances. "With the conditions for the elevation of free mulattoes to the status of white citizens resting upon their wealth, conduct, and more importantly, their whiteness of skin, the door to the white world was kept judiciously open for a few mulattoes. And a small number of mulattoes came through the door and crossed the racial barriers, thus entering the world of whiteness in South Carolina." See, Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 11-12.

<sup>37</sup> De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States*, 302.

their own land. Of the upcountry districts surveyed here, detailed tax record books survive only for Abbeville tax payers in 1856, where only eight property owners were noted as having been free people of color – Cato Coleman, William Rouse, Jane (Henry) Forbes, Andrew Valentine, E. Jessup, Willis Thurman, Sarah White, and William Anderson. Not all of these free black farmers are found in both the 1850 and 1860s census years, so it is difficult to determine the exact percentage of free black landowners in 1856, but these eight tax payers indicate significantly fewer free black landowners in this upcountry District than were observed in Charleston. There were seventy-seven free black heads of household in the 1850 census with ten of those reporting property and only fifteen of sixty-eight free black heads of household reporting property in 1860. Over the same years, only two free black farmers owned slaves. In 1850 Reuben Robertson owned fifty slaves, most of which passed intestate to his white step-son after his death in 1853. The other free black slave owner, Andrew Valentine, paid taxes on a single slave in 1856 but was listed in neither the 1850 nor 1860 Federal Slave Censuses.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Those free black heads of households and household numbers reporting real estate in the 1850 census are: Cato Coleman #179, James Wharton #207, John Marrion #217, William Roces #352, David Turman #353, Wiley Shaw #354, Jerry Forbs #402, Hudson Wilson #448, Smith Wilson #466, Reuben Robertson #2189. Also, William Anderson #2384 is listed as a white head of household here with a mulatto wife and eight mulatto children. Those free black heads of household and household numbers reporting real estate in 1860 are: Washington Callahan #66, Green Chapman #67, Tempa Turman #86, William Rouse #88, Winifred Shaw #89, Jenny Forbes #98, Sarah Wilson #103, Daniel Vaugh #110, Jno. S.Wilson #177, Priscilla Manon [Marrion] #712, Sarah White #790, William Brown #1032, Charlotte Donalson #1466, Maria Tucker #1759, Andrew Valentine #2026. See, 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District, SC; Ware, “Reuben Robertson of Turkey Creek, 261-264; 1856 Tax Record Books, Abbeville District, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH.

The 1860 Agricultural Census lists only eight farms with improved acreage, each corresponding with a household that reported real estate in the population census. All other farms for the district were reported with zero acreage – a distinction in the agricultural census that seems to represent landowners versus tenant farmers. That year, the eight farmers working between one and fifty improved acres kept slightly more milk cows and pigs than their white neighbors on the same acreage, but all grew less corn than the average white farmer with fewer than 50 acres – including those reporting zero acreage (see **Table 3.10**, **Table 3.11**, and **Table 3.12**). Still, these eight averaged only about one quarter of a bale less cotton than their neighbors – indicating they were almost equally engaged in the market economy and felt secure enough to sacrifice corn production for cotton. Those free black farmers with no improved acreage lagged well behind white farmers in every category and were most committed to growing corn. Several of these apparent tenant farmers grew a bale of cotton and two, Israel Rouse and William Morrow, grew five and four bales of cotton respectively, but they all lagged far behind the 7.23 average bales grown by white farmers with no acreage. It is impossible to know with certainty, but comparing all production categories between white and black farms with no acreage indicates that white tenant farmers generally had access to more acreage to rent. This could be attributed to whites' closer kinship with landlords and assumptions about free black's productivity and influence on slaves probably limited their credit and access to rent. In her sampling of fourteen free black farms in Abbeville from 1850, scholar Marina Wikramanayake determined that “the majority of the free blacks in the district was composed of artisans and laborers. Many of them, however

**Table 3.10:** 1850 and 1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Survey Averages

Populations	Number Of Farms	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	S. Potatoes /bushels
Entire District 1850	1820	4.55	8.92	36.74	575.87	15.03	65.84
1860	1452	5.15	8.30	25.89	470.85	15.10	61.39
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	483	3.83	6.50	29.20	383.14	8.65	50.70
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	4	3.25	5.25	13.75	262.50	10.75	52.50
White Farms 1860	322	4.02	5.69	18.02	278.26	7.50	44.24
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	1	1.00	3.00	8.00	100.00	4.00	0.00
Farms with 50 or Fewer Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	666	2.30	3.21	14.54	166.96	2.86	26.99
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	18	2.00	2.44	11.83	89.17	2.28	15.17
White Farms 1860	259	2.51	3.05	10.96	130.06	3.09	30.19
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	8	3.63	2.38	11.88	76.25	2.88	11.00
Farms Reporting ZERO Improved Acreage							
White Farms 1850	3	1.00	1.00	5.33	26.61	54.67	10.00
White Farms 1860	194	2.52	2.86	9.87	167.02	7.23	28.12
F.P.O.C Farms 1860	15	1.27	0.93	2.53	59.47	1.47	14.00

Note: Farm production numbers represent averages for each category. F.P.O.C. denotes free person of color. No free black farmers reported zero improved acreage in 1850. Source: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Abbeville District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Abbeville District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District.

**Table 3.11:** Free Black Farmers in Abbeville District in 1850

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres								
Sarah Reed	5	0	1	4	14	20	1	3
Maria Strawther	10	0	3	4	8	25	1	5
David Wilson	10	0	2	1	13	80	1	10
Johnathan Strawther	12	0	1	0	6	50	2	0
Eliza Rouse	15	0	1	4	14	100	2	30
Jack [Jacob] Keller	16	0	0	0	0	50	0	0
Henry Forbes	18	142	3	3	36	160	2	0
William Marion	20	0	1	2	4	70	2	20
Cely Harper	20	0	1	2	10	100	2	40
Willy Shaw	22	28	4	4	7	150	1	30
Stephen Baily	25	0	2	2	12	50	2	5
Ralph Burnet	30	0	3	2	12	100	2	50
Milly [Macoffin] Macospin	30	0	2	1	0	80	2	0
James Wharton	35	9	3	3	20	200	1	25
Andrew Volantine	40	0	1	3	15	100	7	40
Cato Coleman	40	69	3	5	13	120	5	0
John Cline	45	0	2	2	15	100	5	15
Anthony Green	50	0	3	2	14	50	3	0
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres								
David Turman	55	85	8	6	15	250	3	60
John Marion	55	145	3	7	26	300	3	50
William Rouse	60	42	1	8	4	300	2	50
Jabez Story	85	0	1	0	10	200	35	50
Farms with 101 or more Improved Acres								
Reuben Robinson	275	425	6	19	70	1000	20	0

Note: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Abbeville District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District.

**Table 3.12:** Free Black Farmers in Abbeville District in 1860

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms Reporting Zero Improved Acres								
S. Callihan	0	0	2	1	0	25	1	0
L. Callihan	0	0	0	0	0	70	2	0
Lewis Donaldson	0	0	1	0	1	106	0	25
Anthony McGin	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Milly Barnes	0	0	1	0	8	50	0	30
Pheby Strawther	0	0	2	4	4	20	0	10
C. Chapman	0	0	2	0	0	6	1	10
Willis Turman	0	0	1	2	5	30	1	20
Riley Wilson	0	0	2	3	1	125	1	5
Thomas Smith	0	0	0	0	5	50	2	0
Samuel Donaldson	0	0	1	0	0	50	2	10
Maria Strawther	0	0	1	0	0	30	1	10
E Donaldson	0	0	0	0	6	50	2	10
Israel Rouse	0	0	3	1	0	180	5	30
Wm. Morrow	0	0	1	3	8	100	4	50
Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres								
Charlotte Donaldson	10	30	0	1	0	20	0	5
Sarah A. Wilson	13	45	7	0	12	75	2	18
William Rouse	25	125	5	2	8	100	4	30
Temper Turman	30	96	2	4	4	100	3	0
Jerry Forbus	40	123	6	6	4	50	0	0
John A. Wilson	50	40	1	0	45	65	1	20
W. Callihan	50	100	3	3	12	100	8	0
Andrew Valentine	50	116	5	3	10	100	5	15
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres								
Green Chapman	75	75	1	3	8	100	4	0

Note: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Abbeville District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District.



owned land and supplemented their earnings” by farming. She points to Andrew Valentine who reported himself a “hireling” in the population census, yet still grew two bales of cotton.<sup>39</sup> Indeed Wikramanayake’s observation helps determine free blacks’ overall economic health, but similar strategies were undoubtedly pursued by lower and middling class white families to supplement their income. The yearly capitation taxes required of free people of color demanded at least some engagement with the market economy in order to pay the fee – subsistence farming alone without some cash income would not suffice.

In 1850, one of Abbeville’s free black farmers reported a cotton yield more than twice the district’s overall fifteen bale average. Jabez Story is recording as having grown thirty-five bales of cotton that year. Story, a fifty-one year-old blacksmith, was joined in his household by his thirty-five year old wife and seventeen year-old stepson, Henry. With no slaves and only eighty-five improved acres, their cotton production was very remarkable feat, if not one to be greeted with skepticism. Story’s stepson grew up to become an important Bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church and his biographers report that his mother married Story in 1848. Before marrying Story, Henry’s mother, Sarah Greer Turner, was a Newberry native who sometimes had to “indenture out” her son to white cotton farmers in Newberry. Sarah Turner and Story’s marriage clearly improved her and her son’s economic status and was an increase in Story’s family labor force that aided his cotton production.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 96-97.

<sup>40</sup> 1850 Agricultural Census, Abbeville District, SC; 1850 Population Census, Abbeville District, SC; Stephen Ward Angell, *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African-American Religion in the South* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 7-

Newberry's free black farmers closely resembled those in Abbeville. County tax returns do not survive, but real estate columns in the population census help reconstruct glimpses of black property ownership. In 1850, just over 10 percent of free black heads of household, or five of forty-two, reporting real estate and one third, or ten out of thirty, free black households reporting real estate in 1860. Like Abbeville, few free black households kept slaves; only two in 1860. That year, David Bundrick reported two slaves and Wade Sanders owned seven. Larry Koger's study on black slaveowners in South Carolina has determined that Wade Sanders made dividends as a farmer in Newberry growing cotton. Koger found that Sanders purchased a 160 acre tract in 1833, which produced sixteen bales of cotton by his family's own yeoman work in 1850. "During the following years, Wade Sanders used the proceeds from the cotton to purchase seven slaves" – a feat Koger attributed to Sanders and his family's seventeen years of hard work. It is also likely that Sander's household was working cooperatively with the family next door headed by Charity Sanders. In 1850, Charity Sanders grew only 120 bushels of corn, well below the 354 bushel averaged produced by white farms with fifty-one to one hundred improved acres. Next door, Wade Sanders grew 500 bushels of corn and still managed nearly twice the cotton production of his white neighbors on similar

---

8; See also, Darryl M. Trimiew, *Voices of the Silenced: The Reponsible Self in a Marginalized Community* (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1993), 23-24; and, Stephen W. Angell, "Black Methodist Preachers in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1840-1866: Isaac (Counts) Cook, James Porter, and Henry McNeal Turner," in *"Ain't Gonna Lay My 'Legion Down": African American Religion in the South*, Alonzo Johnson and Paul Jersild, eds. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 97.

improved acreage. Without slave labor in 1850, there was undoubtedly cooperation between the two farmers.<sup>41</sup>

As a whole, free black farmers in Newberry District compared respectably against white farmers of similar acreages (see **Table 3.13, Table 3.14, and Table 3.15**). Farmers like Wade Sanders, who operated on fifty-one to one hundred improved acres kept comparable numbers of livestock in 1850 – slightly more milk cows and just a shade fewer beef cattle and pork than their white counterparts. They did, however, grow considerably less corn while still engaging in cotton production. Ten years later, that

---

<sup>41</sup> Those free black heads of household reporting real estate and their household numbers in 1850: Moses Heller #1387, Wade Sanders #1201, Jesse Gloster #1108, Charles Brown #984, John Wadsworth #958. Additionally Joseph Bedenbaugh resided in household 215 and reported real estate, but he was not a head of household in 1850 and is not included in the percentage of free black heads of household with land. See, 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District, SC; Those free black heads of household reporting real estate and their household numbers in 1860: Joseph Bedenbaugh #254, Jim Jackson #961, Judy Bugg #962, Wade Sanders #1035, David Bundrick #1045, Missouri Wadsworth #1044, Betsey Wadsworth #1045, Henry Dawkins #1055, Nancy Duncan #1065, Moses Heller #1117. Additionally, Jim Tuber, a farmer, resided in household 970 and reported real estate ownership, but was not head of household; Historian Larry Koger's survey on black slaveowners in South Carolina determined that there were eight free black slaveowners in Newberry District in 1840, but it is unclear how those households dispensed with their slaves by 1850. See, Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 219, 227, and 229. For Wade Sanders' slave ownership and cotton production, see 130-131; In 1850, Wade Sanders' household was his forty-one year-old wife, Rachel, three daughters ages twenty-one to fifteen, a son Wade aged 14 and a son Ward aged 13. Next door, Charity Sanders was forty-five years old, living in the household of sixty year-old Mary Sanders. Also in Mary Sanders' house were eleven other family members including five females with ages 26, 24, 24, 20, and 16 and five males with ages 22, 18, 10, 8, and 2. Combined, these two households likely made up the primary farm work forces for, likely, both farms. See, households 1201 and 1202 in the 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District, SC.

**Table 3.13:** 1850 and 1860 Newberry District Agricultural Survey Averages

Populations	Number Of Farms	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Com /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Entire District 1850	1110	4.83	12.33	34.42	605.26	17.91	71.22
1860	893	5.63	10.56	29.15	511.75	19.32	93.77
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	288	3.60	8.79	22.85	354.29	8.32	46.13
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	4	4.00	6.75	19.00	280.00	8.00	80.00
White Farms 1860	222	3.80	6.59	20.18	265.88	8.47	61.42
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	2	4.50	6.50	12.50	215.00	6.00	30.00
Farms with 50 or Fewer Improved Acres							
White Farms 1850	267	2.29	4.83	14.51	193.92	4.00	33.70
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	3	2.00	5.00	9.33	200.00	3.67	13.33
White Farms 1860	236	2.22	3.36	10.75	122.18	3.39	33.12
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	2	2.00	2.50	7.00	50.00	4.50	20.00
Farms Reporting ZERO Acreage							
White Farms 1850	43	1.86	3.02	9.81	134.09	3.16	22.33
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	1	0	0	0	75.00	5.00	0.00
White Farms 1860	41	1.78	2.78	9.17	120.61	4.02	33.54
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Note: Farm production numbers represent averages for each category. F.P.O.C. denotes free person of color. Source: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District.

**Table 3.14:** Free Black Farmers in Newberry District in 1850

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms Reporting Zero Improved Acres								
William Tobe	0	0	0	0	0	75	5	0
Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres								
John Wadsworth	20	30	0	0	10	100	2	40
George Greer	30	0	2	4	4	200	5	0
Jesse Glester	50	20	4	11	14	300	4	0
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres								
Charity Sanders	60	0	2	3	5	120	4	60
Sheppard Williams	60	0	6	9	16	300	8	40
Charles Brown	60	50	4	5	15	200	4	20
Wade Sanders	100	64	4	10	40	500	16	200

Note: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District.

**Table 3.15:** Free Black Farmers in Newberry District in 1860

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres								
Nancy Duncan	30	17	2	3	0	50	6	20
Henry Dawkins	30	23	2	2	14	50	3	20
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres								
Charley Brown	75	54	5	3	0	30	3	10
Jas. Adams	90	200	4	10	25	400	9	50
Farms with 101 Acres or More								
Wade Sanders	150	110	3	5	30	600	23	100

Note: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District.

same trend continued, but this time only two free black farmers held between fifty-one and one hundred improved acres – Charley Brown and James Adams. Brown was a seventy year-old head of household with only his wife, a sixty year-old, as his solitary helpmate. It is possible that labor from one the three adjacent free black households helped Brown grow his three bales of cotton, but not likely when considering the low totals that Brown yielded in subsistence crops. Brown produced only thirty bushels of corn and ten bushels of sweet potatoes. His younger counterpart in this acreage category, James Adams, was 25 years old and gave “mechanic” as his occupation. Like Andrew Valentine in Abbeville District, Adams apparently supplemented his income through two vocations – and through his and his wife’s labors grew 400 bushels of corn and nine bales of cotton. Unlike Valentine, however, Adams does not appear to have owned his property and likely had to commit some of his earnings to rent payments. Now absent from the farmers with fifty-one to one hundred improved acres, Wade Sanders appears to have consolidated farm operations with Charity Sanders and operated on 150 improved acres, producing 600 bushels of corn and 23 bales of cotton.<sup>42</sup>

Newberry’s free black farmers working between one and fifty improved acres held livestock and raised crops quite comparable to their white neighbors. Two of three farms in 1850 were operated by families reporting property ownership in the population census, John Wadsworth and Jesse Glouster. It is likely, though uncertain, this John

---

<sup>42</sup> Charley Adams was household 515 in the 1860 population census. Adams was neighbored by Cornelius Glouster, Pachant Wadsworth, and Sally Glouster in houses 516 through 518. James Adams was number 1083. Nancy Duncan was in household 1065 in the population census and Henry Dawkins in 1055 in the 1860 population census; 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District.

Wadsworth descends from the slaves set free by Wadsworth and Turpin in 1799 and it is also unclear what happened to his and Gloucester's farms by 1860. By then both were absent and the sole black farmers in this acreage category in 1860 were Nancy Duncan and Henry Dawkins -- both indicated owning real estate in the population census. During both census years, however, free black farmers with between one and fifty improved acres compared well with white farmers on similar acreage. Both census years they kept slightly fewer milk cows and swine and close numbers in beef cattle. In 1850 they grew slightly more corn and a roughly a third a bale less cotton on average. But, by 1860 they apparently traded their corn production for cotton – growing less than half of the corn that the average small white farmer grew, but more than a full bale of cotton more. Still their underwhelming corn production is worthy of note. Lacy K. Ford's study on upcountry farm production in 1850 determined that only about 53.6 percent of farms from one to forty-nine improved acres achieved self-sufficiency. Ford maintained "only about half of all farms with fewer than fifty improved acres raised enough grain to meet their own subsistence requirements." Farmers like Duncan and Dawkins who grew only marginal quantities of corn, yet still raised six and three bales of cotton, respectively, may have been living on the edge. Ford explained, "if recklessly pursued, market involvement might endanger property ownership."<sup>43</sup> Free black farmers such as Duncan and Dawkins, however, may have been compelled to take a greater risk by growing cotton to pay property and capitation taxes.

---

<sup>43</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Newberry District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District; Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 55 and 56.

Free black farmers in both Abbeville and Newberry counties generally, though perhaps not always, adhered to safety first agriculture and a significant portion appeared to own and operate their own farms. Sumter District presents a unique sample of free black farmers when considering the market economy – in this district water accessed allowed some free black farmers to grow rice and/or cotton. In 1850, nineteen out of eighty free black heads of household, just under one quarter, represented owning real estate in the population census. In the 1860 census, twenty-two out of eighty-six, or 25 percent, of free black households reported owning real estate. During the 1850 and 1860 years when agricultural data was counted, the corresponding slave census determines only one free black family owned slaves – the Ellison family chronicled by Michael Johnson and James L. Roark’s *Black Masters*. Like Abbeville District in 1850, the agricultural census taker made no designation for farms with zero improved acres, but did make this distinction in 1860. Unlike Abbeville’s 1860 agricultural census, it is not immediately clear that this distinction represented farms that were owned by their operators.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Those free black heads of household reporting real estate and their household numbers in 1850: Moses Dingle #183, Richard Pearson #194, James Carter #380, James Carter #485, William C. Nelson #488, Daniel Montgomery #490, Fraser Montgomery #492, Thomas Bozier #492, Sarah Gayman #545, Jas. Gibbs #661, William Chavis #663, Thos. Chavis #664, Caroline Chavis #665, Jas. Smiling #848, John Goins #850, Louisa Goins #853, Hale Johnson #1223, William Ellison #1224, Elizabeth Benenhaly #1330, and Isaac Haithcock #1414. In household number 486 owned by Elizabeth Canty two members of the home, Carl Canty and Elizabeth Montgomery also reported owning real estate – both Elizabeth Canty and Elizabeth Montgomery appear as separate farm operators in the Agricultural census farming nine and ten improved acres respectively. Benjamin Legare, a member of Nathan Lagare’s household #812, is listed as a property owner in the population census and farm operator in the Agricultural census as well. Those free black heads of household reporting real estate and their household numbers in 1860: John Nowling #234, Josiah Scott #679, JP Tedwell #680, William R.F. Tedwell #681, Andrew A. Tedwell #683, John N. Scott #685, Henry Scott #686, William Ellison



Sumter's free farmers with fifty-one to one hundred improved acres kept livestock in quantity comparable to their white counterparts in 1850 and only slightly fewer quantities in 1860 (see **Table 3.16, Table 3.17, and Table 3.18**). Additionally, they increased their average corn production considerably between 1850 and 1860, but sacrificed their cotton yield. Where free black farmers in Abbeville and Newberry seemed to commit at least some attention to cotton farming, their counterparts in Sumter that farmed between fifty-one and one hundred improved acres seemed to favored rice production. Three of the six farmers in this acreage category averaged 230 pounds more rice. James Carter grew 2,400 pounds, William C. Nelson produced 1,200 pounds, and July Carter raised 300 pounds of rice, while the average white farmer on similar acreage yielded 430.35 pounds. Both James Carter and Nelson were enumerated as real estate owners in 1850. Ten years later, the only two rice producers in this acreage category

---

#694, Hampton Davis #770, John Nowlin #809, Jessy Benenhaley #1012, Ferdinand Benenhaley #1015, William Deas #1018, Richard Oxendine #1028, Eliza Bradford #1160, Tom Long #1164, James Smiling #132, Laviny Gowins #134, Thomas Chavis #139, Caroline Chavis #141, James Gibbs #144, and William Chavis #149. There were other free blacks listed as real estate owners in the census year, but are not included in the percentages of heads of household with land because they were not heads of household. Nora Denkins, a free mulatto woman, was listed as the sole person of color in Angeline Grooms' white household number 329. Denkins was enumerated in the population census with \$60 worth of real estate. Joel Benenhaley was not the head of household, but was the oldest male member of Isabella Benenhaley's mulatto household #1014. Joel Benenhaley was reported with \$50 worth of real estate. Two farms is listed adjacent to Ferdinand Benenhaley's in the agricultural census were operated by a Jacob and Jessy Benenhaley – it is likely that these were the farms of Lucy and Joel Benenhaley. See, 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District; For slave ownership, see Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 227 and 230; See also, Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, particularly pages 135-136.

**Table 3.16: 1850 and 1860 Sumter District Agricultural Survey Averages**

Populations	Number of Farms	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Bushels of Sweet Potatoes
Entire District 1850	1396	5.82	13.99	36.88	538.03	622.93	13.46	275.05
1860	1030	3.94	9.81	34.60	579.65	376.62	17.54	251.26
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres								
White Farms 1850	303	4.54	8.73	29.08	318.19	454.09	5.38	151.03
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	6	4.50	7.00	50.83	254.17	650.00	2.17	75.83
White Farms 1860	177	3.10	6.58	27.32	327.57	285.33	6.23	141.67
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	3	2.67	4.00	15.67	340.00	636.00	0.67	166.67
Farms with 50 or Fewer Improved Acres								
White Farms 1850	555	2.57	3.83	17.53	159.45	122.02	1.56	67.26
F.P.O.C. Farms 1850	26	2.04	2.65	14.92	127.88	259.92	1.00	48.58
White Farms 1860	341	2.02	3.16	17.04	156.94	105.72	2.43	79.97
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	19	1.00	2.16	10.21	111.58	5.26	1.26	30.00
Farms Reporting ZERO Acreage (1860 only)								
White Farms 1860	106	1.11	1.37	9.09	97.36	68.71	1.83	48.83
F.P.O.C. Farms 1860	12	1.17	1.17	9.25	79.58	197.00	0.42	34.58

Note: Farm production numbers represent averages for each category. F.P.O.C. denotes free person of color. Source: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District.

**Table 3.17: Free Black Farmers in Sumter District in 1850**

Farmer	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres									
Wiley Deas (1860)	5	0	1	0	15	50	0	0	100
Wesley Sweat	8	0	0	0	1	50	0	1	20
Eliz. Canty	9	25	3	2	20	160	480	0	70
Joseph Benenhaley	10	0	2	0	0	90	0	1	15
Eliz. Montgomery	10	15	1	2	20	100	1200	2	20
Thos. Lowry	15	0	2	4	30	80	600	1	25
Wm. Montgomery	15	0	1	0	10	110	300	1	100
John Gains	17	0	1	0	20	80	0	1	30
Richard Gayle	20	0	2	8	25	200	300	0	10
Wade Gaines	20	0	0	0	5	70	150	1	0
Jas. Smiling	20	0	2	1	12	100	180	0	30
Jas. Gains	20	0	1	0	12	70	360	1	0
Isham Carter	20	0	1	1	15	80	260	1	30
J. Pearson	20	20	2	3	15	200	300	2	80
Wesley Carter	22	25	2	1	10	60	390	1	30
Jas Carter	25	15	4	4	30	20	750	3	10
Thos. Gains	28	0	1	5	7	80	180	1	0
Aaron Abrams	30	0	3	5	0	250	0	0	8
Henry Scott	30	0	0	0	14	200	0	0	50
Danl. Montgomery	30	70	2	4	8	75	0	0	0
Sarah Gayman	40	10	4	3	10	100	0	1	75
Thos. Bozier	45	69	4	3	25	150	150	0	0
Rich. Pearson	50	50	4	6	12	250	300	4	35
Moses Dingle	50	100	6	4	12	350	300	3	100
Thomas Chavis	50	142	0	3	35	200	180	0	350
Louisa Gaines	50	300	4	10	25	150	300	1	75
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres									
Benj. Legare	60	40	6	10	30	175	0	0	100
Sarah Pearson	70	30	1	3	0	200	0	3	75
Jas. Carter	75	30	8	2	25	200	2400	6	120
July Carter	100	50	1	1	10	100	300	2	60
Jos. Gibbs	100	250	5	6	40	400	0	2	40
Wm. C. Nelson	100	1900	6	20	200	450	1200	0	60
Farms with 101 or More Improved Acres									
Wm. Elison	200	150	5	16	30	1200	0	35	700

Note: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District.

**Table 3.18:** Free Black Farms in Sumter District in 1860

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Farms Reporting Zero Improved Acres									
Thomas Lowry	0	0	5	10	45	200	0	2	300
Bell Tab	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Austin Nicholds	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	20
West. Sweat	0	0	2	0	9	80	0	0	0
Madry Gowins	0	0	0	0	11	50	184	1	20
James Gowins	0	0	1	1	4	150	180	0	10
Thomas Gowins	0	0	4	2	6	100	500	1	30
Wash. Gowins	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
Wade Gowins	0	0	1	0	13	100	600	0	25
John Gibbs	0	0	0	0	9	45	0	1	0
Albert Chavis	0	0	0	0	0	150	0	0	0
L. Bandeham	0	0	0	0	7	80	900	0	0
Farms with 1 to 50 Improved Acres									
Tom Laney	5	0	0	0	10	40	0	0	15
WR Tidwell	8	0	0	0	15	70	0	0	0
AA Tidwell	8	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
Elias Davis	10	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0
Jacob Benenhaley	20	0	0	0	10	80	0	0	25
WR Tidwell	20	0	0	0	10	50	0	1	0
Isham Scott	20	0	2	8	20	60	0	1	50
Jno Scott	20	13	2	6	15	100	0	2	60
Caroline Chavis	20	30	3	2	6	50	100	0	0
Ferdinand Benenhaley	25	0	1	0	8	120	0	1	30
Wm. Chavis	25	15	0	0	8	100	0	0	0
John Nowling	25	25	2	5	10	50	0	0	50
Jessy Benenhaley	30	0	1	3	10	100	0	1	20
William [Pells] Pitts	30	0	1	5	10	200	0	1	100
Washington Scott	30	0	2	0	12	200	0	2	50
Henry Ellison	30	0	0	0	0	75	0	13	0
Eliza Bradford	30	70	2	4	10	150	0	0	50
Henry Scott	40	0	0	0	15	250	0	2	100
Dick Gayle	50	0	3	8	25	300	0	0	20
Farms with 51 to 100 Improved Acres									
James Gibbs	100	134	3	6	12	300	800	0	100
Lavicy Gowins	100	300	3	1	8	20	196	0	0
Farms with 101 or More Improved Acres									
Thos. Chavis	130	104	2	5	27	700	912	2	400
Wm. Ellison	500	300	4	10	43	2000	0	80	1000

Note: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District.

were James Gibbs and Lavicy Gowins, both enumerated as real estate owners. While the average white farmer averaged 281.94 pounds of rice in 1860, Gowins grew 196 pounds and Gibbs harvested 800. Like free black rice producers in the lowcountry rice was somewhat safer than cotton because it was both a market and subsistence crop that could be consumed.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the surety in rice as a food source even if it was not profitable on the market, small free black farmer's in Sumter retreated hastily from the crop between 1850 and 1860. Eighteen out of twenty-six farmers with one to fifty improved acres produced rice and their yields averaged 259.62 pounds in 1850. White farmers that year only averaged 120.93 pounds. Inexplicably, of the nineteen free black farms with one to fifty improved acres in 1860, only Caroline Chavis grew rice – a meager 100 pounds that was likely for household consumption. It unclear what precipitated the drastic retreat from rice planting in 1860 for free people of color, but the drop reflects the district's overall trend between the census years. The district's overall rice production fell from 1,758.71 pounds in 1850 to 374.36 in 1860. Moreover, the decline in free black's rice harvest fits the overall pattern for free black farmers with one to fifty improved acres. Between 1850 and 1860, the average white farmer's meat and grain production stayed nearly constant and cotton production increased by nearly a bale per farm. But, their free black farming

---

<sup>45</sup> See, 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District; The Gowin's family, or Goins, were a unique group of free people of color who claimed native American, while their neighbors referred to them as "Red Bones," "Croatans," or "Malungeans." Those designated as Croatans in North Carolina were, in 1953, given state designation as "Lumbee Indians." See, Ariela J. Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 123-125.

neighbors saw their livestock, corn, and sweet potato numbers fall. The only category wherein these free black small farmer operators increased their output between 1850 and 1860 was a rise from one bale of cotton per farm to a 1.26 bale average.<sup>46</sup>

Compared to their lowcountry counterparts, free black farmers in the midlands district of Sumter and the upcountry or Piedmont region in Abbeville and Newberry Counties demonstrated a conspicuous number of yeomanry who farm productions represented safety-first agriculture and a commitment to market production as well. But, there were considerably more tenant farmers in the upcountry and these small farmers, particularly those working less than 50 improved acres, were less prosperous than the free blacks farming smaller plots in the low country. Several factors probably contributed to their economic positions and confirm factors that helped provide for economic health among the lowcountry's black farmers. Planter expansion in the upcountry did not take off until after the cotton gin made upland short-staple cotton a profitable crop at the turn of the nineteenth century. Thus, the rise of large plantations in the upcountry was coeval with burgeoning laws restricting manumissions. While some slaveowners, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, continued to free slaves regardless of the law, the upcountry did not see the type of revolutionary-era wave of manumissions that was seen in the lowcountry. Influenced by the law and the late start to the plantation economy in the upcountry, manumissions were less common in the upcountry. Whites in the upcountry also appeared less likely to acknowledge bi-racial children, and thus came proportionally fewer free blacks granted land by white ancestors. Indeed, free blacks in

---

<sup>46</sup> See, 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Sumter District; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District

Charleston District parishes were 73 percent mulatto in 1850, just over 50 mulatto in Sumter, and less than one-third mulatto in both Abbeville and Newberry Districts.<sup>47</sup>

These factors, particularly mulatto-ness offered more opportunities for economic health in the lowcountry and the longer history of free black neighbors and their clearer kinship with some white planters likely led to greater degrees of tolerance in the lowcountry and certainly provided more avenues for the beginnings of economic independence.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> For Charleston District's rural parishes in 1850, 307 of 420 individuals, or roughly 73 percent, were mulatto. Such a high percentage of mixed ancestry immediately suggests miscegenation as a key factor through which free people of color received their freedom. Mulattos were a considerably smaller segment of the free person of color population in the upcountry. In Sumter District that year, just over 50 percent of the 340 free people of color were mulatto, in Abbeville District 113 of the district's 331 free people of color were mulatto, and in Newberry District, only 43 of the district's 212 free people of color were enumerated as mulatto. See, 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District, SC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry District, SC. In both Sumter and Abbeville, the census taker marked two more free people of color in the actual count than he recognized his aggregate count of total free people of color in the district; For more on the importance of mulatto-ness and success in Virginia, see Howard Bedenhorn, *The Complexion Gap: The Economic Consequences of Color Among Free African Americans in the Rural Antebellum South*, (Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2002); and, Bedenhorn, "The Mulatto Advantage: The Biological Consequences of Complexion in Rural Antebellum Virginia," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 33 No. 1 (Summer 2002): 21-46.

<sup>48</sup> For comparison and the importance of the lowcountry's apparent tolerance, Georgia presents an instructive comparison. With stricter manumission laws beginning in 1801 and an apparently more rigid enforcement system, Georgia's free blacks did not demonstrate the type of conspicuous economic health shown by a portion in South Carolina. This dissertation sampled Wilkes and Taliaferro counties in Georgia's central piedmont and found no free black farmers and very few living in nuclear households – most were found as individuals working as servants in white households. In his 1957 dissertation, Edward R. Sweat sampled fifteen Georgia counties: Baldwin, Bibb, Burke, Columbia, Muscogee, Richmond, Twiggs, Warren, Chatham, McIntosh, Cherokee, Floyd, Franklin, Emanuel, and Walker in 1850, and both Coffee and Fulton which were added in 1860. For these counties, Sweat only found twenty-two free black farm operators, most of whom he determined were solely committed to subsistence. See Sweat, "The Free Negro in Antebellum Georgia," 141-142 and 165-166.

As Kirt von Daacke determined while studying free people in rural Virginia, there was often a “gap between state law and local practice.”<sup>49</sup> Economically, a conspicuous and important minority among free blacks exploited these gaps to establish degrees of economic freedom. There, in these small spaces, an important segment of South Carolina’s rural blacks first carved out a place as self-working farmers with much akin to their white neighbors. Some through their land ownership, planting strategies, and measured entry into the market economy all confirmed their statuses as yeomen. Another portion, prominent in the upcountry scratched out meager livings as tenant farmers beside hundreds of small white farmers doing the same. Despite their marginal legal and social statuses, an important portion of South Carolina’s free people of color still exhibited the ability to farm for themselves while living in very similar fashion to their common class white neighbors. These similarities built an important class-based kinship with common whites that sometimes superseded racial differences. As will be discussed in the next chapter, they formed rural communities and made small, if but temporary, challenges to racial boundaries. But for now, their industry itself challenged notions that free people of color were inherently lazy and incapable of supporting themselves and further suggested that free black farmers like James Cleveland were more conspicuous in rural South Carolina than were hopelessly impoverished and willing to become slaves like William Bass. Perhaps not wholly the masters of small worlds, these free people of color still lived as somewhat more than slaves without masters.

---

<sup>49</sup> von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face*, 3.



## CHAPTER 4

### HARD PRESSED BUT NEVER CRUSHED:

#### FREE BLACKS AND WHITE SOCIETY

#### FROM THE EARLY REPUBLIC TO THE CIVIL WAR

James Cleveland and his family were well-established yeomen farmers by the 1850s and shared more traits than just farming strategies with their common-class white neighbors. Living amid other free black farmers, their small and cooperative community of black yeomanry closely resembled communities of white yeomen that Stephanie McCurry uncovered in Beaufort County. Moreover, their occasional entry into white society and privilege suggests an important margin between white and black – a space where their economic success sometimes superseded racial boundaries. James Cleveland’s great-aunt, through her property and marriage, was able to lay aside many constraints associated with her free black status – both legal and social. Still, the Cleveland family’s economic status did not give them the absolute mastery that historian Stephanie McCurry observed among white yeomen in Beaufort. Rather, their challenges to racial order were small and contingent – but not insignificant. Free blacks in rural South Carolina lived very much like their white neighbors, intermarried with them, attended the same churches, and sometimes sinned together by gambling and trading alcohol in spaces where class commonalities were more important than race. Still, breeching the color line was uncertain and often temporary. Sometimes able to make

more meaningful challenges to racial order, but they were not entirely masters of small worlds -- they were hard pressed by law and circumstance, indeed, but not crushed.

James Cleveland's great-aunt, Elizabeth Cleveland, was the daughter of an English seaman and slave merchant, William Cleveland, and a mulatto African native named "Kate, the only child of King Skinner Corker." Born 1741 on the Banana Islands, off the coast of Sierra Leone, Cleveland's father sent her to be educated in England and eventually to South Carolina with her five year-old mulatto niece, Catherine, in 1764. By 1768 Elizabeth Cleveland purchased the 750 acre Brick House Plantation and, in her brother's name, she also acquired the 600 acre Wampee Plantation, both in St. John's Berkeley Parish. With her family's wealth and land, Cleveland brought considerable resources to her 1771 marriage to a white surgeon, William Hardcastle. As her husband practiced medicine in St. John's Berkeley and St. Stephen's Parishes, she "evidently worked alongside her husband, learning the skills of his medical profession" and reportedly treated patients after her husband's death in 1777. Writing a memoir about growing up in and around St. Stephens Parish, Frederick Adolphus Porcher remembered Elizabeth Hardcastle as well-spoken, well-dressed, and, most importantly, a landowner. Among other property, Hardcastle owned both Wampee and Brick House plantations in St. Johns Berkeley Parish. She merged the 1,350 acres to create a single plantation, Wampee. Her plantation operations placed Hardcastle squarely within the planter class. Still, her racial status was not so clear. Porcher remembered she "lived notoriously as the paramour" of the Irish rector of St. Stephens Church. Moreover, many of the elite community members "asserted the prejudice of race, and would hold no intercourse with her. . . . [O]thers on the other hand visited her and were visited by her." Many of these

visitors associated with Hardcastle in hopes that she would remember them in her will. She was also known to have carried on a romantic relationship with, another white man, Jasper Scouler. Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle may have been so integrated into the community that, despite the rule of law, she signed her name as witness to at least two Last Will and Testaments of white planters. These challenges to the racial divide, however, were short-lived.<sup>1</sup>

Following Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle's death in 1808, her mulatto niece, Catherine Cleveland, faced a lengthy legal fight to protect the tract of land called "Raccoon Hill" that she was to inherit. During the course of her life, Hardcastle wrote at least three wills – and white planter families, distantly related to Cleveland through her father's side, made claims to her property as well. "Francis Kinloch and his brother and sister, Cleland and Mary Esther Kinloch Huger were the first to claim to be Elizabeth's closest relatives. Then Mary Hillen and the sisters, Elizabeth Cleland Rhind and Sarah Cleland Baron also filed claims." After years of legal rancor, Hardcastle's niece, "Old Kate" Cleveland, finally secured the property in 1825 – a portion of the estate that Hardcastle actually deeded as "gift" to her niece just six months before she died. Catherine Cleveland's will, written in 1836 and probated after her 1859 death, indicated that the family held Raccoon Hill and her son, James Cleveland, still farmed the land.

---

<sup>1</sup> Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 1-5; The Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:53-57, ALSC; for Hardcastle's plantation purchases see Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 71 and 261; Medical practice in Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 77; Her medical practice, her relationship with prominent white citizens, and her status as "paramour" to the local pastor is also remembered in The Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:55; ALSC; Jasper Scouler reference in Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 314-315, and her witnessing legal documents, 76.

They are reported to have stayed on the land until the Santee-Cooper Hydroelectric Project created Lake Moultrie literally on top of the homestead in the early 1940s. When the lake was built, the Cleveland family's cemetery was "believed to be the only burying ground within the Pinopolis Basin containing chiefly the remains of free negroes." When the cemetery was to be flooded by the Santee-Cooper Hydroelectric Project during the Great Depression, no family members responded to the opportunity to relocate the graves. The project did, however, inventory those reported to have been among the 150 unmarked graves. Some of the surnames included in the list of those buried at Old Kate Cemetery include: Breach, Cleveland, Palmer, and Rollinson. These family names were all enumerated as free persons of color living in St. Stephens Parish.<sup>2</sup>

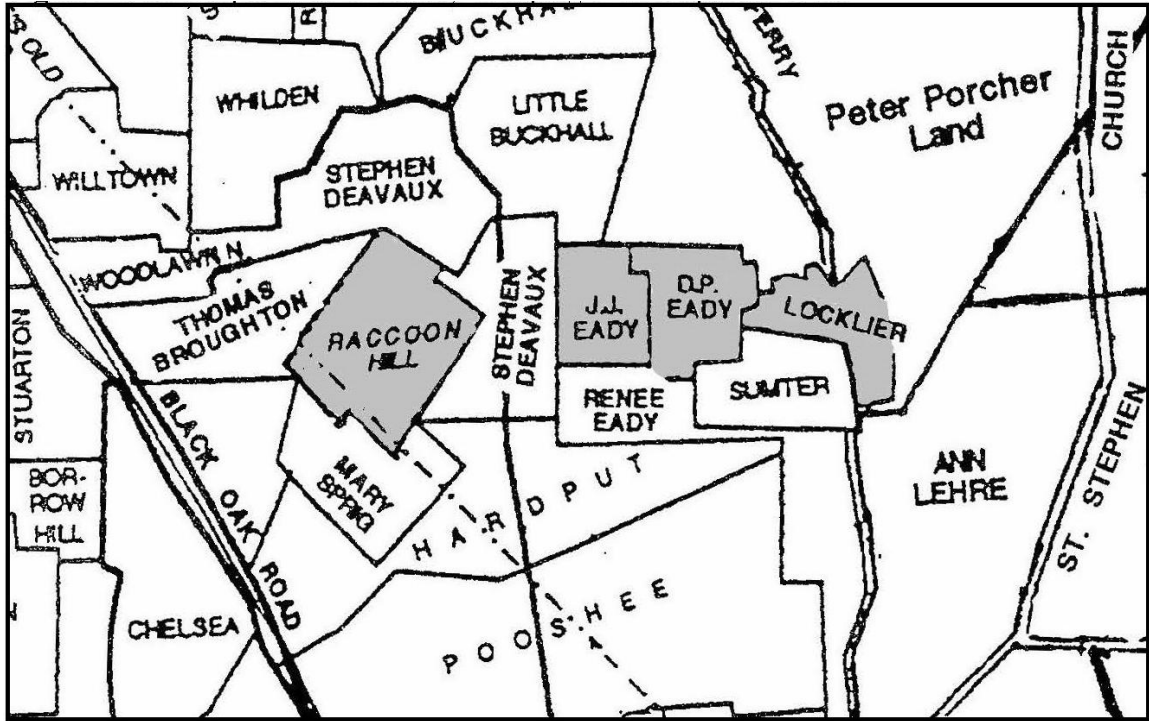
When Elizabeth and Kate Cleveland arrived in South Carolina, from Africa, as free women of color, they had already accomplished a remarkable feat. Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle went even further when she used family wealth to establish a considerably sizeable plantation. Besides these remarkable experiences, however, the Hardcastles also demonstrated many common facets of rural life for free black yeomen.

---

<sup>2</sup> Will of Catharine Cleveland, Charleston County Wills, 49:400-401, CCPL; Porcher's memoirs also identify the mixed ancestry in the Cleveland family in Papers of Frederick A. Porcher, Handwritten Memoir, Box I:4:53-57, ALSC; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 297; Most of Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle's estate was delivered to the Pineville Academy, a St. Stephen's Parish school, after a lengthy legal fight when her last wishes were called into question. Catherine Cleveland had already been deeded Racoon Hill in 1808 as a gift effective upon Hardcastle's death. Though her aunt died later in 1808, due to the legal rancor over Hardcastle's estate and multiple claimants, Catherine Cleveland did not secure Racoon Hill until 1825. See, Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*, 104 and 372; *Cemetery Records: A Documentary of Cemetery or Burial Ground Reports and Grave Relocations by Santee Cooper From the Project Area*, 111-113; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

Hardcastle's great-nephew, James Cleveland, farmed a small plot of his family's land with strategies and characteristics indistinguishable from a white yeoman farmer. Hardcastle used economic success to overcome racial barriers, but their positions were still fragile and contingent. Their lives represented other rural free people of color who farmed, formed communities, had had complicated relationships with neighboring whites – but were still very much constrained by their race and not wholly masters of small worlds nor were they truly slave without masters. This chapter explores those free blacks and the careful type of community they forged with one another and with neighboring whites. Further, it examines the ways their lives and social characteristics closely resembled those white neighbors and how, as a result, the clear demarcation between white and black was often blurred in these rural exchanges.

The Clevelands' farm at Raccoon Hill and the cemetery they had with at least three other free black families indicate that, like white plain folk, they formed cooperative communities in their rural settings. At Raccoon Hill they were neighbored by at least three other free black farmers, the Eady and Locklair families, and therefore reflect historians Frank Owsley and Stephanie McCurry's observations that plain folk tended to cluster in communities (see **Figure 4.1**). Indeed, the 1850 census enumerated the ninety-five year-old Kate Cleveland living in James Cleveland's household. The Cleveland homestead was enumerated as the fortieth household in the parish. Between houses numbered forty and sixty-six, there were sixteen free black families. The groupings of some families are surely the results of their shared land inheritance. Like Henry Glencamp's mulatto children, discussed in the chapter 2, the Cleveland family and



**Figure 4.1** Free People of Color Family Grouping in St. Stephens Parish. The center of this map denotes the Kate Cleveland family farm, or Raccoon Hill. Also located to the east are the Eady and Locklier family farms, all free people of color homesteads in proximity to one another. The dashed line running northwest to southeast through this map marks the boundary between St. Johns Berkeley Parish to the southwest and St. Stephen's Parish to the northeast. This 1942 map was assembled by John Gaillard using surveys, deeds, and plat collections. Source "John Gaillard Map of Berkeley and Parts of Charleston and Dorchester Counties, Map Collection, Charleston, 1884-1955, Reference Room Item 36-9, SCHS. A similar composition that adapts from the Gaillard Map can be found in the inside spine of E. Louise, *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle*.

their homestead also demonstrated the immediate advantage for free people of color when their inherited property offered them greater economic possibilities.

Elsewhere in St. Stephen's Parish, mulattoes Robert and Daniel Peagler farmed adjacent tracts of land after their white father, Henry Peagler, divided his plantation, "Upton," into two parts in his 1844. A third brother, James, received another piece of land where Henry Peagler was living at time of his death. Peagler's slaves were divided and granted to the brothers Robert, Daniel, and James, with an equal share to their sister Rosanna Mims. The will does not offer detail, but Henry Peagler was the only white person in his St. Stephen's household when enumerated in 1840. Also enumerated with Henry Peagler were an adult female and four juvenile free people of color. The sons to whom Henry Peagler bequeathed his land in 1844 were enumerated in 1850 as mulattoes farming in the parish. Like the Glencamps and the Clevelands, the Peaglers gained access to economic opportunity in St. Stephen's through white ancestry. Moreover, Henry Peagler's will demonstrates a pattern that Steven Hahn observed among yeomanry and small planters in Georgia and one that explains another reason why some free people of color tended to settle in groups. As Hahn explains, farmers tended to leave their whole estates to their wives or, in other cases, divide their land among sons and leave personal property to their daughters. These arrangements required large enough land holdings that they could be divided among heirs and remain economically viable farms. Hahn further determined that the smallest farmers whose property could not be divided and remain viable would instead sell their estates and divide the proceeds.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Will of Henry Peagler, Charleston County Wills, 43:817-818, CCPL; Henry Peagler is listed as white head of household in 1830 with five free persons of color and five slaves living in the St. Stephen's Parish household. One of the free person of color

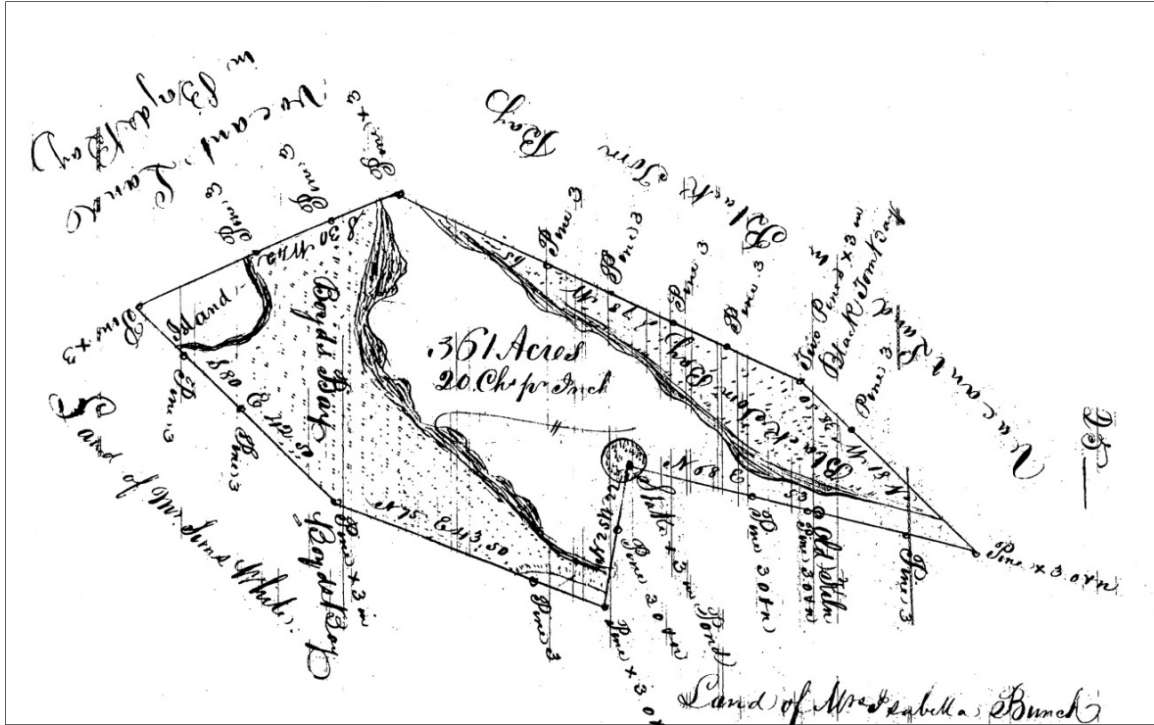
In other parts of rural South Carolina free people of color collected in enclaves for more of the same reasons that white yeomen tended to group: the availability of cheaper land and for the benefits of cooperative living. In St. John's Berkeley Parish an 1848 plat for Moses Jackson indicated that he purchased a 361 acre tract of land in St. John's Berkeley Parish. Half of the tract was described as either swampland or lowland bay but by 1850 Jackson was farming on 20 improved acres producing corn and 1,800 pounds of rice.<sup>4</sup> Jackson's property was bounded on two sides by lowland bays but to the north by Isabella Bunch, a white woman sharing a household with three mulatto women. (See **Figure 4.2**) Next door to Bunch were the mulatto households of E. Capers Bunch and Joshua Bunch, likely her sons. Not surprisingly, Jackson and the three Bunch family households appear as free people of color living in very close succession in the 1850 census. Together the plat and 1850 census confirm that free people of color tended to live in close proximity to other free people of color and amid other plain folk who sought what cheap land was attainable. Indeed, they lived amongst each other for a number of reasons. Michael Johnson and James L. Roark observed that the free black Ellison

---

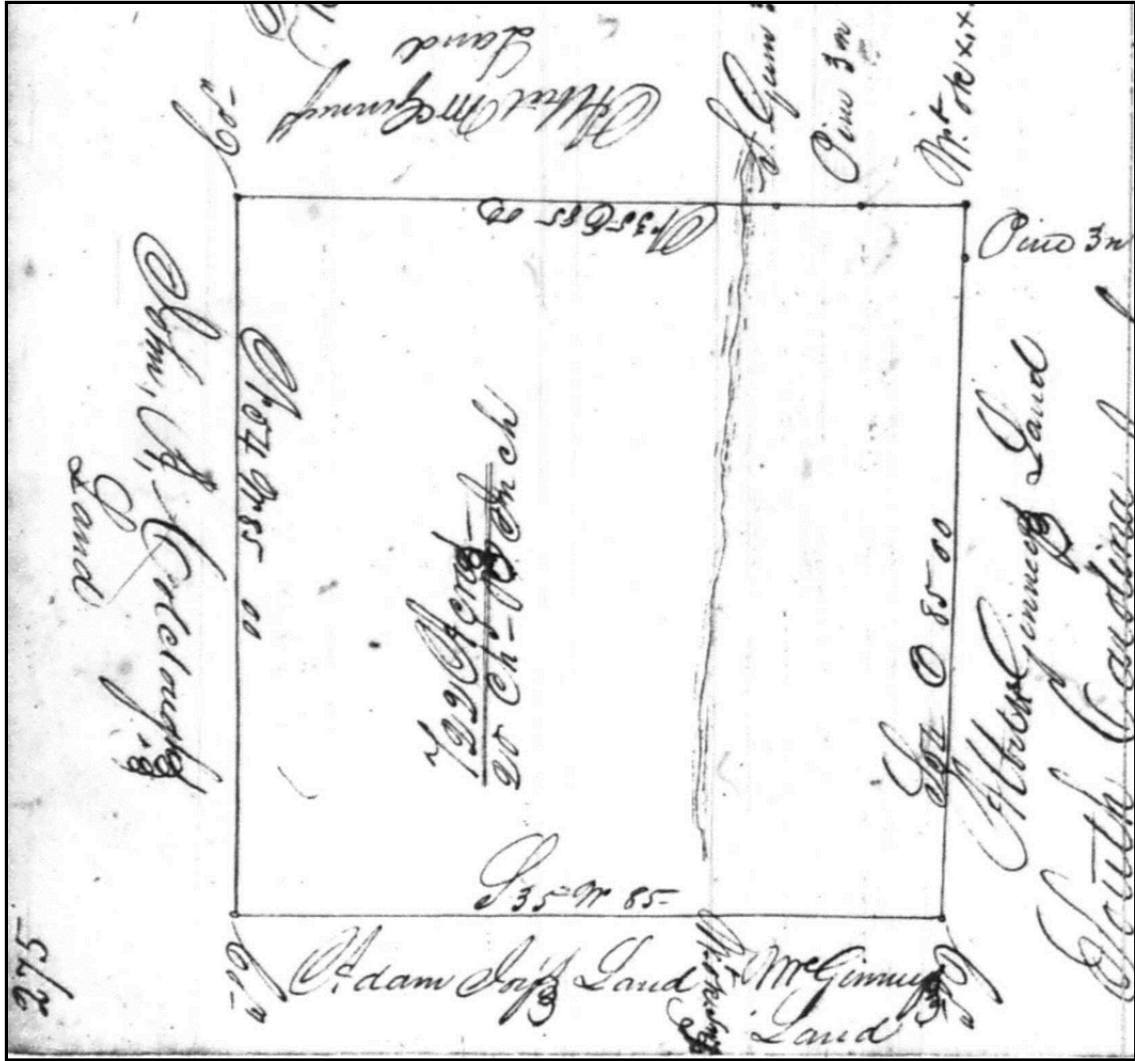
females was between twenty-four and thirty-five years of age and was likely Peagler's wife. There four juvenile free people of color, three boys and one girl; 1840 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; For Steven Hahn's discussion on partible inheritance among Georgia yeomen, *The Roots of Southern Populism*, 78-84; It should be noted that historian Larry Koger cites the Peaglers' changing racial identities in the historical record, as he points out this was likely due to improved economic circumstances. "With the conditions for the elevation of free mulattoes to the status of white citizens resting upon their wealth, conduct, and more importantly, their whiteness of skin, the door to the white world was kept judiciously open for a few mulattoes. And a small number of mulattoes came through the door and crossed the racial barriers, thus entering into whiteness in South Carolina." See, Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> Moses Jackson Plat for 361 Acres on Boyd's Bay in St. Johns Berkeley, SC State Plats, Charleston Series 1784-180, 43:25, SCDAH.; 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Schedule, Charleston District.





**Figure 4.2** Moses Jackson's Land in St. Johns Berkeley Parish. Plat is drawn with a strange compass orientation. Compass north is actually the bottom right hand corner of the sketch. Source: Moses Jackson Plat for 361 Acres on Boyd's Bay in St. Johns Berkeley, SC State Plats, Charleston Series 1784-180, 43:25, SCDAH.



**Figure 4.3:** Joy Family Land on the White Oak Swamp in Sumter District. Like Moses Jackson's land in St. John's Berkeley Parish that bounded the swampy lowland bays, this 1824 plat for 722 acres purchased by Robert A. Joy on the White Oak Swamp in Sumter District bounds, Adam Joy to the east (shown at the bottom of the map). Adam Joy was enumerated as a free man of color in 1820 and a slaveowner in 1830. The plat has been rotated counterclockwise so Adam Joy's name is easily located. Source: Robert A. Joy Plat for 722 Acres on White Oak Swamp, Sumter District, August 12, 1824. South Carolina State Plat Collection, S213192:47:275, SCDAH. See also 1820 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Sumter District; For slaveownership, see Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 214.

family and the Turk families in Sumter County interacted because they felt they “could safely enjoy social relations” with one another because they both “occupied unusual social terrain.” Observing free blacks in North Carolina, Victoria Bynum found those who owned land often intermarried extensively and across generations to preserve property. Thus, forming communities provided strength in numbers for racial protection and perhaps degrees of economic security as well.<sup>5</sup>

Isabella Bunch’s status as a white woman also hints at the degree to which these back road communities may have been integrated. The 1850 census lists four white families of laborers and farmers living between Moses Jackson and the Bunch families, suggesting that white plain folk, at least in this parish, lived near and amongst free people of color families. This grouping seems to have existed because of the availability of cheap land rather than because of race. Noting similar patterns in Edgefield District, Orville Vernon Burton determined that “the more economically secure they were, the more likely free blacks were to reside among men and women of equal economic status.” Historian Gary Mills maintains that plain folk formed communities because “they needed each other, regardless of race.” Jackson’s white neighbors indicate that both races of plain folk lived where they could, a fact echoed by Stephanie McCurry. McCurry’s Beaufort farmers “also nestled in the forks of the swamps” and there were at least three free black settlements of “small landholders, a black yeomanry of sorts.”<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 145-146; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 77-78.

<sup>6</sup>1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; Burton, *In My Father’s House Are Many Mansions*, 211; Gary B. Mills, “Shades of Ambiguity: Comparing Antebellum Free People of Color in ‘Anglo’ Alabama and ‘Latin’ Louisiana.” in *Plain Folk of the South Revisited*, ed. Samuel C. Hyde, Jr. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 166; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, 24-25.

Where the Cleveland family and Henry Glencamp's descendants in St. Stephens Parish represented two separate free people of color families whose shared inheritance led them to live in close-knit communities, three intermarried families in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, Michael Fowler and Robert Collin's descendants, noticeably dominated the number of free mulatto households in their parish. Larry Koger relates that the Collins families were all mulatto descendants of "Robert Collins, a white planter." The heirs shared 545 acres of land, using slaves to cultivate rice. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Koger also recounts the Fowler family's origin as the free mulatto descendants of another white planter, Michael Fowler. It would be misleading, however, to say the Collins family lived in perfect harmony with other free people of color in the parish, or even their mulatto relatives. In 1824 Robert Collins sued Stanhope Fowler, also a free person of color, for shooting and killing Collins's "very fine [horse]." The incident is reminiscent of North Carolina's Edward Isham, a poor white whose infamous violence eventually ended with his own execution for murder in 1860 and of similar incidents among slaves, free blacks, and common whites that Jeff Forret observed throughout the Old South. In their occasional violence and when acting to protect personal property, perhaps free people of color proved no different than their white counterparts.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 119, 41; Collins reported that Fowler shot the horse for no good reason. Collins estimated its value at \$200, but sued for \$500. The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff in the amount of \$50. See *Collins v. Fowler*, Charleston District, Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, 1825:102A, SCDAH; For a synopsis of Isham's violence and debauchery, see Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 1-4; See also, Charles C. Bolton and Scott P. Culclasure, editors, *The Confessions of Edward*

Inheritances were indeed important for fostering community but holding on to an inheritance was never certain with such limited access to the courts. Catherine Cleveland's nearly twenty year battle to hold on to just a portion of her aunt's estate against claims from neighboring whites only prevailed because Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle had signed over the land, officially, by a deed of gift effective upon her death. In Abbeville District, when white planter Robert Robertson died and left his estate to his four mulatto children in 1825, Robert's brother John Robertson sued the estate and its executors claiming himself as the sole surviving heir. Historian Lowry Ware reports the trial judge, Henry W. DeSaussure, wrote that Robert Robertson's children had given "answers which were as frank and fair as any he had known" and that "This is very creditable to the defendants, and indicates that their minds are elevated by nature, though their condition is lowly on account of their birth from a lowly mother in concubinage. These circumstances deprive them of great civil and political privileges; but they are entitled to the full protection of the laws, as far as their legal rights extend; and by God's blessing they shall have, as lowly as they are, the full benefits of their rights, according to those laws.' " Holding on to their inheritance, Robertson's son Reuben Robertson became the largest free black slaveholder in the state, owning fifty slaves in 1850.<sup>8</sup>

Arrangements for free black inheritance could be fragile and reflected sometimes conflicted relationships between free black heirs and local whites. The nearly two dozen slaves that Thomas Wadsworth freed in 1799 were also given fifty acres of land,

---

*Isham: A Poor White Life of the Old South* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1998); See also, Forret, *Race Relations at the Margins*.

<sup>8</sup> Equity Records, Abbeville District, Box 28, Pack 839, SCDAH, cited by Ware, "Reuben Robertson of Turkey Creek," 263.

livestock, and placed under the care of the Bush River Quakers in Newberry District. Their petition does not survive, but at some point in the early 1810s, the Quaker Meeting petitioned the legislature for permission to sell the lands that Wadsworth left the former slaves. What strained the relationship is unclear, though rising land values was likely a consideration. Still the legislature responded negatively and denied the Quakers the permission in 1813.<sup>9</sup> A similar dispute emerged in the 1830s, when Hardy Stuckey petitioned the South Carolina Legislature on behalf of the children of James Slatter, a free person of color from Sumter District. Stuckey wrote that he was Slatter's guardian during his life, and that at the time of his death, some five years before, Slatter owned about fifty acres, some personal property, and three hundred dollars in cash. Stuckey then wrote that he had "attended upon [Slatter] and nursed him in his last illness and when first taken sick sent for your petitioner and state to him that he knew he was going to die and wished your petitioner to take the little property he had and to sell the same and after indemnifying himself for his trouble and expenses to bestow the rest upon his

---

<sup>9</sup> Committee Report on the Petition of the Society of Friends, Called Quakers, Asking Permission to Sell Lands left by Thomas Wadsworth, Deceased, to Certain Manumitted Slaves, S165005:1813:10, SCDAH; Incidentally, the Wadsworth Will also left property to establish a poor school in Laurens District and the Quakers request to sell the land left for former slaves came after an attempt to sell land left for the school. The Wadsworthville School's Trustees also petitioned the legislature for permission to sell the land and were granted that right, but were stopped after Wadsworth's executors petitioned and cited the will's distinct instructions that the land be used for the school only. See "Trustees of the Wadsworthville School in Laurens District, Petition Asking Permission to Sell Certain Lands for the Support of Said School by Thomas Wadsworth," S165015:1811:2, SCDAH; "Executors of the Will of Thomas Wadsworth, Petition Against the Act Authorizing the Trustees of the Wadsworthville Poor School to Sell Certain of Wadsworths Lands," S165015:1812:4, SCDAH; "Executors of the Will of Thomas Wadsworth, Petition Against the Act Authorizing the Trustees of the Wadsworthville Poor School to Sell Certain of Wadsworths Lands," S165015:1812:4, SCDAH.

children who were slaves and owned by Edmund Stuckey, the father of your petitioner.”<sup>10</sup>

The legislature’s committee response does not survive, but an undated petition from the citizen of Upper Salem, Sumter District, indicates that Slatter’s estate escheated, meaning that his oral instructions to Stuckey were not accepted and he was determined to have died intestate with no legal heirs, “his next of kin being slaves.” The Upper Salem citizens requested that the proceeds of his estate be applied to building an academy at Bishopville to benefit and education the area’s youth. The legislature approved using the proceeds for the Bishopville Academy and, just a few years later, named Hardy Stuckey a trustee. By caring for him as he died and apparently attempting to secure property for his enslaved children, Hardy Stuckey gives the appearance of real cooperation between a dying free man of color and his white guardian. Of course, Slatter’s children were Stuckey family property, and if his last wishes had been honored Stuckey would have been the real beneficiary – not Slatter’s enslaved family. So, despite being able to attain land, personal property, and a considerable sum of cash, circumstances prevented Slatter from purchasing his childrens’ freedom or offering them real security after his death.<sup>11</sup>

Despite contested probate arrangements that unveiled free people of color’s liminal status, wills could simultaneously reveal community and cooperation between free blacks as well as a number of white Carolinians willing to help their free black

---

<sup>10</sup> “Petition of Hardy Stucky for Children of James Slanter,” S165015:1830:63, SCDAH.

<sup>11</sup> “Petition of the Citizens of Upper Salem,” S165015:ND:3156; “Committee Report on Petition of Citizens of Sumter District to Be Granted the Proceeds of James Slatter’s Escheated Estate for the Academy at Bishopville,” S165005:1834:40, SCDAH; and McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina, 1838-1849*, 70.

neighbors. Joseph Sprott of Clarendon District, once part of the Sumter District, made arrangements in 1856 to provide land to his faithful servant Bob, and directed his executors to “pay taxes and to exert all other acts of ownership over the said Bob, saving and excepting that they shall allow him the free use and benefit of his time and labor and all acquisition the result of this honest industry.” Sprott then left a 300 acre tract to his nephew in title, but directed that “old free Molly Pearson . . . is to have the privilege of living on, and cultivating said tract of land during her natural life free of rent, my nephew Joseph Sprott paying the taxes of the same up to the time of the said Molly Pearson’s death.” In 1831 in Newberry District, Lucy Buchanan, a free woman of color, willed her enslaved son to Lemuel Glymph and his son Josephus, “[believing] and trusting that they will treat him humanly [*sic*] and kindly & leave him in their hands with confidence as being the best disposition that according to the laws of this state I can make for his welfare.”<sup>12</sup>

Undoubtedly rural free blacks shared a sense of trust with one another and with their white neighbors, or otherwise they sometimes had little choice. In St. Johns Berkeley Parish, John R. Dangerfield is a particularly useful example of the decisions they had to make. He also begins to illustrate another key relationship between free people of color and white plain folk, the occasional fluidity between one’s identity as a free person of color or as a white individual. Daniel Burbage named Dangerfield as one of the witnesses to his will and as executor of his estate. This is the same Dangerfield who was granted “ownership” of George Broad’s mulatto children at the time of Broad’s

---

<sup>12</sup> Will of Joseph Sprott (Typescript), Sumter District, S108093: 26:464, SCDAH; Will of Lucy Buchanan (Typescript), Newberry District, S108093:20:25, SCDAH.



death. Dangerfield was actually white, but when his second marriage was to a woman of color, he was immediately identified as a person of color and assigned the same social status as his black and mulatto neighbors.<sup>13</sup>

Economic similarities, living near one another in rural communities, helping each other in legal matters, and other relationships diluted racial differences and blurred the boundaries between white in black. In the margins, race became even more fluid for free people of color and, sometimes, for the whites without they associated. In St. James Goose Creek Parish, in the Charleston District, David Locklair demonstrates just how fluid the boundary could be, even in relatively small rural community. Locklair's vote in an 1856 St. James Goose Creek Parish election was challenged on the basis of he lived in another parish, where he did not even meet landownership requirements for voting. Thus, Locklair's vote was challenged on his residency and status as a freeholder, not because of his race. To be clear, Locklair and his entire family were enumerated in 1850 as mulatto, a trait that would have immediately barred him from voting. In fact, challenging a vote on the basis of race was not unheard-of in the Charleston District. An 1840 St. Andrews Parish election grievance to the state legislature contested a single vote

---

<sup>13</sup> Will of Daniel Burbage, Charleston County Wills, 42:424-425, CCPL; Burbage's mulatto family in 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; John R. Dangerfield's wife was a person of color, but of Native American origin. See Theresa M. Hicks, ed., *South Carolina Indians, Indian Traders, and Other Ethnic Connections: Beginning in 1670* (Peppercorn Publications, Inc.: The Reprint Company Publishers, 1998), 260; A decent case study and discussion of Native American race relations, particularly regarding slavery occurs in William L. Ramsay, "A Coat for 'Indian Cuffy': Mapping the Boundary Between Freedom and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* vol. 103 no. 1 (January 2002): 48-66; For other spouses who assumed the race of their partner see Victoria E. Bynum, *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

cast by a man named simply “Edmonton,” a “free person of color, whose caste has come to the knowledge of your memorialist since the election.” Clearly it would have been much easier to have protested Locklair’s vote due to his status as a mulatto man, but it appears as though Locklair’s racial identity passed between white and mulatto at different times. As some free people of color were, at times, identified as black and in other times identified as white, they demonstrated the boundaries between rural free people of color and plain folk were not always rigid and the distinction between racial designations was mutable.<sup>14</sup>

In Sumter District, Wiley Wilson’s 1829 petition to the South Carolina Legislature from the Sumter District illustrates how quickly a white woman could be degraded and assigned a free person of color identity. Wilson, a free person of color, and a white woman, Moley Kemp, lived together as man and wife. Wilson’s petition begged the legislature to exclude Kemp from a capitation tax normally paid by free persons of color. At least two witnesses confirmed, Kemp’s race as white, but the Assembly’s Ways and Means Committee recommended that “the prayer of the petitioner be not granted.”<sup>15</sup> According to the state legislature, Kemp’s relationship with a person

---

<sup>14</sup> Locklair’s challenged vote recorded in Committee on Privileges and Elections Report and Resolution on the Protest of J.C. McKewn on the Election of Joseph Murray as House Member from St. James Goose Creek Parish, General Assembly Committee Reports, Year 1856:113, SCDAH; St. Andrews vote protest in Application to Amend the Memorial of Thos. Legare Protesting Against the Seat of Mr. John Rivers, Miscellaneous Communications to the General Assembly, 1840:8, SCDAH.

<sup>15</sup> It is not clear if Wilson and Kemp were legally married, but the supporting documents include statements from three witnesses that refer to Kemp as Wilson’s wife. See Committee of Ways and Means, Report and Supporting Papers on the Petition of Wiley Wilson, General Assembly Committee Reports, Year 1829:230.

of color had legally stripped Moley Kemp of her white identity. Whether or not she ever actually paid the capitation tax, however, is unclear.

Just a few years later, in 1833, the Sumter District tax collector attempted to apply the capitation tax to Moley Wilson and several other persons reported to be free people of color. When William Brunson, tax collector, charged Wilson, Jehu Graham, Amanda Bedford, Polly Deas, Eliza Smith, William Deas, Milly Nelson, and Ponetta or Natalie Kemp with the capitation tax, they all refused to pay. After Brunson reported them to the local sheriff, they each filed grievances with the county court and, after hearings, each were found to be free white individuals – and not free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizos. Moreover, the local courts determined Brunson be made to pay back \$165.26 to those he “alleged” to be free blacks.<sup>16</sup> The local court, likely after hearing testimony from whites, had ruled that these individuals were not free people of color, but were indeed white. The event represents three important points: First it demonstrates just how malleable racial identities could be within a rural community, second, how hazy the margins between white black could be, and third, it signals the distance between the legislature’s attitudes on race and the local community’s position toward their own members.

Clearly South Carolina’s rural communities sometimes struggled to assign race; even God’s law was not always consistent in dealing with free people of color. The St.

---

<sup>16</sup> See “William L. Brunson, Tax Collector for Claremont County, Petition and Supporting Paper to be Authorized to Use Tax Revenue to Cover Court Costs Arising from his Attempt to Levy the Pool Tax Against Alleged Free Blacks Determined in Court to be White Persons,” Petitions to the General Assembly, S165015:ND:2377 and S165015:ND:2378, SCDAH; See also response from the Finance Committee of the South Carolina House of Representatives that determined Brunson should be reimbursed. “Committee on Finance, Report and Resolution on the Petition of W.L. Brunson to Pay Court Costs Assessed Him,” Report of Legislative Committee, S165005:1835:14, SCDAH.

Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church records indicate several marriages performed between free colored members between 1850 and the 1870s. These marriages, however, occurred among the more prosperous Collins, Anderson, and Fowler families. At least one church in the St. Stephens Parish was willing to marry a white woman to a mulatto man when St. Stephens Church married Robert Peagler and Emily Lindon in 1837. The 1850 census enumerated Peagler as mulatto and his wife, Emily, as white. In Abbeville County, from April to October of 1822 Turkey Creek Baptist Church at least thirteen slaves owned by Robert Robertson and received at least one of Reuben Robertson's slaves in April of 1840. The church also appears to have accepted at least one free person of color, Lucinda Keith, in December 1841. Historians Michael Johnson and James L. Roark report that in Sumter District, William Ellison was allowed to come down from the balcony and had his own seat in the Church of the Holy Cross. Johnson and Roark are quite clear that Ellison's position in Holy Cross was unusual and brought on by his wealth and importance to the community as a gin maker. Indeed most free people of color, when welcomed into white churches, were still welcomed with some limitations. In the same neighborhood, the "Turk" free black community worshipped from the gallery and High Hills Baptist until finally founding their own congregation, the Long Branch Church.<sup>17</sup>

Churches were spaces where free people of color and the white community, as well as slaves, met in a margin, but the lines between white and black were policed. In

---

<sup>17</sup> Records of Turkey Creek Baptist Church, Abbeville County, SC (microfilm), Duke University Library Special Collections; Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 143-145; for Turk church attendance see Gregorie, *History of Sumter*, 467-470; Cassie Nicholes, *Historical Sketches of Sumter County*, 1:136-137.

Abbeville District, citizens bitterly complained in 1838 in an open protest letter to Rev. Thomas D. Turpin who had been appointed by the Methodist Church to minister to the slaves along the Savannah River. Targeting Turpin's ministry to slaves, but citing laws that restricted literacy instruction, for example, to all people of color, the citizens of Abbeville wrote "that your motives in giving such religious instruction to the black population may be pure, but the evils likely to arise from such Home Mission or Missions, as we have already noticed in part, may be of such magnitude as to diminish the prospect of their beneficial results."<sup>18</sup> The citizens of Abbeville were not so fearful of Christianity, but demonstrably afraid of slave insurrections if instruction was brought by unscrupulous whites or independently by people of color. Shortly before the Methodist conference named Turpin a missionary to slaves, the membership at Cedar Spring Associate Reformed Presbyterian and the community demonstrated just how cautious the community could be when they barbarously punished a slave, Jerry, for rape and attempted murder of a white woman in 1830. A crowd of thousands gathered and watched the slave's funeral preached before him shortly before his body was set ablaze. Late in 1838 another event further fueled Abbeville's fears when William A. Bull was

---

<sup>18</sup> November 2, 1838 Letter to Rev. Turpin from Citizens of Abbeville and Greenville Districts, reprinted in *The Liberator*, May 17, 1839; *The Liberator* explains the letter was published publically shortly after Rev. Turpin died and was then addressed to his successor Rev. William M. Wightman. The connection is unclear, but it should be noted that William Turpin's 1835 will left money to his free man of color, a Methodist minister, Lund Turpin, see Will of William Turpin (typescript), S108093:4:562, SCDAH; For Thomas Turpin's commission and Wightman, see Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 2, *For the Years 1829-1839* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1840), 93 and 186.

beaten to death by his own slaves and placed on his horse to be dragged along the public road.<sup>19</sup>

The complaints about Turpin's ministry, from the community at least, grew out of their concerns for safety, but church bodies could also be extremely protective of racial boundaries. In May of 1859 one of Moses's Jackson's sons, Pringle, Henry, and Morgan Jackson were tried for rioting and assault and battery that was said to have occurred on a Sunday morning at Appii Free Methodist Church in St. John's Berkeley Parish, Charleston District. According to reports, the three men were "dark complected, but had the status of white men, both by association and under the law" and one of whom had previously been a church member at Appii. On the morning in question the Jacksons protested when several in the congregation "had determined they should not sit among the seats assigned to the whites, and informed [the Jacksons] that unless they would sit where they told them, they would beat them out of the church, if necessary."<sup>20</sup>

The real question in the Jackson trial was not the alleged violence, but the Jacksons' racial status. The trial judge charged to the jury:

---

<sup>19</sup> Lowry Ware, "The Burning of Jerry: The Last Slave Execution by Fire in South Carolina?," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Volume 91 Number 4 (April 1990):100-106; Lowry Ware, *Chapters in the History of Abbeville County: The "Banner County" of South Carolina* (Columbia: SCMAR, 2012), 53.

<sup>20</sup> The 1850 census lists Pringle Jackson as the seventeen year-old son of Moses Jackson. Two other brothers are listed but are named James (fourteen) and William (twelve). The 1860 census lists Morgan Jackson as twenty-two years old and living near both Moses and Pringle Jackson's households, but it is unclear if Morgan and the child named William in 1850 are the same person. The newspaper reports, however, they were brothers. 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; *The Charleston Mercury* (Charleston), 2 May 1859; Though the original report stated Appii Church was located in St. James Goose Creek, a correction was printed on 11 May 1859 stating the church was located in St. Johns Berkeley Parish.

the defendants had the legal status of white; that they could vote, muster, and be members of the Legislature; but that did not necessarily confer upon them the social rights of the pure white; and that if it was a fact that the defendants were tinged with African blood, though their legal status was that of white persons, that they, the [congregation], had a right to assign to them positions in the church inferior to the whites, though not among the colored persons, if there were those in the congregation who objected to sitting with them, that they could assign them positions of inferiority though not of degradation.<sup>21</sup>

The jury stayed out from Friday afternoon until the following evening. Unable to reach a verdict, “the case was terminated by a ‘mis-trial [*sic*].’ ” Subsequent newspaper notices from June 2, 1859 and October 31, 1859 indicate that all three men were eventually convicted and ordered to pay fines.<sup>22</sup> Given the original jury charge, it appears the court ultimately decided that the Jacksons’ were indeed of an inferior caste, rightfully assigned positions of inferiority, and therefore guilty.

The accusers at Appii Church, the court’s jury charge, and the eventual convictions collectively demonstrated public sentiments constructed racial identities and those identities could indeed change with consequences for those deemed to be persons of color. Furthermore, the event indicates the sometimes hazy distinctions in identity between common whites and people of color in rural communities. Indeed Judge John Belton O’Neill’s 1848 discussion confirmed that racial identity must sometimes be determined by jury when in question. Scholar Ivy Marina Wikramanayake noted similar jury charges from the courts when she quoted an 1835 decision from Justice William

---

<sup>21</sup> *The Charleston Mercury* (Charleston), 2 May 1859.

<sup>22</sup> Pringle Jackson was fined \$100 for assault and battery and rioting. Morgan and Henry Jackson were fined \$50 each for rioting. See, *The Charleston Mercury* (Charleston), 2 June 1859 and *The Charleston Mercury* (Charleston), 31 October 1859.

Harper: “The condition . . . is not to be determined solely by . . . visible mixture . . . but by reputation . . . and it may be proper, that a man of worth . . . should have the rank of a white man, while a vagabond of the same degree of blood should be confined to the inferior caste.’ ” These decisions, as historian Lacy K. Ford has argued, “guaranteed South Carolina whites the ability to define the parameters of their political community.” Events and decisions like those in the Jackson trial reflect how whites reestablished racial boundaries when they were sometimes challenged by social or economic commonalities.<sup>23</sup>

When they could pass as white, free people of color likely fared better in courts. In March of 1856, J.W. Bell of St. James Goose Creek was arrested as a white man in the city of Charleston for carrying a pistol and slingshot. Bell reported that he was in town for another legal matter. In the mayor’s court, Bell simply had to pay a two dollar fine. The only “J. Bells” living in 1850 in St. James Goose Creek were all in a single family of mulattoes. It appears that J.W. Bell eluded harsher punishment, in this instance, because

---

<sup>23</sup> *The Charleston Mercury* (Charleston), 2 May 1859; O’Neill, *The Negro Law of South Carolina*, 5; Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 14; Lacy K. Ford explores a similar instance of courts assigning racial status in Kershaw District, South Carolina in 1846. See Ford, “Republics and Democracy: The Parameters of Political Citizenship in Antebellum South Carolina,” in *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr.*, ed. David R. Chesnut and Clyde N. Wilson (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 127-128; See also, Donald J. Senese, “The Free Negro and the South Carolina Courts, 1790-1860,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* Volume 68 Number 3 (July 1967): 151; Professor Glen Browder of Jacksonville State University was very kind to point me to another instance of racial identity in question in Williamsburg District circa 1848. See, Petition of Solomon Coward, Former Sheriff of Williamsburg District, Petition Asking to be Relieved from Paying Uncollected Tax Executions Plus Interest Against Certain Free Blacks Which he was Prohibited from Collecting by the Court, Petitions to the General Assembly, S165015:ND:2436, SCDAH.



he was able to pass. Other free blacks had a much more difficult time in the Charleston Courts, particularly when there was no doubt behind their racial identity. In March 1826, Thomas Aiken Jr., a free person of color from St. James Santee, sued three white men for severely assaulting him. Aiken's motion described the attack in detail, but he could not testify against the aggressors in court. Thus, he was forced to drop his prosecution, and to pay attorney fees accrued by the accused. Aiken's loss and the Harper Decision sent clear messages. The court was not designed to aid or protect anyone who was readily identified as black. If there was any question about a person's racial identity, the court was more than ready to assign one.<sup>24</sup>

The Civil War offered another space wherein free people of color could test racial boundaries. Some, particularly those on the margins between white and black, clearly fought for the Confederacy and could use their service to support their forays into white society. As members of their rural communities, fathers, sons, and neighbors often enlisted in groups. This was the case when, on April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1862, David Sweat, Noah Sweat, and H.M. Sweat and several neighbors from St. James Goose Creek Parish in the Charleston District all enlisted with the Third Battalion of the South Carolina Light

---

<sup>24</sup> *The Charleston Mercury* (Charleston, SC), 12 March 1856; 1850 Federal Census, SC, Population Schedule, Charleston District; The Bell family may not have totally eluded the law. Also in 1856, Jeremiah Bell, a free person of color from St. James Goose Creek, was arrested for the murder of John Sparks in St. James Goose Creek. It is likely that J.W. Bell was Jeremiah Bell's brother, and was in Charleston for his brother's murder trial. See Petition of W.H. Hendricks, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1856:55, SCDAH; Aiken v. Banquit, Charleston District, Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, 1826:8A, SCDAH; Aiken v. Coward, Charleston District, Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, 1826:9A, SCDAH; Aiken v. Pipkin, Charleston District, Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, 1826:10A, SCDAH; For more on slave patrols see Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Artillery. Noah Sweat's service records were rather uneventful from his enlistment until 1864, when a letter appears from his wife – begging that he come home and provide food for his starving family. Immediately after this letter, his record indicates he was moved from the firing line to the wagon train – the transfer ordered because of his status as a person of color. Sweat's particular hardship was probably not unique to free people of color, but it does indicate his military salary alone was not a sufficient reason for his enlistment. Perhaps he felt compelled to enlist with his friends and family. But, his record does indicate that he conveniently asserted his racial status in hopes that it might get him sent home to his family. This subsequent demotion indeed reflects his liminal status as a free person of color, but the fact that he was able to fight on the firing line for two years before being transferred, and that David and H.M. Sweat do not appear to have been moved, all signify a degree of racial fluidity. Evidently, his fellow soldiers, many from his home neighborhood, must have accepted his presence among them in the camps and on the line.<sup>25</sup>

Free people of color serving on the Confederacy were sometimes able to use their military service as a means to underscore their commitment and place within their rural communities. The Sumter Turks were able to trade on their ancestor's service in the Revolution and their sons and grandsons did the same while serving in the Civil War. Sumter historian Cassie Nicholes wrote in her country history that the Benenhaley and Scott families “joined the Confederate Army to defend the rights of the South. There were seven Benenhaleys enlisted in that war: Warren and Dick gave their lives for the

---

<sup>25</sup>Service Records for David Sweat, H.M. Sweat, and Noel [Noah] Sweat, “Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from SC,” Microfilm 82, CCPL; 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

cause as members of Capt. R.M. Canty's company; Tom, Charlie and Jake served in Capt. P.P. Gaillard's company of Hagood's sharpshooters; John belonged to a Marlboro Company, and Winfield was a member of Captain Spann's company. Of the seven the only one to return home was Tom." Service records survive for James Benenhaley, F. Benenhaley, John L. Benenhaley, R. Benenhaley, T. Benenhaley, H. Benenhaley, all serving with the Seventh Battalion, Enfield's Rifles in the Infantry. The Turks were likely able to serve on the firing line because, though free people of color, the community drew some distinction between their status and blackness.<sup>26</sup> But, in Newberry District, at least one free black man claimed to have done the extraordinary – Thomas Tobe's 1919 pension application reported that he enlisted on August 1, 1861 and served until the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia in 1865 as a soldier in Holcombe's Legion, Company G. Interestingly, no service record for Tobe survives in the Confederate service records or muster rolls.<sup>27</sup> Most free persons of color who served,

---

<sup>26</sup> Though the service records use "Benenhailey," I have kept the most common form in the text. See, Nicholes, *Historical Sketches of Sumter County*, 1:138-139; F. Benenhaley died at Adam's Run, South Carolina on April 24, 1862, three months and ten days after he enlisted. See, records of James Benenhailey, F. Benenhailey, John L. Benenhaley, R. Benenhailey, T. Benenhailey, and H. Benenhailey, all in the Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers from South Carolina Units, Roll 0224, Seventh (Ward's) Battalion, State Reserves, Seventh (Nelson's) Battalion, Infantry (Enfield Rifles) A-C, National Archives and Records Administration; See also, Sumter, *Statesburg and Its People*, 44.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Tobe of Little Mountain, Newberry County, Confederate Pension Applications, S126088:8699, SCDAH; Historian and blogger Andy Hall has explored the Tobe case and its popularity among some Confederate commemoration groups as proof for black Confederate soldiers. Hall has likewise uncovered no record of Thomas Tobe serving Holcombe's Legion in any capacity, but did find a Thomas Tobe "employed as a nurse on the roster of General Hospital No. 1 at Columbia, South Carolina for July and August 1864, having been attached to the hospital on June 30 of that year. Under 'remarks,' the entry carries the notation of 'conscript Negro.'" See, Andy Hall, "Thomas Tobe and the Limits of Confederate Pension Records," *Dead Confederates, A Civil War*

however, did so as cooks, launderers, and wagon drivers. This was the case for Abbeville native and future Speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives, Samuel Lee, who served in McGowan's Brigade.<sup>28</sup>

Similar to other ethnic minorities seeking to prove their commitment to the community, free blacks could trade on military service and use it as an entry into white society. As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, military service was frequently touted by those seeking some relief from capitation taxes or some other degree of security. The American Revolution brought opportunity and a degree of social acceptance for the Sumter Turks and their descendants. Encountering veterans of the American Revolution and their descendants in Albemarle County, Virginia, historian Kirt

---

Era Blog, accessed April 10, 2014, <http://deadconfederates.com/2011/01/02/thomas-tobe-and-the-limits-of-confederate-pension-records/>; A good survey of African-Americans in the Confederate war effort and their pensions is James G. Hollandsworth, Jr.'s "Looking for Bob: Black Confederate Pensioners After the Civil War," *Journal of Mississippi History* (Winter 2007): 295-324.

<sup>28</sup> I am particularly grateful to Dr. Lowry Ware, Professor *Emeritus* of History at Erskine College, my *alma mater*, for providing background on Samuel Lee. Dr. Ware's extensive study on the history of Abbeville County has proven indispensable to this dissertation. Most biographical sketches, even some appearing immediately after he died, assert that Samuel Lee was born a slave -- the illegitimate son of Samuel McGowan and a slave. Ware rightly points out, however, that Sam Lee was listed in the 1850 census as a child in a free black family, Household 936, and that the rumors linking him to McGowan are false and unfounded. In his exchanges with me regarding Samuel Lee, Ware recounted a story that he remembered from his various studies on the county: that at veterans gatherings for some of the former members of McGowan's Brigade, at least one former soldier was fond of holding up a shirt worn during the war and laughingly telling that it had been washed by the Speaker of the House; See, 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District, SC; For accounts that purport Sam Lee to have been born a slave, see Orville Vernon Burton, "Edgefield Reconstruction Political Black Leaders," in the *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1988-1989*, ed. William S. Brockington (Aiken, SC: The University of South Carolina at Aiken, 1989), 28; George Brown Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), 146.



**Figure 4.4** Joel Bedenbaugh of Newberry District, South Carolina. Joel Bedenbaugh's Civil War experience was remarkably unusual for Civil War-era free people of color in South Carolina's upcountry. When the war began, Bedenbaugh's family relocated from Newberry County, SC to Ohio, where Bedenbaugh enlisted with the 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment of United States Colored Infantry, Company D, on August 20, 1864 in Dayton, Ohio. See, Joel Bedenbaugh Service Record, Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers who Served with the United States Colored Troops, National Archives Catalog 300398, Fifth US Colored Infantry, Roll 0051, National Archives and Records Administration; I am grateful to Ms. Rhonda Harris, a Bedenbaugh descendant, for providing a copy of this image. The original's location is unclear.; See also, "Explore the Black History Collection," Fold3.com, Accessed March 15, 2014, Last edited February 1, 2012, <http://blog.fold3.com/explore-the-black-history-collection/>; For Bedenbaugh in Newberry County, see Household Number 215, 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry, SC; and, Household Number 254, 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Newberry, SC; For a survey of Bedenbaugh's regiment, including a discussion on action they saw in North Carolina during 1864 and 1865, see, Versalle Fredrick Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War*, (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999).

von Daacke found “their experience as soldiers helped them to cement highly personal and enduring bonds with white members of Albemarle’s community.” This truth was equally valid in parts of rural South Carolina. The Civil War offered more opportunities for free people of color to prove their community membership and that experience demonstrated both the hazy boundaries that allowed free people of color to serve on the firing line and, in other times, the times when their contingent positions relegated them to baggage and laboring.<sup>29</sup>

Reflecting more broadly on the free black community and their integration into rural society in Albemarle, Virginia, von Daacke determined that locally free people of color were not always the abstractly nefarious persons the law suggested they were – but instead they were “people with names, faces, and personal histories that were tied to specific events, times, and places.”<sup>30</sup> Virginia and the upper South in general, for that matter, are regarded as having had more amicable legal and social relationships with its free black population – but the observations that von Daacke makes in Albemarle County are just as accurate for parts of rural South Carolina. Locally, free people of color’s economic and social conditions looked much like the common class whites who lived among them. Living beside one another, rural whites and free blacks represented plain folk’s tendency to live and work what land was available. Thus, in terms of property location and economically, little seems to have differed between white or black plain folk

---

<sup>29</sup> For examples of ethnic soldiers using service as an entry into society, see David T. Gleeson, *The Green and the Gray: The Irish in the Confederate States of America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Susanna J. Ural, Editor, *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America’s Bloodiest Conflict* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face*, 12.

<sup>30</sup> von Daacke, *Freedom Has a Face*, 3.

in the antebellum South Carolina. Most importantly, the reality that some free blacks were identified, at times, as white and sometimes identified as black confirms how closely related the two worlds really were in this rural setting. Given their shared experiences with plain folk whites, South Carolina's rural free people of color were indeed a separate caste, but not entirely separate. Living as neighbors, forming communities, sometimes attending the same churches, intermarrying, and even being related to planter families all fostered community and degrees of tolerance – but this was a fragile tolerance. Churches baptized or married them and even accepted some into membership, but white congregations were still conscious of policing the boundaries between white and black. The courts offered little protection. On the highways, slave patrols were yet another threat to rural free people of color if they had not paid their taxes. And indeed, by the late 1850s, things were changing for free blacks as the legislature debated, for a short time, removing the free black population entirely.<sup>31</sup> As will be discussed in the next chapter, the desire to codify paternalism in state law and the growing sectional divide both ushered increasingly difficult legal positions for free

---

<sup>31</sup>Sentiments so deteriorated during the 1850s, that some reported a general desire among white South Carolinians to force “all free Negroes to accept the status of slaves.” One grand jury in the 1850s declared there should be no classes but masters and slaves. “‘No intermediate class can be other than immensely mischievous.’” Slave patrols increased, and likely demanded identification from any person of color they may have encountered. Recalling participation in slave patrols, one St. James Santee resident remembered “the refrain of the darkey – ‘run, nigger, run, de [sic] patrol comin’ [sic].’” The Vigilance Committee or “Committee of Safety” for St. Johns Berkeley and St. Stephens Parishes was directly associated with the Southern Rights Association. Members chartered the patrol and state rights organization at the same time; See, Rosser H. Taylor, *Ante-Bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History* (New York: De Capo Press, 1970), 185; Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mullatoes in the United States* (New York: The Free Press, 1980), 66; For quotation about slave patrols see, David Doar, “A Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee South Carolina And an Address on the Tradition and Reminiscences of the Parish,” p. 23, ALSC.

people of color. And, as Berlin suggests, free blacks and mulattoes were constantly subjected to the legal and social constraints encumbered on their race. Yet, locally the degrees of community and common conditions between some free blacks and common whites complicated their positions in rural South Carolina, challenged the boundaries between white and black, and suggest that a significant number of free blacks – in even more than an economic sense – had important degrees of freedom in their rural locales.



## CHAPTER 5

### PREVENTING VICE AND VILLAINY:

#### BLACK FREEDOM, WHITE COOPERATION, AND THE LAW

Writing in 1848 to summarize the South Carolina laws governing slaves and free people of color, a prominent South Carolina judge, John Belton O’Neill, cited the Negro Act of 1740: “that color is *prima facie* evidence, that the party bearing the color of a negro, mulatto, or mestizo is a slave.”<sup>1</sup> From its earliest days South Carolina affirmed that to be a person of color was to be a slave and the notion of a free person of color was both a legal and social contradiction in terms. It only followed that South Carolina’s antebellum laws collectively attempted to define their society and citizenship in white and black terms. Thus, legally black liberty was itself a challenge to the legal and social boundaries that existed between white and black in law. More than this, the segment of free blacks who were able to achieve important degrees of economic productivity, forge communities, and develop important relationships with common class whites all further eroded general notions about black servitude, ability, and racial difference – and thereby undermined the paternalistic assumptions that informed South Carolina law.

Generally speaking, free people of color were thought a “danger and expense,” and there was always some general fear that free blacks help spark slave insurrections

---

<sup>1</sup> O’Neill, *The Negro Law of South Carolina*, 5.

like the Haitian Revolution or Denmark Vesey.<sup>2</sup> So from 1800 to the 1850s, South Carolina's General Assembly responded to a variety of insurrection fears, petitions, and grand jury presentments that all expressed concerns about free people of color and the challenge they presented to the slave regime and social order. The legislature adopted a series of laws to govern the state's free people of color and slaves but, importantly, these laws, acts, and the petitions that preceded and followed them collectively indicate that at least locally, whites were more tolerant of the free black population. And, in fact, some of these laws actually contained provisions meant to govern whites as well and indicated the General Assembly's attempts to legislate a stark boundary between white and black – a boundary that was being ignored on the local level. Thus as the legislature wrestled to order the black population, their simultaneous need to regulate white relationships and interactions with slaves and free blacks indicated that white racial solidarity was far from absolute.

Through closer examination of South Carolina's legislative control over free people of color and, specifically, the petitions and presentments that led to regulations, the state's slave regime clearly perceived and responded to at least three different threats in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Slave insurrection fears and a commitment to stop abolitionism were certainly ongoing forces in the call to regulate slaves and free people of color through new statutes and state laws. Yet, the third threat was perhaps the most traitorous challenge to the slave regime as petitions to the legislature demonstrated continued evidence of whites who directly broke racial solidarity by challenging the laws and regulations set out to govern the black population. Whether supporting petitions

---

<sup>2</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 90.

from free blacks to relieve them from the capitation taxes required of free people of color, begging allowance to teach people of color to read the Bible, or engaging in nefarious trade networks, white's petitions to the legislature exhibited various instances of free black and white intercourse through the antebellum period. These relationships and the legislature's responses to petitions indicate that these breaks with the social order were perceived as near equal dangers to open insurrection. Moreover, the petitions testified to apparently weakened racial solidarity and, even in the lowcountry, incomplete white commitment to enforcing the slave regime as late as the 1850s when the Palmetto State approached the height of the sectional crisis.

Thus, evidence from Petitions to the General Assembly, South Carolina Grand Jury Presentments, the South Carolina Legislature's committee responses and their actual legislation, all confirmed that the state's growing fear of slave insurrection was a major reason for the increased regulations on free blacks, but not the only motivation. The preponderance of legislative papers also indicated more concerns for the established social order and the need to protect, and even enforce, white solidarity. Petitions and legislative responses through the antebellum period also indicated flexibility in the law as, for example, some free blacks repeatedly petitioned for capitation tax relief until their pleas met success. More interestingly, in other instances, petitions appeared from prominent whites who actually pled for leniency or the repeal of regulation and restrictions on free blacks. These petitions from reputable whites represented further threats to white solidarity, as free blacks allied not simply with whites in the lowest social order, but also with those whose prayers to the assembly carried some authority. Other petitions signaled further threats to white solidarity through illicit alcohol trading and

miscegenation. Collectively, these legislative papers pointed to insurrection fears and abolition resentment that drove regulatory legislation. But, these petitions also highlighted blurred racial boundaries, some weakened white solidarity, and the South Carolina legislature's attention to these matters with equal or even greater intensity than that given to insurrection fears.

Historians have attributed laws enacted to govern slaves and free people of color through the antebellum era have to whites fearing slave insurrections, but more emphasis should be placed on the attempt to legislate racial solidarity and aspects of paternalism.. Indeed, Lacy K. Ford's recent *Deliver Us From Evil* cited "mounting white anxiety over slave unrest" as a primary force behind South Carolina's legislative acts that limited slave owner's rights to manumit their slaves, as well as laws that restricted free black's access to religious instruction, denied their ability to assemble, and increasingly revoked various other rights through the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> In explaining these laws, Ford emphasized whites' concerns that free blacks would encourage and facilitate violent slave uprisings and that legal measures were taken to prevent such an event. The emphasis on insurrection fears driving legislative actions are important, but only represent part of the picture.<sup>4</sup>

Beyond insurrection threats as factors behind free black regulation, recent historiography, including some discussion within *Deliver Us From Evil*, also pointed to

---

<sup>3</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Works before *Deliver Us From Evil*, such as Michael Johnson and James Roark's *Black Masters*, have also asserted laws regulating free people of color "reflected the persistent fear of whites that free Afro-Americans might exploit their freedom to aid slaves to strike against their masters." See, *Black Masters*, 50.

white perceptions that free blacks were a collective threat to the social order precisely because they challenged the boundary between white and black. In his *Slaves Without Masters*, Berlin maintained that “racial intermingling offended and frightened white leaders, but close relations between poor free Negroes and whites continued.”<sup>5</sup> Though it focused on poor whites and slave relations, Jeff Forret’s 2006 *Race Relations at the Margins* similarly related that white antebellum society general feared any comity between whites and blacks as contrary to good social order and injurious to white solidarity.<sup>6</sup> Such fears repeatedly appeared in legislative petitions and complaints, as well as *de facto* alliances between whites and free blacks that other petitions actually represented.

Antebellum fears of black insurrection and the laws that governed South Carolina’s black population were both rooted in colonial events. Perhaps chief among these events was the 1739 Stono Rebellion near Charleston that did much to foster “memories and myth” of violent slave uprising among nineteenth century South Carolinians.<sup>7</sup> More than this, historian Peter H. Wood contended that in the Stono Rebellion’s aftermath grew “a concerted counterattack from [slaves’] anxious and outnumbered masters.”<sup>8</sup> For Wood, the Stono Rebellion signaled a demand for white

---

<sup>5</sup> Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 260.

<sup>6</sup> Forret, *Race Relations at the Margins*, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 163.

<sup>8</sup> Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), 326; see also, Jonathan Mercantini, *Who Shall Rule At Home?: The Evolution of South Carolina Political Culture, 1748-1776* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 13-4; White

political and social solidarity best represented by the passage of the Negro Act in 1740, “which had been in the works for several years but about which white legislators had been unable to agree in less threatening times.”<sup>9</sup> Passed in May of 1740, this “Act of the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and other Slaves,” drastically restricted slaves’ abilities to travel without supervision or passes, their rights to assemble, to carry firearms, and even suggested a dress code for slaves.<sup>10</sup> To be clear, South Carolina had operated under various slave codes since 1690, but the 1740 version reaffirmed many of the existing statutes and increased the penalties for breaking the laws.<sup>11</sup> More importantly for this discussion, the Negro Act of 1740 demonstrated white’s fears that free people of color might “harbour [*sic*], conceal or entertain” runaway slaves or

---

solidarity in the Stono Rebellion’s wake is reconfirmed in Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects*, 28.

<sup>9</sup> Woods, *Black Majority*, 324.

<sup>10</sup> “An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Other Slaves,” portions of 1740 law republished in Mark M. Smith, ed. *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 20-27; See also Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, editors, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia: Johnston, 1840), 7:397-417.

<sup>11</sup> Matthew H. Jennings, “Slave Codes” in in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 873. Interestingly, Jennings also relates that the initial South Carolina slave code in 1670 was “quickly” struck down by the Lords Proprietors “who mistrusted the intentions of the colony’s Barbadian planters.” It was replaced in 1696 and the slave code was again strengthened in 1712.

otherwise facilitate slaves' in some nefarious pursuit.<sup>12</sup> And, the act declared, with the exception of those already free, all persons of color were declared "slaves."<sup>13</sup>

As the Negro Act reflected whites' fears of slave insurrection and slave collaboration with free people of color, the next slave generation saw a different rebellion; one that briefly ushered in a change in white attitudes toward some free people of color and one that would have lasting impact on legal rights for nearly all of South Carolina's free people of color. Partially driven by republican sentiments, the belief in natural rights, and some increased sense of liberty, Robert Olwell noted that the American Revolution had an impact on manumissions in South Carolina and other slave states. With rising popular beliefs in natural rights and liberty, "the American Revolution led to a dramatic increase in the number of masters who were willing to sell their slaves their freedom."<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, granting self-purchase was far from unconditioned manumission and could only be enjoyed by slaves whose diligent saving and industry allowed them afford their own freedom. Perhaps more importantly, during the Revolution other slaves earned their freedom and, evidently, the South Carolina legislature's continued respect through the valor and loyalty they displaced.

In 1836, Moses Irvin, a free man of color, petitioned the General Assembly to ask for the legislature's permission to free his family. By that time South Carolina laws required legislative approval for all manumissions. Yet, while Irvin's request came long

---

<sup>12</sup> "An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Other Slaves" quoted in Smith, *Stono*, 23.

<sup>13</sup> O'Neall, *The Negro Law of South Carolina*, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Olwell, "Becoming Free," 10; For further mention of the American Revolution and manumission, see Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 381.

after the Revolutionary period, his petition still revealed lingering appreciation for acts he performed during the American Revolution and also indicated whites' willingness to testify on his behalf. Irvin's petition indicated that as a slave during the Revolution he was "sent after the fall of Charleston to a plantation near Nelson's Ferry where he was seized by the British and taken to the upper parts of the state." After escaping the British and returning to his rightful master, he was freed for "faithful services" performed while hired out to General Francis Marion during the war. Irvin's request was also accompanied by a letter and signatures from the deacons and members of the Charleston Baptist Church who testified to his "good standing and character."<sup>15</sup>

Irvin's 1836 petition came after restrictions on manumission laws in 1800, 1820 and 1822; and well after he had gained his own freedom. Thus, his petition demonstrated not only that his war service immediately meant his own freedom, but that nearly fifty years later the South Carolina Assembly was still willing to reward his loyalty, even when the legislature had demonstrated an increasing propensity to limit manumission. While not explicit in the petition, the subtle but important detail of Irvin's capture by the British testified to his unwavering loyalty. During the American Revolution, British policy welcomed and granted freedom to defecting slaves who were willing to aid their war efforts against the American Rebellion. The policy, made most famous by Virginia Governor Lord John Dunmore's 1775 proclamation, enticed over

---

<sup>15</sup> Petition of Moses Irvin with Supporting Documents, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1836:40, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (Hereafter SCDAH).



5,000 slaves in South Carolina to defect to the British.<sup>16</sup> One estimate indicates that “two-thirds of the slaves in South Carolina had run away; many, though certainly not all, defecting to the British.”<sup>17</sup> More importantly, slave defections to the British truly represented open slave insurrection.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps no South Carolinian felt this insurrection’s sting like General Marion himself, the man Moses Irvin served. At least one of Marion’s own slaves fled to the British and, in 1782, Marion’s forces found themselves facing “a small company of mounted Black Dragoons” who fought under a banner “emblazoned with the word *Liberty*.”<sup>19</sup>

Though these events occurred in the Revolutionary Era, they are important in this discussion as they had lasting impacts on the way that some free people of color were treated in the antebellum period. Even though Moses Irvin’s petition to manumit his children came half of a century after so many slaves defected to the British, it is doubtful the South Carolina Assembly had forgotten the state of slave rebellion that Irvin could have easily joined when captured by the British. Upon receiving his petition 1836, the Committee on the Judiciary cited Irvin’s service under Marion and his continued good

---

<sup>16</sup> For Dunmore’s Proclamation see Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 16; Slave defections in South Carolina found in Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 15.

<sup>17</sup> For two-thirds estimation see Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: The Slaves, the British, and the American Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 8.

<sup>18</sup> For slave defections to British as an open insurrection, see Gary Nash, *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 4-6; See also Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: International, 1940).

<sup>19</sup> For Marion’s battle with Black Dragoons see Schama, *Rough Crossings*, 9; Black Dragoon’s *Liberty* banner in Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 18 (Italics in original).

conduct as they recommended that his prayer be granted.<sup>20</sup> This represented quite a change for Irvin, who had offered the same prayer to the legislature for his children's freedom in 1829 but was denied. At that time the Committee on the Judiciary cited their refusal to grant Irvin's request in "conformity to the settled policy of the state and the decisions of this House for years."<sup>21</sup> The apparent difference in 1836 was Irvin's emphasis on his Revolutionary War service and testimony to his good conduct from white churchmen.

In the same era that Irvin's first petition was rejected, the South Carolina Legislature showed willingness to grant leniency to free people of color who served during the Revolution. This willingness may eliminate any doubt that Irvin's 1829 petition was offered during some time of legislative indifference toward free black veterans. Indeed a 1830 petition from "Sundry Inhabitants of the Sumter District" to the House of Representatives prayed that the state relieve David Scott, a free person of color, and his descendants from the annual capitation tax levied on all free persons of color. The petition, signed by thirty-five citizens including a Senator, cited that "David Scott was a soldier of the Revolution who aided in obtaining the liberty we now enjoy."<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Committee on the Judiciary Report to Petition of Moses Irvin, General Assembly Committee Reports, Series S165005, 1836:63, SCDAH.

<sup>21</sup> Committee on the Judiciary Report on the Petition of Moses Irvin, Free Man of Color, General Assembly Committee Reports, Series S165005, 1829:205, SCDAH.

<sup>22</sup> Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of Sumter District Praying that In Consideration of Revolutionary Services of David Scott that his Descendants be Freed from the Tax Imposed on Free People of Color, Claims Growing out of the Revolution, Series S108092, Reel 131:329-330, SCDAH. Petition does not appear with SCDAH Petitions to the General Assembly series as expected, but is found in claims from the Revolution. Moreover, the petition explicitly states that a Senator was among the sundry citizens who

Responding on December 1, 1830, the House Committee of Ways and Means recommended that Scott, his children, and grandchildren be exempted from the capitation tax. On December 6<sup>th</sup> the House of Representatives accepted the committee's recommendation and sent the measure to the Senate, which concurred later the same month.<sup>23</sup>

Legislative responses to the Irvin and Scott petitions nearly represent an antebellum state reward for free blacks who definitively proved their allegiance in the Revolutionary era. By proving their allegiance and offering white testimony to their character, these free people of color and, interestingly, their descendants were somewhat excused from laws designed to govern people of color and uphold the social order. South Carolina's free people of color population seems to have been keenly aware that patriotic services during the Revolution could translate into some relative safety. The 1850 Federal Census for St. Johns Berkeley Parish in the Charleston District enumerated a ninety year-old free man of color named William Davis, who told the "census enumerator that his occupation was a drummer for Revolutionary War General Francis Marion."<sup>24</sup> Having given this statement in 1850, the old man surely believed there was some security or distinction to be gained by mentioning his position so many years before.

---

offered the prayer, but it is not immediately clear from the signatories who that Senator was or if he was serving at the time the petition was made.

<sup>23</sup> Committee of Ways and Means Report on the Petition of David Scott and Sundry Citizens of Sumpter District, General Assembly Committee Reports, Series S165005, Year 1830:134, SCDAH.

<sup>24</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; Quotation from David Dangerfield, "Plain Folk of Color: Rural Free People of Color in the Antebellum Charleston District" (MA Thesis, College of Charleston and The Citadel, 2009), 41.

David Scott's petition not only represented the legislature's leniency toward free people of color whose revolutionary service proved their allegiance, but further represents points where the South Carolina legislature was willing to make exceptions to laws and restrictions. Beyond David Scott's Revolutionary War Service, the Scott family in the Sumter District continued to enjoy some distinction from free blacks, as free people of color known as the Sumter Turks. The Turks' exact origin is really unknown, but "the most commonly accepted explanation of their origin is that two 'foreigners,' Joseph Benenhaley and a man named Scott, served General Thomas Sumter during the Revolutionary War and later settled on the general's plantation."<sup>25</sup> Accepted as free moors, "most Sumter whites did not consider Turks Negroes, [yet] the census listed them as free people of color."<sup>26</sup> The distinction between free moors and free blacks is also reflected in the South Carolina legislature's response to a unique 1789 petition by four free moor men and their wives living in Charleston praying they be exempted from restrictions created by the Negro Act of 1740. Their petition stated they were Moroccans who were captured while "fighting in defense of their country . . . and made prisoners of war by one of the Kings of Africa." Eventually they were taken to England with a promise they would be delivered to "the Emperor of Morocco's ambassador then residing in England in order to have them returned to their own country." Instead they were taken to the United States, sold into slavery, and were only able to buy their own freedom by

---

<sup>25</sup> Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 20; Where the designation "moor" originates is not immediately clear. Wikramanayake summarized their origins in a word: "baffling."

<sup>26</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 19-20.

their own “industry” and permission from “their respectable masters.”<sup>27</sup> Like the successful petitions from Moses Irvin and David Scott, this free moor petition was accompanied by white signatories who testified to their good standing and character within the community. Responding to the petition, the Legislature determined these men and their wives were “subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, being free in this state and not triable” under the Negro Act.<sup>28</sup>

Collectively, the Irvin, Scott, and free moor petitions began to demonstrate some flexibility in the Legislature’s enforcement of the Negro Act and laws governing free people of color during the Revolutionary Era. Each petition illustrates the importance of proven loyalty to the social structure and hard work. More importantly, the petitions were met with success largely because they included some form of white testimony to their character and loyalty. Irvin’s connection to Francis Marion and included testimony from white church members, the Scott family’s connection to Thomas Sumter and a state senator, and the seven white community members who swore the free moor’s were “honest and industrious” surely played a key role in the Legislature’s willingness to excuse these free people of color from some legal restrictions. Yet even while details stemming from the American Revolution might have granted some leniency for a few of South Carolina’s free people of color, another revolution farther south proved damaging to the state’s entire free colored population.

---

<sup>27</sup> Petition of Francis, Daniel, Hammond, and Samuel (Free Moors), Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1789:115, SCDAH.

<sup>28</sup> Michael Stevens, editor, *Journals of the House of Representatives, 1789-1790*. (Columbia: USC Press for South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1984), 373-374.

From 1791 to 1804, slave insurrection in the “the long-unfolding” Haitian Revolution “generated deep fears that revolution-minded slaves and free blacks could make their way into the lower South.”<sup>29</sup> Indeed South Carolinians had reason to fear. “Charleston was second only to New Orleans as a destination for mulatto refugees who had fought on the side of the losing planters” in Haiti.<sup>30</sup> These mulatto refugees might have been somewhat welcome in Charleston because they had fought against the insurrection and in support of the slave regime, but their presence still signaled that a slave insurrection had been successful elsewhere. Carolinians were undoubtedly afraid that news of successful slave revolution would reach their own slave population and feared the news might encourage similar insurrections in their own state. And, the mulatto refugees were living proof and reminders to Carolinians, both black and white, that insurrection could happen.

Responding to the fears that Haiti elicited, the South Carolina government began to respond with signs of white solidarity between their own government and the Haitian planters almost as soon the rebellion began. The Governor of South Carolina had taken early notice of the uprising when in 1791 Charles C. Pinckney wrote to the Colonial Assembly of Saint Domingue. Pinckney noted “ ‘When we recollect how nearly similar the situations of the Southern States are in the population of slaves, that a day may arrive when they may be exposed to the same insurrections . . . we cannot but sensibly feel for your situation & have particular interest in hoping that such support will be afford you . .

---

<sup>29</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 199.

<sup>30</sup> Bass and Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 26; Also mentioned in Dangerfield, “Plain Folk of Color,” 30.

. to effectively crush so daring & unprovoked a rebellion.’ ”<sup>31</sup> Given South Carolina’s immediate attention to the Caribbean uprising and as refugees “streamed into Charleston,” historian David Brion Davis confirmed that the Haitian Revolution “stiffened Southern resistance to even cautious proposals for gradual emancipation.”<sup>32</sup> In South Carolina, legislative response and stiffened resistance against possible insurrections came most noticeably in the Act of 1800. While the act indicated a response to insurrection fears that stemmed from the Haitian Revolution, it also began to represent efforts from the South Carolina Assembly to regulate order in the white population through restrictions in the laws that governed free people of color and slaves.

Petitions to the General Assembly leading up to the 1800 overhaul of the Negro Act demonstrated Carolinian’s concern for insurrectionist influences from Haiti. A 1797 petition sent to both the House and Senate from the “Inhabitants of Charleston” specifically requested “stiffer laws regulating the importation of negroes, especially from the West Indies,” “certain laws to further regulate free blacks and black seamen,” and proposed “the establishment of a Charleston City Guard.” The petitioners further recommended that “all free French negroes and all free French people of color who have come into this state since 1<sup>st</sup> January 1790 be required to depart there from within a limited time never to return.” Petitioners were clearly fearful that French free people of color in Charleston would facilitate insurrection plots, and explicitly worried that they

---

<sup>31</sup> Charles C. Pinckney quoted in Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 82.

<sup>32</sup> David Brion Davis, *Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 49-50.

would set fires and burn the city.<sup>33</sup> While neither the House nor the Senate issued committee reports to respond to the particular petition, their Act of 1800 was a *de facto* response.

South Carolina's Act of 1800 was deemed necessary because "laws heretofore enacted for the government of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, have been found insufficient for keeping them in due subordination."<sup>34</sup> The law immediately restricted manumissions, citing owners' habits to "emancipate slaves 'of bad character, or, from age and infirmity, incapable of gaining their livelihood by honest means.'"<sup>35</sup> The Act of 1800 prescribed a new process for manumissions wherein a jury of freeholders would convene to review slaves that might be manumitted by their owners. The freeholder jury would question the master and slave to determine the slave's character and industry before it would allow the manumission to occur.<sup>36</sup> Citing this law in *Deliver Us From Evil*, Ford remarked that the Act of 1800 signaled a break with tradition, "the new law limited the master's control over his property in the interest of

---

<sup>33</sup> For petition to Senate see, Petition of the Inhabitants of Charleston, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1797:87, SCDAH; Petition to House of Representatives found as "Petition of the Inhabitants of Charleston, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1797:117.

<sup>34</sup> David J. McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1840), 7:440; Also quoted in Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 35.

<sup>35</sup> Act of 1800 quoted in Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 90; See also McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 7:442.

<sup>36</sup> McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 7:442-443; See also Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 35; For a brief synopsis see also, Dangerfield, "Plain Folk of Color," 30.



white safety.”<sup>37</sup> The state’s interference with masters and their personal property represented an attempt to disallow or slow growth in the free black population and indicated distrust in individual white slaveowners’ prudence when attempting to manumit their slaves. The legislature apparently feared that free blacks would contribute to unrest among slaves who also wish for freedom and the nefarious free blacks might support themselves through nefarious trade or crime.

While the manumission restriction reflected regulations on the growth of the free black population, another portion of the Act of 1800 reflected a different response to Haiti, insurrection fears, and whites’ interactions with people of color. The act also prohibited “slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, even in the company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same.”<sup>38</sup> By this regulation, neither slaves nor free people of color were permitted to receive religious instruction or education of any kind during night hours. This law was specifically designed to prohibit the possibility of conspiracy among slaves, free people of color, and even other whites. More importantly, the fact that the legislature felt compelled to prohibit such gatherings, even with whites present, continued to indicate that the legislature lacked faith in complete racial solidarity among whites.

What confirmed some weakening racial solidarity among whites, however, were petitions to the General Assembly that immediately followed the Act of 1800 and decried the restrictions placed on giving religious instruction to slaves and free people of color.

---

<sup>37</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 90.

<sup>38</sup> McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 7:441.

Though discussed at length by Ford in *Deliver Us From Evil* as “popular backlash,” organized petitions from white South Carolina Christian groups may have also represented the very loss in racial solidarity that the Act of 1800 seemed to fear.<sup>39</sup> Though these Christian evangelicals were clearly not encouraging open insurrection among the slaves they sought to proselytize, they were at the least dogmatically challenging the ways the South Carolina Assembly chose to govern the state’s black population. Submitting nearly identical petitions in 1801, the Charleston Baptist Association led by Richard Furman and upcountry Presbyterians organized as the Inhabitants of Chester District both offered petitions protesting the Act of 1800 as “infringing upon the religious rights and privileges of churches and citizens of this state, whose principles and conduct are most friendly to its civil, political, and domestic interests.” And as the Baptists and Chester District inhabitants protested the act, they also highlighted their belief that religious instruction to people of color should be protected because it did more to strengthen obedience than it could ever possibly do to encourage “evil.”<sup>40</sup>

Legislative response to the Chester and Baptist petitions was slow, so the petitioners resubmitted their requests in 1802 and launched an “orchestrated” protest in

---

<sup>39</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 92-93. Ford’s work emphasizes the Upcountry versus Lowcountry split in those who supported or disfavored the restrictions on religious instruction.

<sup>40</sup> Petition of Inhabitants of Chester District, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1801:122, SCDAH; See also near verbatim petition offered to the House by the Charleston Baptist Association, Petition of Charleston Baptist Association, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1801:123, SCDAH; for more on Furman see, A. Scott Henderson, “Richard Furman,” in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006): 349-350.

1803.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, the Minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association for 1802 and 1803 indicated Furman's persistent attention to the petition and his desire for the legislature's concurrence. In 1802, while serving as the association's moderator, Furman noted that the petition would be sponsored in the General Assembly by two prominent lawmakers, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and William Henry DeSaussure. In the Baptist Association's 1802 meeting, Furman related Pinckney's assurance that progress was being made, but that "by persons best informed, it was thought to be most proper to have the petition renewed accordingly."<sup>42</sup> Again at the 1803 meeting Furman indicated that Pinckney was fighting for the legislation in the Senate and that his brother, Thomas Pinckney was representing it in the House of Representatives.<sup>43</sup> Strangely, however, when the legislature decided to relax the law by allowing "religious gatherings of slaves and free blacks if they were held before nine o'clock in the evening and if the majority of attendees were white," the measure only passed the House "on a 50-45 vote because of strong support from the Piedmont representatives, who favored revision by a 21-8 margin."<sup>44</sup> The split represents upcountry versus lowcountry ideology, but this division is particularly ironic when considering that both Pinckneys and DeSaussure represented lowcountry parishes.<sup>45</sup> If the men were truly lobbying for the revision, their support for

---

<sup>41</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 93.

<sup>42</sup> Minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association, 1802, South Caroliniana Library (hereafter SCL).

<sup>43</sup> Minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association, 1803, SCL.

<sup>44</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 93.

<sup>45</sup> See Kevin M. Gannon, "William Henry DeSaussure" in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006):

the petitions further indicated dissention among whites, even in the lowcountry, as they sought to govern the black population.

In the years following the Act of 1800, more petitions to the General Assembly demonstrated a decline in white solidarity in governing people of color. Moreover, several of these petitions were marked complaints against free people of color who threatened social order, not by insurrection, but by associations between whites and free people of color. In 1808 inhabitants of Richland District petitioned the Legislature “asking that the law requiring free females to pay a poll tax be repealed.”<sup>46</sup> Poll taxes on free people of color, or capitation taxes as they were better known, “dated from a 1792 law that required free persons of color between the ages of sixteen and sixty to pay a two-dollar” tax annually.<sup>47</sup> Free people of color could cite their place on the capitation tax records as proof that they were indeed free.<sup>48</sup> Still, the tax was particularly hard on free black women and any free person of color who did not pay the tax was “subject to temporary enslavement.”<sup>49</sup> The Richland District petition, offered by whites, recognized these instances, noting that the tax was particularly hard on women who had “neither

---

260-261; and, Keith Krawczynski, “Charles Cotesworth Pinkney,” in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 727-728.

<sup>46</sup> Petition of Inhabitants of Richland District, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:1808, SCDAAH; and Petition of Inhabitants of Richland District, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:1809, SCDAAH; For more on capitation tax as a hardship on free women of color see West, “ ‘She is dissatisfied with her present condition,’ ” *Slavery*, 329-350.

<sup>47</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 44.

<sup>48</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 44.

<sup>49</sup> Wikramanayake, *A World In Shadow*, 66 and 56.

fathers, brothers, or husbands to provide for them. They are generally people in extremely destitute circumstances and are subjected by law to be sold if unable to pay the tax.”<sup>50</sup> No immediate response to this petition appeared in committee reports, but the very notion that whites would petition the legislature on behalf of free people of color further demonstrated complicated racial allegiances. It is also somewhat unclear how many free people of color actually bothered to pay the tax – particularly late in the antebellum period.

The tax, by 1860, was three dollars per eligible person and was imposed on “all free black men between 16 and 60 years old as well as free black women between 14 and 55 years old.” The capitation tax “did not discriminate between wage earners and dependents, and the exaction operated most harshly on free black women.” Yet, in St. James Goose Creek Parish’s 1860 tax returns, only twelve individuals were registered to pay the tax, while the census indicates that fifty-one out of ninety-seven total free people of color were eligible for taxation. Deeper examination reveals that, of the twelve individuals listed as free negroes in the tax returns: two were exempted, one did not pay, and only four of the individuals listed in the returns were also found on the census. Thus, of the eligible free people of color enumerated in the 1860 census, fewer than 10 percent were actually recognized in the tax register or paid the capitation tax in St. James Goose Creek Parish.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Petition of Inhabitants of Richland District, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:1808, SCDAH; and Petition of Inhabitants of Richland District, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:1809.

<sup>51</sup> Capitation tax requirements in Koger, *Black Slaveowners*, 36; Nondiscriminatory tax quotation from Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 65-66; 1860 Tax Return Books, St. James Goose Creek Parish, Records of the Comptroller General,

Not many more free people of color registered or paid the capitation tax in St. Stephens Parish the same year. There, when forty-one individuals were eligible to pay the capitation tax according to the 1860 census, sixteen were recognized in the tax return books with three individuals exempted from the tax. Though St. Stephens Parish had considerably more eligible free people of color who actually paid the capitation tax than St. James Goose Creek Parish, St. Stephens still levied the tax against only 39 percent of those eligible according to the census. An additional eighteen individuals appear on the free negro tax register, but do not appear in the St. Stephens parish census. Of the upcountry districts sampled, tax record books only survive for Abbeville in 1856 and there were a number of free black families that moved in and out of the district between 1850 and 1860. Nonetheless, of the free people of color living in Abbeville in 1860, approximately 155 would have been of the age to have required paying the capitation tax in 1856 -- eighty-two paid the capitation tax that year. While it appears that free blacks in at least one upcountry district were much more likely to have paid the capitation taxes than their lowcountry peers, still only about half remitted the fee.<sup>52</sup>

---

SCDAH; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; What few tax return books exist for South Carolina's parishes are limited mostly to the late 1850s to 1860.

<sup>52</sup> 1850 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC; 1860 Tax Return Books, St. Stephens Parish, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH; To be clear, St. Stephens Parish's Tax Return Books also lists one free black, Peter Breach, who was enumerated in St. Johns Berkeley Parish. He is not considered among St. Stephens' census eligible and paying 39 percent of free blacks because he did not live within the parish. If he were included, the figure would be closer to 41 percent; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Abbeville District, SC; 1856 Tax Return Books, Abbeville District, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH;

At the end of the day, the quantity of free people of color who either did not pay the tax or paid but did not appear on the census, further suggests their fluid identities and their ability, at times, to evade, literally, paying for their color. Still, the noticeable absence of so many free people of color from the negro tax registers is particularly strange. Johnson and Roark, in *Black Masters*, note that free blacks actually may have preferred to register and pay the tax, as “producing the receipt for payment of the annual capitation tax was usually sufficient for a free Negro to convince a skeptical white that he or she was free.” These rural free people of color did not feel compelled to register on the tax books as proof for their freedom. Perhaps their sense of security was found in the wills and manumissions that initiated their families’ freedom. It is also possible that these rural free people of color felt more secure in their rural community. Whatever their reasons, rural free people of color’s failure to register for and pay the capitation tax immediately signifies a few important facts: an evidently lenient approach for enforcing the free negro tax in the countryside and a number of free people of color who felt secure enough in their identity as free people that they did not see the need to register. Most importantly, it is likely that some of those enumerated in the census as free people of color were deemed free people of color because of their associations rather than because of their race – these individuals probably refused to ascribe themselves into the intermediate caste and did not register to pay the capitation tax.<sup>53</sup>

Furthermore, at a time when the majority of rural free blacks appear to have neither registered for, nor paid the capitation tax, Johnson and Roark also recount

---

<sup>53</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 44.

Charlestonian craftsmen and mechanics who actually petitioned the legislature for protection against economic competition from the free black population within the city of Charleston. In response, “in October 1858, city police arrested fifty-three free persons of color for failure to pay the capitation tax, after having made only five such arrests in the previous four months.” Following the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy in 1822, free blacks in the city of Charleston were levied a ten dollar tax if they “participated in any ‘Mechanick [*sic*] trade within the limits.” Though this post-Vesey tax was also levied to offset the expense of more city guards, the tax and the white mechanic’s petitions thirty-six years later begin to illustrate a definitive economic rivalry in the city and begs the question that will be discussed in the next chapter: how did free people of color and white plain folk compare economically in the rural Charleston District on the eve of the Civil War?<sup>54</sup>

In 1809, another petition decrying the capitation tax appeared from a group of free people of color in the Charleston District. These petitioners contested the capitation tax because it made no “discrimination between free people of color possessing taxable property” and those who did not. The petitioners believed that paying their property taxes and the capitation tax was particularly burdensome, and thus they should be exempted.<sup>55</sup> Again, no true response from the legislature exists in committee reports

---

<sup>54</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 186-187; Mechanic Tax after the Vesey Conspiracy in Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 67.

<sup>55</sup> Petition of Sundry People of Color, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:1877, SCDAH.



except that in 1809 the Judiciary Committee referred the petition to another committee.<sup>56</sup> Close examination of the signatories on the petition, however, reveals at least two people of color who did not give up their fight against the capitation tax. Included was Moses Irvin, the aforementioned free man of color who, after another failed petition in 1829, was finally exempted in 1836 after touting his Revolutionary War service. The name Robert Hopton also appeared in the 1809 petition. Hopton, who like Irvin did not give up in his quest to evade the capitation tax. Petitioning in 1852, Hopton took an approach quite similar to Irvin's, he cited his loyal service during the Mexican War. He stated that he served with the Palmetto Regiment "in all the Battles of the Valley, rendering ever attention to the sick and wounded and that whenever these duties permit he shouldered his musket and fought in the ranks." Like Irvin's petition, Hopton also included white signatories who testified to his faithful service during the war.<sup>57</sup> Late that year, the House and Senate concurred with resolutions to exempt Hopton from the capitation tax.<sup>58</sup>

While white South Carolinians such as the Richland District inhabitants and those who vouched for Hopton proved willing to help free people of color receive some relief from legislative regulations, other petitions following the Act of 1800 proved continued white resentment for free blacks as well as the whites who associated with them. These

---

<sup>56</sup> Judiciary Committee Report on the Petition of Certain Free Negroes, Committee Reports, ND:791, SCDAH.

<sup>57</sup> Petition of Robert Hopton, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND: 2469, SCDAH.

<sup>58</sup> Committee on Military and Pensions Report on the Petition of Robert Hopton, Committee Reports, Year 1852:46, SCDAH; and, Committee on Colored Population Report on the Senate Report concerning the Petition of Robert Hopton, Committee Reports, Year 1852:294.

pleas to the legislature demonstrated growing sentiments to regulate free blacks in effort to not only prevent insurrection, but also to protect the social order from white and black interactions. One such petition from inhabitants of Orangeburg District in 1812 begged for harsher penalties on “slaves or free blacks who engage in miscegenation” with whites. The petitioners believed that increased miscegenation between blacks and whites was largely due to slaves who had forgotten their place. At the same time, the petitioners also cited that miscegenation represented their attempt “to exercise among some of the lower classes of white people freedoms and familiarities which [were] degrading to them and dangerous to society.”<sup>59</sup> In this sense, the Orangeburg inhabitants iterated their belief that miscegenation was a threat to the social order wherein both blacks and whites degraded one another.

Further petitions to the General Assembly, as well as Grand Jury Presentments, following the Act of 1800 continued to reiterate growing white concerns that free blacks consorting with whites threatened white authority and safety. Beginning in 1818 and again in 1823, the Georgetown District’s Grand Jury repeatedly petitioned the General Assembly to restrict blacks’ who trafficked on the rivers “under the protection of whites who are of no character.”<sup>60</sup> Discussed at length in Jeff Forret’s *Race Relations and the Margins*, underground economies and illicit trade were in fact direct challenges to plantation authority and to the white social order. In these illicit networks, free blacks,

---

<sup>59</sup> Petition of Inhabitants of Orangeburg District, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1812:111, SCDAH.

<sup>60</sup> Georgetown District Presentment Complaining of Blacks Trafficking on the Rivers, Grand Jury Presentments, Year 1818:7, SCDAH; Georgetown District Presentment Complaining of the Practice of Dueling and of Negroes Trafficking with One Another, Grand Jury Presentments, Year 1823:11-12, SCDAH.

slaves, and poor whites met “to carry on a system of demoralizing barter, taking at their own price articles stolen by the servants, to wit, corn, poultry, pigs; in short, anything the negro might carry in his bag, in any sense marketable.’ ”<sup>61</sup> Though Forret’s specific discussion focused on North Carolina, there is little reason to doubt that the damage underground trading inflicted on the social order would be any different in South Carolina. As slaves, free blacks, and poor whites met to trade in stolen goods and alcohol their thievish bonds immediately challenged the plantation elite.

In 1820, inhabitants of Edisto Island petitioned the legislature “advocating curbing certain rights of free blacks, persons of color, and slaves, as well as citing the activities of abolition societies in Charleston.” These petitioners asked that all people of color, whether slave or free, be disallowed from entering South Carolina from other southern states. As the petition continued, the citizens asked that the Assembly “prohibit all persons hereafter from emancipating his, her, or their slave or slaves upon any pretense whatever.” At the same time, the petition complained bitterly about abolition and religious societies in Charleston that had recently built a large church in Charleston “for the exclusive worship of negroes and colored people” and who encouraged free blacks to travel to “the eastern state for ordination or other religious purposes and returning to this state to disseminate sentiments highly inimical to the best interest of this country.” It is not clear precisely what eastern state the petition referred to, but wherever it was, it was outside of South Carolina and its control. Fearing that these free black preachers’ doctrine was “little short of executing insurrection,” these petitioners begged

---

<sup>61</sup> James Battle Averitt, *The Old Plantation: How We Lived in Great House and Cabin Before the War* (New York: F. Tennyson Neely Col, 1901), 118 quoted in Forret, *Race Relations at the Margins*, 80.

the legislature to not only strengthen regulations on free people of color, but also upon white ministers and abolitionists. The Edisto inhabitants decried these whites for “unrestrained sentiments and declarations of subverting this state” and deemed them “intruders in no other character than emesaries [sic] and spies.”<sup>62</sup>

In 1820 the legislature responded to mounting concerns about free people of color with a new comprehensive law to regulate the black population. The Act of 1820 sought first to control growth in the free black population by “requiring direct legislative approval for all manumissions.”<sup>63</sup> The law also banned free people of color’s ability to travel outside of the state and then return, by simply disallowing free people of color from entering the state. Any who entered South Carolina’s borders following the act were subject to a fine and removal, and, if they still did not leave they could be sold into slavery.<sup>64</sup> As Lacy K. Ford noted when discussing the Act of 1800, legislated control over white’s personal property was not met with complete harmony. Even Judge John Belton O’Neill stated that, “my experience as a man, and a Judge, leads me to condemn the Acts of 1820” and later restrictions imposed in 1841. “They ought to be repealed and the Act of 1800 restored. The State has nothing to fear from emancipation, regulated as that law directs it to be.”<sup>65</sup> Regardless of the jurist’s sentiments, the manumission

---

<sup>62</sup> Inhabitants of Edisto Island Petition, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:1870, SCDAH.

<sup>63</sup> Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, 196.

<sup>64</sup> McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 7:459.

<sup>65</sup> O’Neill, *The Negro Law of South Carolina*, 12.

restrictions in 1820, and certainly 1800, were solidified and even seemed almost too late when the infamous Denmark Vesey conspiracy unfolded in 1822.

Indeed, Vesey, a free black preacher freed in 1799 before the Act of 1800, gave real credence to the Edisto residents whose 1820 petition cited their fearful premonition that black congregations might be led into insurrection.<sup>66</sup> Vesey gained his freedom winning the city lottery and buying himself from his white owner and, in 1822, was arrested, tried, and executed for leading a large insurrection conspiracy in Charleston. Reflecting lingering suspicions from whites, the Vesey conspiracy had both ministerial and Haitian connections. Before buying his freedom in Charleston, Vesey had “briefly worked in [Haiti’s] sugar fields.” More directly, however, he was reported to written black Haitian authorities “asking for possible refuge and military aid in the South Carolina black revolt.”<sup>67</sup> This rumor confirmed white fears that the Haitian Revolution would influence insurrection in South Carolina. At the same time, Vesey also gave credence to petitions like that from the Edisto inhabitants that indicated white’s fears that black preachers would influence insurrection among slaves. Indeed, in 1815 Vesey had become a minister in Charleston’s African Methodist Episcopal Church and just seven years later “four of his eight principal lieutenants . . . were later identified as former members” of that congregation.<sup>68</sup> In the Vesey conspiracy’s wake, “the Charleston courts

---

<sup>66</sup> For more detail on Vesey manumission see Edgerton, *He Shall Go Out Free*, 73-74; Egerton, “Denmark Vesey,” 998-999; also mentioned in Dangerfield, “Plain Folk of Color,” 29-30; See also, Ford, *Deliver Us From Evil*, who devotes several chapters to the insurrection and its “scare.”

<sup>67</sup> Both citations on Vesey’s Haitian connections from David Robertson, *Denmark Vesey* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 118-119.

<sup>68</sup> Robertson, *Denmark Vesey*, 46-47.

arrested 131 slaves and free blacks. Thirty were released without trial. Of the 101 men who appeared before the tribunals, the magistrates ordered 35 hanged and 37 . . . transported to Spanish Cuba. Twenty-three were acquitted, 2 more died while in custody, 3 were found not guilty but were whipped, and 1 free black was released on condition that he leave the state.”<sup>69</sup> Yet, simply punishing the conspirators was not enough.

Responding largely to the Vesey plot, the legislature passed the Act of 1822 to further regulate free people of color and slaves. In this measure, the assembly required all free people of color to have white guardians and specifically prohibited South Carolinian free blacks from being able to return to South Carolina after leaving for any reason.<sup>70</sup> These measures were meant to keep free people of color under whites’ watchful eyes and to prevent blacks who left the state from returning with any notions for abolition or insurrection. Quickly following the Act of 1822, the legislature also created the Negro Seamen’s Act, a measure to control slave or free person of color sailors from entering South Carolina’s ports and bringing news or rebellious designs from elsewhere.<sup>71</sup> These laws were clearly designed in response to the Denmark Vesey conspiracy and reflected a renewed insurrection fears in South Carolina following the plot. Indeed a rash of petitions to the legislature appeared from rural organizations such

---

<sup>69</sup> Egerton, “Denmark Vesey,” 998-999; Also cited in Dangerfield, “Plain Folk of Color,” 29-30.

<sup>70</sup> McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 7:461.

<sup>71</sup> McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 7:463-467; See also, Bernard E. Powers, Jr. “Negro Seamans Act,” in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 664; and, Powers *Black Charlestonians*, 32.

as the Black Swamp Association and municipalities like Greenville that asked for vigilance patrol charters or permission for cities to more strictly govern their free black populations. In 1828 the City of Charleston petitioned the assembly asking that all people of color, not simply slaves, not be prohibited from learning how to read because the city simply could not tell the difference between people of color who were free and those who were not.<sup>72</sup> In each instance, these laws and petitions represented white reactions to Denmark Vesey and continued fears that free blacks might facilitate insurrection. Nonetheless, continued petitions and legislative responses testified to ongoing racial disloyalty among whites, weakened white solidarity, and fears that free people of color and whites directly challenged the social order through their associations with one another.

Among continued petitions from white citizens complaining of white and free black relations was the 1831 complaint from the inhabitants of the Pendleton District. These petitioners revisited the Georgetown petitions by decrying the underground economy, but specifically “the distillation of ardent spirits, or the vending of the same by free people of colour [*sic*] to slaves and disorderly white persons.” They found these networks “highly demoralizing and corrupting” because they led to “much vice and vilany [*sic*]” when the groups met “on a common hand and eat, drink, and associate

---

<sup>72</sup> Members of the Black Swamp Association Petition for Act of Incorporation, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1823:147, SCDAH; Inhabitants of Greenville District Petition Asking Changes and Amendments in the Law as it Relates to Free Negroes, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:1582, SCDAH. Greenville petition is circa 1828; City Council of Charleston Petition, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:1799, SCDAH. Petition is circa 1828; Richard C. Wade also mentions municipal complaints about literacy among urban blacks in his *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 177.

together.”<sup>73</sup> Clearly representing a threat to the social order and an apparent failing by “disorderly” whites to keep racial solidarity, these petitioners vehemently begged the legislature to enact some law to prohibit free people of color’s ability to make liquor and sell it. The legislature responded in 1831 with a law that prohibited free people of color from distilling liquor, barred slaves from working as grocery clerks, and attempted to curtail people of color’s ability to access and dispense alcohol.<sup>74</sup> Apparently recognizing continued infractions to the law, in 1834 the General Assembly reaffirmed prohibitions on free people of color and slaves involving themselves in alcohol trade, and in the same act also responded to the 1828 Charleston City Council petition by reaffirming restrictions on teaching slaves to read and write, a direct response to the 1828 Charleston City Council petition.<sup>75</sup>

Despite the increasing regulations on the free black population, however, correspondence to the South Carolina government continued to demonstrate whites who openly opposed the regulations or whites who still consorted with people of color. Both instances signified continued breaks with white order and racial disloyalty. Among the most venomous of these appeals came from the citizens of the Chester District who had already protested restrictions on giving religious instruction to slaves and free blacks in 1802 and, then, against similar restrictions in 1834. Particularly grieved by the 1834 act,

---

<sup>73</sup> Inhabitants of Pendleton District Petition, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1831:126, SCDAH.

<sup>74</sup> McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 466-467.

<sup>75</sup> McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, 468-470.



their petition represented such contempt and discontinuity in the white social order that it is worth quoting at length:

We are aggrieved with so much of the said act as makes it penal to teach a slave to read – with other parts [of the said] act we have no controversy. Your petitioners believe that thousands of good citizens are grieved with this law and desire its repeal. Your memorialists would suggest that [said] law has had and will have a tendency injurious to the well being of this community. And your memorialists believe that it will be a dead letter . . . where it may be enforced it will be roused by malicious persons to punish men better than themselves. In very man places [said] law could not be enforced. A jury could not be made to see how teaching a slave to read the Bible or any book strictly religious in the Christian’s sense could jeopardize any interest human or divine. Your memorialists further believe that many good citizens, have left & are preparing to leave, & will continue to leave the state chiefly on account of [said] law. Multitudes of citizens (among whom are part of your memorialists) believe the law in question to invade the rights of conscience & as such to be unconstitutional. So that it is by no means unusual to hear good citizens say ‘I am prepared to disrespect such a law.’ It is painful to good citizens to be compelled from a sense of duty to violate the law of the land. Your petitioners also think that the [Honorable] legislature who passed this law did not duly weigh its efficiency.<sup>76</sup>

As the petition continued to indict the legislature for enacting the law, the signatories maintained that teaching slaves and free blacks to read the Bible fostered intelligence. They believed that the ignorance the law was sure to produce would “make our servants the dupes of every Nat Turner who might chance to pass along.” Continuing their assault on the Assembly, they asked, “And if Imperial Rome could manage even classic slavery and their slaves for the best trained soldiers in the world . . . does chilvalrous [*sic*] South Carolina quail before gangs of cowardly Africans with a Bible in their hands?” Despite the petition’s fire, it met an uneventful committee response. The

---

<sup>76</sup> Citizens of Chester District Petition to Repeal Part of an Act Making it Illegal to Teach Slaves and Free Blacks to Read the Bible, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year 1838:27, SCDAH. Underlining in original.

Committee on the Colored Population matter-of-factly recommended that their prayer “not be granted.”<sup>77</sup>

Where the Chester District petition’s venom reflected whites who were willing to express their own departure from the social order and from legislated guidelines for governing the black population, other petitions late in the antebellum period continued to decry other whites whose actions represented failings in white solidarity. In 1852 yet another complaint appeared before the Assembly, begging for still tighter restrictions on free black’s access to alcohol. The Citizens of St. Bartholomews Parish protested whites who were in “the habit of selling spirituous liquors to free persons of color and of allowing them to retail said liquors especially to our slave population.” They viewed these infractions as a “great nuisance” that produced “great mischief” among the slave populations, thus alluding to the belief that free black, slave, and poor white commerce confused the social order and risked slaves forgetting their proper place.<sup>78</sup>

The Committee on the Colored Population responded in concurrence with the St. Bartholomew petition and, at the same time, recognized that they had received numerous similar complaints from “Presentments of the Grand Jury of Charleston, Darlington, [and] Georgetown.” Their 1852 report further cited that the illicit trafficking had a “corrupting and demoralizing” effect and that “self-preservation” demanded that the state

---

<sup>77</sup> Committee on Colored Population Report on Citizens of Chester District Petition, Committee Reports, Series S165005, Year 1838:84, SCDAH.

<sup>78</sup> Citizens of St. Bartholomew’s Parish, Petition to Prohibit Free Blacks From Receiving and Retailing Liquor, Petitions to the General Assembly, Year ND:2903, SCDAH.

take legislative action.<sup>79</sup> Tellingly, these petitions and presentments all appeared, Darlington excepted, from lowcountry parishes, where the black majority and the mounting sectional crisis would have demanded white solidarity. The petitions thus indicated serious commercial and social intercourse between whites and blacks, and more importantly, whites who readily broke the law while carrying out their liaisons, even in the lowcountry.

By the 1850s, whites continued disloyalties to the slave regime signaled a serious break in the social order that had once separated white from black in South Carolina. Where Judge O'Neill had once observed that slavery and black skin color were officially synonymous and thus indicated clear boundaries between white and black, repeated white challenges to the social order through the antebellum period indicated ongoing deterioration in whites' commitment to the slave regime. The white individuals who wrote on behalf of petitions from Moses Irvin, Robert Hopton, and David Scott were not upcountrymen, but citizens from lowcountry districts and parishes. And while legislation that restricted religious instruction was sure to draw upcountry Presbyterian ire, support to repeal such laws from lowcountry Baptists, the Pinckneys, and DeSaussure was surely broke from lowcountry paternalism. Moreover the complaints from lowcountry parishes and elsewhere citing free black and common white economic, social, and sexual intercourse demonstrated continued disturbances in the boundaries between white and black.

---

<sup>79</sup> Committee on Colored Population Report on Various Grand Jury Presentments and a Memorial of Citizens of St. Bartholomew's Parish, Committee Reports, Series S165005, Year 1852:36, SCDAH.

As the legislature responded, they increasingly developed laws to enforce blacks' compliance with social order, but whites' as well. Surely Haiti and Denmark Vesey imparted a sense of fear and fostered legislative acts to help prevent insurrection in South Carolina. Nonetheless, the preponderance of legislative appeals and actions indicated near equal attention to South Carolina's need to legislate for social order, racial loyalty, and the attempt to prevent vice and villainy, amid a variety of challenges to the slave regime by whites themselves.

## CONCLUSION

From their origins to their economic prospects and place in rural society, a significant and conspicuous portion of South Carolina's rural free people of color demonstrated that they were more than simply slaves without masters, and challenged the most basic assumptions about race and class in the antebellum South. The experiences, economic and social experiences they shared with their white neighbors defied notions that African-Americans actually needed slavery and white guidance to survive in the South. These rural free people further challenged the separation between them and whites by exhibiting the same social characteristics that identified their white plain folk neighbors, such as successful subsistence farming and community formation with other free blacks – and, significantly, with some common-class whites. Most importantly, their apparent ability to slip back and forth between white and black racial identities, and evidence that whites could actually be identified as people of color through their affiliations and social standings with “blacks” demonstrates that white plain folk and free people of color were only separated by blurred and mutable boundaries. Capitation taxes, slave patrols, and legal restrictions constrained free people of color in the Old South. But in rural South Carolina while still somewhat constrained by the law, these free people of color posed important challenges to the most basic tenets of paternalism and white supremacy – by being free, by achieving degrees of economic health, and by skewing the economic and social boundaries between white and black.

From the origins of black freedom, the lines and paternalism faced challenges. First, “mulattoe-ness” rather than “black-ness” as the predominant color, particularly in the lowcountry, indicated the degree of white ancestry and its relationship to black freedom. As discussed, the centrality of miscegenation to the experiences or existence of free people of color is reconfirmed when considering that in 1860, “mulattoes comprised five percent of the state’s slave population but seventy-two percent of the free blacks.”<sup>1</sup> Their biracial identity, itself, represented a challenge to Old South mores which determined miscegenation both dishonorable and dangerous to racial order. Though legal in South Carolina, biracial marriages and sexual liaisons pushed the social boundaries even further. In fact, white southerners were so troubled by the prevalence of mulattoes and indistinguishable racial heritages that in post-Reconstruction the 1895 South Carolina state constitutional convention’s most bitter argument occurred over difficulty defining the white and black races.<sup>2</sup>

Mixed racial heritage may have also improved these free people of color’s position in the Old South, particularly if white relatives granted them both freedom and property. Moreover, white ancestry may have also offered a sense of security. One historian, James Oliver Horton, has even suggested that whites were automatically more tolerant of mulatto free people of color, a point which may further explain their sense of

---

<sup>1</sup> Powers, “Free People of Color,” 342.

<sup>2</sup> At the 1895 South Carolina state constitutional convention, the majority of delegates opted not to define “anyone with one-sixteenth or more black blood as nonwhite – on the grounds it would disqualify too many people identified as white.” Jack Bass and W. Scott Poole, *The Palmetto State*, 140; For a more detailed discussion of the constitutional convention and post-Civil War race tensions, see Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

security.<sup>3</sup> For example, the Collins and Fowler families in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish confirm the agricultural and economic opportunities often depended on bequeathed “white” property. Again, the chance for membership in the yeomanry among mulattoes who received an inheritance with their freedom represented economic security for some free people of color yeomanry.

Furthermore, by simply refusing to pay the capitation tax, Charleston’s rural free people of color, and to some degree those in Abbeville, even exhibited some traits that distinguished them from their free black counterparts within the city of Charleston. Charleston’s urban free black population, 3,441, represented 89 percent of the district’s total black population in 1850. At the same time, only 400 free blacks lived in the surrounding countryside, comprising only 11 percent of the district’s free people of color population.<sup>4</sup> Yet, where their numbers were fewest in the district, these people of color exhibited a great sense of security. Again, in the 1860 Tax Return Books for St. James Goose Creek Parish, only 10 percent of the eligible free people of color registered or paid the capitation tax.<sup>5</sup> Just two years earlier in the city of Charleston, police “arrested fifty-three free persons of color for failure to pay the capitation tax” in response to pleas from mechanics to curtail economic competition. In the countryside, however, free people of

---

<sup>3</sup> James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 140; For white fears about miscegenation and mixed raced individuals, see Williamson, *New People*, 15.

<sup>4</sup> De Bow, *Statistical View of the United States*, 303, 397.

<sup>5</sup> 1860 Tax Return Books, St. James Goose Creek Parish, Records of the Comptroller General, SCDAH; 1860 Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charleston District, SC.

color evidently did not feel compelled to register for or pay a tax that, when paid, was proof for their freedom. Instead, not paying the capitation tax further illustrates that these free people felt security in their rural society.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting question surrounding plain folk of color remains the issue of racial identity. Clearly some were able to pass back and forth between being identified as white and black. At the same time, some, such as Moley Kemp who was forced to pay the capitation tax after marrying a free black man, were known to be white by race, but were identified as persons of color through their associations and “reputation.”<sup>7</sup> The resulting confusion in the lines between white and black that occurred through shared economic and social status was clearly a cause for concerns. As demonstrated in chapter 5, petitions and legislative responses in the nineteenth century were as much about governing the free black population as they were clear evidence that the white population was constantly undermining the laws meant to denigrate free blacks. It was the perception of threats from whites who helped free blacks across the color line that the Assembly was concerned to fix at it responded to petitions that sought to allow religious instruction via literacy, those decrying illicit trading between blacks and whites,

---

<sup>6</sup> Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 186-87.

<sup>7</sup> Moley Kemp, who became “black” through her marriage to a free man of color in Committee of Ways and Means, Report and Supporting Papers on the Petition of Wiley Wilson, General Assembly Committee Reports, Year 1829:230, SCDAH; If race was the central partition between free people of color and plain folk, Wilson’s story shows that even racial identity was much more a social construction than an absolute genetic difference. See, Race in Powers, “Free People of Color,” 342; and, Mark M. Smith, *How Race is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008).



and those that indicated just about any other sort of interaction which might socially elevate people of color or otherwise further degrade working class whites.

Indeed, given this margin occupied by free black farmers and common-class whites on the eve of the Civil War, elite whites were fearful of an evaporating colorline – or at least tried to convince working-class whites of the importance of keeping the racial divide by not so subtlety reminding them of the degradation that could occur should slaves be made free. Economically healthy free blacks, though a minority, were probably conspicuous enough to give some credence to those warnings. Clearly, from their complaints to the legislature, urban white mechanics already resented economic competition from free blacks and slaves. And, Eugene Genovese maintains that plantation slaves frequently looked down on poor whites, quoting one former slave from Sumter, South Carolina, who recalled the slaves singing, “ ‘Rather be a nigger than a poor white man.’ ”<sup>8</sup> If slaves looked down upon poor whites, did common rural whites also take note that some of their free people of color neighbors were yeomen?

In his article, “Role of the Poor Whites in Race Contacts of the South,” W.O. Brown argues that poor whites ended up defending slavery because of “fear of the increased competition in case of freedom for the slave.” Such fear is indeed plausible if these whites had already noticed free black yeomanry producing as well, if not better, than their own farms. Brown points out that this opinion was indeed proffered by J. D. B. De Bow in his 1860 article, “The Interest in Slavery of the Southern Non-Slaveholders.” Indeed, De Bow argued that abolition would force “non-slaveholders” to “endure the

---

<sup>8</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, “ ‘Rather Be a Nigger Than a Poor White Man’: Slave Perceptions of Southern Yeomen and Poor Whites,” in *Toward a New View of America: Essays in Honor of Arthur C. Cole*, ed. Hans L. Trefousse (New York: Burt Franklin and Company, Inc., 1977), 79.

degradation” of economic competition and possibly economic equality with former slaves. Brown maintained that at least one other historian, Walter F. Fleming writing on Alabama, notes that some poor whites supported secession because they “were afraid of the competition of free negroes.”<sup>9</sup> The degree to which economically healthy free blacks influenced or credence to common-class whites’ fears about economic competition freed slaves in antebellum South Carolina is uncertain. It is clear, however, that the legislature was concerned about the diminishing divide between white and black and responded with laws that attempted to restrict white relationships with slaves and free blacks. Try as they may, however, whites continued freeing slaves illegally and helped freed blacks gain an economic footing and otherwise undermined the Assembly’s efforts to legislate paternalistic controls over their black population. The legislature’s responses to the broken divide and free blacks tell us as much about white solidarity in antebellum South Carolina as they do about black achievement. Thus, the same spaces between law and local practice that Kirt von Daacke found in Virginia, were apparent in this lower South state – spaces the legislature was mostly unsuccessful closing.

Exploiting those spaces, free black farmers rejected aspects of paternalism and overcame their own official legal positions. Though free blacks were officially degraded

---

<sup>9</sup> Scholars such as Victoria Bynum and Stephen V. Ash point out anti-Confederate sentiments among the South’s common whites, both indicating that poor whites may have refused to defend slavery, believing the institution hurt them economically. See, Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters*, 180-185; Brown, “Role of the Poor White in Race Contacts of the South,” 263; De Bow, “The Interest in Slavery of the Southern Non-Slaveholders,” 76; Walter Lynwood Fleming, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1905), 654; Stephen V. Ash “Poor Whites in the Occupied South, 1861-1865,” *Journal of Southern History* 57 (February 1991): 39-62; See also Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism*, 117.

under the law and by custom, neither the law itself nor the little spaces that they exploited for freedom were absolute – but instead represented a margin in which free people of color tested bounds. They had hard rows to hoe, but they turned the earth and harvested important degrees of economic freedom and social flexibility.

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### **PRIMARY SOURCES**

#### Manuscript Collections

##### *Charleston, South Carolina*

Addlestone Library, Special Collections, College of Charleston.

“A Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee South Carolina And an Address on the Tradition and Reminiscences of the Parish.” Delivered Before Society on 4<sup>th</sup> of July, 1907. Pamphlet by David Doar.  
Frederick A. Porcher Papers, 1836-1878.

##### Charleston County Public Library

Charleston County Wills, Old Wills and Inventories in the Office of the Judge of Probate, Charleston, SC.  
Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From SC.  
South Carolina State Plats, Charleston Series.  
St. Thomas & St. Dennis Parish Register and Annals, 1885, (microfiche).

##### South Carolina Historical Society

Map Collection, Charleston, 1884-1955, Reference Room  
Peter Desverney Papers, 1854-1861.  
Southern Rights Association Records, 1851-1856.

##### *Columbia, South Carolina*

##### South Carolina Department of Archives and History

Abbeville District Court of Equity Records

Consolidated Index to Multiple Record Series, 1675-1929  
Individual Tax Returns for 1824  
Judgment Rolls, Charleston District  
Plat Collection of John McCrady  
South Carolina State Plat Collection

## Legislative Records

- Committee Reports
- Grand Jury Presentments
- Petitions to the General Assembly
- Miscellaneous Communications to the General Assembly
- Plats for State Land Grants
- State Plat Books, Charleston Series

## Records of the Comptroller General

- 1856 Tax Record Books, Abbeville District
- 1860 Tax Return Books, St. James Santee Parish
- 1860 Tax Return Books, St. Stephens Parish
- 1860 Tax Return Books, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish
- Confederate Pension Applications

## Records of the Secretary of State

- Miscellaneous Records, Bills of Sale

## South Caroliniana Library

- Thomas Wadsworth Papers
- Wes Taukschiray Papers
- Minutes of the Charleston Baptist Association, 1802.

## *Durham, North Carolina*

### Duke University Library, Special Collections

- Records of Turkey Creek Baptist Church (microfilm)

## *Washington, DC*

### National Archives and Records Administration

- Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers from South Carolina Units
- Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers who Served with the United States Colored Troops

## Official Records

### Published and Unpublished U.S. Censuses and Census Reports

- U.S. Bureau of the Census. Federal Manuscript Agricultural Schedule, 1850, 1860, Charleston District, SC (microfilm).

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Federal Manuscript Census, Population Schedule, 1790, 1850, 1860, Charleston District, SC (available at Ancestry.com).

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Federal Manuscript Census, Slave Schedule, 1850, 1860, Charleston District, SC (available at Ancestry.com).

#### Published Documents and Compilations of Records

*List of the Taxpayers of the City of Charleston for 1859.* Charleston: Steam Power Press of Walker, Evans, & Co., 1860.

#### Newspapers

*Charleston Courier*, (Tri-Weekly), Charleston, SC.

*Colored American*, New York, NY.

*The Daily Atlas*, Boston, MA.

*The Liberator*, Boston, MA.

*The Charleston Mercury*, Charleston, SC.

*New York Journal of Commerce*, New York, NY.

#### Books and other Published Materials

Averitt, James Battle. *The Old Plantation: How We Lived in Great House and Cabin Before the War.* New York: F. Tennyson Neely Col, 1901.

Catterall, Helen Tunnicliff, ed. *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro.* 5 Volumes. Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1968.

*Cemetery Records: A Documentary of Cemetery or Burial Ground Reports and Grave Relocations by Santee Cooper From the Project Area, 1939-1941.* Moncks Corner, SC: Berkeley County Historical Society, [1986].

De Bow, J.D.B, ed. *Statistical View of the United States: Embracing Its Territory, Population – White, Free, Colored, and Slave – Moral and Social Condition, Industry, Property, and Revenue; The Detailed Statistics of Cities, Town, and Counties; Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census.* Washington: A.G.P. Nicholson, 1854. Reprint, New York and London: Gordon and Breach Scientific Publishers, 1970.

\_\_\_\_\_, “The Non-Slaveholders of the South: Their Interest in the Present Sectional Controversy Identical with that of the Slaveholders,” *De Bow’s Review* Vol. 30 No. 1 (January 1861): 67-77.

Helper, Hinton Rowan. *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*. New York: Burdick Brothers, 1857.

McCord, David J. and Thomas Cooper. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina; Edited, Under Authority of the Legislature*. 8 Volumes. Columbia: A.S. Johnston, 1836-1898.

Methodist Episcopal Church. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church*. Volume 2, *For the Years 1829-1839*. New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1840.

Misenhelter, Jane Searles. *St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, St. Stephen, SC*. Columbia: The State Printing Company, 1977.

O'Neill, John Belton. *The Negro Law of South Carolina*. Columbia: South Carolina State Agricultural Society, 1848.

Stevens, Michael, ed. *Journals of the House of Representatives, 1789-1790*. Columbia: USC Press for South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1984.

Woodson, Carter G. *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*. Washington D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1925.

## **SECONDARY SOURCES**

### Books

Alexander, Adele Logan. *Ambiguous Lives: Free Women of Color in Rural Georgia, 1789-1879*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991.

Angell, Stephen Ward. *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African-American Religion in the South*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

Aptheker, Herbert. *The Negro in the American Revolution*. New York: International, 1940.

Ball, Edward. *Slaves in the Family*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Sweet Hell Inside: A Family History*. New York: William Morrow, 2001.

- Bass, Jack and W. Scott Poole. *The Palmetto State: The Making of Modern South Carolina*. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2009.
- Bedenhorn, Howard. *The Complexion Gap: The Economic Consequences of Color Among Free African Americans in the Rural Antebellum South*. Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2002.
- Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousand Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in America*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South*. New York: Pantheon, 1974; reprint, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Bolton, Charles C. *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Scott P. Culclasure, eds. *The Confessions of Edward Isham: A Poor White Life of the Old South*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1998.
- Brown, David J. *Southern Outcast: Hinton Rowan Helper and the Impending Crisis of the South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.
- Burton, Orville Vernon. *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985.
- Bynum, Victoria E. *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Carney, Judith A. *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Cecil-Fronsman, Bill. *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992.
- Cohen, David W. and Jack P. Greene, ed. *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.
- Colclanis, Peter A. *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.



- Cotterill, Robert Spencer. *The Old South: The Geographic, Economic, Social, Political, and Cultural Expansion, Institutions, and Nationalism of the Ante-Bellum South*. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936.
- Curry, Leonard P. *The Free Black in Urban America 1800 – 1850: The Shadow of the Dream*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Davis, David Brion. *Revolutions: Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966.
- Degler, Carl N. *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. New York: McMillan, 1971.
- Edelson, S. Max. *The Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Edgar, Walter. *South Carolina: A History*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.
- Edwin Adams Davis and William Ransom Hogan, *The Barber of Natchez* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973).
- Egerton, Douglas R. *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey*. Madison, Wisconsin: Madison House Publishers, 1999.
- Elkins, Stanley. *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.
- Ely, Melvin Patrick. *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from 1790s through the Civil War*. New York: Knopf, 2004.
- Ferrer, Ada. *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Flynt, J. Wayne. *Dixie's Forgotten People: The South's Poor Whites*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.
- Ford, Lacy K. Jr. *Deliver Us From Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

- Forret, Jeff. *Race Relations at the Margins: Slaves and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Countryside*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.
- Fraginals, Manuel Morena, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman, eds. *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Franklin, John Hope. *The Free Negro in North Carolina: 1790-1860*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, trans. Samuel Putnam. Rio de Janeiro: Jose Olympio, 1946. Reprint, New York: Knopf, 1971.
- Gaspar, David Barry and Darline Clark Hine, eds. *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Pantheon, 1974; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The World the Slaveholders Made*. New York: Pantheon, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese. *Fatal Self-Deception: Slaveholding Paternalism in the Old South*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Gibson, Charles. *Spain in America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Gleeson, David T. *The Green and the Gray: The Irish in the Confederate States of America*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Gray, Lewis Cecil. *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. 2 Vols. New York: Peter Smith, 1941.
- Gregorie, Anne King. *History of Sumter County*. Sumter, SC: Library Board of Sumter County, 1954.
- Hadden, Sally E. *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Hahn, Steven. *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

- Harris, J. William. *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society: White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta's Hinterlands*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985.
- Hicks, Theresa. *South Carolina Indians, Indian Traders, and other Ethnic Connections: Beginning in 1670*. Peppercorn Publications, Inc.: The Reprint Company Publishers, 1998.
- Hilliard, Kathleen M. *Masters, Slaves, and Exchange: Power's Purchase in the Old South*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Hodes, Martha Elizabeth. *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Hünefeldt, Christine. *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima's Slaves, 1800-1854*, trans. Alexandra Stern. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Horton, James Oliver. *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.
- Ingersoll, Thomas N. *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819*. Knoxville : University of Tennessee Press, 1999.
- Jennison, Watson W. *Cultivating Race: The Expansion of Slavery in Georgia, 1750-1860*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2012.
- Johnson, Michael P. and James L. Roark. *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_, eds. *No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- Kantrowitz, Stephen. *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- King, Wilma, *The Essence of Liberty: Free Black Women During the Slave Era*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006.
- Kinsbrunner, Jay, *Not of Pure Blood: Free People of Color and Racial Prejudice in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Klein, Herbert S. *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967,

- Koger, Larry. *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina 1790-1860*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985.
- Landers, Jane, ed. *Against the Odds: Free Blacks in the Slave Societies of the Americas*. London and Portland: Frank Cass, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Bloomington: Illinois University Press, 1999.
- Lockley, Timothy J. *Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia, 1750-1860*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2001.
- Louise, E. *Elizabeth Cleveland Hardcastle, 1741-1808: A Lady of Color in the South Carolina Low Country*. Columbia: Phoenix Publishers, 2001.
- McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- McIlwaine, Shields. *The Southern-Poor White from Lubberland to Tobacco Road*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939.
- Mercantini, Jonathan. *Who Shall Rule At Home?: The Evolution of South Carolina Political Culture, 1748-1776*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007.
- Mills, Gary B. *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977.
- Myers, Amrita Chakrabarti. *Forging Freedom: Black Women and the Pursuit of Liberty in Antebellum Charleston*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- Nash, Gary. *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Nicholes, Cassie. *Historical Sketches of Sumter County*. 2 Volumes. Sumter, SC: Sumter County Historical Association, 1975.
- Owsley, Frank L. *Plain Folk of the Old South*, Updated Edition. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008.

- Penningroth, Dylan C. *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell. *Life and Labor in the Old South*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929. Reprint, Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1963.
- Powers, Bernard Edward Jr. *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1994.
- Robertson, David. *Denmark Vesey*. New York: Knopf, 1999.
- Robinson, Charles Frank, II. *Dangerous Liaisons: Sex and Love in the Segregated South*. Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 2003.
- Ruchames, Louis, ed. *A House Dividing Against Itself: The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*. Cambridge: Belknap, 1971.
- Scarborough, Ruth. *The Opposition to Slavery in Georgia Prior to 1860*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968.
- Schafer, Judith Kelleher. *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846-1862*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003.
- Schama, Simon. *Rough Crossings: The Slaves, the British, and the American Revolution*. New York: HarperCollins, 2006.
- Sellers, Charles Grier. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Skipper, Ottis Clark. *J.D.B. De Bow: Magazinish of the Old South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958.
- Smith, Mark M., ed. *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *How Race is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008
- Sumter, Thomas Sebastian. *Statesburg and Its People*. Statesburg, SC: Sumter Printing Company, 1922. Reprint, Sumter, SC: Sumter Printing Company, 1949
- Tannenbaum, Frank. *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas*. New York: Knopf, 1947.

- Taylor, Rosser H. *Ante-Bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970.
- Tindall, George Brown. *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952.
- Trimiew, Darryl M. *Voices of the Silenced: The Responsible Self in a Marginalized Community*. Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1993.
- Ural, Susanna J. Editor. *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Vernon, Amelia Wallace. *African Americans at Mars Bluff, South Carolina*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.
- Von Daacke, Kirt. *Freedom Has a Face: Race, Identity, and Community in Jefferson's Virginia*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- Wade Richard C. *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Wakelyn, Jon, ed. *Southern Pamphlets on Secession, November 1860 – April 1861*. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Ware, Lowry. *Chapters in the History of Abbeville County: The "Banner County" of South Carolina*. Columbia: SCMAR, 2012.
- Washington, Versalle Fredrick. *Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999.
- Weeks, Stephen B. *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896.
- West, Emily. *Family of Freedom: People of Color in the Antebellum South*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2012.
- Whitney, Edson L. *Government of the Colony of South Carolina*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1895.
- Whitten, David O. *Andrew Durnford: A Black Sugar Planter in the Antebellum South*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1995.
- Wikramanayake, Ivy Marina. *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973.

Williamson, Joel. *New People: Miscegenation and Mullatoes in the United States*. New York: The Free Press, 1980.

Wood, Peter. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

#### Journal Articles, Essays, Papers, Dissertations, and Theses

Angell, Stephen W. "Black Methodist Preachers in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1840-1866: Isaac (Counts) Cook, James Porter, and Henry McNeal Turner." In *"Ain't Gonna Lay My 'Ligion Down": African American Religion in the South*, eds. Alonzo Johnson and Paul Jersild, 87-109. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

Arroyo, Elizabeth Fortson. "Poor Whites, Slaves, and Free Blacks in Tennessee, 1796-1861." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 55 (Spring 1996): 56-65.

Ash, Stephen V. "Poor Whites in the Occupied South, 1861-1865." *Journal of Southern History* 57 (February 1991): 39-62.

Bedenhorn, Howard. "The Mulatto Advantage: The Biological Consequences of Complexion in Rural Antebellum Virginia." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol. 33 No. 1 (Summer 2002): 21-46.

Boles, John B. "Introduction." In *Plain Folk of the Old South*, Updated Edition. by Frank L. Owsley. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949; Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008.

Bowser, Frederick P. "Colonial Spanish America." In *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, eds. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Green, 19-58. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Brown, W.O. "Role of the Poor Whites in Race Contacts of the South." *Social Forces* 19 (December 1940): 258-268.

Buck, Paul H. "The Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South." *American Historical Review* 31 (October 1925): 41-54.

- Burton, Orville Vernon. "Edgefield Reconstruction Political Black Leaders," in *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1988-1989*, ed. William S. Brockington, 27-38. Aiken, SC: The University of South Carolina at Aiken, 1989.
- Bynum, Victoria. "On the Lowest Rung: Court Control Over Poor White and Free Black Women." *Southern Exposures* 12 (November – December 1984): 40-44.
- Coclanis, Peter A. and J.C. Marlow. "Inland Rice Production in the South Atlantic States: A Picture in Black and White." *Agricultural History* Volume 72 Number 2 (Spring 1998): 197-212.
- Craven, Avery O. "Poor Whites and Negroes in the Ante-Bellum South." *Journal of Negro History* 15 (January 1930): 14-25.
- Dangerfield, David. "Plain Folk of Color: Rural Free People of Color in the Antebellum Charleston District." MA Thesis, College of Charleston and The Citadel, 2009.
- Den Hollander, A.N.J. "The Tradition of 'Poor Whites.'" In *Culture in the South*, ed. W.T. Couch, 403-431. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935.
- Egerton, Douglas R. "Denmark Vesey," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 998-999. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Fitchett, E. Horace. "The Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1950.
- Ford, "Republics and Democracy: The Parameters of Political Citizenship in Antebellum South Carolina." In *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr.*, ed. David R. Chesnutt and Clyde N. Wilson, 127-128. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.
- Fraginals, Manuel Morena, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman. "Preface." in *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Manuel Morena Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman, xiii-xvii. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Franklin, John Hope. "Slaves Virtually Free in Ante-Bellum North Carolina." *Journal of Negro History* 28 (July 1943): 284-310.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. "Role of the Negro in Race Relations in the South." *Social Forces* 19 (December 1940): 252-258.
- Gannon, Kevin M. "William Henry DeSaussure" in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 260-261. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.



- Gaspar, David Barry and Darline Clark Hine. "Preface" in *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, ed. David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, ix-xi. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Genovese, Eugene D. "'Rather Be a Nigger Than a Poor White Man': Slave Perceptions of Southern Yeomen and Poor Whites." in *Toward a New View of America: Essays in Honor of Arthur C. Cole*, ed. Hans L. Trefousse, 79-96. New York: Burt Franklin and Company, Inc., 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Slave States of North America." in *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, ed. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Green, 258-277. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Yeomen Farmers in a Slaveholders' Democracy." *Agricultural History* Volume 49 Number 2 (April 1975): 331-342.
- Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo. "Saint Domingue," in *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, eds. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Green, 172-192. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.
- Harris, J. William. Introduction to *The Confessions of Edward Isham: A Poor White Life of the Old South*. Edited by Charles C. Bolton and Scott P. Culclasure. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1998.
- Henderson, A. Scott. "Richard Furman," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 349-350. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Hollandsworth, James G. Jr. "Looking for Bob: Black Confederate Pensioners After the Civil War." *Journal of Mississippi History* (Winter 2007): 295-324.
- Hyde, Anne Bachman. "Early Efforts to Suppress the Slave Trade and Abolish Slavery in the South." *The Missionary Survey* Volume 12 Number 2 (February 1922): 101-104.
- Jennings, Matthew H. "Slave Codes" in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 873. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Krawczynski, Keith. "Charles Cotesworth Pinkney," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 727-728. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Landers, Jane. "Introduction." In *Against the Odds: Free Blacks in the Slave Societies of the Americas*, ed. by Jane Landers, vii-xiii. London: Frank Cass, 1996.

Lockhart, Matthew A. "St. John's Berkeley Parish," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 826. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "St. Stephen's Parish," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 830. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.

Lockley, Timothy J. "Partners in Crime: African Americans and Non-Slaveholding Whites in Antebellum Georgia." In *White Trash: Race and Class in America*, ed. Matt Wray and Annalee Newitz, 57-72. New York: Routledge, 1997.

McDonnell, Lawrence T. "Money Knows No Master: Market Relations and the American Slave Community." In *Developing Dixie: Modernization in a Traditional Society*, ed. Winfred B. Moore, Jr., Joseph F. Tripp, and Lyon G. Tyler, Jr., 31-44. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.

Mills, Gary B., "Shades of Ambiguity: Comparing Antebellum Free People of Color in 'Anglo' Alabama and 'Latin' Louisiana." In *Plain Folk of the South Revisited*, ed. Samuel C. Hyde, Jr., 161-186. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997.

Ognibene, Terri Ann. "Discovering the Voices of the Segregated: An Oral History of the Educational Experiences of the Turkish People of Sumter County, South Carolina." Ph.D. Diss., Georgia State University, 2008.

Olwell, Robert. "Becoming Free: Manumission and the Genesis of a Free Black Community in South Carolina, 1740-90." *Slavery & Abolition* Volume 17 Number 1 (April 1996): 1-19.

Owsley, Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley. "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South." *Journal of Southern History* Volume 6 Number 1 (February 1940): 24-45.

\_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. "The Economic Structure of Rural Tennessee, 1850-1869." *Journal of Southern History* Volume 8 Number 2 (May 1942): 161-182.

Powers, Bernard Edward Jr. "Free Persons of Color." in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 341-342. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Negro Seaman's Act," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, 664. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.

Ramsey, William L. "A Coat for 'Indian Cuffy': mapping the Boundary Between Freedom and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* Volume 103 Number 1 (January 2002): 48-66.

- Schweninger, Loren. "A Vanishing Breed: Black Farm Owners in the South, 1651-1982." *Agricultural History* Volume 63 Number 3 (Summer 1988): 41-60.
- Senese, Donald J. "The Free Negro and the South Carolina Courts, 1790-1860." in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* Volume 68 Number 3 (July 1967): 140-153.
- Smith, Hayden Ros. "Rich Swamps and Rice Grounds: The Specialization of Inland Rice Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1670-1861." Ph.D. Diss., University of Georgia, 2012.
- Stowell, David O. "The Free Black Population of Columbia, South Carolina in 1860: A Snapshot of Occupation and Personal Wealth." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* Volume 104 Number 1 (January 2003): 6-24.
- Sweat, Edward. "The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Georgia." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1957.
- Ware, Lowry. "Reuben Robertson of Turkey Creek: The Story of a Wealthy Black Slaveholder and His Family, White and Black." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* Volume 91 Number 4 (October 1990): 261-267.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Burning of Jerry: The Last Slave Execution by Fire in South Carolina?" *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* Volume 91 Number 4 (April 1990): 100-106.
- West, Emily. "'She is dissatisfied with her present condition': Requests for Voluntary Enslavement in the Antebellum American South." In *Slavery and Abolition* Volume 28 Number 3 (December 2007): 329-350.
- Wikramanayake, Ivy Marina. "The Free Negro in Antebellum South Carolina." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1966.
- Yarnall, Ellis. "A Visit to Friends in Charleston, South Carolina, 1819." *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia* Volume 9 Number 3 (May 1920): 118-127.

## Websites

Fold3.com. “Explore the Black History Collection.” Accessed March 15, 2014. Last updated February 1, 2012. <http://blog.fold3.com/explore-the-black-history-collection/>.

Founders Early Access Website, The University of Virginia James Madison Papers, Accessed February 15, 2014, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=FOEA-print-02-02-02-2893>

Hall, Andy. Dead Confederates, A Civil War Era Blog. “Thomas Tobe and the Limits of Confederate Pension Records.” Last Accessed April 10, 2014, <http://deadconfederates.com/2011/01/02/thomas-tobe-and-the-limits-of-confederate-pension-records/>.

National Archives Online, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Accessed on February 15, 2014. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-01-02-0513>.

## APPENDIX A – AN EXPLANATION OF APPENDICES AND METHOD

The following appendices, Appendix B through M, contain the statistical data used in this dissertation, particularly in Chapter 3. Each appendix contains every single farm enumerated in its particular parish or district during the given census year, and thus represents the entire statistical population and not simple a statistical sample. These census years surveyed farm production in nearly forty categories, but this dissertation utilized selected categories – improved acres, unimproved acres, milk cows, cattle, swine, indian corn, and sweet potatoes. Additionally, this dissertation uses the rice production category for the coastal parishes where it was the dominant cash crop and in Sumter District where the crop was also widely grown. For the upcountry districts, Abbeville, Newberry, and Sumter, the cotton category is included.

The farms in these appendices appear in the same order that they appear in the original agricultural census books and care has been taken to check and double check each individual numerical data point against the originals. Though the agricultural census takers often spelled surnames phonetically and somewhat inconsistently, but I have taken care to transcribe the names of the farmers as they appear. In instances when free black farm surname spellings do not exactly match with the spellings on the population census, I have compared the neighboring farms in the agricultural census with the neighboring households in the population census to verify the families in question.

APPENDIX B- 1850 ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS

SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table B.1:** 1850 St. Stephen's Parish Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Theodore Gourdin	450	15000	150	500	100	3000	8000	6000
Saml. L. Gourdin	300	10000	40	100	100	2000	12000	3000
Saml W. Palmer	500	1500	15	25	30	1000	8000	6000
Dr. Peter P. Bonneau	50	300	12	15	20	300	0	400
Mrs. Martha Bonneau	300	500	12	28	60	400	0	900
JJ Russel	30	52	7	10	10	150	0	200
<i>Isaac Glencamp</i>	30	70	0	0	25	200	0	150
William Dubose	2000	1800	80	100	50	1800	0	7500
<i>Henry Glencamp</i>	30	70	0	0	25	200	0	20
R. Smith	150	2890	6	0	55	200	0	400
Dr. W.D. Snowden	500	450	24	28	50	500	2000	2000
Theodore S. Marion	700	1000	6	15	50	600	1250	1500
Sol. Clark	500	7000	20	23	50	350	0	900
Est. of Isaac Dubose	500	1270	17	59	27	800	1200	3000
W.R. Tradewell	40	12	10	50	20	100	0	0
Karen B. Schipman	250	3750	50	100	60	600	12500	1200
Thomas C. Porcher	646	300	5	100	0	100	0	1200
KK Harvey	500	2500	30	60	100	450	1000	1000
<i>James Cleveland</i>	25	225	3	4	25	125	0	225
<i>J. Eady</i>	100	700	12	43	40	250	400	450
Thomas J. Boswell	25	70	5	6	12	150	0	225
David Trotter	50	250	1	17	10	100	0	75
Ann Slier	50	590	10	32	20	175	1250	500
<i>D Peagler</i>	75	925	12	13	80	450	1200	1500
<i>J Peagler</i>	60	290	20	30	80	350	1000	1200

1850 St. Stephen's Agricultural Census Data (page 2 of 3)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Sarah A Lockelier	100	1400	7	8	45	125	0	300
<b>Sam More</b>	0	0	4	5	45	180	0	400
Elizabeth Lindon	40	100	16	16	8	75	0	75
Alfred More	7	43	8	14	40	70	0	0
CC Dubose	600	1000	8	20	35	400	650	700
WD Villeponteaux	500	2000	40	85	100	1500	5000	2200
R. --- Smith	250	4750	0	28	13	2400	0	7000
<b>R. Peagler</b>	15	235	6	14	25	75	0	100
Jos. Shurlknight	20	120	1	2	75	200	2500	300
John Owens	40	510	6	10	45	100	0	130
Thos Birch	0	0	2	3	25	175	300	50
Susan Welch	25	118	6	9	14	80	0	0
Luke White	0	0	1	3	30	75	400	100
Daniel Huffman	40	1040	5	8	20	300	1300	75
Henry Garrick	25	275	0	2	5	150	650	20
Charles Mixon	0	0	1	2	40	125	0	200
A. Murray	25	904	4	21	80	150	2000	400
P. Murray	0	0	6	8	80	100	2000	200
K. Johnson	50	653	27	43	50	250	4500	300
Henry Phillips	21	179	8	20	30	100	750	150
N. Philips	9	140	9	14	25	75	250	75
George Anderson	100	2700	53	63	30	140	0	75
James Brown	25	171	3	4	30	100	0	100
William Markley	40	110	1	1	70	100	0	200
Isaac Brinson	70	3262	35	45	100	150	0	250
Benjamin Guerry	30	570	7	8	15	75	3750	200
Najal Mitchum	15	810	28	34	225	200	0	300
Vincent Anderson	25	195	10	17	6	80	500	400
Saml. Guerry	51	289	15	27	40	130	1000	300
Charles S. McCoy	200	9800	400	600	200	800	10000	3000
Saml. Bishop	35	115	18	30	25	350	750	200
A. Wells	50	550	4	7	50	150	1500	100
Peter Crawford	30	970	10	20	50	100	3200	200
L. Crawford	150	1265	60	140	40	300	7200	1000
WJ Johnson	0	200	4	7	45	75	0	50
Charles Barnes	80	1180	9	12	160	150	0	150

1850 St. Stephen's Agricultural Census Data (page 3 of 3)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Saml E. Calvitt	0	0	4	4	12	50	0	75
M. Rush	0	0	2	8	6	300	0	50
KS Owan	70	1230	23	30	150	200	13500	500
Jno. Brazle	50	300	0	0	50	120	0	350
Jno Hood	0	0	5	5	50	150	1500	250
A. Hood	25	27	15	28	103	125	1750	525
Saml. J. Platt	650	4150	350	650	300	900	5000	1500
W. Rodgers	50	245	10	25	30	100	0	200
Sml. Porcher	1500	1600	50	130	100	7600	0	7000
John S. Palmer	700	2300	15	35	100	2000	7500	6000
LG Deveaux	1000	1254	35	62	60	2100	26000	2960

Note: Free black farm operators in bold italics. Source: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Census, Charleston District, SC.



APPENDIX C – 1860 ST. STEPHEN’S PARISH AGRICULTURAL CENSUS

SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table C.1:** 1860 St. Stephen’s Parish Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
H. Locklier	15	285	6	6	100	150	0	150
H. Peagler	60	840	5	5	38	400	0	1000
H. Welch	10	90	5	5	20	0	0	150
S. Wiggins	15	185	7	8	100	0	0	150
A. Rupel	8	54	7	8	20	50	0	300
<b>T. Freeman</b>	14	890	20	40	30	150	0	500
<b>S. Freeman</b>	15	700	5	5	0	150	0	4500
P. Huxford	45	155	8	8	30	200	0	2000
<b>J. Peagler</b>	100	800	20	40	50	400	0	1500
WH Porcher	1500	3500	50	120	40	4000	14800	1500
BP Marion	500	1100	40	55	60	700	0	0
JE DuBose	700	2780	30	36	70	1500	6700	750
Est. SJ Deveaux	1000	1550	35	60	100	1500	6700	0
Lewis J. Eagleston	50	50	5	5	0	150	0	100
TL Gourdin	300	1900	0	1	100	500	0	0
Peter S. Goudin	1000	7600	50	100	100	2500	4500	2400
J. Jefferson	16	0	5	5	10	50	0	0
CS Edwards	20	0	25	45	150	200	0	200
SW Palmer	700	3200	25	30	150	1300	6700	2000
<b>H. Glencamp</b>	40	350	8	8	20	200	2700	300
<b>N. Lewis</b>	20	0	8	17	20	150	900	200
<b>T. Jefferson</b>	16	0	6	6	10	250	0	300
WD Bonneau	200	1200	16	14	150	500	0	1000

1860 St. Stephen's Agricultural Census Data (page 2 of 3)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
D. Huffman	35	1000	5	5	90	260	900	300
JW Huffman	40	0	5	5	30	100	900	100
E Rush	12	170	3	3	8	100	0	100
J. Smith	25	615	3	5	50	150	0	0
J. Cleckly	56	344	10	12	40	300	675	100
S. Banister	75	1025	7	7	40	50	500	200
JG DuPre	300	2400	16	31	30	800	900	1700
John Palmer	50	2950	0	0	0	100	0	300
JS Palmer	1500	4070	50	84	300	4000	2200	3000
Est. Saml Palmer	1000	10280	15	31	200	2000	0	3000
N. Philips	30	219	3	6	100	150	0	200
S Cales	15	645	5	10	40	100	0	100
JC Bishop	0	0	3	3	6	200	0	300
Wm Murphy	30	0	9	16	100	300	0	400
JW Crawford	15	280	2	2	150	100	0	100
T. Mitchum	0	0	3	3	50	0	0	100
R. Mitchum	50	450	15	30	100	100	0	100
A Wells	20	580	8	17	100	100	0	50
WJ Johnson	10	140	4	11	100	150	0	300
T Johnson	30	0	6	6	60	100	0	150
W Rodgers	15	0	7	18	200	100	0	100
JR Johnson	10	0	2	2	20	100	0	400
PC Crawford	100	1730	30	70	50	500	9000	200
Elivia Crawford	100	2675	20	30	50	200	4500	100
Eliza Crawford	0	0	4	0	50	0	0	100
L Crawford	20	280	20	30	100	200	2000	100
J. Brassel	20	330	0	0	20	50	0	100
AE Ervin	50	580	4	2	20	100	1000	150
NW Ervin	50	75	6	10	20	200	0	0
John Ervin	40	210	0	0	30	200	0	0
J Hood	20	230	8	17	60	150	900	150
Polly Hughes	20	120	0	0	0	30	0	50
J Hood	15	25	8	17	60	150	0	50
Gabriel Weathers	50	2700	9	16	100	200	4500	200
D Hood	10	240	6	6	30	100	1000	50
B Guerry	50	550	5	5	30	200	2000	100
J Brinson	5	3630	40	60	30	100	0	200

1860 St. Stephen's Agricultural Census Data (page 3 of 3)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Hood	25	25	10	20	75	250	1000	150
A Good	25	25	40	60	200	300	0	200
HE Philips	30	170	6	9	35	100	4950	300
CG McCoy	300	19400	1000	2000	200	2600	22500	3000
J Hood	10	0	0	0	40	125	0	50
D Wethers	0	2650	10	10	100	200	9000	400
J Meyers	50	200	5	10	40	200	0	200
Griffin Williams	20	6623	20	40	75	0	0	
E. Shipman	250	4955	40	60	50	800	1800	1000
J McCoy	10	0	4	7	0	0	0	50
<b><i>J Locklier</i></b>	10	693	0	0	0	100	0	100
<b><i>S Locklier</i></b>	10	192	0	0	15	50	500	50
Mathias Rush	10	20	0	0	0	100	0	100

Note: Free black farmers in bold italics. Source: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Census, Charleston District, SC.

APPENDIX D – 1850 ST. JAMES SANTEE PARISH

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table D.1:** 1850 St. James Santee Parish Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Col SJ Palmer	900	5370	4	2	140	3200	8000	4000
Mrs. Wm Winningham	0	0	0	0	22	0	0	0
Mrs. C Blake	436	2227	30	54	100	1050	1820	1748
Edward D German	100	2296	12	14	15	1060	2000	500
Mrs. R A Jerman	130	970	9	6	0	0	1700	286
Dr SP German	190	1310	12	17	25	300	595	400
Miss W Jerman	60	0	8	13	0	250	0	240
Mrs. LF Ripstein	40	0	6	6	0	90	2100	100
Mrs. Wm Butler	100	350	21	35	50	600	25597	676
Mrs. W Butler	0	100	32	37	8	0	0	0
Mr. H Blalock	10	0	19	22	16	0	0	0
Mr. J. Jervey	90	0	26	33	37	150	480	300
Mr. Leopold	6	0	7	7	15	60	800	200
<i>John Noll</i>	13	274	35	10	12	100	400	50
<i>Coker</i>	8	0	5	2	11	150	260	0
Mr. S. Mitchell	22	0	2	2	8	25	1800	75
Mr. C. Mills	9	0	8	6	30	50	475	293
Mrs. W Guerry	38	52	25	12	100	266	3375	611
Mr. B Fort	25	2554	170	105	200	150	0	200
Mr. J White	15	295	12	6	40	150	305	200
Mr. Roberts	0	0	4	2	2	0	0	0
Mr. D. Fort	30	2230	23	27	20	90	80	610
Mr. J Fort	125	2875	133	177	100	300	4800	1156
Mr. J Bunch	8	0	0	1	12	20	100	50

1850 St. James Santee Agricultural Census Data (page 2 of 3)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Mr. PD Lincoln	10	0	30	49	45	150	0	100
Mrs. M Gibbs	188	0	15	12	35	60	54000	555
Mr. R Phillips	40	1710	40	32	12	400	0	500
<b>Francis Scott</b>	10	85	30	44	120	100	640	150
<b>J. Aiken</b>	7	0	22	35	50	75	1400	40
<b>Thomas Aiken</b>	20	0	9	15	60	140	600	25
Wm. Bates	25	0	1	2	60	240	0	100
Mr. J Blake	20	180	19	8	55	90	560	50
Mrs Poythress	8	492	32	26	30	60	100	40
Mr. Wm Gaskins	8	0	56	20	50	50	0	100
Mr. W Brinson	20	150	72	35	110	120	0	130
Mr. R. Jackson	12	658	22	20	130	25	0	500
<b>Elias Cumbee</b>	15	635	32	50	120	85	720	150
<b>Robert Cumbee</b>	1	0	4	4	25	0	400	30
Mr. George Bollough	10	0	4	1	9	0	0	0
<b>Frederick Davis</b>	15	0	13	5	8	150	1000	100
J. More	9	0	8	9	9	70	300	20
Mr. A McClellan	200	400	30	70	30	900	180000	660
Mr. A Mills	10	0	5	4	0	25	0	0
Mr. A Pinner	2	0	1	0	0	20	0	0
Mr. F Rutledge	350	550	8	4	120	500	360000	0
Mr. S. Council	120	230	10	32	60	700	1710	60
Mr. S Shokes	3	97	7	4	0	20	0	0
Mr. S. Skipper	30	830	20	18	20	150	180	400
Mr. Thos. Brinson	6	194	11	4	75	65	150	35
Mr. JW Gardner	15	0	100	70	100	20	0	100
Mr. Colburn	300	700	70	130	25	600	0	300
Mr. Wm. N. Lucas	100	1100	4	0	0	200	132500	400
Dr. S Cordes	260	540	40	95	0	300	180000	500
Mr. Wm Lucas	500	2000	0	0	10	0	364500	1000
Mr. A Blake	1580	2120	50	100	60	0	725000	500
Maj. R. Lowndes	25	575	12	17	0	50	0	0
Mr. E. Doar	30	670	12	13	20	150	0	0
Dr. JG Shoolker	60	440	10	20	10	0	60000	12000

1850 St. James Santee Agricultural Census Data (page 3 of 3)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Est. Col. Thoas. Pinckney	360	440	40	38	10	1000	416000	400
Mr. SD Doar	190	380	40	38	0	650	384000	400
Mrs. E. Pinckney	40	1150	15	7	0	500	0	100
Mr. CC Pinckney	250	1000	10	26	14	200	177600	200
Mr. H. Munie	25	0	37	27	35	60	0	140
Mr. JN Nowell	507	1130	13	10	45	300	693000	3000
Est. John Alston	200	1000	15	14	10	800	323200	8000
Mrs. H. Rutledge	400	700	13	10	0	400	230000	300
Mr. A Mazyck	260	600	5	30	0	300	224000	400
Dr. PP Mazyck	386	700	10	37	0	500	384300	240
Mr. Wm Lucas	7	30	0	0	0	200	5625	1000
Revd. D. Pusken	350	1650	25	15	12	350	42000	500
Rm. James Doar	30	1300	0	0	0	0	0	200
Mr. Wm Doar	350	980	40	24	30	200	3000	1500
MR. G Hodge	4	0	8	14	8	12	800	40
Mr. Wm. Mazyck	450	1550	15	13	0	200	300000	100
Col. SJ Palmer	20	440	0	0	35	40	0	60
Dr. SJ Palmer	12	288	15	20	0	0	0	0
Mr. Wm. Webb	15	288	22	15	0	72	120	500
Mr. J. Skinner	26	474	6	14	0	240	0	420
Dr. G Gourdin	60	40	0	0	0	0	0	500
Mr. Wm B. Rose	7	742	11	11	0	70	0	0
Mr. Benjamin Philips	4	1000	4	5	0	25	0	100
Mr. Peter Manigault	43	12657	20	41	0	300	6400	760

Note: Free black farmers in bold italics. Source: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Census, Charleston District, SC.

APPENDIX E – 1860 ST. JAMES SANTEE PARISH

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

TABLE E.1: 1860 St. James Santee Parish Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
<b>Robert Cumbo</b>	15	0	6	6	30	100	900	0
Gabriel Jackson	15	105	36	54	40	150	1350	350
John E. Fort	100	4900	80	120	100	400	1350	600
RJ Philip	50	1570	40	50	100	700	0	300
<b>Francis Scott</b>	20	80	35	57	150	400	900	175
<b>Elias Cumbo</b>	50	350	20	40	100	100	0	200
Robert Jackson	40	635	10	20	100	100	0	150
James Morris	20	230	10	20	50	100	0	150
<b>Thomas Noll</b>	10	198	9	11	10	100	0	400
Charles Mills	10	568	4	4	50	100	340	300
James Doar	100	1400	0	0	0	100	0	100
William Epps	400	1100	0	0	0	750	0	0
Andrew Bailey	46	374	5	15	25	350	0	0
Lafayette Dupre	25	285	2		50	250	0	0
Vincent Anderson	12	838	12	13	30	75	0	300
David Causey	6	0	1	1	20	40	0	0
Samuel Guerry	35	815	25	46	9	300	3300	150
Henry Guerry	25	335	10	16	50	200	675	900
Henry Jackson	28	202	3	7	200	50	0	70
Shirer Jackson	9	316	2	7	50	100	0	0
Thomas Jackson	30	102	0	0	10	100	0	100
Elias Butler	100	300	14	86	56	400	0	400
Peter Lincon	10	476	25	75	70	200	0	300
William Butler	200	1536	40	160	300	1000	1800	800

1860 St. James Santee Agricultural Census Data (page 2 of 2)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
WJ Cooper	120	732	15	41	200	500	9000	400
John Bunch	12	88	0	0	30	100	675	75
Benjamin Fort	30	3070	70	428	50	400	4860	500
Isaac Skipper	40	920	16	32	40	300	9000	1000
AJ McClellan	200	1100	29	70	120	800	0	500
EF Allston	166	1834	13	19	0	500	0	500
Peter Manigault	500	10300	12	19	30	300	0	1000
WH Doar	150	1050	40	52	40	500	0	1200
RJ Morrison	160	3590	40	85	50	600	54000	600
William Lucas	900	7150	100	170	52	1500	1575000	0
Catherine Blake	200	800	12	13	50	500	2000	1000
F Rutledge	230	1000	47	27	20	500	30000	1000
Boswell Skipper	0	3800	2	6	40	0	0	0
CC Pinckney	215	1000	6	50	0	250	156000	0
James White	25	225	1	5	40	100	0	500
AH & D DuPre	500	1500	60	75	100	800	7200	2000
Ann Wesbery	100	260	10	30	20	100	0	100
PP Mazyck	60	740	15	60	0	1000	0	0
A Mazyck	120	810	15	50	0	750	0	0
BP Cobbum	600	800	30	40	0	300	49500	1000
Est. G. Shoolbred	400	650	15	30	0	1500	540000	0

Note: Free black farmers in bold italics. Source: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Census, Charleston District, SC.



APPENDIX F – 1850 ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table F.1:** 1850 St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John L. Nowell	40	760	10	20	200	400	0	1000
Alfred C. Huger	160	1167	20	80	100	700	80000	1500
John Marshal	100	4340	20	40	0	600	0	2000
John Sanders	55	1789	20	40	20	200	16000	1000
Henry Wigfall	200	642	20	80	0	200	120000	0
George Thompson	25	475	4	20	0	100	0	200
Joseph Yates	150	300	5	50	30	250	60000	1000
James B. Gordon	40	2139	5	50	0	120	0	200
SD Fogartie	100	400	7	16	20	350	40000	500
Est. Poyas	50	355	10	25	25	300	0	400
Saml. M. Hamlin	20	480	0	30	20	150	8000	100
John H. Massey	20	65	0	25	10	50	800	10
Isaac Tyrell	20	600	0	40	30	50	0	0
E Phillips	40	185	10	10	25	50	4000	150
JE Dutart	60	536	12	140	50	280	84000	600
DN Ingraham	275	3369	0	70	30	800	400000	1500
E. Ravenel	250	3212	0	30	55	500	160000	1500
Francis Quash	400	2086	0	40	25	1000	320000	1000
WB McDowal	140	1187	0	140	20	200	52000	700
Saml. Martin	50	893	0	20	20	0	0	0
<b>Jacob Bough</b>	25	235	0	80	30	120	2400	200
<b>Stanhope Fowler</b>	25	100	0	13	0	0	0	0
Jules Lachicotte	110	1840	20	80	25	200	80000	1000
<b>Andrew Anderson</b>	25	515	0	50	50	100	24000	500
Henry E. Lucas	140	1160	10	11	40	350	340000	100

1850 St. Thomas and St. Denis Agricultural Census Data (page 2 of 2)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
W. Anderson	15	540	40	50	50	100	0	100
Est. S. Lucas	172	3900	20	20	50	800	160000	1000
Jane Shoolbred	200	3464	0	43	40	1200	60000	1500
Manigault	250	3000	0	90	50	1300	108000	2000
James Cowan	220	1120	0	60	50	1200	146000	1500
RC Laurens	400	1067	10	20	15	600	140000	150
John Huger	400	700	0	60	0	600	220000	1000
NP Ingraham	250	1252	20	35	0	900	180000	1000
John Harleston	150	1567	10	15	25	800	160000	200
Nm. J. Ball	500	2104	16	60	50	2000	2000	2000
Geo. Elfe	150	180	0	40	30	350	0	1000
JR Freeman	110	620	4	45	0	450	0	1000
WR Freeman	138	420	0	35	0	400	0	1000
Thos. Heath	30	570	0	10	0	100	0	300
Miss C. Keith	124	738	8	35	0	500	0	1000
WC Gatewood	30	320	2	30	0	450	0	500
CW Mathews	100	242	0	30	25	450	0	500
Thos. Mitchell	50	250	0	15	0	200	0	500
John S. O'Hear	35	1080	0	10	0	0	0	1000
Thos. Poyas	130	185	0	23	0	400	0	1000
Mrs. Simons	50	1650	5	55	30	200	0	500
Jonah Venning	120	2506	0	70	0	200	0	1000
W. Hodge	20	950	0	80	50	50	0	100

Note: Free black farmers in bold italics. Source: 1850 Federal Census, Agricultural Census, Charleston District, SC.

APPENDIX G – 1860 ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table G.1:** 1860 St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Wright	15	0	0	20	20	50	0	50
William Gaskins	25	0	0	20	15	100	0	30
George Hodge	40	0	20	40	25	100	0	75
Richard Selby	0	2000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Henry Hodge	10	40	13	27	30	70	0	50
James Vidal	100	1100	0	0	25	650	0	100
John Poyas	150	500	7	50	12	400	0	300
Catherine Rembert	40	1200	8	20	9	200	0	100
Steven Fogarty	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
George Elfe	400	1600	50	20	70	1000	0	1000
JM Ward	100	212	0	30	0	300	0	800
CM Furman	143	257	12	0	0	600	0	600
JK Furman	110	268	0	15	50	300	0	1000
CC Keith	224	476	0	10	25	800	0	600
BF Scott	200	130	36	1	70	800	0	800
<i>Stanhope Fowler</i>	15	235	12	0	0	70	0	100
JE Dutart	150	446	40	54	60	160	60000	1000
<i>Janet Collins</i>	15	117	15	33	70	150	10000	800
<i>Nelly Collins</i>	15	117	3	3	20	125	2400	130
<i>Jacob Boag</i>	25	245	25	50	70	150	6000	200
LD Price	0	0	0	30	24	0	0	0
Eliza Martin	30	520	10	30	0	200	0	100
Thos. Cox	80	100	6	12	5	100	0	150
Samuel Hamlin	40	669	0	0	20	100	0	200

1860 St. Thomas and St. Dennis Agricultural Census Data (page 2 of 2)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /pounds	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
<b><i>AG Anderson</i></b>	71	592	15	33	30	400	19200	300
WB McDowell	160	1027	37	45	300	450	33952	600
Alx. Ravenel	250	1147	0	0	0	2500	240000	1200
Edmond Ravenel	330	6631	30	70	100	800	200000	2000
Thos. & George Sanders	200	1946	20	50	25	800	32000	700
WL Venning	50	1660	15	25	15	200	0	300
BG Venning	100	2527	0	40	25	300	0	1500
BB Simons	60	940	1	0	34	150	0	200
John Marshall	150	4535	8	20	0	500	0	500
RK Furman	100	400	0	19	25	700	0	900
Henry Lucas	500	4790	0	100	0	500	60000	400
Julius Lachacotte	50	3424	0	100	15	300	0	0
Mrs. C Mitchel	100	200	0	25	0	200	0	60
WJ Ball	800	600	0	50	0	2000	738000	4000
John L. Nowell	50	750	30	25	20	500	0	1000
Samuel Sanders	25	975	0	40	40	200	32000	200

Note: Free black farmers in bold italics. Source: 1860 Federal Census, Agricultural Census, Charleston District, SC.

APPENDIX H – 1850 ABBEVILLE DISTRICT

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table H.1:** 1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Irwin	90	110	3	9	25	400	10	40
James Evans	55	187	1	7	7	125	4	100
Jarome Cox	100	375	2	4	12	250	26	0
Federick Ives	15	145	4	3	15	20	2	0
John Robinson	200	289	8	20	50	800	8	25
Edward John Fowlers (rented)	16	0	2	3	13	80	0	30
John G. Thornton	60	248	6	16	75	800	0	10
Pleasant Morris	90	285	9	11	75	1000	10	150
Daniel Roundtree	100	320	3	6	34	600	9	0
William B. Dorn	14	120	3	1	17	120	1	5
James Carranton (rented)	50	0	3	2	15	400	4	0
Jacob Baughman	50	100	4	8	52	200	1	50
Stephen W. Willis	75	55	4	6	24	250	9	60
JW Glosier, mng. WB Dorn	85	1415	2	15	45	550	23	50
JM Glosier (Rented)	28	0	0	0	0	50	2	0
John Lyon	10	231	2	4	11	200	0	50
John Burdishaw	22	220	0	0	0	152	3	0
Samuel P. Spence	20	7	3	0	0	50	0	5
Samuel B. Cook	200	100	6	7	30	700	16	30
Henry Janer	8	2	1	1	5	70	0	20
Frederick Cook	120	180	6	10	41	462	6	40
John W. Hearst	350	850	12	40	100	1600	38	300
Wm. McCain (Mng. for JW Hearst)	500	581	8	40	100	2300	90	200
John Gable	50	50	3	7	28	300	4	4
Benjamin Blake (rented)	7	0	3	1	20	35	12	15

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 2 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
George W. Johnson, manager for A Trayton	85	75	2	3	20	500	13	20
Edward R. Mills	48	62	3	1	6	300	4	0
James H. Wideman	350	827	6	14	75	1400	35	200
John Cothran	700	600	20	50	150	4000	80	200
Elbert Stalnaker, manager for JC Perrin	400	0	14	30	100	2000	93	40
William H. Bishop	33	16	5	15	35	150	10	70
Nancy Arnold	30	20	1	1	15	45	3	100
Samuel M. Bradford	55	295	4	7	36	650	0	30
Solomon Johnson (rented)	28	0	4	6	28	200	4	15
Elizabeth Chiles	312	396	12	25	80	1200	10	75
Jane E. Chiles	220	280	7	15	40	850	32	150
William Sullivan	110	0	5	30	0	800	6	300
James M. Chiles	500	484	15	25	90	3000	53	100
Sarah Wideman	275	1325	12	21	100	1200	40	25
Rebecca Gibson	60	240	3	6	20	300	5	30
Robert W. Liles	125	239	6	10	70	600	10	50
Thomas J. Lyon	600	390	12	16	60	600	28	0
James Russell	25	2	3	2	16	100	4	30
Edwin Reagin	5	7	2	3	10	25	0	2
William C. Puckett	200	460	6	16	65	300	8	40
Jonathan B. Adamson	200	350	8	25	30	600	21	0
Hiram Jay (rented)	60	0	6	8	30	200	11	0
Allen Reagin	50	88	4	3	12	200	5	50
Eli Goodwin	7	0	0	0	4	20	2	20
William White (rented)	27	0	1	2	20	100	0	0
Margaret White	48	58	2	4	35	350	5	20
Henry R. Russell	48	78	3	2	30	300	3	90
Walter Heller	60	90	6	7	30	400	13	50
Thomas J. Edwards	26	104	1	1	8	100	3	0
Anthony Harmon	240	427	8	20	75	1350	36	100
Burrell Earnest (rented)	25	0	2	3	0	100	3	0
John Rakestraw	50	50	3	5	16	200	4	50
William Bosdel	20	60	2	0	6	40	1	10
William Thornton (rented)	15	0	4	7	14	125	0	25

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 3 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes
John Thornton	42	65	2	6	12	175	2	20
Daniel New	275	725	8	10	100	2000	40	100
Thomas Criswell (rented)	20	0	2	0	20	100	2	10
John S. Dowter	65	261	2	2	16	300	9	30
Josiah Patterson	155	376	4	6	20	700	12	100
John Gibson	40	10	2	3	12	140	8	10
George S. Patterson	60	0	2	8	40	300	10	30
Joshua Hill	115	185	3	6	40	600	6	50
Sarah B. Jones	90	0	7	4	30	500	7	100
William W. Hill	50	350	6	6	12	400	10	0
Jane G. North	225	30	8	20	40	2000	19	20
Thomas N. Duncan	40	170	3	4	17	300	2	40
John M. David	30	80	5	5	25	160	2	30
Jacob B. Britt	140	740	9	8	60	1200	24	100
James H. Britt	107	393	15	15	70	700	22	0
James G. Willard	120	645	8	11	80	800	20	200
Susan Jones	180	0	4	4	40	300	96	2
William Truet	180	720	8	18	60	700	38	50
Catherin Barwic	40	10	2	3	20	225	3	100
Dale Palmer	22	0	1	0	14	130	3	0
Rachel Palmer	35	227	3	9	15	125	1	100
Nathan Brown	40	0	3	2	8	200	7	25
Francis Wideman	55	95	2	10	25	60	11	3
Samuel Wideman	60	50	5	4	20	150	6	40
Benjamin Talbert	150	350	6	17	60	500	80	50
Hiram Palmer	65	30	5	10	40	500	8	20
Alexander Cumming	20	0	1	0	15	100	3	0
Wiliam Dillashaw	25	45	2	3	13	300	2	10
Jacob Dillashaw	55	100	4	7	20	450	9	30
Soloman Walker	100	215	4	6	30	100	6	0
Cary Patterson	60	306	3	4	10	250	3	75
Joel Whitten	18	0	2	3	10	100	1	50
Geoge Sifert for S. Sifert	300	380	8	20	100	1200	40	50
William Brown, manager	200	300	4	10	40	600	18	0
William McCain	12	0	2	4	5	50	2	80
Joseph Criswell	34	76	5	15	30	400	7	5
Nathan Landwin	80	200	5	6	30	500	7	5

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 4 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes
James Criswell	60	70	3	4	15	200	11	10
William Seigler	22	0	1	0	6	25	1	20
David Ethridge	57	81	3	8	30	400	7	80
Archibald Boyd	44	126	4	2	17	200	6	75
John MCDaniel	28	114	3	1	15	75	1	2
Samuel P. Leird	8	0	4	4	27	60	0	50
Ann Spence	45	155	4	3	10	200	3	30
June Lindsey	80	65	3	4	25	300	5	50
Archy Bradley	140	310	4	16	30	600	35	100
John Bradley	25	0	2	3	10	200	6	0
John Baughman	16	0	1	1	6	100	4	12
Josiah Patterson	50	150	5	4	30	250	3	20
Frederick Patterson	30	85	3	5	15	250	2	12
Adam Wideman	250	570	5	18	55	800	31	100
William White	22	0	1	1	9	100	2	10
John Robinson	60	78	7	8	30	100	3	30
William Robinson	30	220	2	6	20	60	0	10
Thomas Criswell	65	145	4	6	30	300	7	25
Joseph Finlay	40	70	2	3	10	250	3	25
John Criswell	16	0	2	10	15	100	2	5
Thomas McBride & A Brown	70	160	4	8	35	400	11	0
Nancy Robinson	40	105	4	5	15	300	5	25
John Criswell	65	49	3	5	20	300	7	6
Simpson Evans	25	10	1	3	12	150	3	0
John McBride	65	85	4	11	50	450	6	50
Mary Young	50	44	2	2	10	150	8	30
John H. Young	20	0	2	0	6	100	2	10
Jane and Margaret Young - Rented	0	0	2	3	14	80	1	0
George Young	55	0	3	1	25	240	6	10
Sarah W. Kennedy	75	35	4	6	20	500	15	0
Isaac Kennedy	211	489	6	20	80	1000	26	200
Delang Wilson	15	0	2	3	27	150	0	20
Patrick McCaslin	70	0	4	8	10	250	8	30
Benjamin Cason	75	65	2	14	23	225	6	40
John Witsen	118	182	7	5	10	600	13	50



1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 5 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes
Archy Tittle	300	300	9	20	70	900	28	200
<b>Jack [Jacob] Keller</b>	16	0	0	0	0	50	0	0
John B. Criswell	20	0	2	1	12	300	0	25
James Beauford	36	0	2	2	20	200	5	40
John L. Devlin	250	0	3	19	70	1200	60	10
James McFerrin	76	42	4	4	10	250	20	50
<b>Cato Coleman</b>	40	69	3	5	13	120	5	0
Benjamin Adams	10	0	2	2	18	0	3	10
George Zimmerman	160	0	4	28	50	600	25	100
Samuel O. Shoemaker	105	0	5	6	30	300	13	100
Sarah Hogan	5	0	5	3	25	0	1	0
Isiah McCormic	80	0	5	10	30	300	14	150
John McCastney	60	50	2	10	30	300	14	50
Jane H. Bicket	25	300	2	2	16	150	4	10
Maria M. Skinner	90	166	5	6	40	350	13	15
Edward Walker	30	10	2	4	25	220	2	20
George Davis	60	94	4	10	20	340	8	12
William Davis	30	54	2	1	16	250	0	12
Jesse Jester	30	0	1	1	11	100	5	20
Bradford Harrison	35	0	1	2	7	200	2	5
Tyra Jay	110	170	4	15	20	600	19	150
Allen Puckett	40	75	4	3	25	300	4	5
George McPressley	250	200	11	40	150	1400	68	200
John Russ	180	320	7	17	70	800	34	70
William Harris	100	100	6	10	50	500	11	30
Dr. Witt C. Tillotson	4	0	2	0	3	45	0	0
<b>James Wharton</b>	35	9	3	3	20	200	1	25
Margaret Harris	150	290	7	17	22	300	22	0
Samuel B. McClinton	75	75	5	23	60	400	10	600
John Bradford, manager	180	147	4	22	60	500	20	60
<b>William Marion</b>	20	0	1	2	4	70	2	20
<b>Maria Strawther</b>	10	0	3	4	8	25	1	5
Enoch Nelson	430	530	10	30	100	2000	65	10
Mary Cannon	340	141	12	15	50	800	30	0
James Frazier	100	430	16	41	150	1500	46	700
<b>John Marion</b>	55	145	3	7	26	300	3	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 6 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Bet. Herd	7	0	2	0	14	80	2	10
Robert Devlin	335	200	15	35	50	1200	50	500
John Martin	10	0	0	0	0	80	2	0
Mary and Jane B. Robinson	60	108	5	3	26	600	6	4
Andrew J. Weed	130	250	7	13	36	600	25	40
James Druman	88	300	6	11	33	700	15	150
Mathew McClinton	20	130	2	3	15	150	1	20
<i>Johnathan Strawther</i>	12	0	1	0	6	50	2	0
James Magill	12	0	2	0	5	100	0	30
Thomas Price	30	270	3	5	20	200	2	5
Henry Holloway	70	0	3	2	15	500	10	40
William M. Price	20	174	2	2	17	40	0	10
Henry Beasley	5	0	0	0	0	40	0	0
James Beasley	35	15	3	1	35	200	3	25
Robert Earnest	20	0	2	1	0	75	2	0
Nancy Price	40	195	5	4	25	250	2	150
Edward Jones	200	400	9	22	50	1200	42	0
William Beasley Sr.	40	260	3	3	20	150	0	0
William Beasley Jr.	20	0	1	0	0	100	1	0
Frederick Smith	50	112	4	6	13	200	3	12
Levi Fulmore	80	370	3	6	20	150	3	70
Andrew Hendrix	23	0	2	5	10	250	0	50
John Deason	23	0	4	1	8	300	2	50
Perry Deason	32	68	2	1	16	150	3	20
Joseph Brown	94	412	5	10	25	400	6	90
William Harmon	70	0	1	0	20	200	11	2
Peter Smith	145	80	6	10	55	700	18	40
Hezekiah Smith	55	57	0	0	0	0	3	10
William Smith	80	70	2	4	8	0	1	20
Mary Franklin	10	0	3	1	9	40	1	10
William Bradford	48	0	1	0	12	150	1	20
James Bradford	20	0	2	1	10	100	3	70
William Finley	20	0	1	0	0	5	2	0
Benjamin Carol	18	0	1	0	3	70	3	0
Allen Wicks	40	60	2	0	30	200	24	5

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 7 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Redmond Brown	36	19	3	3	23	300	4	15
Elizabeth Walker	70	190	3	5	32	370	3	0
Sanders Walker	130	270	3	4	20	500	24	0
Burton Walker	40	0	2	7	10	100	2	0
Galland Hardy	60	190	5	6	22	400	7	50
James Newby	40	50	2	6	35	180	6	20
William Headright	1	29	1	3	8	0	4	40
Eleanor Jennings	75	250	2	2	23	300	9	100
Mary Harman	60	640	4	10	24	400	3	0
Levi Firkin	40	60	2	1	7	100	2	20
Levi Banks	30	0	2	4	30	200	50	0
Thomas Ferguson	240	260	6	6	30	800	11	70
James Banks	80	97	4	5	69	350	6	60
William A. Crozier	60	132	5	5	0	200	32	300
Samuel Edmunds	300	500	12	25	100	1100	13	30
James A. Edmunds	75	175	2	10	60	350	4	40
Lydon Ford	40	0	3	2	0	100	6	20
Elizabeth Banks	70	90	3	1	10	250	1	0
Charles Banks	30	21	2	1	10	100	1	0
Catherine Martin	20	10	2	4	7	100	1	4
Amos Banks	20	10	1	3	5	50	3	20
William Banks	50	50	2	8	7	200	0	0
Jacob Holsomelack	0	0	1	0	2	0	7	30
Elias Banks	50	15	2	6	15	180	11	200
Willard Smith	90	130	7	5	27	200	14	20
James E. Martin	70	80	5	6	25	300	36	30
Faris Martin	360	1240	26	18	60	2500	36	100
Sherard Barksdale	95	0	4	2	12	250	133	100
Lewis Patterson	380	320	6	16	75	1500	27	65
LS Patterson	130	810	3	0	25	0	7	40
Peter B. Morague	130	370	4	10	30	700	65	100
Andrew Guillehean	85	170	3	12	45	400	22	10
Margaret B. Morague	300	500	12	14	30	800	38	10
Mary A. Morague	190	1110	9	12	30	500	50	100
Mary Simmons	180	120	6	11	34	700	48	200
Gabriel Cox	200	600	7	24	50	1000	46	400

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 8 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Augustus Cox	75	0	1	0	9	300	10	20
John B. Bull	300	2200	25	44	50	1000	40	30
Thomas B. Daricott (manager)	190	410	4	10	40	1000	12	30
William Richardson	30	70	3	2	20	200	0	100
Hague Lawton	30	140	3	3	5	250	0	30
Alexander Laramore	80	170	2	4	20	400	15	50
Joseph Bachelor	50	250	3	10	25	400	0	100
Edmund E. Martin	90	250	3	12	50	400	15	100
Jeremiah Gardner	60	140	3	4	20	200	10	50
Enoch Brazil	15	104	1	2	13	60	2	32
Delilah Covin	35	165	1	3	24	150	3	0
Peter Guillehean	130	300	8	12	40	600	14	100
Peter L. guillebean	48	295	1	2	6	200	11	25
Benjamin E. Gibert	65	225	8	13	75	410	6	300
Robert Crawford	20	25	2	4	17	100	1	40
Jacob Frith	14	0	3	4	12	40	0	20
William W. Walker	14	73	2	1	11	50	0	10
John Bolet	44	6	4	2	23	250	2	75
John La Roy	96	109	3	7	16	500	7	100
Champion Palmer	100	124	2	7	34	300	13	0
Peter Hemminger	39	61	5	5	20	500	11	20
Edward Calhoun	350	348	12	32	70	1800	82	200
John Guthrie	70	390	4	10	36	500	13	36
Thomas Hemminger	34	0	3	2	13	150	4	30
Joseph A. Scott	65	135	4	5	15	700	10	50
Thomas B. Scott	100	170	5	16	60	500	25	100
Susan La Roy	120	555	10	10	75	1000	25	100
<i>William Rouse</i>	60	42	1	8	4	300	2	50
<i>David Turman</i>	55	85	8	6	15	250	3	60
<i>Willy Shaw</i>	22	28	4	4	7	150	1	30
John Wideman (manager)	208	400	7	5	30	1200	50	15
William Drennon	275	235	6	6	30	800	34	50
William C. Scott	100	350	3	10	50	500	13	50
James Rampey	25	98	3	2	9	100	3	10
James McCelvy	260	430	9	25	70	1200	45	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 9 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Turner FW Taylor	20	0	2	3	9	100	0	10
Philip La Roy	144	209	5	8	30	1200	14	3
Alexander Houston	60	840	8	13	30	350	0	200
A. Houston (manager)	200	200	2	0	8	1500	20	50
William Sutherland	26	140	3	0	15	200	0	5
Lewis Covin	170	630	8	12	20	1200	16	200
John Gray	200	300	9	10	40	1000	12	100
Robert Brady	35	265	6	0	40	200	3	100
R. Brady George Dickard (manager)	250	341	6	14	30	1200	54	0
William H. Davis	25	36	3	3	16	300	0	10
William M. Sutherland	18	0	2	2	10	100	1	6
Robert Walker	21	129	2	1	1	150	8	0
Isham Muchat	30	130	2	2	16	240	2	50
Samuel R. Morrah	230	1770	8	10	0	900	50	50
George W. Robinson	10	1	2	4	8	40	0	0
June Baskin	63	137	4	6	20	350	6	50
Shepherd Cowan. John Workman, Manager	105	272	4	10	30	500	13	0
James Baskin	60	570	5	8	12	250	9	50
William R. Reid	145	217	9	2	35	300	15	50
William L McBride	75	135	4	6	26	300	17	200
William Tennant	460	740	16	25	100	1500	90	250
Archibald Burt	600	1200	15	19	64	2000	100	20
James P. Graves	25	108	3	10	30	100	6	30
Henry H. Tennant (est.)	350	310	14	11	23	800	76	30
Nathaniel Harris	120	910	10	15	25	500	10	10
Paul Rogers	200	400	5	15	25	900	18	100
Andrew A. Noble	130	599	6	6	35	550	14	20
William P. Noble	200	650	7	20	40	800	32	80
John Cunningham	350	597	10	15	60	1700	86	200
<b>Henry Forbes</b>	18	142	3	3	36	160	2	0
James La Roy	70	127	3	7	13	500	8	0
Marion Roberts	20	310	3	7	30	150	0	50
Benjamin Roberts	25	0	2	3	20	300	4	0
Ajax Armstead Jr.	300	510	12	60	40	1500	54	0

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 10 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Hugh McCorly	60	120	3	6	16	450	7	0
Frederick Conner	65	613	8	18	30	500	4	0
John L. Brough	36	100	2	5	11	200	4	60
Dury Laxon	55	245	2	4	29	300	11	50
George M Brinson	34	44	2	3	20	100	0	0
James McCorley	115	693	10	15	40	900	23	50
Thomas Brugh	80	420	5	12	22	450	14	100
Albert A. Humphries	40	72	2	4	20	250	5	30
Alexander Scott	175	500	10	14	65	1000	18	100
James W. Rather	230	1467	15	40	100	3500	92	400
Joshua Dubose	220	530	9	16	25	800	33	50
Lenesa Hester	300	200	7	12	40	1100	22	80
Samuel Hester	80	135	4	8	52	300	10	200
Robert Belcher	900	1100	20	60	150	3500	180	1000
Elisha Lyons	20	0	2	4	0	70	4	60
Jesse Curler	100	5	2	1	15	300	6	100
Ezekial Ashbell	16	0	2	5	12	80	2	10
Lucretia Flinn	50	0	3	2	1	200	6	10
John C. Scott, manager	120	143	8	12	50	750	18	100
John S. Turnbull	60	0	2	5	34	300	0	50
Samuel Baker	425	592	25	15	100	2500	75	500
John Clay	80	198	4	10	30	1000	17	80
Susan Ramsey	8	10	1	1	10	100	0	0
Sara A. Archer	45	120	3	2	35	400	5	20
George Gilbert	40	230	2	0	7	200	0	10
Joseph Mathews	65	485	5	9	50	500	3	80
Josiah Wills	100	202	5	33	30	800	28	150
Mary Weed	30	120	3	8	14	300	0	10
George Cochran	8	0	1	1	6	60	1	10
William S. Simpson	10	60	2	4	15	75	0	250
Peter E. Legard	60	0	4	4	12	200	3	35
Diagnius M. Rogers	200	450	8	35	80	1500	40	50
Moses O. Talman	180	320	8	20	70	1500	40	50
Martin H. Carson	142	74	3	6	30	400	17	50
William W. Belcher	575	825	15	36	225	4000	130	300
<b>Ralph Burnet</b>	30	0	3	2	12	100	2	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 11 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Robert McComb	80	120	3	12	50	400	8	70
William McKinney	33	7	1	4	13	250	3	0
Oliver McCaslin	200	400	8	25	78	1000	40	500
James Lesley	110	290	5	4	40	500	14	50
Stephen Lee	300	500	12	40	50	1000	60	100
William Tayler	953	247	8	30	100	5000	290	200
James Conner	111	167	5	6	35	400	18	10
William McCalsey	95	235	3	6	65	800	30	0
John A. Mars	250	300	9	20	120	1300	45	200
Herbert Baricott	200	250	9	20	80	600	48	100
James McCaslin	200	525	11	29	40	600	25	200
Aldem Cole	50	63	3	8	20	150	10	20
Joseph F. Lee	140	305	4	20	30	500	30	30
John E. Foster	280	320	12	14	60	1500	40	150
Robert M. Craven	75	125	5	6	12	300	20	75
David Morrah	190	568	5	6	80	900	65	50
Hugh Middleton	140	120	4	10	30	500	29	15
Martha and Anna Wilson	50	112	4	7	20	350	0	10
Stephen Gilbert	250	390	12	10	90	900	40	20
Otis Litteshaw	48	68	2	1	20	300	5	0
Letha Farm and Cowan	120	1450	5	20	80	900	1	200
James Martin	50	117	6	11	6	250	5	20
Legare B. Guillebean	35	78	4	6	20	200	4	20
John O Hays	85	65	9	8	24	650	19	50
Nixon Willard	40	38	2	9	25	300	0	0
<b>Sarah Reed</b>	5	0	1	4	14	20	1	3
Uzah Wideman	120	230	5	15	40	600	22	100
Benjamin McKitrick	280	720	12	16	75	1000	58	0
Daniel Mathews	40	180	3	6	25	300	8	50
Vincent McCelvy	55	245	3	4	20	400	8	0
Joshua Wideman	100	300	5	10	50	700	21	0
James Harvey	30	170	3	6	20	100	8	20
Milly and John Harris	175	325	7	6	50	1000	23	200
Samuel Cowan	150	390	8	16	50	1200	18	200
Margaret Wideman	320	680	14	22	100	1400	50	50
William Cook	32	68	3	3	20	250	1	10

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 12 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Cason	120	200	4	7	30	450	14	200
Thomas Dowton	375	639	12	16	100	1600	50	300
Giles Burdet	25	0	2	1	18	60	1	1
John Wideman	83	285	7	10	75	700	0	75
John Wideman	230	320	5	10	30	700	40	0
William K Bradley	260	442	10	15	75	1200	45	100
Wade Cowan	90	133	3	6	28	400	13	100
Wilson Watkins	65	194	5	6	50	400	11	30
Archy McFarlin	66	65	4	7	30	250	10	20
William Watson	100	250	3	8	16	400	14	30
James Bearden	97	21	2	5	17	200	5	10
James McAlister	15	65	1	4	30	50	1	0
Richard A. Martin	246	477	9	19	75	1000	52	250
Archy Kennedy	130	446	6	15	50	500	16	150
David McClain	95	75	5	10	37	400	13	60
John Faulkner	95	32	5	6	25	250	4	20
Walt Hogan	12	0	0	0	12	50	2	0
John Bradley	200	300	4	12	60	800	20	200
Alexander McCaslin	150	240	7	3	25	250	15	50
William Hunter	37	38	2	2	12	200	1	6
John Hunter	50	110	2	4	25	250	1	20
William McCaslin	90	180	5	10	25	400	18	100
Nancy Kenon	60	40	4	3	12	170	3	0
Robert McDonald	10	140	2	0	12	50	0	0
Samuel Link	60	100	4	7	20	400	8	20
James Clatworthy	15	0	2	3	15	70	0	10
Nathan McAlister	10	0	0	0	0	75	0	0
Thomas M. Glasy	45	30	2	2	20	200	3	40
George W. McKinney	24	160	2	1	10	65	2	5
Robert McKinney	40	100	1	0	20	240	6	0
Henry Bently	97	59	4	7	15	400	6	30
James W. Moore	38	109	3	0	3	50	2	0
George Lanier	45	63	4	1	20	350	12	12
Alexander P. Robinson	43	5	3	3	20	200	1	20
Jane Fulton	48	54	3	4	20	150	4	20
James M. Walker	25	0	2	3	0	100	4	0



1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 13 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Thomas Lanier	55	45	4	4	20	200	10	68
James Shanks	25	52	3	1	16	200	2	100
William Burdet	50	90	4	3	25	400	3	20
James Powel	33	0	1	2	3	60	2	15
Kelsey Burdet	25	0	2	0	1	70	2	0
Houston Mackenier	25	0	0	0	0	150	1	30
John W. Wilson	50	10	4	6	30	200	19	100
William McDonald	30	0	3	7	30	300	4	40
James McClain	75	125	6	8	25	400	11	0
John Brown	45	55	4	4	40	200	9	0
John W. Wilson	25	0	1	2	7	70	2	15
John Free	45	70	4	2	15	200	6	20
Samuel Jordan	535	1865	14	19	120	1000	46	300
Alexander Connor	313	187	4	10	45	600	46	30
James Foster	46	54	2	5	30	300	3	40
Thomas McDill	71	74	3	8	30	400	18	100
Catherin Douglass	25	75	2	9	12	200	7	0
William McDill	30	48	2	2	6	100	5	30
James Lesley	68	132	4	2	25	300	7	20
James McCastney	75	75	5	7	45	550	12	20
Joseph Bridges	20	0	2	3	20	150	1	10
<i>David Wilson</i>	10	0	2	1	13	80	1	10
John Shillito	18	0	4	3	15	100	0	20
James Parkinson	5	0	0	1	0	50	0	5
William Reynolds	52	0	4	2	17	200	4	10
Starling B. Dean	32	0	3	5	24	130	3	35
William J. Hammond	58	65	5	9	54	400	4	50
John M Hamilton	45	0	2	4	20	200	3	30
Maringer P. Shoemaker	86	219	2	3	30	250	5	30
Miriam Riley	50	150	4	5	16	300	2	20
James Edwards	75	125	2	8	9	200	8	20
Joseph Edwards	16	0	1	1	12	100	1	12
James A. Edwards	30	0	2	1	18	125	3	20
John Douglass	100	50	4	10	30	250	4	15
James H. Hutchinson	25	0	2	2	16	100	4	40
Mary McCastney	30	40	2	1	6	150	6	0

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 14 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Riley	29	21	1	5	14	150	5	0
David M. Wardlaw	90	85	6	6	25	400	18	0
James and John Kilam	50	250	3	4	0	70	3	0
William Adams	90	287	2	2	30	500	16	50
John W. Ramey	75	0	4	3	10	200	8	100
Thomas Fulton	75	220	8	2	30	200	8	100
Hugh Armstrong	70	130	5	5	10	300	6	150
Jane A Carey	88	55	4	7	30	400	10	150
Isabella Mathews	100	265	5	6	35	350	11	50
Nathaniel J. Davis, Manager	110	270	2	0	9	40	15	0
Nathaniel J. Davis	230	220	8	15	50	800	31	100
Jane Miller	17	0	2	3	3	60	2	20
Thomas McCrackin	20	0	2	0	8	30	5	0
J McCrackin, manager	70	80	4	8	12	250	31	20
John A. Hamilton	110	72	6	11	40	600	10	40
Lavinia McMillian	50	20	3	4	17	200	4	100
Andrew A. Kennedy	25	27	4	4	6	125	1	40
Thomas E. Owen	200	600	6	15	60	800	31	100
John Adams	200	700	8	20	100	1400	28	100
Edward Vann	10	0	2	1	3	100	0	15
Henry Adkins	41	79	4	5	25	300	7	10
Henry D. Statt	20	0	2	4	12	100	4	40
Elizabeth Butler	26	0	1	1	20	100	1	0
Absolam Gray	160	396	7	9	50	700	22	300
Robert M. Palmer, Manager	125	302	5	25	50	0	0	0
Robert M. Palmer	420	440	8	40	80	3000	130	100
Thomas W. Thomas	325	275	4	29	37	1600	95	50
Elias Parker	610	600	10	34	150	2000	105	100
John A. Calhoun	930	866	20	30	200	4000	125	180 0
James A. Norwood	870	580	20	35	175	5000	175	120 0
Asberry Ramey	92	0	3	4	10	400	7	20
Thomas Hinton	89	681	4	4	25	400	6	20
Sarah Ramey	68	52	3	4	20	400	6	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 15 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Betsy Stephenson	20	0	2	2	6	80	2	10
<b>John Cline</b>	45	0	2	2	15	100	5	15
James A. Andrews	35	165	6	5	30	150	2	0
Peters Charles	20	0	0	0	18	100	1	20
John Charles	60	215	3	6	50	200	2	18
Eli Thornton	45	147	4	2	20	200	1	5
Martha Alexander	25	25	2	4	19	100	2	10
Peggy Riddle	20	80	3	4	20	80	0	11
Henry Reed	102	203	7	0	30	400	11	50
Nathan M. Stickland	66	84	9	4	35	200	0	20
Andrew McClain	52	54	5	4	40	200	3	50
John S. Dale	40	45	3	5	23	250	2	50
John S. Reid	325	559	7	10	65	1800	40	150
Sarah D. Wilson	45	46	2	5	14	200	5	40
Elizabeth A. Pettigrew	70	280	4	10	30	350	6	40
James A. Richey	49	0	3	4	11	150	4	20
John Patterson	60	117	3	1	38	400	13	12
Rachel Lanier	15	213	2	0	5	100	2	0
Mary S. Dori	20	0	2	3	11	70	2	30
James H. Cobb	188	584	12	30	50	1000	50	300
Joseph Ligon	44	200	3	6	25	150	1	50
George M. Morrah	35	183	1	1	10	150	1	0
Edmund Cobb	89	145	6	6	45	500	19	50
Robert A. Crawford	30	0	2	0	30	200	3	25
John A. Crawford	50	198	5	3	40	250	4	100
Levi Hillborn	56	291	3	8	76	200	3	5
James Taggart	300	700	12	50	50	1600	45	200
Ebenezer Hillborn	16	54	2	1	1	75	2	0
Arthur Irwin	15	130	3	2	12	200	3	0
James F. Morrah	25	0	2	1	13	60	2	0
Salem SC McLaw	35	170	4	8	19	280	6	15
William Gallagher	4	0	1	0	7	290	0	15
John Link	100	400	5	10	50	550	10	100
LeRoy J. Johnson	180	335	5	16	34	750	30	75
Richard Simpson	30	0	3	3	6	100	4	20
James D. Oliver	6	0	2	5	0	35	0	0

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 16 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Samuel Dale	58	115	3	9	16	300	6	20
James Williams	130	270	8	6	35	550	13	30
Andrew Edwards	120	880	4	10	20	500	30	50
Charles Evans	35	175	2	2	11	200	0	5
Martha Huey	61	177	3	7	20	250	6	50
Thomas Cobbs	65	135	5	3	43	300	11	20
James Gilbert	203	211	6	16	60	700	14	15
James Martin	25	50	2	4	11	125	2	10
Elizabeth Summer	25	150	3	4	16	75	1	20
Mary Bass	30	100	6	8	40	200	4	60
James Pursley	133	467	5	15	50	800	25	50
William O. Pursley	75	125	3	5	20	300	11	25
Robert R. Pursley	17	0	2	3	12	125	6	0
Henry Penny	46	114	4	8	25	400	2	25
Samuel Lockridge	67	55	4	4	40	200	3	30
Christian Barnes	110	890	8	25	50	500	14	70
Blasingame Hodges	15	0	2	0	0	30	2	40
Alphus Barnes	45	55	2	6	20	200	8	20
George Penny	52	48	3	2	0	220	5	50
Michael S. Mann	100	50	4	8	18	250	15	50
Mathew Edwards	40	60	1	3	30	250	2	25
William M Sale	70	190	2	6	30	200	20	100
Alexander Stephens	75	55	6	4	30	425	10	60
Catherine Timmerman	140	160	6	13	30	700	10	70
Thomas M. Morrah	97	188	5	12	20	600	16	50
Samuel A. Wilson	67	100	4	8	35	300	6	75
Jane Cameron	50	80	3	2	25	200	1	40
The Misses Wilson	40	60	4	6	20	200	1	20
John W. McComb	100	0	6	10	40	250	16	0
Andrew Mantz	240	260	12	0	50	1200	36	50
Harmon Stephenson	100	70	5	2	20	250	16	75
Henry A. Jones	130	440	4	10	40	800	10	200
David Wardlaw	24	460	2	0	20	120	0	10
DL Wardlaw (manager)	575	1875	20	35	120	4000	100	100
Foster Marshall	384	1100	8	19	110	1500	78	80
Jane Allen	70	315	3	3	30	400	0	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 17 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John F. Livingston	60	152	3	4	50	200	0	100
JF Livingston, Manager	250	507	10	30	60	1200	25	150
Joseph Wardlaw	200	547	10	10	40	1000	29	250
James Alston, manager	549	2471	22	67	215	6000	117	500
James Alston	10	190	3	0	19	50	0	0
James Alston and Mary Clark	100	415	5	12	20	500	9	60
Joseph F. Moore	80	0	5	8	12	500	5	35
John White	170	785	9	21	75	2000	37	120
James B. Dendy	50	114	2	5	20	300	0	10
Elizabeth Lyon	170	217	5	20	40	1000	28	100
Benjamin M. Farland	35	130	4	7	45	250	0	20
Robert H. Wardlaw	30	220	6	4	20	100	0	150
RH Wardlaw, John Fell (manager)	370	400	5	15	105	1500	29	300
Charles Dendy	495	955	20	60	110	2000	38	250
Thomas C. Perrin	30	150	2	4	20	200	0	100
TC Perrin, JS Cheatham (manager)	300	1300	15	65	80	2000	73	300
TC Perrin, E. Stalmaker (manager)	380	720	10	40	90	2400	90	250
Charles H. Allen	4	5	2	5	5	15	0	3
James Perrin	12	33	1	0	8	100	0	0
McNell Furman	32	250	5	3	11	50	0	50
Andrew J. Hems	210	280	10	20	70	1200	23	300
Mary Frazer, S. Gilman (manager)	300	205	10	15	50	1800	18	200
John A. Wier	15	0	1	0	8	0	0	0
Thomas Jackson	15	608	4	6	20	200	0	0
William Wardlaw	150	40	5	0	30	800	16	150
John Davis	6	1	2	4	0	60	0	0
Lucian H. Lomax	215	357	5	8	70	1000	45	400
Edmund Noble	50	0	2	2	0	400	0	0
James Thompson Sr.	140	860	7	5	50	1000	15	200
James Thompson Jr.	15	85	1	0	0	150	0	3
William Hughey	75	199	5	3	30	233	4	10
David Lesley	100	800	6	20	60	1000	12	0

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 18 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John McLaren	21	80	2	2	14	1300	0	0
James H. Tuten	76	94	3	5	16	300	0	50
Jordan Ramey	70	234	2	4	22	250	5	0
Poor House Farm	75	262	6	5	29	600	0	50
William Richey	35	293	2	4	18	250	0	60
Wesley Posey	95	0	5	7	50	600	3	25
Lewis Gillespie	56	144	5	15	22	400	4	15
Benjamin Martin	200	420	8	12	60	600	52	200
John W. Lesley	200	300	4	4	100	1200	26	100
Elizabeth Richey	114	282	4	17	46	700	8	10
John Richey	50	210	4	7	20	350	4	20
Robert Wilson	41	59	2	1	24	200	6	50
Tolbert Cheatham	106	60	7	10	20	300	16	100
Susannah Brooks	242	451	6	12	65	1200	44	50
Andrew Gillespie	100	375	8	9	65	700	24	50
John H. Gray	252	0	6	8	23	500	12	100
John Gray	157	509	4	16	25	800	18	150
William Prennel	30	145	2	0	8	100	0	20
William Haskel, W. Pennel (manager)	300	400	6	10	52	1400	78	0
Andrew Gillespie	40	84	4	4	3	180	3	20
John L. Boyd	470	630	9	15	50	1600	42	100
William Purdy	66	273	7	8	40	300	1	150
Francis M. Brooks	160	276	5	5	65	800	25	50
John McLaren, D. Ansley (manager)	200	0	6	10	75	700	55	0
Charles B. Griffin	100	75	3	4	18	400	10	50
James Spence	80	220	2	10	40	400	8	0
Thomas Griffin	100	71	4	5	30	500	10	50
Joseph Aiken	200	514	4	15	110	1100	23	150
Joel J. Lepford	150	197	5	15	85	1000	25	100
John Parnell	265	695	8	17	80	1000	40	150
John Donald	95	62	5	15	50	500	12	100
A & JM McCoy	66	73	4	10	40	450	19	60
La Roy Wilson	54	176	3	9	14	400	9	50
Lemuel Reid	115	430	4	10	60	700	13	20

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 19 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Nancy J Bowie	37	343	4	10	20	200	0	30
William Lesley	250	470	10	20	70	1200	37	200
Matthew Cochran	35	60	2	2	13	100	3	15
James McClinton	80	210	3	8	30	300	10	50
Washington Cochran	101	259	4	12	14	400	4	50
William Means	200	125	5	16	65	500	12	100
James Liddell	300	900	6	26	60	900	32	60
John C. Martin	925	2000	25	75	200	3300	150	100
Sarah Kennedy	30	0	3	2	15	150	2	50
James J. Kennedy	10	0	2	4	15	60	0	0
George B. Clinkscales	235	385	3	17	60	1200	26	100
Reason W. Kay	140	230	4	10	25	700	18	5
James Kay	210	150	9	15	50	1000	25	100
John Cunningham	100	161	6	12	100	800	9	50
Edward Smith	43	29	2	1	10	100	0	0
Charlotte A. Cobb	25	100	2	2	5	225	2	0
<i>Milly [Macoffin] Macopin</i>	30	0	2	1	0	80	2	0
Robert McNair	150	150	5	20	50	800	16	50
John Swilling	197	443	8	14	100	1000	33	70
Stephen D. Kay	130	330	6	26	50	800	21	100
Aaron W. Linch	150	150	8	6	150	1600	0	90
AW Linch, John Young (manager)	350	100	6	25	105	2000	60	50
Benjamin Cunningham	125	85	2	6	30	800	35	0
William Sanders	130	178	6	4	30	500	25	10
Richardson Tribble	105	111	5	15	35	1000	18	100
Kiziah Latimer	125	195	2	7	40	300	14	20
Stephen Latimer	100	88	6	12	60	1000	25	100
Sarah Wire	63	317	3	5	40	200	1	20
James Wire	50	0	2	5	17	200	0	30
Ann Smith	20	105	2	2	10	100	1	0
John & Ann Ashley	26	149	1	2	14	100	1	15
Margaret Burnett	10	40	2	3	10	40	0	16
Ephriam Alewine	50	0	2	4	14	170	4	40
Hugh M. Prince	175	60	6	12	60	650	18	50
Hugh Prince, George White (manager)	115	585	0	0	60	500	18	0

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 20 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Black	130	345	6	15	60	300	20	50
William Morrow	30	45	2	3	15	100	2	20
Hugh M Prince Jr	30	45	1	0	14	125	5	50
Levi Branson	155	300	5	4	40	300	8	100
Mary Bowen	61	139	1	1	14	200	1	0
Thomas J. Hill	115	305	4	6	30	400	16	200
Joshua Ashley	60	440	5	20	50	1000	10	100
William Anderson	105	573	3	5	45	500	4	0
Ezekial Tribble	200	320	3	15	50	1000	36	0
William A. Fleming	60	16	1	2	20	300	3	20
Joseph McAlister	40	0	2	4	4	450	1	30
Joseph Bell	238	762	4	10	40	450	43	40
Sterling Brown Jr	150	221	2	5	20	400	14	30
Samuel W. Walker	72	58	2	8	24	300	5	60
Betsy Fleming	35	32	1	3	12	250	2	15
William B Martin	55	77	2	2	12	280	6	20
John Campbell	64	186	2	1	20	400	4	40
John W. Hodge	27	0	1	2	12	100	1	50
Robert H. Hall	150	282	5	15	60	550	5	50
John Carwill	37	29	2	4	8	200	2	50
Frances Robinson	60	0	3	2	12	325	6	50
Robert Harkness	145	302	4	7	15	500	12	20
John Brownlee	440	860	8	25	100	2000	62	400
Henry F. Power	300	450	6	8	60	1500	30	0
Harden Frazier	55	50	2	13	30	350	18	300
Elias Kay	68	410	3	5	30	400	3	40
William Moore	45	64	2	1	20	200	2	20
Thomas Hodge	70	230	5	4	20	300	4	20
James Hodge	50	108	0	0	13	150	3	0
Lucy B. Brown	28	12	1	5	30	150	3	12
Stephen Cunningham (agent)	20	220	3	6	20	200	0	50
John McCurry	102	40	3	6	30	500	8	30
William McCurry	12	48	1	3	6	60	1	20
William C. Ferguson	30	0	1	2	20	150	3	0
Isham McCurry	49	0	2	1	2	84	0	30



1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 21 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Obediah S. Cann	22	57	1	6	14	150	3	40
Jesse W. Cann	23	77	2	1	12	100	2	20
James Campbell	30	5	2	5	12	300	0	6
John McMahan	26	26	2	2	22	200	3	20
Rogers McMahan	100	200	2	2	30	100	11	100
Richard S. Holloman	153	7	3	0	80	600	18	0
Charles Ferguson	32	168	3	5	16	250	5	50
James Fisher	60	116	2	4	20	400	3	100
Thomas McAdams	34	0	1	1	10	150	2	0
M--M. Dixon	35	0	1	2	11	225	4	50
Robert Suckey	38	100	2	4	16	300	3	50
Daniel Boyd	16	158	3	4	12	80	1	30
David Murdock	56	44	1	2	16	200	3	20
Robert Boyd	46	97	2	6	15	300	2	60
James F. Cook	48	27	1	4	5	70	1	20
Mara Hall	64	236	1	1	24	250	5	50
George W. Hall	28	0	2	0	10	150	2	50
William Cook	30	0	2	2	13	80	3	60
William Stuckland	63	0	3	4	34	300	5	30
Robinson B. McAdams	85	109	2	10	35	500	8	60
William J. Stokes	33	917	2	0	1	125	5	15
Walter S. Johnson	65	170	4	8	28	400	2	50
William Crowther	60	140	4	5	12	200	4	0
James Crowther	75	0	6	6	15	500	10	40
Benjamin Stricklan	25	0	3	3	3	60	3	20
William Dickson	50	349	2	13	16	200	2	40
William Mann	70	130	3	2	20	500	4	20
William Cochran	26	76	1	0	0	200	0	0
Alexander More	22	0	2	2	2	200	2	15
Alexander McAllister	50	125	5	4	42	500	10	150
Obediah Campbell	81	275	4	6	60	800	14	300
<i>Andrew Volantine</i>	40	0	1	3	15	100	7	40
Henry H. Baskin	225	190	6	30	50	1200	23	250
William S. Baskin	70	215	3	5	40	500	9	30
Jane A. Frazer	73	127	4	6	30	600	12	70
William A. Lesley	80	70	2	4	25	400	11	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 22 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Cy Bowen	46	154	2	3	14	300	7	60
Murdock A. Bowen	15	0	0	0	9	100	3	0
James Young	45	0	3	3	13	200	5	60
Mary McMahan	70	11	2	4	45	350	6	60
James Dawson	35	108	4	4	8	150	5	0
Gilbert G. Dawson	100	185	0	0	35	800	14	100
James McDill	40	0	1	3	40	200	5	50
Gunn W. Huckabee	265	1075	9	12	80	1000	54	350
William C. Campbell	60	270	8	5	15	300	6	50
John Campbell	20	0	1	1	12	100	3	35
William P. McCurry	20	0	1	3	10	60	4	0
Robert Lesly	80	188	7	8	30	600	8	50
William E. Daniel	100	257	3	3	15	500	15	50
Michael J. Williams	275	562	2	12	56	500	10	8
Danby Wanslow	150	140	1	8	40	450	10	100
Vincent Radcliffe	58	192	6	4	20	350	9	25
Robert J. Smith	170	179	5	12	80	800	16	100
James P. Bozeman	160	323	4	4	55	600	18	150
Payton Y Prince	25	0	3	4	7	100	5	20
John A. Martin	725	488	25	35	200	2000	110	200
William M. Smith	140	134	5	6	60	800	16	0
Jonathan Johnson	215	108	10	24	60	1200	62	0
David F. C. Ashby	275	306	4	10	150	1500	72	300
Benjamin Huger, DFC Ashby (manager)	725	175	10	25	200	3000	131	0
<b>Stephen Baily</b>	25	0	2	2	12	50	2	5
Benjamin Barksdale	12	0	2	1	6	100	0	3
Sephen O. Rembert	250	210	4	16	16	0	0	0
Jacob Martin	210	240	10	11	60	1800	34	150
Francis Moore	114	200	6	13	50	750	18	0
Andrew Giles	400	521	7	16	55	1500	35	75
Samuel Hill	37	50	1	7	12	150	0	0
Thomas Cunningham	177	230	6	14	50	600	12	100
Alexander Hunter	470	1250	8	22	80	2340	134	700
Peter Gibert	100	0	3	3	25	500	23	20
John Power Sr.	20	980	2	7	15	160	0	10

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 23 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Eli J. Davis	63	0	3	2	12	135	0	100
Joseph Lesly	90	115	5	8	33	400	2	20
William Campbell	54	30	2	4	24	500	0	30
William R. Campbell	46	174	2	6	34	300	2	40
Sterling Williams	190	240	4	8	50	500	13	100
Roger Williams	100	0	3	7	50	500	11	10
Francis Clinkscale	340	600	10	40	120	2000	72	100
John Power Jr.	145	200	6	6	36	600	23	75
John Clinkscales	180	620	4	12	40	1100	42	50
George A. Miller	260	259	8	22	200	1600	50	150
Clinkscales Miller	246	267	8	22	100	1200	30	220
Albert J. Clinkscales	225	325	4	25	75	1000	41	100
John Giles (incumbent)	49	120	2	3	20	200	7	15
Edward Tilman	300	600	8	30	90	1600	44	150
Arthur Cheatham	395	305	10	27	80	800	65	50
McDuffie (manager)	1620	4080	20	100	150	6000	375	1200
William H. McCew	556	2444	18	40	200	2800	120	400
Francis E. Witherspoon	195	471	15	45	100	1500	33	300
John Barkin	112	92	11	22	25	400	15	100
Alexander F. Dinlish	140	260	4	19	55	500	15	70
Michael Speed	250	261	12	18	80	1500	50	0
Henry Mosely	280	536	5	16	60	1500	46	50
Thomas A. Mosely	80	0	1	3	25	256	8	0
Littleton Yarbrough	200	240	10	15	50	900	36	500
Margaret Cowan	70	278	6	6	65	400	7	100
J. Edward Calhoun	450	9550	30	47	46	2500	70	150
William J. Lomax	350	1150	10	11	130	2500	105	400
Lewis A. Arnold	15	0	2	1	9	100	6	0
John S. Anderson	10	0	2	0	15	50	3	0
George Graves	350	370	8	20	140	1800	64	50
Sugar Johnson	310	452	5	35	70	2000	40	100
James ES Bell	150	470	3	15	45	500	26	50
Jesse D. Paschal	56	0	1	0	20	200	6	0
Sarah B. Paschal	200	375	4	6	80	800	10	50
Laforte Abner	50	0	2	5	54	300	11	0
Susan C. Ruford	350	550	12	20	80	2000	41	400

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 24 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James H. Barksdale	50	0	2	3	20	250	10	30
Mary Norwood	126	115	6	8	42	400	18	100
Banister Allen	1500	1000	18	63	200	7000	60	1400
Josiah P. Giles	75	300	4	8	23	500	12	5
Margaret Moore	70	120	6	3	4	250	11	200
<b>Anthony Green</b>	50	0	3	2	14	50	3	0
Nathaniel Cunningham	80	0	9	20	50	500	15	0
Ansel Swingers	315	185	4	8	65	1000	51	30
William Speer	330	970	6	20	100	1200	36	200
Absolom A. McCord	40	0	2	2	17	200	10	25
Henry Campbell	15	0	3	0	0	50	2	0
James M. Speer	100	0	5	7	40	650	9	100
John A. Speer	101	0	6	10	29	500	25	75
Mary Mosely	135	320	8	15	40	900	19	200
John M. Mosely	255	225	9	10	100	1000	32	200
Thomas S. McBride	18	0	2	2	6	80	0	20
William H. Calwell	120	200	7	24	60	600	22	300
Ezekial Speer	100	200	5	10	70	800	25	0
Stephen H. Tucker	110	290	4	7	50	500	12	40
Martha Tucker	140	100	5	18	50	600	26	100
Peter S. Burton	120	341	5	20	50	1000	27	70
George McCallum	400	755	8	30	175	1200	50	40
Major M. Clark	200	150	2	17	65	1200	64	500
MB Clark, A Cowan (manager)	300	670	2	0	50	1500	70	0
William Young	295	687	12	23	80	2000	53	100
James Sutherland	23	0	0	0	3	50	5	0
Robert Hutchenson	155	272	6	16	100	1500	43	100
John A. Grant	23	0	0	0	4	50	4	0
James Bowen	20	0	1	8	10	150	4	30
James Grant	65	0	4	3	20	450	8	50
Ralph Harden	35	0	1	0	10	160	3	30
Isabella Harden	130	356	5	11	50	700	12	100
Martha Scott	60	0	3	4	15	50	1	100
James Beasley (incumbent)	24	176	2	3	20	200	3	80
James M. Young	120	330	5	12	50	800	24	80
Clement Latimer	97	119	3	8	36	400	15	100

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 25 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Freeman W. Bells	70	0	3	2	15	500	7	0
Caleb Burton	84	106	3	6	22	350	14	40
David Mecklin	85	165	3	10	35	350	8	30
John C. Mauldin	230	195	4	12	50	0	0	0
Archibald Mauldin	50	0	2	8	30	600	20	400
Mary Sawyer	20	0	1	5	12	60	0	10
Thomas Deal (incumbent)	46	92	5	6	15	200	6	20
Andrew Sutherland	26	0	2	4	4	70	1	15
John Eaton	20	0	1	0	8	50	1	10
John Vanhorne	17	0	0	0	1	80	2	15
James Boles	47	73	3	9	20	170	6	20
Josiah Burton	20	70	2	12	20	350	16	0
James M. Latimer	60	0	2	0	18	0	0	0
James M. Latimer Sr.	275	472	10	15	70	1400	33	600
Thomas F. Caldwell (Manager)	171	637	5	15	40	600	17	100
William A. Shaw	54	0	3	1	11	150	4	50
Joseph Manning	45	0	3	10	20	50	3	30
James C. Harper	146	554	7	10	63	900	13	40
Henry Harper (manager)	165	635	5	30	70	1500	29	40
William M. Bell	90	33	4	5	48	400	13	0
Alexander Oliver	151	200	4	9	80	1000	18	100
Francis Carlile	91	49	3	10	37	500	12	100
John Oliver Trust Est.	310	1040	10	30	120	2000	31	30
Agnes Robinson	200	447	5	11	60	700	8	30
Albert Keown Sr.	46	154	5	4	25	200	3	20
Albert Keown Jr.	24	0	1	0	8	70	1	0
Rhoda Evans	22	0	2	3	10	85	2	20
Henry Simpson	16	0	4	5	0	200	0	20
Samuel Hall	30	0	3	2	24	250	0	0
John Brown	160	491	5	14	48	1000	11	200
Andrew McCurry	50	50	2	1	5	140	3	100
Wade Dennis	60	0	1	1	0	300	4	50
George Pettigrew	210	294	4	4	35	400	22	20
William J. Patterson	26	0	2	3	5	200	3	25
Benjamin Kay	133	586	5	8	25	800	22	150
Robert Simpson	87	114	3	5	30	400	4	0

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 26 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Samuel A Hutchenson	20	120	1	2	7	70	1	5
Angus B. Lockey	30	0	1	0	5	50	0	0
Archibald Mauldin	125	243	4	10	25	500	20	30
William Mauldin	41	139	2	5	35	200	4	50
<i>Cely Harper</i>	20	0	1	2	10	100	2	40
Arthur A. Bowie	55	85	2	3	24	250	4	100
Cornelius Dupre	45	101	4	6	12	260	1	30
Alonzo WB Butler	32	0	0	0	8	112	2	0
Margaret H. Robinson	75	275	4	6	25	500	6	30
William Patterson	10	0	1	4	12	150	0	15
Lomax Patterson	30	52	1	3	19	250	5	20
Mary Boyd	22	0	3	2	12	100	2	100
George Patterson	50	50	3	6	20	100	1	4
James K. Carlisle	30	49	2	3	11	250	3	15
Isaac Carlile	75	54	4	7	52	500	12	200
Charles Allen	110	66	5	12	72	1500	26	50
James Allen	140	88	2	13	70	1250	31	30
John Crawford	66	109	3	10	32	400	4	20
Sarah Patterson	35	75	4	3	11	200	6	40
Margaret R. Carlisle	32	148	1	2	15	100	2	50
Hugh Maxwell	25	275	2	10	20	75	0	100
Joseph Groves	156	550	6	6	60	550	17	20
August Groves	56	449	5	6	40	480	6	100
William A. Pressly	130	210	4	14	60	600	22	200
Samuel Mitchell	22	88	3	5	15	200	0	0
Joel Lockhart	210	348	4	10	75	1500	6	100
James Donnely	155	217	6	10	40	500	7	200
John Speer	375	804	6	30	150	1100	43	400
Alexander P. Arnold	100	60	3	5	21	800	0	50
Agnes Baskin	25	0	3	3	17	125	0	0
William Saunders	50	45	2	8	5	200	0	15
Thomas Cunningham	100	150	3	5	30	550	17	0
James Gant	75	125	2	4	5	50	4	20
Richard Caster	75	115	4	7	28	500	0	50
William Barksdale	68	52	3	1	19	300	8	40
Richard Kennedy	44	106	3	3	18	150	9	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 27 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Kennedy	44	106	1	3	19	150	9	50
Joseph Kennedy	38	262	3	5	18	200	6	30
John A. Kennedy	25	0	0	0	0	100	2	0
Samuel Baker	141	197	2	4	65	500	22	0
Joseph Baker	350	260	7	15	75	2500	50	250
William B. Scott	93	210	3	4	28	340	10	60
Michael Kennedy	91	359	5	10	40	700	14	100
Elijah White	100	340	8	13	75	800	14	20
J--. M. Davis	415	260	6	19	70	2000	65	200
William C. Crosby	135	61	5	6	50	600	21	150
William R. Seawright	22	0	1	3	22	200	0	30
Thomas Taylor	120	185	8	8	50	700	17	100
Sarah Young	42	0	3	5	5	300	4	0
Cary Pain	40	10	2	3	14	300	2	100
Ephriam W. Hampton	42	88	2	1	14	300	2	50
Hezekia Strk	35	455	3	30	30	400	20	40
William Hampton	38	158	2	6	16	100	3	5
James S. Gassaway	50	51	3	4	25	250	3	30
James P. Holliman	125	65	5	10	40	250	16	10
John McKee	50	50	3	6	32	300	4	300
Alexander W. McKee	40	42	1	0	11	150	3	40
James A. McKee	16	0	1	4	8	100	1	100
William J. Campbell	25	90	2	4	21	200	1	20
John Patterson	55	105	2	14	21	400	6	50
John Davis	140	167	7	16	27	600	22	60
Michael McKee	46	255	4	7	30	300	3	30
William Burton	40	113	2	2	10	300	2	25
David Callahan	95	460	2	12	19	600	15	15
Jane Fisher	130	200	5	8	25	350	6	40
William Fisher	21	0	0	0	4	70	1	0
Heziah Fowler	50	80	3	0	12	150	4	30
Hugh Robinson	105	281	5	6	40	700	3	100
Roberts	25	0	2	0	12	120	1	5
John Shirley	30	159	1	6	12	150	1	30
Shirley	60	82	2	12	20	200	2	30

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 28 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Clinkscales	165	220	7	8	30	800	24	40
William Carwile	15	0	2	0	4	50	1	10
David Duncan	25	0	1	0	4	60	2	0
William Fields	20	0	2	2	3	200	3	30
Joseph Murdock	30	0	2	1	6	200	2	10
David L. Murdock	35	215	3	2	22	200	3	40
Bartholomew Nitts	64	36	3	8	10	200	4	10
Robert Hinton (incumbent)	30	0	3	3	10	150	1	25
James Nelson	40	82	3	1	16	100	3	20
Nathaniel Pearson	38	76	1	5	20	200	1	15
Lee Parkinson	100	326	4	7	40	300	6	150
Johnathan Wakefield	72	208	3	6	20	300	3	50
John Callahan	48	0	2	7	5	100	6	30
Abram Haddon	76	136	3	5	28	300	9	20
Jack Barton	163	967	10	10	55	800	13	150
James Crowder	30	370	2	2	9	60	2	2
Thomas Millford	30	95	4	0	18	170	0	50
George Millford	53	331	4	4	9	300	4	100
Thomas C. Millford	43	0	2	6	8	200	2	50
John M. Millford	50	0	2	3	13	150	1	25
Payton Jones	100	113	2	4	48	400	5	100
Sterling Bowen	95	45	2	7	25	350	11	0
William G. M. Williams.	36	126	2	2	12	200	2	20
David Russell	40	160	2	6	25	200	2	100
George W. Bowen	85	219	2	4	25	300	7	50
Elizabeth Black	130	470	5	12	40	1000	25	100
Wililam Shaw	45	156	2	5	10	150	3	20
William McAdams	45	0	1	4	10	150	7	20
Shaw Haddon	170	330	8	5	60	1000	30	20
Andrew Alman	47	0	3	1	10	140	3	20
John Haddon	70	530	5	8	37	400	9	60
Sophia Hamick	60	25	3	5	20	400	1	50
Ashby	15	0	1	1	7	200	1	15
James Davis	140	300	6	12	50	550	14	100
Albert Johnson	150	131	8	8	60	750	18	5



1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 29 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Kay	101	216	9	14	28	800	22	100
William Pratt	125	191	4	7	40	600	20	100
Elizabeth Pratt	135	265	5	10	30	500	14	75
Pratt	100	216	5	8	30	500	8	10
Brooks	224	206	6	8	40	1500	36	50
Ashley Jr.	80	67	3	4	21	250	2	20
Ashley Sr.	25	108	1	0	4	150	2	10
Joseph Hawthorne	110	217	9	10	50	750	8	100
Elizabeth A. Hawthorne	115	231	3	5	20	800	12	150
Thomas Shirley	20	73	2	1	5	100	1	10
John Mustin	59	91	3	1	25	200	3	20
Mary Wright	15	16	1	0	0	75	1	20
Bowie Doyla	80	109	2	5	35	350	3	100
James G. Branyon	40	236	3	3	18	150	2	50
HB Bowie	60	136	4	5	15	160	3	75
Asa Bowie	20	30	2	4	15	120	2	60
William B. Bowie	75	211	4	6	17	400	5	50
Betty Wilson	35	90	4	4	25	125	1	50
James Carlisle	30	75	2	4	12	60	4	50
Jesse Carlisle	65	0	1	6	16	350	8	0
James A. Hawthorne	40	64	2	3	14	75	5	40
Robert Carlisle	30	82	2	3	12	150	1	25
Nancy Martin	27	333	1	0	3	125	1	10
William Magill	10	0	2	3	10	75	0	0
Ann Sharp	60	240	4	5	30	200	4	100
William Agnew	100	164	5	10	40	500	11	100
Robert Sharpe	240	220	8	14	55	1200	22	150
David W. Hawthorne	180	360	7	10	50	1000	18	100
Thomas Hawthorne	100	73	7	8	30	600	15	40
Charles Cullins	60	148	6	4	40	250	5	40
George Freeman	50	0	4	5	35	300	5	10
Andrew Agnew	80	183	3	6	30	400	11	30
James Swain	25	0	2	4	12	100	1	50
Nicholas Wise	80	0	5	10	20	400	10	0
Abner H. Magee	220	630	10	30	60	1300	18	100
James Vandiver	30	0	3	5	25	200	3	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 30 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Killingsworth	120	0	3	5	30	400	8	50
Alexander Ladson	100	127	4	10	40	300	3	0
Mary Whitley	75	225	3	2	20	300	4	60
AS Jones	300	400	12	28	70	1400	40	300
SJC Pinckney Jones	160	475	5	12	45	500	8	25
James K Vance	280	600	10	20	60	1000	45	75
Marshall Sharpe	150	450	8	10	60	1000	16	100
Felix Rodgers	82	177	5	12	35	500	10	100
William Hodges	100	300	5	13	35	600	8	25
Marshall Hodges	40	0	2	8	20	150	4	25
Enoch Agnew Jr.	120	330	6	8	30	400	18	25
Samuel Agnew	100	325	8	10	40	500	30	100
Cpt. Samuel Agnew	180	340	5	15	40	600	18	150
Alexander Agnew	68	120	4	6	28	250	10	25
Ann Swain	150	150	8	20	40	600	12	100
William W. Anderson	50	178	2	6	40	250	1	75
Joseph Agnew	140	160	5	10	40	600	18	0
Edward Roncy	110	190	6	8	40	250	6	50
William Dunn Jr.	200	372	8	7	70	800	21	100
John Drake	43	90	4	3	20	300	6	15
Jane Wallace	110	153	8	10	30	500	6	75
Andrew Dunn	50	450	3	1	20	200	7	10
George Wallace	15	112	1	1	10	75	2	20
James Ball	40	108	2	5	20	300	10	50
William Dunn Jr.	140	300	2	18	60	700	2	30
George Nickles	200	800	7	25	60	1200	40	0
William Stephenson	35	89	2	5	11	250	7	20
Jackson McKee	100	235	4	10	30	250	7	30
Price Bowie	60	84	3	4	30	300	3	0
Catherin McKeown	90	93	5	6	30	400	3	30
Edward Heagan	170	290	6	9	50	700	8	20
Henry B. Nickles	46	47	2	3	18	200	22	50
John Heagan	75	0	2	2	15	150	20	0
Mary Hawthorne	65	235	4	14	25	300	8	15
John M. Hawthorne	30	0	5	8	40	200	8	5
Samuel A. Agnew	140	141	5	10	29	500	3	40

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 31 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Lorenzo Wright	40	0	2	3	12	130	6	20
John Johnson	70	174	6	9	50	700	7	20
William Dunn Jr.	100	225	4	12	40	500	20	100
Malinda and Alfred Agnew	260	500	8	27	75	1000	3	0
James Agnew	270	255	8	16	60	1300	3	100
John C. Williams	130	300	5	9	48	800	4	20
Benjamin Smith	120	530	4	20	60	800	25	150
Ezekial Rasor	300	1100	15	25	100	2000	20	250
James C. Rasor	70	42	3	5	25	580	13	30
William Ware	300	1400	12	16	70	1800	70	200
Washington Ware	14	186	1	2	2	50	5	30
James Shaw	80	0	5	12	30	700	2	10
Richard Maddox	450	2800	12	60	200	2700	20	100
Jane Kirkpatrick	280	0	5	8	40	400	4	20
William Wilson	90	130	7	5	28	300	8	60
Alexander Hughes	60	41	3	0	27	350	25	50
Thomas Robeson	5	14	5	4	6	25	0	50
David Robeson	100	125	5	8	40	400	2	20
James Gilmer	120	280	8	12	40	450	8	30
Jane Robertson	100	84	4	8	30	400	3	0
Archibald McCord	120	100	4	6	30	750	1	15
Robert Gilmer	20	0	2	1	10	75	0	100
John Luther	52	22	2	4	15	200	11	100
Mary Hill	90	0	1	0	3	500	30	200
Jown Townby	75	118	5	5	14	300	4	40
Samuel Irwin	84	316	5	7	25	300	8	80
James Irwin	30	0	1	10	25	150	5	75
James Cunningham	45	55	2	1	17	250	5	50
John Davis	150	180	5	25	25	600	25	25
Sarah Pace	160	110	6	20	30	800	4	50
Shepherd Stewart	200	567	7	23	40	800	14	50
HM Wardlaw	50	150	5	4	25	300	6	20
Samuel Lomax	225	200	3	7	20	400	5	10
James P. Bowie	78	0	1	3	13	200	15	50
John McKewan	130	320	6	15	45	650	2	80
Thomas Hagin	85	90	5	6	20	400	5	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 32 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
David Keller	195	516	10	25	80	700	14	100
<i>Jabez Story</i>	85	0	1	0	10	200	35	50
Thomas Gordon	100	175	4	6	25	200	18	100
David Hanna	80	140	5	8	32	450	14	100
James L. Cobert	90	350	4	6	35	500	14	100
Thomas J. Roberts	165	356	5	20	60	550	25	100
John Hawthorne	80	66	3	9	30	400	4	25
William C. Hall	120	286	4	4	27	400	21	100
Joseph Dickson	518	1482	20	50	175	3000	42	200
William Allquire	35	0	3	3	7	150	3	0
William C. Nickles	125	0	5	2	20	150	30	130
Margaret Richey	120	350	7	13	50	1000	3	50
James Blain	130	270	6	14	50	400	8	0
Enoch Burmore	160	900	3	20	55	700	4	75
Mary Burmore	47	100	4	8	25	300	0	50
Samuel Donald	105	345	5	10	35	700	3	75
John McKewn	30	0	1	2	20	100	5	100
John Donald Jr.	170	830	6	24	100	1000	3	25
William Donald	90	335	5	5	21	500	28	75
John Miller	100	175	5	5	23	400	40	100
Ebenezer E. Presley	125	445	13	28	48	900	22	150
James Cowan	270	545	9	15	65	1000	12	100
James Hawkins	30	70	1	0	0	140	0	12
Catherin Mubly	30	0	2	0	8	100	1	0
Reuben Clinkscales	90	123	3	6	40	700	12	100
John Clinkscales	210	1890	8	34	120	1500	27	60
John Bell Wharton	30	120	4	3	41	160	4	100
John M. Briant	57	126	1	4	20	180	4	50
Moses Smith	25	0	1	2	6	150	2	2
Aaron Ashley	40	100	2	4	15	200	3	10
John Barnes	44	262	2	3	14	150	1	50
Robert Tucker	30	25	1	2	10	150	3	15
Adam Clamp	45	0	3	0	17	300	8	50
Bagget Callahan	82	104	4	6	30	600	11	40
Esse Tribble	152	400	4	12	40	800	12	50
James Carwile	52	148	2	4	12	300	7	30

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 33 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Samuel Callahan	28	117	1	3	12	150	2	15
Dempsey Callahan	68	0	2	3	24	400	6	60
Robertson Ashley	55	0	1	0	12	250	3	20
John Callahan	220	430	7	15	75	100	32	200
<i>Eliza Rouse</i>	15	0	1	4	14	100	2	30
Sarah Gant, George Ricketts (manager)	60	150	1	10	24	300	4	30
John Duncan	17	0	0	0	0	100	5	0
William Duncan	104	303	1	10	31	650	16	50
Benjamin Less	55	0	2	2	7	150	2	20
Reuben Branyon	63	297	2	6	10	150	2	50
Abner Branyon	75	109	1	6	13	200	4	25
Thomas K. Branyun	65	204	3	6	30	300	3	20
John Branyon	45	55	2	5	21	150	2	50
Rueban kay	58	72	5	5	12	300	3	30
William Armstrong	160	575	8	24	70	1000	10	200
Thomas Mann	30	0	2	1	4	100	1	50
Wilden Purman	85	215	5	14	30	1000	7	30
John Shirley	36	157	4	5	21	130	1	50
John R. Shirley	70	126	4	12	40	400	0	40
John Kay	178	272	5	13	42	400	3	33
Richard G. Kay	48	51	3	4	15	200	3	10
James Cullins	37	77	2	4	24	200	2	50
James H. Headdon	45	233	3	6	12	300	2	30
Lemuel W. Tribble	200	434	8	16	50	1200	18	150
William Clinkscales	100	209	6	3	45	500	13	75
Elizabeth Duncan	40	90	1	1	8	180	2	10
Samuel Mitchell	15	0	2	2	20	60	0	8
Gabriel M. Mattison	110	490	4	8	45	400	4	100
Bennet McAdams	54	28	4	8	40	600	6	40
Charlotte McAdams	40	60	3	6	30	600	3	30
Joseph Burton	60	73	2	4	25	200	1	30
James McAdams	52	105	3	8	8	250	6	20
Marshall M. Stansel	2	2	1	2	2	60	0	50
Robert H. Branyon	38	0	1	3	20	150	2	10
John R. Wilson	200	540	6	15	60	700	13	200

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 34 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Robert Ellis	270	1030	12	26	150	1600	47	100
Lorenzo R. Wright	23	0	2	3	15	120	2	20
John McLain Jr.	65	335	4	5	20	300	3	50
Nancy Martin	40	110	2	2	7	120	0	12
William Martin	50	50	2	3	14	300	3	20
Thomas Sims	140	660	4	7	15	350	8	50
James McLain	37	0	2	2	21	150	2	15
Nathaniel Hughes	35	73	1	7	16	150	3	20
Hezekiah Hughes	35	73	3	8	19	150	2	25
James Hughes	40	56	2	2	18	200	2	20
Benjamin Shirley	21	104	2	1	8	350	2	50
Arthur Williams	68	362	4	6	14	300	3	10
Nimrod Williams	10	0	1	2	1	30	1	20
George Williams	20	0	1	1	9	100	1	0
Jesse Williams	16	0	1	1	2	75	1	6
Martin Shirley	63	147	4	7	20	300	3	20
Isaac McLain	41	0	4	2	12	125	2	0
John McLain Jr.	48	0	3	7	13	200	2	20
Robert McAdams	115	35	4	6	20	450	12	100
Zachariah Carwile	46	0	2	3	15	150	1	80
Nancy Shirley	140	458	6	5	20	800	12	150
Richard Shirley	60	178	4	5	22	200	2	40
Jane Branyon	50	150	2	10	15	200	2	50
Stephen M Tribble	80	260	3	9	26	400	6	25
Zacariah Jones	60	40	1	1	20	150	6	120
Delila Mitchell	63	62	3	4	20	500	5	40
David Moore	80	150	5	10	20	400	3	50
Mary Moore	30	0	2	1	3	140	3	10
Thomas Branyon	70	290	4	5	25	450	1	20
Samuel Bratcher	27	0	1	2	6	100	1	100
Robert Brownlee	130	574	7	15	60	1000	14	60
Samuel Martin	60	175	3	7	16	300	4	30
Robert Martin	106	0	5	5	15	500	3	100
James Ricky	160	554	8	5	35	750	6	15
James Seawright	90	220	3	10	25	500	10	30
Isabella Kay	200	863	10	15	45	1000	1	10

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 35 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Charles Kay	55	62	3	1	12	200	1	0
Elgan Kay	75	253	6	5	22	300	2	30
Sam Bixby and Son	210	632	7	20	75	1200	20	100
Turner G. Davis	30	114	2	4	15	250	1	15
John Dunlap	40	30	2	0	10	130	1	50
William Stone	20	24	1	0	14	50	1	20
Keason Posey	50	111	3	4	18	150	1	20
Henry Maddox	35	143	2	2	6	300	1	15
Eliza Mattison	300	610	10	23	49	1222	7	50
Vincent Mattison	37	0	2	5	13	171	0	30
Patrick H. Isom	19	0	1	2	1	60	0	20
David Donald	65	162	3	4	27	700	7	10
John Donald Jr.	93	365	4	5	25	500	10	5
Hough Magukin	60	40	5	3	30	300	3	20
Larkin Barmore	170	450	8	10	45	1000	17	50
Jackson Barmore (manager)	75	617	4	4	20	400	9	30
Valantine Young	57	103	5	5	26	300	4	20
Mary Moore	15	65	1	0	6	100	2	10
Mason C. Henderson	70	90	4	10	30	500	11	40
John Mouldin	50	61	3	5	20	300	2	20
Robert Seawright	80	136	3	12	25	450	0	20
Robert Woods	45	39	3	4	26	86	2	100
June Seawright and Son	125	337	3	2	40	900	10	60
Benjamin Richey	24	76	2	1	8	250	2	0
Reubin Long	40	53	3	3	11	200	2	60
Jesse Maddox	22	0	2	4	10	100	1	20
William Richey	110	155	3	18	30	700	18	30
Henry Richey	60	105	3	5	20	200	5	15
John Gaines	30	0	3	3	8	100	0	6
Nimrod Richey	55	100	3	4	18	250	4	20
Nancy Robinson	150	158	7	35	60	1200	14	70
Temiz Piles	52	0	3	10	35	200	2	5
William Moseley	150	250	7	14	60	500	17	0
Benjamin Moseley	130	90	5	6	45	800	16	100
Mary Stone	15	75	4	3	10	40	0	10
John Dunn	37	99	2	7	12	150	2	15

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 36 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Gideon Stone	50	150	4	3	22	225	5	50
Bazzel Maddox	32	0	2	5	5	200	4	10
William Robinson	205	510	8	12	60	1000	11	80
Wesley Manley	120	131	6	5	40	400	11	50
Benjamin Owens	35	0	3	3	40	200	3	0
Haywood Davis	17	0	0	0	7	100	1	5
Ira Moseley	62	96	2	4	20	300	4	13
James Johnson	190	760	5	10	75	1000	16	100
John Moore	80	70	5	5	20	600	5	0
Adah Reves	100	150	7	8	40	600	3	50
William L. Martin	65	75	3	7	47	300	1	50
James Dick	37	80	2	3	10	200	1	0
William Long Sr.	25	155	4	2	15	300	0	20
William Long Jr.	120	100	6	14	30	400	6	100
Daniel Gent	75	930	0	0	0	100	1	0
George Mattison	220	880	5	12	30	1500	6	50
Beauford Lawson	40	0	2	3	10	100	2	30
James Thomas	38	0	1	0	10	100	2	40
Alexander Austin	170	248	2	12	40	800	16	60
Edwin Nabours	26	0	1	0	15	300	1	10
John Smith, James Brooks (manager)	150	550	1	0	25	1500	13	20
Clement Latimer	150	500	9	11	100	1000	15	50
John N. Young	82	114	4	8	35	450	3	150
James Pressley	52	28	3	4	20	100	0	20
James Lindsay	250	750	8	30	100	2300	20	30
Robert Wilson	40	10	2	0	20	100	0	200
Andrew C. Hawthorne	150	340	10	20	85	1000	0	100
Robert C. Grier	5	1	4	1	14	100	0	20
William R. Hemphill	9	0	3	0	10	60	0	20
Robert Sharp	86	159	2	8	24	400	13	20
John B. Richey	30	0	2	3	9	40	0	10
James A. Sutton	100	109	4	8	35	500	1	100
Robert A. Archer	150	0	4	15	45	600	9	50
James Lyon	30	21	2	0	0	250	0	0
James Richey	400	1120	8	12	50	1000	25	100



1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 37 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Enoch Agnew Sr.	240	722	7	14	75	1200	30	150
James Martin	160	122	3	7	35	500	10	60
Esther and Mary Murphy	40	150	4	6	15	300	2	40
Ann Brownlee	55	200	3	5	35	350	3	30
John Haddon	40	40	3	5	20	300	3	20
John E. Ellis	200	430	6	13	60	1000	20	80
Mary Wright	20	10	2	3	12	75	1	10
John L. Ellis	360	400	11	20	65	1200	50	100
John Pratt	220	144	7	15	50	1000	32	200
Robert Pratt	140	75	3	10	36	700	20	20
Patrick C. Haynes	200	500	5	14	65	750	13	30
James Fair	400	718	14	30	100	2000	82	20
Robert Cranford	176	616	6	7	36	700	16	100
Robert Wenn	60	190	4	8	40	400	8	50
John Miller	90	110	6	8	30	700	13	50
Hamilton J. Miller	130	120	6	12	40	800	17	100
Frances L. Kay	200	173	7	12	30	800	42	100
Allan J. Miller	205	595	9	15	75	1200	22	200
Andrew Winn	90	218	6	4	20	500	11	60
William M. Newel	30	60	2	3	20	175	2	40
Thomas C. Botts	88	42	7	5	29	500	5	100
Henry Sharp	30	49	2	0	12	50	1	20
Frances Sharp	30	75	2	1	18	140	2	0
William T. Newel	35	105	3	5	20	250	3	75
Samuel W. Cochran	34	170	2	4	13	300	0	40
Hannah McComb	170	270	8	15	50	800	16	200
James McComb	43	100	2	3	8	250	2	40
Samuel Robinson	54	66	4	4	19	150	6	10
Alexander G. Hagen	44	61	2	2	12	150	3	20
Samuel Reid	200	800	10	8	60	900	13	100
Thomas Crawford	287	538	6	12	52	1300	40	0
John F. Simpson	70	30	2	4	8	200	8	5
John Given	70	165	4	19	30	250	10	10
Robert Swain	60	300	5	5	20	200	2	20
James and Andrew Stevenson	62	280	3	8	25	250	8	30
John C. Stevenson	35	0	1	4	8	175	2	15

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 38 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Thomas Stevenson	25	114	1	2	8	100	1	20
Peter Henry	95	205	4	6	25	300	6	0
Ed. Sharp.	55	145	2	7	30	150	4	25
Rebecca Stevenson	75	368	2	6	30	500	8	60
Joseph Ellis	130	167	6	15	60	900	20	75
William Ellis	35	280	0	2	0	200	1	0
Zackariah Hadden	40	40	4	5	20	200	7	20
Abram Hadden	145	155	7	15	40	700	7	100
George Brownlee	135	265	6	7	50	500	5	20
David McWilliams	110	265	6	11	40	600	10	100
Mary Hagan	80	295	6	4	4	300	13	40
William Gordon	85	218	7	4	18	300	6	20
Hezekiah Bowie	60	340	3	7	25	350	0	25
Galliams Winn	35	204	3	4	20	120	4	50
Robert C. Gordon	520	1674	13	74	70	3000	93	300
Lucretia Ruff	150	369	6	10	60	500	11	70
David Ruff	16	0	1	1	9	100	0	10
William? Hall	70	295	3	7	30	550	0	100
Hezekiah Dryman	20	0	0	0	0	150	0	0
William McIlwain	75	110	5	10	26	500	7	12
Benjamin Cochran	30	0	2	6	28	150	3	10
Thomas Eakins	200	540	9	32	80	2000	45	100
Robert Richey	80	200	5	4	20	500	2	50
John Prier	25	0	1	9	2	25	0	10
William Morrison	140	180	6	11	30	600	11	15
James Morrison	40	0	3	5	10	300	4	20
John Richardson	35	140	3	4	15	225	6	30
William W. Fife	50	70	3	3	22	350	2	15
Rebecca McKinzie	10	0	1	2	10	75	0	20
Gordon Martin	63	140	3	4	30	250	1	100
James McIlwain	90	285	5	11	20	450	4	40
Benjamin Eakins	160	365	5	10	36	600	18	100
John Robinson	70	0	6	2	30	140	0	10
Micheal Wilson	57	0	3	3	17	360	3	60
John H. Russel	18	0	2	4	20	150	0	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 39 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
George W. Russel	53	50	3	3	30	250	2	0
James McCree	72	86	5	4	38	400	0	100
James A. McCord	102	258	4	1	18	300	10	15
Charles W. Wilson	75	236	3	1	26	350	7	15
Joshua W. Wilson	20	0	1	0	8	60	2	20
Jerusha Helan	30	10	2	2	24	200	1	15
William Murphy	25	0	1	1	20	125	2	30
William A. Lomax	73	194	2	4	3	260	0	0
David Adkins	145	182	6	7	50	900	20	60
John Lites	30	73	2	6	23	300	10	0
Thomas J. Douglass	130	260	4	6	30	500	4	200
John McCord	175	325	4	10	40	700	11	30
John R. McCord	60	0	1	4	16	200	3	15
William Lomax	150	350	5	7	40	300	15	20
Joseph Norril	30	0	2	4	23	200	2	20
George W. Cromer	180	170	4	15	57	1000	8	150
Philip Cromer	215	116	9	13	100	1200	20	150
John Keller	110	400	8	10	60	600	16	75
J. Keller and John Clark (manager)	200	202	6	12	40	1000	29	20
Joseph WW Marshall	180	820	9	15	130	900	23	100
Lucinda Augustus	220	1780	16	30	235	3500	124	400
John Adams	150	250	4	12	60	300	40	100
Abraham Liles	300	900	10	30	120	1400	40	100
Jesse Donald	50	30	3	10	18	300	3	30
Francis Adkins	160	90	8	14	75	800	20	0
AJ & NJ Ansley, William Ansley (manager)	100	250	3	6	40	350	16	30
William S. Wharton	365	535	7	16	70	1000	47	0
James J. Devlin	280	320	8	17	46	800	15	30
John Devlin Sr.	200	200	8	24	65	500	8	30
Daniel Adkins	44	160	3	4	25	200	3	30
James Adkins	44	57	3	6	30	275	5	30
David Adkins	25	61	0	14	40	200	0	20
James Devlin's est. Lockey Purdy (manager)	175	75	3	7	50	300	16	40
Bartlet Jordan	365	465	6	8	100	1100	54	150

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 40 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jonathan Jordan	525	635	9	24	175	1800	60	300
Nathan Gunnin	10	0	2	4	23	100	0	50
Robert Drennan	140	110	7	10	40	500	18	100
William Lyon	111	312	4	8	25	400	17	100
Lewis Rich	36	59	4	3	22	250	3	0
John B. Martin	20	0	3	1	9	150	0	10
Lewis Smith	200	400	5	16	40	600	22	15
Alexander Donald	3	0	2	0	6	0	1	30
Eli Branson	60	72	4	2	17	275	4	30
Margaret Wardlaw	100	115	7	7	60	500	10	50
Henry Wiley	40	14	2	4	25	400	2	45
James Fell	12	73	0	0	10	100	1	5
William Fell	34	0	5	10	20	300	3	15
William Gibson	61	26	4	1	21	200	8	50
David Wiley	175	185	6	2	30	500	10	15
James Richey	40	13	1	2	3	450	1	60
John McCrary	50	170	3	14	25	300	4	15
Uriah Calvin	35	17	3	4	12	300	6	10
William Butler	80	164	5	10	45	400	12	50
James McGerns	15	0	0	0	0	75	0	0
Theresa Supford	140	230	10	20	60	600	15	60
Samuel and Benjamin Wilson	75	85	2	0	29	500	12	40
Robert C. Wilson	105	78	8	18	36	400	20	100
Thomas Chiles	400	1496	12	55	100	2810	57	50
John McClallan	400	928	10	24	90	1800	17	200
John McClallan, manager, John McDonald	35	508	1	0	8	750	0	0
Charles Spurill	128	234	7	8	30	500	20	100
Joseph Doler, B Beauford (manager)	180	116	7	6	30	800	14	0
Mary Walker	34	24	2	7	24	120	3	10
Daniel Danby	20	40	2	4	10	20	2	10
James Rayborn	30	0	1	5	10	50	6	10
Elihu Sproull	85	90	3	7	35	200	10	50
Rebecca & William Barr	300	400	7	25	20	1000	32	100
James Carson. Th.Smith (manager)	200	529	2	12	30	800	25	0

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 41 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Carson	180	200	10	15	100	700	8	50
James M. Carson	60	170	0	0	35	300	14	25
William Smith	550	1950	15	25	150	3000	65	500
John Burnett	150	400	6	18	45	700	10	100
Silas Ray	105	495	5	15	53	600	15	300
Frederick B. Logan	40	0	4	2	15	100	3	15
James P. Martin	70	100	5	12	40	400	6	50
James Tolbert	155	88	5	15	55	700	15	30
John Adams	125	0	4	4	0	300	15	20
James Hughey	140	77	6	11	55	800	8	200
Ephriam Davis	120	230	5	2	55	400	10	20
John FM Davis	40	144	1	0	0	100	5	10
Henry Riley	70	170	5	4	30	400	10	70
Jacob Rykard	48	194	3	8	37	300	4	40
Isaac Logan	25	0	2	4	18	110	0	10
Rachel Hughey	150	150	7	4	55	400	17	20
Isabella and James F. Talbert	185	200	4	8	40	600	17	70
Thomas Riley	82	241	4	6	25	400	10	30
Burt Riley	56	94	2	6	19	300	7	20
Anderson Riley	230	570	10	20	70	1000	33	70
Wilkinson Motes	35	0	2	3	4	100	3	10
Nitus Malone	20	0	2	3	10	100	3	5
Martha Selby	63	87	4	6	30	150	1	5
Sarah Edwards	20	20	3	0	7	100	1	10
James M. Edwards	62	18	2	7	27	250	6	20
Henry Boozer	225	410	8	20	50	1000	50	200
James B. Black	30	65	1	0	8	150	1	20
Levi Rykard	62	188	3	6	25	300	6	20
Elizabeth Cobb	180	220	3	4	30	900	16	30
Willis Smith	20	0	2	3	0	200	2	5
David O Hix	20	0	1	4	10	150	1	100
Edmond E. Rykard	20	0	1	2	13	120	4	20
Andrew J. Logan	150	550	4	6	40	600	14	50
Robert Anderson	40	60	3	3	20	200	8	20
Edmund Anderson	50	144	3	5	16	200	6	30
J.Lipscomb. Levis Strawhorn mg	235	965	4	23	50	1000	35	50

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 42 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Lamuel Marshall	900	2132	22	55	410	4000	84	400
John Foster	250	550	8	6	100	1200	30	150
Joseph Marshall	162	287	10	18	82	700	19	150
Robert Kearns	25	0	1	0	6	75	1	0
William Rees	30	0	2	0	10	100	5	0
James J. Morrow	140	225	6	18	60	700	20	0
Edward Wastson's Est. SJ Cook (manager)	380	720	14	25	415	1600	54	125
Samuel J. Marshall	416	1670	15	40	125	1600	60	5
David Watson	20	0	1	0	13	100	10	20
Richard Watson	380	867	14	16	225	1800	90	150
John Hearst, est. Joseph Hugh (manager)	380	495	12	15	80	1800	40	25
George Marshall	550	805	10	25	100	1910	46	100
John Anderson	155	75	5	1	45	500	13	115
Nancy Beasley	102	213	5	9	60	450	10	60
Mary Rykard	145	305	11	8	50	800	14	100
Peter Rykard	65	105	4	7	20	400	8	40
Joshua Jones	316	661	9	24	100	1700	29	800
John Scott	100	50	4	6	35	400	12	40
Enoch Simmons	180	20	4	7	50	600	24	50
Potense Wallis	180	0	3	1	36	800	50	20
James Watson	775	717	15	40	80	3500	100	50
James Watson. B Sale (manager)	460	401	7	40	80	1500	90	0
James Watson. JB Lucas (manager)	390	271	7	40	90	1700	120	50
James Watson, Rumsell (manager)	335	590	5	20	75	1000	60	0
Benjamin Sale. J. Malone (manager)	200	65	5	7	30	550	20	10
Larkin Rynolds	500	472	12	27	140	3500	70	250
Vincent Griffins' Est. WW Bullock (manager)	430	370	14	60	150	2000	35	200
John McKellar	170	394	6	6	90	800	35	70
John McKitt	70	50	2	12	45	300	12	10
John P. Burratt	560	1140	12	30	100	1800	70	500

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 43 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Brooks	600	1200	10	25	100	3000	84	500
Stammer P. Brooks	540	1260	14	30	220	2500	107	500
Nathan L. Lipscomb	150	110	2	5	40	600	28	0
Joseph L. Marshall	150	150	5	15	50	1000	26	100
Nancy Waller	125	195	5	18	40	500	14	100
Elizabeth and Wm H. Gains	150	50	6	8	20	400	14	100
James C. Ray	100	150	3	5	40	400	10	100
William J. Lomax	160	280	5	8	60	600	16	0
John A. Partton?	230	370	15	18	100	500	60	500
James Blake's Est., CA Blake manager	175	100	4	11	30	400	15	200
William N. Blake	520	180	6	12	52	1000	40	300
Andrew Logan	205	756	6	15	50	700	10	30
Thomas Ware	450	375	5	20	100	1500	10	100
Thomas B. Bird	600	1068	20	24	250	4000	122	100
Thomas Coleman	250	222	8	20	60	1200	49	70
John Tharp	25	75	3	3	15	250	2	50
Charles R. Moseley	200	91	2	3	12	500	10	0
Thomas Chatham	740	1340	15	34	200	2500	90	150
Albert Waller	175	313	10	25	80	1250	3	650
Allen Vance	100	130	6	15	30	600	0	200
Stanley Crews	230	625	8	22	200	1200	20	100
Richard M. White	60	140	6	1	40	300	1	300
Martin Hacket	600	525	15	40	225	3500	75	15
Ephriam R. Catham	200	425	10	23	50	1000	0	100
Lewis B. Cobb	62	309	3	8	30	800	0	0
Samuel Thompson	15	0	2	4	14	100	0	50
Nancy Cochran	117	448	6	14	60	500	22	50
William Templeton	35	135	3	5	25	300	0	10
John Hefferner	30	0	3	3	14	300	1	50
Bennet Reynolds	500	1000	10	28	100	3000	45	0
John B. Tarrant	350	290	10	15	65	1800	47	30
John Logan	450	550	15	50	150	2000	30	150
Robert Anderson	60	0	3	4	12	150	0	100
Horance W. Leland	75	240	5	8	40	300	17	0

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 44 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Partton	280	300	6	8	90	1200	28	50
Hugh W. Wardlaw	800	968	24	60	50	2000	140	100
Henry H. Criswell	590	810	12	33	200	2500	100	400
Peter McKellar	400	300	6	13	70	1400	50	100
Lemuel Bell	72	128	4	2	50	250	10	200
Elijah C. Hacket	120	80	3	0	9	350	12	50
William A. Sale	100	170	4	7	60	400	12	50
William F. Hacket	22	0	1	0	0	60	4	10
Benjamin F. Witt	60	152	2	1	20	200	8	0
Elizabeth & Jasper Porter	30	110	1	1	7	100	5	0
Johnson Sale	102	136	8	14	50	500	9	70
Jabez H. Porter	30	50	5	2	7	150	2	40
Christopher W. Mants	315	585	10	26	100	1000	35	150
John Zimmerman	104	328	9	8	65	600	13	100
James & William Sproull	730	1070	20	50	175	4000	120	1000
Hugh Robinson	47	260	2	0	28	200	4	30
Alexandra Deal	50	150	3	0	25	200	1	10
Hugh Moseley	65	215	2	7	30	200	5	0
Joseph Filpot	60	240	6	18	35	45	5	15
Daneil English	180	109	6	10	40	350	6	20
Elizabeth Ethridge	40	40	2	1	13	200	5	100
Robert Talbert	350	950	10	15	50	1660	30	50
Nancy Talbert	25	0	5	10	30	200	2	20
Thomas Maxwell	40	0	5	10	20	320	2	50
Wade Ethridge and David Wilborn	85	110	5	8	40	320	10	50
Esma Jones	50	160	5	3	40	200	4	80
Elizabeth Harris	1000	800	24	70	280	3500	100	400
Thomas Ross	188	226	6	7	60	1000	24	10
David Tedards	60	100	3	4	30	300	6	15
Union F. Watley	30	30	2	3	10	130	4	125
Maxmillian Hutchinson	250	547	10	10	50	1200	50	100
Thomas Nicholls	275	435	14	20	100	1200	30	150
Hardy Clark	250	227	8	17	50	960	0	100
Thomas Lipscomb	250	330	6	30	70	1200	41	60
Sara E. Childs est., SB Tale (manager)	250	150	6	6	60	1500	35	40



1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 45 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Richardson	80	130	5	1	30	250	10	50
James Lipscomb	150	178	4	3	40	700	15	0
Richard Griffin	60	0	4	4	45	450	3	60
James Child	350	600	12	22	100	1200	25	175
Larkin Carter	300	300	10	15	70	1500	33	200
Abram P. Pool	360	590	7	10	180	1500	59	100
Elizabeth Todd	180	230	4	15	38	1500	16	100
John Saddler	60	60	6	11	50	500	8	20
Sampson Cain	375	505	10	26	70	1000	100	50
William Thompson	5	0	2	5	15	20	0	10
Jefferson Floyd	240	180	4	6	50	1000	46	400
Jefferson Floyd. Thomas Heard, (manager)	145	199	2	5	70	800	18	0
Charles B & John Gaulder	170	153	4	15	58	700	25	70
John M. Lellen	265	315	5	18	40	1000	23	150
Martha Cheatham	80	320	7	14	30	400	7	30
Willim R. Kellen & FV Cooper	150	218	4	6	30	200	20	0
Littleberry Burnet	50	100	4	8	25	300	6	50
Daniel Musbert	28	0	2	4	20	200	0	10
John Musbert	35	0	2	4	18	130	5	10
Richard A. Griffen	210	447	5	25	70	1200	33	150
Nathaniel McCants	265	413	4	14	60	1000	31	100
Washington Foshee	30	24	3	0	12	25	2	0
Reuben Golding	95	135	3	5	35	425	15	60
James F Day	25	0	3	3	15	200	4	10
James Fooshee	40	0	2	2	2	150	10	0
Joel Fooshee	150	449	5	3	35	1200	20	20
James McCracken	150	447	4	15	50	680	20	0
Mandy Mays	160	196	5	18	52	800	22	150
James Mays	18	0	0	0	0	100	3	0
Agnes Calhoun	75	88	3	1	20	250	6	0
Israel Holt	100	0	2	4	0	300	6	30
Winston Lewis	160	240	6	8	60	1000	25	15
William A. Williams	540	1517	9	15	90	2000	97	50
Robert Cheatham	50	0	4	4	25	300	8	20

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 46 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Gillam	1000	1100	30	40	150	3500	55	250
Robert Gillam	200	500	5	15	100	1200	8	200
George Sheppard	15	0	2	4	10	100	2	0
Walter Merriwether	100	164	2	10	30	600	6	100
William Stewart	30	0	2	5	19	150	3	25
Hingle Smith	155	380	5	13	60	300	12	0
Nimrod W. Stewart	25	0	4	3	40	750	3	100
David Rudd. Jackson Holt (manager)	203	145	8	20	70	1500	42	0
Joseph Rudd. John Holt (manager)	350	450	5	25	110	1200	33	0
William W. Patton	35	0	1	3	12	150	3	20
Henry Beard	150	125	6	8	44	700	26	100
Lamuel Beard	200	100	4	12	40	1000	30	30
Edmund Day	60	22	3	6	20	200	14	40
Stinson Chuney	135	121	5	12	50	650	24	75
John Holland	60	290	3	5	97	140	0	50
John Cullans, john Day.	295	455	6	12	85	1000	40	0
Charles Fooshee	60	416	3	0	40	400	8	40
Patrick H. Spencer	40	210	6	6	20	200	3	50
Frederick G. Thomas. John Suber.	500	550	14	40	100	1800	45	100
Nathan Calhoun	370	785	5	21	150	2000	40	120
Nathan Calhoun. James Irwin (manager)	245	598	4	0	50	1200	41	0
Benjamin Corley	30	0	2	4	5	80	0	25
Thomas Purket	88	292	4	6	40	700	12	20
Pleasant Newby	50	0	2	0	30	200	4	20
John Foeshee	155	391	6	10	30	800	28	300
Nathan Ingraham	50	50	2	2	13	200	4	20
William Fopshee	170	375	9	7	60	1000	40	150
Benjamin Buzzsby	40	60	2	0	20	160	3	0
Thomas Steward	160	500	4	15	60	1000	18	15
Downs Mulhouse	500	1100	14	25	150	2500	75	100
Lewis Whaley	42	0	3	5	4	200	3	0
Calhoun Smith	103	111	2	1	21	400	10	0
Joel W. Pinson	45	40	3	0	11	200	2	5

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 47 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jasper Pinson	20	0	2	4	3	100	1	0
Marshall Johnson	35	0	3	6	20	200	3	20
Sarah Cunningham	50	42	3	2	10	225	3	30
David W. Anderson	75	425	4	3	30	400	14	15
Thomas Pinson	80	329	7	5	35	425	9	0
James W. Johnson	80	83	6	0	45	450	6	10
Rance Little	75	190	5	8	26	500	10	50
James Port Sr.	75	279	6	12	20	200	8	0
James Port Jr.	15	63	4	10	25	150	0	20
James Crawford	60	0	2	6	12	300	5	10
John Johnson	140	267	5	6	32	300	16	50
Daviel Mulone	65	0	3	3	30	325	10	20
Sameul B. Majors	100	100	5	5	60	500	8	50
Joseph Foster	180	320	9	11	40	700	16	50
Francis Arnold	315	950	6	20	75	1800	77	100
James Partten	400	600	8	30	50	1500	46	50
Benjamin Blackaby	100	82	3	3	26	700	11	0
James Partton, mang.	250	510	8	20	40	1200	38	25
Sara Wade	30	226	3	7	25	100	1	10
Joshua Wade	35	0	2	3	6	160	2	0
James Malone	70	55	4	5	30	420	9	50
Thomas Wilkes	20	0	2	3	0	60	8	20
Elizabeth Buchanan	67	198	3	5	35	200	8	0
Robert Ruchanan	110	152	2	1	30	600	19	5
Nancy M. Dickinson	100	140	4	6	25	350	8	0
William J. Phillips	15	0	1	3	20	20	3	15
William Buchanan	240	190	9	9	60	1000	26	0
Thomas Millford	25	0	1	0	6	100	3	0
Martin Delany	37	103	2	5	20	300	3	50
Klugh	125	160	8	9	50	700	26	100
John Mathews	125	102	6	10	30	500	14	0
Martin Pulliam	60	55	2	8	20	350	1	0
Joseph Millford	72	78	4	7	30	400	2	50
Charles & Benj. Pulliam	50	10	3	7	16	250	3	15
John A. Watson	45	55	3	1	6	200	4	50
Matthew Pool	28	7	2	2	15	200	1	10

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 48 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Buchanon	122	251	4	5	50	1000	6	150
Allen Bell	70	40	2	3	20	300	10	20
Elizabeth Buchanon	80	45	6	6	45	900	4	100
John Romans	16	39	3	1	20	60	1	0
John Irwin	42	183	5	5	35	125	0	0
William Buchanon	150	250	10	20	50	350	12	100
Alexander Turner	120	124	4	10	50	700	15	50
John Hinton	90	210	2	4	25	400	6	30
James Andron	30	0	2	4	14	200	3	10
Durry Wade	35	0	2	3	10	150	2	20
Joseph C. White	40	0	2	2	4	120	3	70
Elizabeth Jones	175	413	6	16	30	600	13	50
Benjamin Roberts	60	116	3	6	30	200	8	30
Lewis Matthews	115	37	4	6	30	500	11	50
William B. Romans	18	190	4	0	30	200	0	10
Nathaniel Jenkins	40	0	2	1	7	100	5	10
John Hughey	35	336	4	4	15	100	4	30
John Fowler	30	61	4	10	30	150	5	30
James Strawhorn	60	70	3	2	25	200	7	50
Rachel B. Klugh	295	1045	8	30	125	2200	57	200
Jane Hearston	25	179	3	10	25	100	1	10
John Cochran	310	1090	10	20	100	1500	12	50
Willam McNairy	60	215	3	5	15	50	14	0
James N. Cochran	95	395	4	6	50	450	14	0
Mary F. Watson	30	74	4	8	20	150	7	30
Kurt P. Arnold	235	365	6	8	60	800	20	60
Charles A. Cobb	130	120	6	5	45	600	16	50
John W. Cobb	100	196	4	7	30	500	4	30
Andrew Cobb	53	63	2	2	15	170	7	10
Samuel Turner	170	145	5	16	75	800	16	100
Warren Clifton	45	0	3	2	20	160	3	25
John Romans	82	342	5	7	79	800	10	150
Ferdinand Buchanan	75	187	4	18	30	400	26	20
Louisa Franklin	50	293	5	13	47	300	1	0
James Baily	60	240	3	4	16	200	0	200
Lewis Anderson	80	84	3	1	19	600	2	30

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 49 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Franklin Miller	90	160	5	13	50	400	14	0
James Fuller	90	77	5	13	45	900	19	200
Smith. B. Owens (manager)	150	375	0	0	28	500	23	0
Jane Pinson	51	45	2	8	33	600	8	0
George Anderson. Chs. Anderson (manager)	260	615	12	30	100	1800	32	10
Balz Coleman	80	125	3	6	30	450	23	80
Francis Brown. J. Munday (manager)	160	207	4	18	30	800	30	15
Joel Smith	545	1905	30	100	250	34000	74	300
Thomas Stacy	43	270	1	5	14	300	2	150
Martha Smith	170	136	2	1	70	600	18	100
Ivan Franklin	167	348	5	8	75	800	16	100
Ivey Moore	180	120	6	15	70	800	22	25
William A. Moore	150	150	4	6	35	500	20	10
Watson Franklin	87	141	3	0	32	500	9	100
Franklin Bowey	44	6	4	2	9	200	4	60
John Carter	40	243	4	2	20	200	6	30
James F. Smith	120	92	5	3	30	600	12	20
Newton Sims	125	45	5	4	50	400	10	30
Mary Lomax	27	17	3	5	13	100	2	5
Robert Y. Jones	400	1465	9	32	150	3000	44	150
Zachariah Graham	30	75	3	2	19	180	2	100
Kelly Jones	20	140	2	2	10	150	3	20
Martha Grayham	38	320	2	3	30	260	3	20
John Dyson	20	0	2	1	14	130	1	10
Polly Jones	20	60	2	0	5	100	3	20
John Williams	25	15	2	2	4	90	2	15
George Benjamin	20	0	1	0	4	50	1	10
Griffin and Stewart	215	165	8	35	60	1000	48	100
Daniel Beacham	100	320	3	9	35	800	11	50
Willilam L. Smith	130	320	5	15	50	700	18	25
Robert Smith	75	65	6	10	30	600	17	200
Thomas Roseman	30	20	1	2	20	400	9	30
Enoch Carter	50	0	1	4	20	300	5	50
Haskin Mays	200	35	4	10	45	600	18	25

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 50 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Robert A. Kirkpatrick	60	63	3	5	24	500	6	70
Miller G. Higgins	55	185	4	8	34	450	6	50
Lesly Maberry	56	76	2	0	25	300	4	25
Elihu Campbell	60	143	2	5	30	250	13	25
Jane Hardin	100	100	1	5	25	250	8	10
George Mays (incumbent)	150	250	2	4	20	700	25	20
Middleton Cobb	60	113	6	3	40	350	10	10
Holman Griffin	160	308	6	12	40	600	18	100
William Strawhon	55	61	5	0	20	400	6	75
John Strawhon	25	0	2	2	9	100	2	0
Robert Gibbs	125	75	4	16	15	600	6	400
Eliza T. Williams	170	130	3	3	50	700	13	150
Eliza Smith	60	0	4	12	15	400	3	10
David McCants	120	135	8	10	130	700	19	40
George Hodges	315	415	12	40	50	1200	36	200
George W. Hodges. PW Conner (manager)	150	20	5	11	40	500	27	0
George W. Hodges M. Hogges (manager)	60	43	2	3	20	250	3	20
Elihu Watson	100	415	7	7	50	400	10	50
Nancy Clack	40	46	6	8	30	120	1	15
Charles Smith. JR Whatley (manager)	320	530	8	25	120	2000	64	150
Charles Smith. B Smith (manager)	120	458	2	0	20	1000	4	50
Thomas R. Ganey	308	492	10	35	200	2000	7	200
Paul W. Connor	10	0	3	4	15	50	3	50
John W. Connor	50	55	3	6	12	400	9	50
Henry Ledbetter	305	495	5	16	50	1200	33	100
George A. Allen	26	58	2	3	5	75	2	5
Francis A. Conner	150	101	6	6	25	600	10	30
Sebastion White	400	672	10	20	150	3000	44	200
Cokesbury Institute. H Bass (manager)	50	250	6	6	30	150	0	75
Gabriel Hodges	140	78	4	10	23	500	11	200
Jane Masion	5	0	3	1	14	38	0	20
Wesley B. Norwood	7	5	4	2	23	100	0	100

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 51 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Joel W. Tenneen	120	221	8	6	35	700	9	200
Benjamin Herndon. J. Gansins (manager)	250	500	6	20	110	1200	23	30
Benjamin Herndon.	25	45	3	0	12	200	4	50
James Bigham	3	0	2	0	3	50	0	30
Reubin Mabry	160	275	6	5	35	1000	11	100
Rothock and Callenday	65	110	1	5	20	200	4	0
William Milford	20	186	4	10	10	200	0	100
James C. Ellis. JA Ellis (manager)	60	475	2	0	30	200	6	20
James C. Ellis	90	56	6	8	25	600	11	20
John V. Reynolds	150	75	9	5	30	650	17	70
John L. Adams	275	476	10	35	100	1200	25	500
Joshua Davis	105	185	4	20	80	1100	17	15
Elizabeth Lomax	100	572	6	30	30	600	9	100
John Lemar	95	215	5	5	50	500	8	25
Nathanel Cobb	150	50	5	10	40	500	12	100
Thomas Strawhorn	105	139	4	5	22	300	6	50
James W. Cool (incumbent)	55	49	4	3	22	200	5	50
David Rampey	25	0	2	4	3	100	5	25
Lucy Lomax	60	340	12	18	25	100	8	50
George W. Lomax	230	570	8	18	30	2000	15	150
Samuel Smith	65	290	3	7	30	750	5	50
Donald Douglass	15	275	2	2	20	50	2	10
Seaborn Lomax	25	0	2	3	12	180	2	0
Charles Harvey	100	50	3	5	30	800	10	50
Richard Anderson	115	250	4	8	40	500	12	60
James Anderson	15	0	3	2	4	25	0	50
James Watson	20	0	1	0	0	60	1	10
Frances Shepperd	15	157	2	0	9	100	1	10
Starling Rolan	12	3	1	1	20	100	0	0
Martin Williams	20	66	1	0	2	150	0	25
James Clannahan	20	10	2	2	10	150	0	50
Elizabeth Porter	50	150	4	0	6	50	4	40
Arthur Taylor	7	3	1	0	4	20	1	15
John Vance	320	600	10	20	100	1800	52	100

1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 52 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Winston Watson	150	200	2	4	40	600	19	30
William B. Gains	7	0	2	3	0	60	20	50
Jackey Williams	113	125	2	14	45	500	6	40
Albert M. Graham	35	0	3	5	21	400	5	75
Colins Graham	60	0	2	5	30	400	9	100
William Graham Jr	125	0	5	10	40	600	8	50
Samuel Graham	40	0	4	8	30	500	8	60
William Graham	65	457	2	2	40	600	8	20
John W. Moore	290	589	8	27	70	1800	54	100
Elizabeth and Jane Phillips	26	104	2	3	13	150	3	25
<b>Reuben Robinson</b>	275	425	6	19	70	1000	20	0
Waters	205	155	8	16	70	900	30	150
Nancy Arnold	25	30	2	1	14	80	2	25
Francis Moore (incumbent"	75	85	3	9	15	200	14	10
John & Wm. Moore	70	110	4	6	40	450	0	50
James Robinson	40	247	3	6	65	350	3	50
James Hill	62	101	4	4	31	350	5	30
James Smith, Manager	220	580	1	0	40	1050	48	100
Isaac Richey	120	220	2	11	34	600	16	0
Jesse Surry. J. Williamson (manager)	150	650	3	6	150	1000	30	0
Martin	120	450	10	18	70	1200	20	100
Andrew Richey	70	129	3	8	50	300	5	10
Jane Richey	120	210	2	13	70	450	14	30
Martin	100	0	4	8	30	400	10	50
Samuel Perrin	165	111	8	17	50	500	28	10
Charles Haskell	860	2940	20	40	90	3500	200	100 0
Blackby (manager)	310	390	5	15	75	1200	110	1000
James Carrol	30	68	3	7	9	120	2	25
John Carrol	35	68	2	3	12	75	3	20
Edward Mosely	15	0	2	2	12	50	1	10
Mary Hunter	250	480	9	22	90	900	25	150
Odum Caldwell	300	350	14	18	60	950	30	200
John Webber	100	200	4	5	30	300	12	100
Thomas Petigru. F. Carter mang.	300	1500	6	20	40	1500	29	30



1850 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 53 of 53)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James W. Clinkscales	150	306	4	10	45	700	14	50
Samuel Pruitt	40	90	3	0	20	400	7	50
Andrew Pruitt	80	25	4	8	30	500	5	10
Elizabeth Pruitt	75	125	4	4	22	350	13	150
Daniel Pruitt	180	176	6	15	50	1000	5	30
John Cowan	500	900	12	30	80	2000	3	100
John Mattisson	45	0	2	2	10	200	5	20
Andrew W. Shillits	20	0	2	1	12	150	20	10
Charles Polot	60	230	4	8	26	300	4	100
Francis Henderson (incumbent)	0	6530	0	0	0	0	156	0

Note: Free black farmers are in bold italics. Source: 1850 Federal Agricultural Census, Abbeville District, South Carolina.

APPEENDIX I – 1860 ABBEVILLE DISTRICT

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table I.1:** 1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Drwswell	200	300	4	4	20	800	27	100
John O Lindsay	80	70	6	6	1	200	12	50
Willima C. Scott	200	300	3	3	40	500	15	20
Thomas B. Scott	100	230	5	5	23	400	12	50
Thomas Heminger	100	700	6	6	30	300	10	50
William M. Rogers	75	125	5	5	30	800	13	0
Peter Heminger	60	40	2	2	20	250	4	20
Irene LeRoy	100	256	8	8	20	460	10	100
John LeRoy	50	150	5	5	21	250	4	90
John Bellot	30	20	2	2	13	400	13	50
James W. Porter	100	63	6	6	15	700	18	100
Edward Calhoun	575	540	12	12	60	1200	49	150
John F. Calhoun	0	0	1	1	5	0	0	0
Nath. Harris	40	86	2	2	8	1000	0	100
Wm. S McBryde	140	205	4	4	25	400	12	150
Shepherd Cowan	100	250	5	5	23	250	10	200
Agnes Robinson	7	38	1	1	2	15	0	0
George Robinson	10	61	3	3	10	20	0	0
Wm. G. Darrasett	75	55	1	1	14	140	2	0
Thomas Mobley	40	110	1	1	0	0	0	0
William P. Noble	200	600	5	5	30	300	13	15
Octavious Porcher	100	800	7	7	30	300	12	100
Andue & Noble	150	485	6	6	12	375	7	50
Covin	0	0	5	5	40	800	30	200
Thomas McAlister	60	65	4	4	10	200	0	0
Josiah Wells	200	400	7	7	60	1000	19	50
Mary Scott	150	350	4	4	30	800	25	30

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 2 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Peter Gillebean	100	460	8	8	20	250	5	75
Susan Gillabeau	50	180	3	3	15	150	2	30
John Guthrie	90	380	8	8	36	350	16	50
Robt. Crawford	20	20	1	1	0	50	2	30
Benj. E. Gibert	12	0	2	2	10	0	0	100
Benj. McKittrick	340	814	6	6	30	800	38	20
Elijah B. Leroy	0	0	3	3	7	100	3	50
Andrew Gillebean	150	440	7	7	25	200	15	80
Albert Gibert	200	600	9	9	30	700	39	50
Peter B. Morague	300	700	8	8	20	300	15	10
Cox	75	325	5	5	12	200	28	100
Newby	200	46	4	4	8	150	6	100
Jas. L. Bouchillon	100	300	3	5	13	50	0	40
John Isham	100	200	4	6	15	0	5	7
Pharis Martin	500	2000	5	19	75	1800	26	60
Wm. A Crozier	100	500	8	18	20	100	7	50
C. Martin	100	300	5	6	8	200	10	0
<i>S. Callihan</i>	0	0	2	1	0	25	1	0
Wililam Banks	0	0	2	4	0	75	3	0
<i>L. Callihan</i>	0	0	0	0	0	70	2	0
<i>C. Chapman</i>	0	0	2	0	0	6	1	10
HW Barrett	30	40	4	4	4	50	2	12
JC Jennings	130	336	5	12	20	300	8	150
Fred Edmonds	250	300	3	12	25	0	0	0
<i>W. Callihan</i>	50	100	3	3	12	100	8	0
<i>Green Chapman</i>	75	75	1	3	8	100	4	0
NL Cox	80	50	4	2	5	100	3	4
James Banks	70	100	6	10	25	300	12	15
Elias Banks	120	40	4	12	15	300	11	50
Miriam Ennis	400	2100	20	46	60	1800	48	5
Gilford Cade	350	750	7	19	3	500	45	0
Jas. Crawford	0	0	0	0	0	50	1	12
John Harmon	70	70	3	10	25	125	7	20
JM Cox	50	60	1	3	0	75	1	12
Hague Lawton	40	100	1	0	0	0	0	0
S. Ford	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 3 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
W. Holsomback	0	0	3	2	0	100	2	0
William Tennent	1000	1600	18	50	50	1800	85	100
Tempton Tennent	400	250	4	10	40	600	20	0
Armistead Burt	500	1000	14	50	100	1800	72	0
Enoch Brazils Agt.	25	1200	0	0	0	0	1	30
Wm. R. Reid	250	100	4	4	6	700	12	15
Paul Rogers	170	48	3	8	20	400	9	100
<b>Temper Turman</b>	30	96	2	4	4	100	3	0
<b>Willis Turman</b>	0	0	1	2	5	30	1	20
<b>William Rouse</b>	25	125	5	2	8	100	4	30
William Tatom	300	430	6	29	70	1000	28	10
James Hill	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0
Wiliam Patton	400	600	8	40	120	1200	29	0
Abx. R. Hampton	200	680	9	17	15	600	17	0
Frances Calhoun	250	434	12	20	30	1000	31	40
Hugh Middleton	225	505	12	13	50	600	17	0
<b>Jerry Forbus</b>	40	123	6	6	4	50	0	0
John Brown	45	87	4	8	13	300	4	5
J. Lawton	0	0	2	0	0	150	3	35
Thomas Frith	20	80	2	5	12	150	4	20
<b>Sarah A. Wilson</b>	13	45	7	0	12	75	2	18
Saml. R. Morrah	500	1200	6	12	70	1200	31	0
James McKelvey	500	500	9	5	40	500	20	100
Philip LeRoy	160	200	7	4	15	300	6	100
Peter Legare	4	11	2	3	9	0	0	30
Lewis Covin	500	600	12	20	25	2000	47	300
Andrw. HM Alston	65	382	1	7	5	0	0	0
Sarah Bundy	35	265	7	9	25	300	30	20
WH Davis	100	34	4	6	9	500	8	50
Ms. A. Walker	24	51	3	5	12	100	1	5
Isham Mouchett	50	110	3	6	14	100	3	50
Robert Walker	0	0	0	0	0	40	0	30
Thomas M. Ard	15	120	3	3	8	50	0	0
William H. Brough	130	42	3	5	30	50	2	0
Elizabeth Clay	6	19	3	0	2	0	1	40
<b>Pheby Strawther</b>	0	0	2	4	4	20	0	10

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 4 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
<i>John A. Wilson</i>	50	40	1	0	45	65	1	20
Mrs. Fortencus	0	0	2	3	15	125	1	0
Robert Ernest	0	0	3	2	0	80	3	15
Hugh McKelvey	75	121	3	8	4	225	6	40
Riley Wilson	0	0	2	3	1	125	1	5
William Tennent Jr.	220	430	4	8	19	800	17	0
Pat C Tennent	300	100	3	5	13	300	8	0
James R. Dubose	605	1131	6	40	170	2000	76	100
Joshua Dubose	500	50	4	5	3	150	14	80
John Edgon	0	0	6	14	16	350	14	200
Joshua W. Jones	400	587	7	9	23	800	31	0
Elisha c. Clay	35	39	0	0	35	25	0	0
William A. Clay	50	50	2	3	0	254	8	0
William McKelvey	285	225	3	8	25	800	40	0
John C. Scott	250	385	10	6	45	800	35	0
James. Baker	400	600	15	12	20	700	34	0
Stephen Lee	500	400	11	4	20	1500	44	100
John A. Mars	500	700	13	25	40	1500	70	400
James Lesly	450	150	7	18	40	450	33	400
James McClain	150	137	3	6	18	250	6	0
Boggs Kennedy	245	200	8	8	45	500	40	75
James McCaslan	500	400	16	14	20	600	31	500
James Morris	60	90	8	19	25	375	17	60
Mary E. McCormick	60	60	3	6	20	150	3	0
A. Dowlin	75	25	4	6	25	350	7	100
Moses McCaslan	300	650	10	20	54	1200	30	700
Robt. McCaslan	150	415	5	11	29	450	10	105
James Cason	80	240	5	3	25	200	4	50
Mrs. Wideman	250	460	10	9	35	300	30	20
David Morrah	400	300	8	18	45	1000	50	50
Chs. B. Guffin	150	150	5	16	40	400	6	100
Est. De La Howe	150	1550	6	16	30	500	1	250
LB Gillbean	83	30	3	2	10	70	4	15
John B. Hays	290	100	1	12	33	300	10	60
Willard	50	30	1	0	14	200	0	0
MS Tolbert	120	50	2	3	10	100	5	10

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 5 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Cynthia Mullins	200	90	5	4	9	200	4	50
Oli. Dellishaw	85	30	2	0	8	100	2	40
M& A Wilson	129	30	3	4	22	400	0	100
Joshua Wideman	200	200	3	17	35	400	14	40
Mr. M. Harris	200	300	6	9	25	500	14	30
Jane Bearden	70	30	5	3	10	400	6	15
James Harvey	75	125	3	8	35	200	4	30
Edard Cowan	125	90	6	10	26	250	12	0
Wesley Cowan	0	0	6	0	13	400	18	75
David Washam?	100	200	3	7	20	780	13	50
A. Cato	0	0	1	0	0	100	2	0
Mrs. M. Wardlaw	136	84	4	11	25	380	12	30
Jas. H. Brett	200	360	10	28	40	600	8	100
James Willard	250	400	9	14	35	800	20	0
Saml. Willard	136	40	2	10	36	700	10	0
Jacob Butt	700	400	10	8	60	1500	50	100
M. McGrath	100	110	5	10	17	400	5	0
Isaac Nooth	300	450	12	21	50	700	20	300
John Pettigrew	0	0	2	5	30	100	0	50
Hiram Palmer	60	54	2	3	24	400	3	7
Benj. Talbert	150	415	5	11	30	600	12	50
Wm Dillishaw	45	50	3	6	8	200	5	100
John Edmonds	50	64	3	5	10	200	7	50
Jos B McKethrick	200	114	2	2	10	200	12	0
Daniel New	300	250	8	20	40	1500	30	60
J. Elkins Jr.	100	400	5	17	7	300	21	0
N. Cook	0	0	2	3	0	80	3	50
Sarah B. Jones	150	380	6	7	14	300	10	40
William W. Hill	100	300	5	8	10	100	4	0
M. E. Walker	0	0	3	5	14	200	1	12
Josh. Brown	0	0	3	2	0	50	1	0
Sanders Walker	175	175	7	9	20	450	18	20
Red Brown	0	0	4	5	10	200	7	20
Prs. Semles	450	600	12	16	40	800	30	0
Geo. W. Mitchell	40	15	6	9	3	40	0	0
C. Walker	40	60	1	3	8	125	3	20

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 6 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
C. Corley	115	205	8	13	12	500	7	40
Abm. Weeks	70	5	2	2	3	70	2	90
Mrs. Jennings	130	10	4	1	11	50	3	10
James Newby	100	100	4	0	16	400	8	50
NS Headright	10	20	2	3	4	20	1	10
M. Palmer	277	277	3	10	25	200	4	0
Epphinhah Harris	60	57	2	3	30	100	2	0
WC Ludwick	0	0	1	0	0	25	2	3
Estate P. Searles	294	30	3	11	10	400	35	0
M. W Lyles	0	0	4	7	22	175	10	50
N. Price	150	187	3	5	12	200	4	80
WW Beasley	167	100	3	5	5	150	0	20
James Carrol	0	0	2	0	0	100	1	20
B. Hendrick	0	0	1	1	0	150	0	20
James Beasley	30	23	1	0	20	100	1	10
H. Beasley	0	0	2	3	0	100	0	25
J. Alex Edmonds	80	67	4	4	15	100	8	120
Jacob Delleshaw	147	73	4	0	20	300	6	20
B. Henderson	44	100	4	0	9	160	6	50
W. Findly	0	0	0	5	7	40	2	15
N. Brown	0	0	1	0	0	50	4	15
Peter McCain	0	0	1	0	0	50	4	15
Isham Slason	0	0	4	6	12	150	5	100
Benj. Slason	60	40	5	5	7	150	8	30
Presley Self	200	100	2	4	15	100	15	50
W Harmon	50	150	3	2	16	60	5	40
NS Harmon	50	169	2	8	12	100	4	0
Peter Smith	200	50	7	19	18	200	10	0
WA Smith	0	0	2	23	2	0	0	0
SB Smith	0	0	2	2	10	0	0	0
H. Schlenter	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Joel Whitten	0	0	3	6	10	100	2	100
John Enright	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0
Mrs. S. DeBurcht	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
John F. Livingston	400	595	15	29	80	1000	15	125
Lonisa Lesly	300	200	5	6	30	600	5	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 7 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Ms. MC Miller	700	1500	15	33	30	1400	51	120
Thomas Perrin	1150	3200	32	91	60	5000	150	150
David L. Wardlaw	800	1700	20	60	125	2700	65	400
James Moore	0	0	3	3	8	40	0	12
Moses O. Talman	300	200	7	25	50	800	32	300
Wm. Hill	60	305	2	8	20	250	0	0
Edwin Parker	560	170	7	22	50	600	23	50
Moses J. Owen	300	500	9	33	35	400	7	50
John A. Weir	42	40	2	4	12	150	0	20
AS Lithgo	8	12	2	2	20	10	0	100
JWW Marshall	1000	1200	20	50	100	1200	25	0
Robert Jones	6	0	1	4	2	0	1	25
Robert H. Wardlaw	450	450	15	25	50	1000	26	400
Isam Perrin	1000	1000	10	20	75	1000	30	150
J. Foster Marshall	1200	2000	15	26	80	3500	109	300
[Stricken Through]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samuel McGowan	10	22	3	4	13	50	0	0
Enoch Nelson	900	800	10	20	40	2300	112	20
Edward Noble	50	300	3	4	25	126	0	5
John White	500	500	12	25	50	1200	26	200
Wm. C. Moore	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Phil. S. Rothip	0	0	1	2	30	0	0	0
Thomas Thomson	600	1400	15	21	50	800	20	100
James Cothorn	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	25
Jos. Wardlaw	200	125	10	15	30	500	20	20
John M. Laren	500	200	15	41	60	1500	56	40
Warren Richey	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0
Henry A. Jones	1000	1800	10	30	50	3500	175	300
Wm. M. Hughes	4	0	1	1	16	75	0	0
John HW Isom	360	450	15	40	40	1500	24	200
Wililam Taggart	240	30	12	18	15	250	15	200
James Taggart	400	100	10	18	50	1000	50	100
John Ainsley	70	55	4	0	0	0	0	0
John S. Reid	1000	1700	21	33	110	2000	53	100
James Taggart	300	300	4	25	50	300	11	0
Jas. A. Richey	100	100	4	10	30	200	5	50



1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 8 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Eli Thornton	200	100	5	7	10	300	5	20
Mrs. Strickland	70	89	3	8	26	200	1	0
John Charles	70	126	4	6	20	150	1	40
Robt Keown	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	20
MA Andrews	150	143	5	5	13	300	2	20
Eli Finley	0	0	6	2	11	100	3	0
Saml. Link	75	215	5	13	20	350	9	50
Saml. Janet	85	165	4	8	18	400	13	0
Thor. Clatworthy	0	0	3	3	7	100	3	0
Samuel Gordon	550	1450	14	35	60	1000	67	100
Alex. P. Conner	1000	850	19	25	100	1000	92	100
Isaac Kennedy	250	720	10	24	47	600	30	100
ES Kennedy	100	170	5	9	25	350	13	5
WM. Riley	75	165	2	3	16	150	2	17
John Douglass	200	150	3	11	18	300	2	3
Mrs. MM McCastney	30	40	2	5	15	200	4	10
Mrs. E. Edwards	80	100	3	9	12	150	5	15
Mrs. M. Donald	0	0	3	5	10	300	4	10
Jason Brooks	170	170	3	9	20	400	14	0
DM Wardlaw	70	216	5	7	40	400	19	100
Wm. McGill	50	118	3	7	20	275	9	100
James Gilliam	75	93	5	8	17	350	6	50
H. Stephenson	0	0	3	3	15	150	6	60
W. Jack Harmons	323	150	8	7	20	540	4	50
HS Harmons	40	30	5	7	12	100	1	20
Abs. Gray	400	700	12	9	30	900	10	200
Thomas Henton	80	450	2	2	30	300	3	30
AM Williams	0	0	2	3	3	50	0	10
Thoams McNeil	50	52	3	4	18	100	4	50
<i>Thomas Smith</i>	0	0	0	0	5	50	2	0
<i>Samuel Donaldson</i>	0	0	1	0	0	50	2	10
<i>Maria Strawther</i>	0	0	1	0	0	30	1	10
<i>E Donaldson</i>	0	0	0	0	6	50	2	10
WG McMillin	50	50	3	1	6	100	3	20
Thomas Jackson	100	500	4	6	30	150	0	0
Wm. E McNash	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 9 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John E. Wilson	25	75	2	3	5	0	0	35
John Free	60	55	3	9	15	350	3	25
Wm G. Neil	290	120	7	30	75	1000	32	50
John N. Wilson	60	55	2	4	14	130	3	50
Irene C. Marten	0	0	2	0	0	50	3	0
J. Sanders	0	0	2	2	13	50	2	0
Mary Bently	35	60	2	3	24	150	5	25
George James	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	25
N. Nufield	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20
Pat C. McCaslan	200	65	5	8	8	100	6	0
John Bankman	50	150	4	7	10	100	7	0
Benj. C. Napin	175	25	3	14	19	200	7	60
Thomas Link	50	62	4	5	16	100	5	0
Mr. M. Watson	80	80	4	0	25	200	6	200
Wm.W. McCaslan	120	160	7	10	7	300	15	50
Jas Shanks	100	200	6	10	20	400	10	50
John Brown	80	125	4	8	20	300	12	0
David McClain	100	180	6	12	36	600	18	60
Wm. Hunter	100	110	3	4	12	125	11	50
Alex. McCaslan	210	240	7	30	30	600	16	50
John Bradley	250	250	5	9	45	400	10	100
John Faulkner	100	20	5	8	17	200	5	15
Adam Wideman	500	680	8	10	30	800	20	100
Wm. K. Bradley	625	775	20	16	90	1000	45	100
John Wideman	1500	500	10	30	60	1500	45	200
AS McFarland	60	60	4	6	20	200	5	50
Wilson Walkin	140	260	5	7	40	300	9	130
H. Burnett	60	163	2	8	20	350	9	40
John Patterson	100	100	5	2	30	400	26	20
FB Robertson	55	62	3	4	15	300	6	10
Arch. Bradley	300	165	3	25	30	900	43	50
Martha Gordon	100	120	4	8	15	200	7	40
Jos. Criswell	70	62	3	4	25	400	8	10
James Caswell	100	100	1	9	20	300	71	70
David Ethridge	100	131	4	9	30	250	7	200
Adam Wideman	300	840	10	8	20	1000	75	50

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 10 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Saml. Lord	50	150	2	4	20	300	3	20
James Allen	100	200	2	3	15	0	0	0
Aug. M. Smith	1200	800	20	40	100	3000	98	500
John A. Calhoun	1200	1500	20	40	150	4000	140	500
ML McMilan	30	40	2	5	0	50	0	100
Lewis J. Wilson	0	0	2	7	7	60	0	40
N. Jeff Davis	500	900	9	25	130	1000	50	200
Wm. C. Smith	350	190	9	21	18	1000	58	0
Jas. W. Feagin	600	280	10	30	60	2800	40	150
H. Thomson Sloan	90	66	3	3	15	300	9	100
John Devlin	0	0	8	20	50	2000	67	200
<i>Isreal Rouse</i>	0	0	3	1	0	180	5	30
Mrs. M Ferin	40	10	3	3	6	150	5	40
Mrs. M. Morris	150	272	8	13	28	400	37	0
James Martin	50	0	4	6	8	150	2	0
Mrs. M. Ruff	275	225	8	9	45	800	42	100
Wm. S. Harris	150	100	6	14	30	250	25	0
Joseph Presley	300	600	3	18	39	300	39	13
Tyra Jay	325	125	4	9	40	800	33	100
Tho. Jay	0	0	2	2	20	200	9	50
Wm. Jay	175	100	3	6	25	400	12	0
SP Rykard	35	73	1	0	8	110	2	20
Allen Puckett	100	104	0	12	25	500	10	0
John Puckett	60	90	3	8	13	130	7	10
RD Drenan	0	0	2	4	4	125	3	10
FJ White	50	82	2	2	17	60	6	10
WP Sullivan	180	140	7	19	45	580	22	150
Geo A. Davis	80	80	5	5	15	400	16	80
JC Lindsay	90	26	6	9	25	400	12	0
W Davis	45	39	3	4	15	300	3	30
And. J. Sward	250	150	6	8	46	800	30	100
James Drenan	125	275	6	15	35	300	22	150
John K. Bradley	60	40	3	5	12	200	7	40
John Adamson	230	80	6	10	14	400	20	30
Wm. Puckett	230	190	5	18	35	600	20	40
Joseph Criswell	0	0	1	0	0	50	16	10

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 11 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Joseph McBryde	0	0	2	2	6	50	7	10
AP Boozer	60	500	1	9	25	40	10	75
BB Haverly	70	38	3	10	16	300	5	75
JK McCane	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0
Samuel Cook	250	350	8	16	100	900	13	70
John H. Hearst	500	1280	15	47	100	2000	90	200
JW Presley	350	450	20	28	60	1200	30	100
John P. Kennedy	0	0	2	0	0	700	31	100
Walter G. Killan	175	175	5	20	35	500	14	5
Mary White	40	65	5	7	20	150	3	0
J. Edwards	40	174	2	8	20	200	6	25
Jno. Russel	25	25	0	8	10	150	3	0
HF Russel	45	79	4	9	18	150	4	50
J. Caldwell	50	148	2	6	5	150	5	0
J. Evans	35	68	2	3	21	150	1	40
Nancy Reagan	20	55	1	4	4	50	1	20
<b>Wm. Morrow</b>	0	0	1	3	8	100	4	50
George Young	0	0	2	8	18	200	8	15
J&M Young	85	101	1	4	12	50	0	0
H Young	0	0	3	6	8	100	4	5
JN Findley	0	0	0	0	0	35	1	25
Joseph McBryde	0	0	0	0	8	70	3	0
Thomas McBryde	60	170	2	5	20	100	7	15
John Criswell	50	14	2	4	8	300	3	30
John F. Criswell	0	0	2	2	7	150	4	0
H. Criswell	150	150	6	12	30	300	7	100
Sarah Findley	0	0	3	7	25	150	1	25
WP Kennedy	70	50	2	4	11	0	0	20
SW Kennedy	85	165	4	6	20	300	27	0
Mrs. Lindsay	40	80	3	4	20	100	4	0
James Gibson	0	0	1	0	4	50	5	0
Rebecca Gibson	60	140	2	5	20	200	6	50
William Truit	180	820	2	26	80	400	14	70
JM Yarborough	0	0	1	3	0	125	1	0
George Sibert	600	680	10	31	80	1500	55	50
Ned Wideman	0	0	2	1	6	100	4	5

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 12 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Fred. Wideman	50	80	1	8	45	300	9	20
Samuel Wideman	22	128	3	4	8	100	8	9
SMB Cothran	25	27	2	4	11	75	4	10
JW Bradley	65	91	3	6	5	200	3	0
AB Boyd	60	35	3	3	14	80	2	30
Mrs. M. Lyon	200	500	5	12	30	350	30	100
George L. Patterson	250	90	4	14	30	200	10	60
Mrs. S. Wideman	500	930	13	13	30	1400	60	75
Wm. Bosdill	40	60	3	3	14	80	2	20
Wm. Brackwell	50	107	3	2	11	200	3	100
Wm. Thornton	10	36	1	0	0	50	0	10
James Dorn	125	178	8	14	40	600	0	200
Wm. Robertson	0	0	1	0	0	100	7	0
W. Price	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	30
M. Franklin	0	0	4	2	11	200	4	25
Jas. W. Cothran	50	100	2	0	10	200	2	30
Saml. Brown	0	0	3	6	6	200	3	25
H. Holloway	0	0	7	15	39	75	9	6
Samuel Carter	0	0	9	25	100	700	42	400
E. Robertson	130	230	6	9	21	350	7	12
Stephen Willis	0	0	1	3	15	300	3	20
Samuel Weeks	50	50	3	1	4	50	2	20
Louisa Teagler	125	315	4	12	20	300	11	20
SS Birdeshaw	0	0	2	2	6	400	7	50
Wm. McCane	275	200	6	15	30	400	18	100
John Thornton	117	196	7	16	40	400	5	35
Frederick Cook	200	389	11	20	49	400	16	50
Peter Zimmermon	50	40	1	1	10	200	0	30
Wm. Quarles	250	50	1	3	25	600	28	0
Samuel Perrin	225	150	6	11	20	700	30	0
John Wideman	400	775	6	20	52	1300	45	100
Sam. Agent	500	420	4	10	70	1300	120	0
John Cothran	1800	3000	25	65	100	2500	156	100
Mrs. E. Childs	500	400	5	43	55	2000	95	25
Mrs. Jam. Childs	250	374	6	18	35	600	24	30
John H. Childs	125	275	6	9	50	550	26	100

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 13 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Robert W. Lites	275	265	3	20	40	900	40	100
Thomas Childs	419	1081	9	35	100	1800	53	100
Robert H. Beasley	480	400	12	27	100	2000	67	300
John McEllelan	600	1275	14	24	50	1800	35	100
Moses C. Taggart	275	120	7	6	60	0	0	25
Larkin Rynod	600	425	18	18	70	2900	82	500
George MD Watson	0	0	0	0	0	1000	54	0
George W. Tolbert	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
John P. Bond	0	0	0	0	6	100	2	150
SS Marshall	686	333	16	50	120	1200	34	200
SS Marshall Apt.	800	400	4	9	80	1500	33	30
Thomas M. Kicher	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
WG Kennedy	6	14	3	0	9	30	0	50
Mrs. J. Lipford	350	450	9	21	50	700	30	200
John McCravy	90	130	6	8	18	350	22	20
Sand. A. Wilson	200	65	3	10	38	600	24	150
Robt. C. Wilson	75	29	3	9	11	125	3	60
Wm. Butler	218	50	5	7	30	300	22	75
Wm. Gibson	150	115	6	7	20	480	25	50
James White	250	350	5	7	30	600	22	100
JL Morrow	160	237	10	10	20	600	15	100
Willis Smith	125	115	6	2	34	500	26	30
Milton Coleman	0	0	5	5	25	650	33	20
John Foster	600	487	12	18	80	1000	50	400
Thos. Lipscomb	180	260	5	15	30	500	18	10
Wm. Lyon	150	370	5	8	42	500	10	50
Rob. Duncan	275	0	1	6	12	250	10	50
Jonah Jordan	550	950	8	20	100	1200	44	400
Saml. D McClinton	250	350	8	7	75	400	30	50
Robert Devlin	300	250	10	16	45	1200	50	100
William Fell	137	10	3	7	20	450	7	30
Ms. M. McGraw	40	10	0	1	12	125	3	50
Jas. J. Devlin	400	400	8	22	30	400	21	0
David Atkins	40	46	2	3	20	200	2	100
Dav. Dansby	0	0	1	1	6	100	1	50
Wm. Wharton	230	670	7	17	70	800	16	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 14 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes
Daniel Atkins. J Abel (manager)	150	150	2	5	50	150	4	30
Leroy Purdy	150	150	5	5	30	300	10	15
Bart Jordan	500	1000	8	20	50	1500	40	100
John D Adams	0	0	9	10	60	600	29	0
Saml. Marshall	1200	1600	22	66	160	1500	60	100
S. Malone	55	250	4	2	15	80	8	20
LH Rykard	80	280	6	11	23	300	11	40
James Creswell	100	100	3	0	15	150	0	75
PL Coleman	0	0	10	10	40	1000	45	100
Marten Hackett	600	580	10	18	60	2000	50	100
Burnett Reynolds	700	600	7	4	40	1000	30	20
PA Waller	0	0	25	21	50	1000	59	200
Rich. M White	70	130	10	30	100	2000	50	50
Allen Vance	20	180	5	0	12	25	3	150
James Gillam	150	125	23	20	60	600	20	60
JJ Tharp	40	60	2	4	12	125	1	100
Mrs. JE Waller	120	380	5	6	16	0	25	20
Stanley Crews	40	76	2	5	20	150	0	75
John R. Tenant	400	200	13	13	40	1500	36	300
WH Lawson	600	200	15	30	50	1500	165	50
WC Venning	150	500	3	9	27	350	24	150
James Bailey	240	200	6	10	60	400	6	300
Rev. S. Donnely	8	4	4	1	6	120	0	80
Cho. R. Monley	400	200	7	12	30	300	20	40
LD Merriman	100	500	12	10	20	1200	30	100
James A. Bailey	8	0	1	0	0	0	2	50
Henry W. Leeland	400	400	8	30	50	1100	46	200
Mrs. CE Cain	600	400	15	50	135	3000	93	100
Franklin Beasley	0	0	4	5	8	300	6	25
Reb. Wm. P. Hill	10	6	2	1	1	0	2	0
FG Parks	25	15	3	8	12	60	3	100
John J. Parks	500	422	8	24	70	1700	35	160
WH Davis	300	300	6	11	50	700	44	50
John Logan	300	600	15	11	50	1000	25	15
ER Calhoun	150	200	5	0	8	50	1	100
Wm R. Blake	400	900	21	35	69	1800	39	600

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 15 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Peter Rykard	200	420	7	6	10	600	9	100
Mrs. N. Beasley	100	315	4	6	26	350	3	15
Edw. Anderson	75	225	5	11	30	250	3	75
Mrs. HJ Simmons	100	100	6	6	20	300	11	125
Mrs. E. Scott	80	360	4	7	20	150	6	5
William Scott	50	90	3	0	14	150	8	0
S. Elmore	0	0	10	20	45	600	42	0
John Anderson	100	130	4	7	30	350	10	30
Joseph Hearst	330	441	5	4	69	700	65	50
Jos. S. Marshall	500	950	15	23	50	1500	59	200
SH Smith	50	125	4	7	18	100	6	40
Joel Liles	160	584	1	5	15	1000	43	0
AM Whorton	1300	2353	20	60	160	3500	86	100
Mrs. E. Kellan	125	331	9	8	26	600	6	20
George W. Cromer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John McCord	266	266	3	0	12	500	5	0
Mrs. DA Cromer	200	210	6	6	35	1200	30	30
James A. McCord	200	235	3	15	30	250	10	50
WW Rufsel	85	15	3	5	8	250	2	20
Est. F Parker (manager)	800	800	10	30	70	2000	80	200
SSC McGaw	100	108	6	1	10	300	3	6
John Sink	155	345	9	6	20	600	17	0
Wllin Pennel	150	150	4	0	25	325	4	15
James H. Walker	0	0	2	3	12	150	1	30
Arther Irwin	50	200	4	6	16	200	1	50
James Williams	150	350	7	4	15	500	10	25
Mrs. EA Lyon	50	83	4	6	15	250	2	20
S Frank Gibert	250	260	7	12	21	600	22	10
Robert Crawford	0	0	3	7	16	300	4	40
John C. Crawford	50	100	4	3	14	300	2	30
S. Hilburn	30	170	3	2	15	150	2	50
Robt S. Owen	60	147	2	0	7	100	3	0
Charles Evans	50	150	3	3	7	100	1	0
James Gibert	230	700	5	16	50	700	28	20
Jadon A. Ramey	60	97	4	4	14	400	5	30



1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 16 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
SJ Hill	0	0	3	6	10	200	6	30
Andrw. Edwards	500	300	7	17	15	350	13	60
MS Mann	120	230	1	8	12	200	6	10
Mary Bass	50	81	7	9	16	200	6	50
Thos. McCracken	200	300	8	12	40	300	20	50
John Shittilo	65	65	4	10	11	200	4	40
Saml. S. Wilson	100	50	4	8	15	50	4	75
James A. Norwood	2000	4000	40	88	200	4500	228	300
James Robertson	114	114	3	6	15	300	6	10
Thomas A. Douglass	155	237	8	6	25	540	6	100
Charles H. Wilson	76	138	4	9	20	300	5	20
JH Wilson	10	0	1	2	6	90	1	15
JA Wilson	0	0	1	1	7	75	1	15
WA McCord	100	138	5	6	25	400	10	15
Jas. J. Gilmore	75	225	3	2	14	300	2	10
David Kellar	200	750	11	15	31	1000	20	75
M Griffin	600	200	8	15	50	800	25	150
Mrs. Eliz. Harris	450	1347	20	18	100	1300	48	0
William Harris	0	0	9	12	30	300	20	150
Thomas Maxwell	0	0	6	0	3	75	3	0
Ebird, E. Whaley (manager)	245	245	2	1	17	600	64	30
Ch. W. Sproal	900	300	9	22	40	2000	100	200
PW Goodwin	165	752	6	5	40	500	26	30
Mrs. L. Robertson	150	159	7	10	20	150	6	0
Alex D. Call	75	75	4	1	20	300	5	40
Jacob Miller	200	400	7	15	45	700	39	200
James Martin	25	75	3	10	20	250	7	20
Wm. C. Hunter	400	500	6	14	60	1000	36	0
George K. Caldwell	300	497	2	14	78	800	39	150
Wade Etheridge	100	90	4	2	20	250	6	20
WW Casey	40	104	2	2	7	140	2	200
Ms. ER Ross.	207	207	4	11	35	350	16	0
John Ross	20	20	0	0	10	70	3	0
Mallory Ross	15	125	1	0	20	150	4	0
Robert R. Tolbert	500	800	20	0	80	1600	60	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 17 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
JS Chipley	125	111	6	8	21	500	34	300
DF Feddard	60	37	2	2	3	135	3	13
Johnson Sale	300	480	14	41	50	1200	30	100
Mrs. M. Sale	120	88	6	4	25	600	9	0
WA Sale	75	123	3	0	18	200	7	20
WF Hockett	0	0	2	0	5	150	7	50
Hugh Porter	0	0	2	4	17	100	3	60
HM Spikey	214	65	6	8	42	700	20	100
LP Andrews	150	50	4	4	25	600	13	0
Mrs. L. Hutchinson	150	200	6	7	54	600	22	0
Robecca Ogilne	100	100	0	0	6	60	6	0
Saml. Bell	85	109	3	3	5	250	11	300
John Tolbert	300	650	2	6	50	1300	45	0
Thomas Chatham	1000	900	22	22	150	2500	70	1000
Peter McKellar	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0
John G. Barrett	500	1300	10	0	125	2000	50	250
Henry Creswell	700	430	15	25	125	2400	60	400
Stanmore Brooks	300	900	15	23	150	2500	63	300
Thomas Brooks	250	350	5	15	50	1200	28	100
Ms. M. Waller	175	150	5	7	45	400	15	30
Nancy Lathers	25	48	2	0	6	50	1	5
James Irwin	200	200	7	9	30	500	11	0
Henry Cannon	20	100	2	5	12	80	2	25
William Smith	1300	1200	9	19	50	1000	25	300
John Burnett	75	510	8	7	35	300	18	100
JW Stockman	145	30	2	7	8	150	4	15
Silas Ray	600	300	15	15	50	800	12	150
Ms. LM Logan	108	108	1	5	35	280	4	0
Thomas Riley	52	52	5	4	12	200	5	100
Mrs. E. Riley	150	250	3	2	12	200	4	100
J. Watt	50	150	3	3	14	150	2	40
Aaron Butler	0	0	2	0	5	75	0	40
Jacob Rykard	90	200	3	6	28	300	7	50
FB Logan	150	225	6	4	43	560	9	25
Henry Riley	100	160	3	8	27	300	15	100
Ms. Pryor	0	0	2	0	10	50	3	30

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 18 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Rachel Hughery	140	159	6	6	27	450	22	20
RS Cobb & Mother	180	200	7	6	22	600	10	200
Nath. Anderson	55	72	0	4	18	200	5	30
James M. Edwards	65	15	4	6	15	200	5	30
Mrs. S. Edwards and Son	25	13	1	1	2	76	1	0
Ms. M Selby	70	81	3	2	16	150	3	25
Birt. Riley	65	135	6	2	6	225	6	25
Mary Riley	150	175	6	5	15	500	14	50
Robert G. Lord	150	150	2	0	15	300	8	150
EA Burton	60	15	3	0	10	200	4	100
John A. Parthon	1300	700	10	15	70	1000	124	150
Walter Wardlaw	700	600	10	20	50	500	54	100
Geo. W Perryman	300	300	6	3	50	1500	38	100
Est. R. Watson	650	650	5	4	80	1000	49	100
James Malone	150	289	5	3	16	400	10	40
Henry Wilkerson	0	0	2	0	5	100	5	30
WB Brooks	800	1575	15	13	50	1600	96	0
Deborah Brinkly	30	30	4	4	12	100	4	0
Henry Morrow	40	94	4	2	7	175	10	60
John McKellar	200	260	10	11	45	800	24	40
Franklin Johnson	12	48	4	0	3	200	6	30
CE Brooks	300	200	9	6	60	800	38	100
Pat. Malone	0	0	1	0	5	12	0	0
Thomas Lipscomb	400	600	9	21	40	1300	73	50
WL Anderson	150	425	6	12	40	600	25	150
Ms. EB Nichols	100	200	5	4	14	400	8	0
AP Poole	650	250	11	22	70	1200	37	100
William W. Griffin	200	225	8	10	70	700	30	600
Mrs. E. Child	120	130	4	1	24	300	7	200
Thomas Griffin	175	125	8	2	60	600	14	300
John Marchut	25	10	2	6	23	100	7	50
Nick W. Stewart	125	100	7	3	25	500	25	150
Larkin Carter	260	390	8	22	80	800	44	0
Nathl. McCants	240	440	10	12	40	500	10	100
John Wilkinson	35	85	4	7	30	200	15	40

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 19 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Mrs. A. Calhoun	100	66	2	1	20	300	7	0
James W. Foshee	225	225	2	13	25	700	31	30
JS Blake	200	227	6	2	30	600	17	50
JM Hill	22	30	4	0	14	200	10	100
John Saddler	140	175	8	4	30	400	14	75
Alfred Chatham	60	66	6	3	30	150	7	100
John Gauldam	250	213	6	14	70	1000	30	150
Jefferson Floyd	600	586	8	17	100	1600	60	100
Joel Pinson	37	88	4	4	5	150	8	10
Pat. Hofferan	35	56	6	9	18	400	15	75
W. Richardson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Holland	500	600	8	15	50	1200	56	200
MC Lipscomb	600	690	6	0	60	0	0	0
Mrs. E. Day	0	0	4	0	0	100	7	0
Simon Chaney	200	200	10	6	23	250	25	100
Francis Shippard	0	0	3	1	6	75	3	0
Henry Beard	200	650	10	15	50	700	40	200
John H. Waddel	170	426	10	3	24	1150	23	200
John M. Calhoun	200	200	10	4	30	600	28	50
JW Lipscomb	150	336	12	8	30	500	18	150
JC Young	75	156	6	14	15	300	9	30
R Way Griffin	500	300	6	15	60	1100	58	400
WB Merriwether	400	521	8	9	27	450	35	150
Charles Fisher	140	306	4	0	8	400	3	100
James Foshee	40	13	2	0	8	50	3	0
Robt. Chaney	30	7	0	1	10	200	3	20
Nathan Calhoun	600	1300	16	17	95	2500	50	100
JR Proffet	118	119	3	3	36	200	4	0
309illia Pinson	125	126	5	7	25	150	16	40
John Bozeman	400	700	10	10	40	1000	60	0
James M Pinson	60	118	3	4	21	130	2	0
Daniel Rumph	75	100	7	0	11	300	8	20
Thomas Harris	150	80	5	7	30	400	12	25
George Elmore	40	40	2	0	14	0	0	0
Benj. Foshee	80	53	4	5	50	500	15	0
Thos. Abney	150	100	7	3	24	300	10	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 20 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Thomas Puckett	23	23	0	0	8	50	3	20
HM Pinson	75	75	4	11	20	250	12	100
Thom. R. Puckett Sr.	150	130	4	4	24	360	9	200
RM Puckett	25	25	3	7	2	180	6	0
John W. Foshee	530	80	12	18	60	900	36	100
Wm C. Foshee	250	296	8	35	60	1500	35	100
Lewis Busbee	20	68	3	2	9	80	7	20
Benj. Busbee	80	33	3	2	14	350	5	60
Thomas Stewart	180	390	9	11	40	300	17	50
JJ Coper	125	135	6	7	30	200	5	50
Mrs. AH Simms	225	347	9	6	18	400	30	75
Susan Calhoun	60	315	5	3	11	200	6	0
William K. Blake	400	150	5	5	30	800	28	0
Jones Fuller	150	190	10	9	24	1000	30	50
Nathan Ingram	100	304	4	12	24	250	15	15
JB & G O'Neil	235	65	4	0	11	300	11	15
AA Pinson	65	31	4	2	25	328	9	60
RW Anderson	80	150	5	4	25	375	9	50
George Anderson	400	500	9	13	100	2000	20	60
HW Joel Smith	300	600	8	10	32	0	6	0
D Wyatt Aiken	750	500	11	18	29	600	78	0
WC White	75	75	5	5	4	50	3	0
Jno. B. Jonson	140	304	4	5	20	0	14	0
James F. Crawford	85	323	5	6	32	100	1	0
Dudly Burd?	350	350	9	6	60	400	28	50
Francis Arnold	400	600	12	32	90	1800	53	70
JGL Parthon	380	380	10	18	150	1500	15	0
Marion Tenant	115	115	4	3	30	400	8	0
James Peack	20	100	3	4	16	70	1	20
James Anderson	8	0	3	0	4	40	1	8
Jesse S. Adams Est.	350	450	12	40	60	1000	32	100
Chs. M. Pilot	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	0
Geo. W Hodges	200	500	15	30	40	1500	47	150
SR Dantzler	150	250	4	6	14	600	27	75
John Hinton	300	370	9	2	31	1000	16	30
Alex Turner	285	180	6	11	17	200	13	40

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 21 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Benson	67	150	4	5	23	300	7	5
Jubal Watson	35	35	2	0	6	80	2	0
Joshua Watson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M. Carner Ziegler	80	170	4	10	27	300	18	100
Abijah M Blake	250	350	6	11	16	400	15	150
Allen J. Bell	175	878	4	12	10	300	12	50
Art Arnold	300	315	6	10	60	700	13	0
John W. Cobb	280	10	5	3	7	300	6	30
Chs. A. Cobb	300	140	10	5	25	600	32	60
Samuel Turner	250	350	11	7	30	1000	21	100
S. Buchanan	50	65	3	3	11	200	5	40
Joseph Milford	40	110	3	6	20	150	2	50
John Romans	35	20	3	0	0	75	1	0
John Irwin	35	190	3	6	2	150	0	0
Charles Thomson	0	0	1	1	8	75	2	15
WW Verrill	70	90	3	13	16	200	4	0
Benj. Pulliam	60	80	4	1	9	250	6	100
Henry Mathias	125	193	5	2	28	150	10	30
Robt. Buchanan	180	220	7	7	16	1000	29	0
William Buckanan	160	40	6	3	20	500	30	0
Marten DeSancy	80	62	2	5	8	150	3	0
Larken Pulliam	75	40	2	0	4	130	3	20
John B. Sample	100	160	4	1	30	450	8	10
Mary Merriwether	50	50	5	4	6	200	5	0
Mary Grimes	30	70	5	7	14	200	4	50
Jas. J. Buchanan	125	147	4	3	25	75	7	0
Haley Jones	35	210	3	0	7	150	10	20
JM Graham	75	100	3	4	14	400	30	35
FA Buchanan	200	244	8	12	20	300	10	10
Est. Romans	200	225	2	10	15	300	4	0
Jas. W. Buchanan	50	90	2	0	10	150	8	0
Isaac Logan	200	817	6	6	23	400	8	0
Matilda Major	144	10	4	3	27	200	14	100
Thomas Stacey	79	100	4	2	18	200	5	100
Susan Franklin	230	263	8	7	35	300	20	60
Lucy Moore	150	150	6	7	40	500	30	75

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 22 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James Rampay	100	100	4	6	4	35	6	150
Jno. G. carter	100	100	5	2	6	500	10	75
Wm. H. Hilson	220	61	5	4	5	450	25	40
Mrs. M. Lomax	50	50	5	0	4	75	1	13
Gabriel Hodges	140	60	5	7	6	500	14	200
Geo. C. Allen	150	65	6	0	15	600	17	50
WC Norwood	30	50	6	2	20	200	8	50
Robt. Y. Jones	1000	860	8	27	30	2000	73	40
Marice Strauss	4	16	2	0	2	150	0	30
Jas. N. Cochran	700	620	12	11	75	1800	50	400
Henry c. Cabell	1100	1600	12	33	160	5000	200	0
Willista Franklin	200	360	5	7	40	800	36	250
Jas. F. Smith	350	135	7	7	20	450	22	30
Wm. A. Moore	400	300	10	10	60	1000	52	75
Robt. Anderson	140	43	4	0	15	100	4	40
Dr. PW Conner	0	0	3	1	20	200	10	60
Charles Smith	700	1100	12	20	70	1800	45	200
Wm W. Smith	150	50	1	0	30	800	16	0
Rev. JW Townsend	100	378	5	10	11	800	16	150
Brantley C. Hart	100	49	3	2	10	250	11	50
FA Connor	300	250	10	20	40	1000	52	300
Jas. J. Richey	0	0	0	1	3	50	3	0
WM D Mars	130	120	5	10	10	750	19	100
Jno. Davis	200	449	8	8	22	800	23	0
Miss N. Wilson	30	90	0	0	0	100	3	0
Jesse Carlisle	35	70	3	5	10	100	3	25
David Robison	80	145	6	7	30	400	3	15
Abram Haddon	100	230	6	0	10	200	8	100
Wm. B. Romans	200	330	5	15	20	600	7	100
A. Morrison	100	290	6	19	30	400	7	20
Sarah A. Richardson	60	140	3	5	20	300	11	0
Thoms. Eakins	350	621	9	31	70	1800	56	200
Thos. Ellis	200	200	4	6	20	400	5	0
Jno. A. Pace	60	70	4	0	35	200	4	0
Danid Hannah	100	140	5	7	25	350	5	100
Thos. J. Roberts	200	370	8	10	14	600	24	100

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 23 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm W. Higgins	100	153	3	8	25	300	10	150
Ab. Agnew	200	130	9	8	30	500	26	100
Jno. Johnson	260	140	5	5	50	1200	33	50
Pamela Watson	60	60	5	2	15	200	15	100
Wesley Klugh	150	200	3	10	35	500	36	200
Wm. M. Griffin	300	360	10	10	20	800	30	200
Maston Williams	40	45	0	0	11	100	3	40
Jas. H. Vance	525	425	8	30	80	1500	70	150
Wm. Hodge	175	225	4	12	20	400	25	15
Danielle Williams	175	75	4	10	20	350	12	12
Thos. J. Beachem	70	70	1	4	5	500	16	75
Green R. Riley	200	215	5	10	16	500	10	100
Marshall Sharp	450	500	12	12	26	1300	50	150
Saml. Aynor	150	700	10	10	65	1000	20	100
Moses Henderson	100	100	4	13	12	300	14	25
David Jones	50	80	2	2	12	125	9	25
Valentine Young	75	75	3	6	20	400	12	0
Yancy Martin	500	600	12	25	60	1200	33	60
Isaac Richey	100	240	3	5	9	300	12	50
Elias Roney	85	115	5	7	8	300	7	0
Jno. Seawright	65	200	2	5	18	150	6	30
William Wilson	80	120	7	6	24	400	2	60
Alex N. Hughers	45	55	2	1	5	150	6	60
Jas. W. Blain	165	690	7	24	69	600	10	100
Sarah Barrone	70	515	7	4	25	600	5	20
Benj. Smith	150	625	5	15	35	600	8	100
Chas. Cullins	50	150	6	8	20	200	4	10
Ezekial Rasor	1150	1150	16	35	75	1500	35	250
William Pratt	50	40	2	0	0	200	7	20
jane Wallar	100	160	5	10	20	600	12	50
Saml. Donald	150	350	5	8	25	600	8	50
Davis Moore	125	105	2	12	27	400	6	15
Robert Seawright	75	140	4	5	15	400	0	15
Jas. F. Donald	100	175	7	4	15	600	4	10
Benj. F. Mosely	200	250	4	12	30	800	15	60
Beufort Lamson	30	120	2	2	15	200	2	50



1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Censu (page 24 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Isaac C. Seawright	40	70	2	2	15	130	4	10
Wm. Robertson	400	500	8	15	100	1000	18	150
Larkin Barmore	300	860	12	12	38	800	25	25
Wade Robertson	0	0	3	0	9	200	5	200
Jas. Robertson	80	280	4	12	20	200	5	200
Jane Richey	100	230	4	5	25	350	6	0
Jos. Blackwell	30	30	1	5	5	200	0	100
Andrew Cobb	75	75	2	1	6	100	8	15
Mary Garey	350	250	8	10	40	1200	24	100
Ben Z. Herndon	350	800	20	10	40	2000	53	300
Wm. A. McIlwain	0	0	1	1	1	35	0	35
Jno. Anderson	0	0	1	1	9	0	0	0
Warren G. Lomax	400	975	8	22	60	1600	53	100
Eliza Williams	325	50	4	6	6	1000	18	40
Danl. S. Beacham	200	300	6	14	25	400	4	30
Jno. Rothcock	70	70	2	6	12	275	14	100
Plug Saxon	30	0	1	1	9	30	3	75
Christopher Smith	100	200	6	6	4	60	9	75
William Strawhorn	75	40	3	3	10	250	14	75
Richd. Griffin	60	0	1	1	0	60	4	10
Wm. Whitley	70	0	3	1	9	400	5	0
Jno. A. Stewart	600	800	10	14	60	700	40	200
Snoden Simons	125	75	5	5	30	500	22	50
Larkin Mayes	0	0	4	3	15	400	20	50
Chas. N. grham	70	80	3	7	15	400	16	0
Albert M. Graham	80	120	5	10	40	500	11	75
Saml. Graham	100	60	5	10	20	500	25	300
Jno. W. Moore	525	670	7	15	40	2500	85	100
Wesley Robertson	350	475	10	20	25	1800	38	100
Jno. C. Watson	150	200	8	15	33	800	29	250
James E. Philips	50	20	2	4	15	200	2	50
Abner H. McGee	240	210	4	9	13	850	26	0
Wm. S. Jones	350	490	12	19	30	1000	34	50
Thornton Carter	170	110	3	3	28	800	12	0
Jas Killingsworth	150	250	6	4	11	600	16	300
Wm. A. Ware	80	120	2	5	15	400	12	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 25 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Enoch M. Sharp	115	100	4	4	6	100	9	0
Abner McGee Sr.	300	600	8	18	23	800	25	25
Wm. L. McGee	125	250	4	8	35	400	11	15
Michael McGee	100	285	4	8	5	300	10	15
Andrew Agnew	150	450	3	19	30	500	9	0
Cath. Williamson.	35	20	2	1	12	200	4	10
John Hay	0	0	2	3	15	125	5	0
John W. Shirley	119	50	3	5	8	250	4	100
Peter S. Burton	70	112	3	5	5	200	3	50
John A. Burton	225	753	12	16	40	500	21	200
Robt. A. Tucker	70	142	1	5	12	60	5	50
William Shaw	100	0	1	0	0	15	1	75
Basil Callihan	200	250	6	12	40	400	21	100
Nancy Callihan	50	35	2	1	20	250	2	75
Sherod W. Callihan	50	185	4	4	12	100	4	50
Jos. S. Barnes	100	56	1	2	10	100	3	5
Yancy Door	0	0	2	1	0	15	4	0
Wm. L. Young	45	22	2	2	4	75	7	30
James B. McWorton	75	225	3	6	15	400	7	100
Demsey Callihan	100	150	3	5	18	400	3	100
Saml. J. Callihan	40	100	4	4	14	200	3	10
Christopher Ellis	100	478	6	11	25	500	11	100
James Clinkscales	120	464	4	5	27	400	12	100
William Shirley	50	50	3	5	10	100	3	50
Stephen M. Fisher	65	36	3	8	13	100	4	15
Martha Murdock	50	32	2	2	0	145	3	15
Saml. A. Fishcer	40	75	1	7	10	175	2	20
John A. Hinston	60	56	4	4	12	250	4	20
Jamy Nelson	0	0	1	2	5	100	3	50
William G. Walker	150	70	3	4	25	75	8	50
Anna Robinson	100	120	6	4	11	200	4	25
Wm. Armstrong	200	600	10	19	40	400	4	100
Wm. Pearman	100	200	3	14	25	300	5	50
George Shirley	50	160	3	7	8	150	4	6
Geb. Allewine	45	40	3	0	6	125	1	0
John J. Kerr	57	145	3	2	12	175	4	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 26 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jos. MS Branyon	100	100	6	9	12	350	6	20
James Daby	0	0	4	0	7	100	3	0
B. Daby	25	75	1	0	10	50	2	10
William Duncan	100	500	2	4	20	150	7	30
Richard Taylor	0	0	3	2	9	240	3	30
William Burton	70	200	1	3	10	250	3	40
Robs. Burton	50	32	4	7	9	150	3	20
John F. Burton	60	200	3	10	8	30	5	25
Addis Clinkscales	110	400	5	6	30	600	12	75
David Lomax	0	0	1	2	1	80	1	30
Wm. Clinkscales	200	800	6	15	40	500	16	100
Barret McAdams	450	200	4	7	25	400	10	25
David Duncan	0	0	2	1	5	100	3	20
Lemuel W. Tribble	250	386	6	25	35	400	16	75
JH Haddon	150	120	8	12	14	350	3	50
BM Latimer	150	200	4	8	20	0	0	0
Elizabeth Ellis	230	200	6	5	15	400	17	60
Joseph Ellis	380	375	8	17	35	800	28	75
John L. Ellis	300	400	8	24	18	1100	40	80
Robert Pratt	300	700	10	20	60	1500	43	150
John Pratt	300	100	8	20	60	900	38	200
Elizabeth Rudon	300	20	8	12	25	500	12	200
Robert Crawford	140	285	8	12	45	1100	23	100
Albert Johnson	200	350	8	6	23	800	16	100
John W. Brooks	150	238	6	9	25	800	9	60
James Fairy	300	820	14	11	50	1600	68	200
Harrison Latimore	0	0	3	1	5	200	6	6
Mary Kay	70	280	3	1	18	700	18	15
Albert Haddon	25	115	4	4	7	20	1	6
Sarah Wier	40	224	3	6	15	150	2	5
Thomas Davis	150	354	5	11	35	500	6	25
Wm. Philips	0	0	1	0	5	60	1	5
Aaron Ashley	40	30	1	2	6	50	2	14
James Wier	60	65	2	7	19	150	2	20
Jaohn Smith	20	10	1	2	8	100	2	10
Rebecca Smith	25	50	1	2	5	100	1	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 27 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John L. Hadon	100	400	8	13	35	300	10	10
Joshua Ashley	70	394	7	13	30	600	4	75
William Ashley	120	40	2	1	5	100	2	3
Moses Ashley	45	65	3	3	8	150	6	10
Mary Hawkins	55	45	2	1	5	20	0	20
Reuben Clinkscales	200	200	2	4	25	500	10	40
Wm. Pratt	90	270	5	15	20	400	16	40
Nancy Pratt	150	216	4	9	30	100	7	50
Elizabeth Pratt	150	110	5	9	20	300	0	100
James B. Hay	200	300	13	10	50	800	15	200
Reuben Goodwin	0	0	2	1	8	100	1	25
John F. Simpson	150	200	8	8	20	500	18	25
Clayton Jones	100	155	4	2	15	200	6	40
John M. Milford	50	84	2	4	8	50	1	50
James Young	40	79	2	6	5	100	3	50
Wililam Wickliff	70	165	1	0	7	0	0	0
Pressley C. Subin	12	87	1	0	6	0	0	0
William Fleming	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	50
Robert Hall	200	450	5	13	35	300	7	100
Wililam Hall	25	50	1	6	0	50	2	60
Robison McAdams	200	300	5	10	25	500	8	150
James B. Hall	75	75	1	2	0	200	2	30
George W. Hall	0	0	1	4	11	100	2	50
Conrad Wakefield	1000	1000	5	13	30	1400	35	150
E. Norris	100	100	2	4	21	300	83	50
David Cliland	60	90	3	4	12	200	3	50
AH Callihan	40	90	2	3	12	100	5	10
George Milford	50	110	3	3	12	50	5	40
Wesley A. Black	50	300	4	0	11	150	2	15
Moses Smith	0	0	1	2	7	75	2	30
Joseph R. Black	275	395	6	10	75	1200	90	150
George W. Black	150	150	5	11	30	400	10	75
William Boyd	0	0	2	3	7	50	1	15
Saml. Bowen	35	30	0	0	3	150	6	20
John M. Briant	100	80	2	3	6	75	6	10
Alex. C. Bowen	45	55	2	2	5	75	4	25

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 28 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Micah McGee	175	175	5	15	20	75	10	30
David Callihan	60	220	4	8	13	200	8	10
David Callihan	17	83	1	3	2	40	3	1
James Fisher	100	210	6	6	12	200	3	75
Michael Davis	0	0	2	4	0	50	1	20
Joseph Fowler	40	100	2	4	5	100	3	25
Jas. McCormick	60	47	8	7	12	300	10	100
Frank Clinkscales	150	400	6	3	25	500	5	40
JB Strickland	0	0	5	6	12	100	10	50
Wm. C. Fisher	45	38	2	3	6	100	2	25
Moses L. Ashley	100	88	4	5	19	250	4	50
Mary Smith	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Hugh Robertson	150	328	4	12	40	300	8	140
JF Clinkscales	300	380	3	16	50	700	35	100
William Fields	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0
Thomas Crawford	275	425	10	25	65	1600	70	200
John W. Lesly	150	100	3	5	13	350	13	25
Thomas Lesly	150	100	2	5	12	350	13	25
Wililam Lesly	400	300	5	11	60	300	14	50
Mathew B. Cochran	50	50	3	1	11	200	2	50
Lemuel Reid	250	403	8	12	50	1000	18	10
Sarah Mims	150	70	3	3	15	200	4	50
Saml. W. Cochran	40	160	2	0	4	30	0	20
Wash Cochran	200	200	1	10	18	300	7	4
<b>Charlotte Donaldson</b>	10	30	0	1	0	20	0	5
James Liddle	800	400	10	16	60	1800	48	300
John Miller	200	153	7	8	17	400	19	40
Jacob Clamp	0	0	1	0	0	30	2	3
Isabella Miller	150	150	6	7	15	350	13	50
Geo. WD Miller	150	150	4	8	15	350	13	50
James Pratt	150	150	5	7	18	650	22	100
Henry Winn	200	225	5	2	15	700	12	100
Andw. Winn	0	0	5	10	0	0	0	0
Robt. H. Winn	100	140	3	5	9	300	6	100
Nancy Botts	50	180	2	2	12	50	1	15
Henry Sharper	38	41	2	1	15	40	2	50

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 29 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
<i>Lewis Donaldson</i>	0	0	1	0	1	106	0	25
Wm. J. newell	50	84	2	2	11	150	0	50
Wm M. Newell	30	140	3	4	11	100	1	30
James Gordon	400	740	8	12	35	600	19	160
Saml. M. Cochran	25	75	2	4	10	75	1	20
Benj. Cochran	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wash. Prince	75	175	5	3	12	500	13	50
Geo. B. Clinkscales	600	625	6	20	60	1200	75	100
Joel Cunningham	400	400	5	21	40	1250	88	100
Jno. Alewine	0	0	0	0	0	125	2	25
Saml. Agt. Swilling	230	520	8	14	49	700	20	50
Mic. B. Latimer	200	260	8	20	30	500	19	100
James Black	250	450	5	20	30	200	19	50
William Gains	100	200	7	8	18	300	2	10
Aaron Lynch	600	400	8	15	25	500	43	100
Rob. Gains	6	0	2	0	22	0	0	150
Thomas Hill	400	500	5	13	45	100	10	100
Starling Bowen	150	162	4	5	7	175	7	40
Louisa Hester	275	275	10	6	30	800	20	100
Saml. Hester	250	300	15	11	15	400	20	0
Sand. Spoul	300	200	7	9	32	900	24	200
Henry Mosely	100	713	4	8	38	1000	13	100
Mary Cowan	50	190	3	8	18	300	2	25
A. Swearingain	300	127	8	13	60	700	45	40
William Hunt	0	0	3	3	20	100	2	40
Thos. A. Cates	130	245	7	8	20	700	9	15
Mary Moore	120	80	6	7	20	300	15	0
George Burdett	0	0	2	0	7	25	2	0
Mary Clark	100	150	5	8	10	150	2	0
Alex Dickson	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	35
Mary Norwood	125	275	5	8	30	250	9	40
George McCalla	800	2200	18	42	140	1400	110	100
Jas. Ed. Calhoun	1450	1400	23	78	66	5550	63	50
Alex. P. Wimbish	130	373	9	10	40	800	4	20
Logan Johnson	160	797	8	21	60	700	13	125
James G. Bell	160	440	3	8	68	400	10	150

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 30 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Gidson Johnson	160	235	3	10	21	300	13	80
Saml. Jones	100	320	3	4	24	100	12	30
Banister Allen	800	925	12	18	130	3000	50	20
Macedon Bell	125	25	2	2	20	50	6	60
William B. Scott	16	566	5	1	18	100	1	30
Lesis McAlister	12	0	1	3	4	0	0	50
Saml. Mitchell	25	45	2	6	20	150	2	50
A. Walker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wm. Scoggins	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0
Hutton Laufton	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Henry H. Scuddy	0	0	1	1	6	0	0	20
Henry Cole	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Wm. R. White	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jas. Barnes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jas M. Malligan	0	0	3	1	0	15	0	20
Jas. Baskins	60	65	2	0	10	0	0	400
William A. Giles	60	60	0	3	8	0	0	20
Est. M Daphne	58	58	2	1	0	0	0	0
Julius Daphne	0	0	1	0	7	0	0	0
Thos. Baker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Mosely	200	250	7	6	54	400	11	150
Caroline Huckaby	0	0	2	0	8	400	15	50
Jas. M. Latimer	600	600	8	27	80	1200	41	300
Mary McGruder	10	182	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Power	60	100	1	2	5	25	2	0
Wm. M. Bell	0	10	5	5	30	0	0	0
Christ. Barnes	100	500	1	6	100	200	2	0
Henry Harper	400	1000	12	30	35	1500	30	0
Thomas Tucker	40	182	4	6	10	100	6	0
Bartley Tucker	225	345	5	11	28	700	16	125
Bartler S. Tucker	50	0	2	5	28	100	4	0
John J. Tucker	60	0	2	3	30	50	5	50
Wm. F. Clinkscales	150	270	5	21	50	1200	18	75
Ezekial Spud	250	350	6	22	100	200	25	100
Wm. Caldwell	150	350	6	32	80	600	11	75
Jas M. Latimer	140	290	3	10	20	600	10	75

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 31 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Joseph Burton	175	325	3	9	30	700	11	50
James Ball	30	120	2	4	8	50	2	25
<i>Anthony McGin</i>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Milly Barnes</i>	0	0	1	0	8	50	0	30
Lucy Haddon	0	227	2	0	0	0	0	0
William Shaw	0	0	2	0	8	25	0	15
Thoams Deal	40	25	2	0	8	25	1	20
Andrew Sutherland	25	40	3	9	6	30	1	50
John Newby	0	0	2	0	8	0	1	0
James Beasley	40	180	1	3	15	100	3	15
Tho. Sutherland	0	0	1	0	15	100	3	25
Elisha Sutherland	0	0	1	2	22	50	1	15
Wm. Sutherland	35	50	2	0	5	35	1	25
John Grant	0	0	3	0	0	200	3	40
Ralph Harden	0	0	1	0	15	50	4	150
Isabella Harden	1200	175	7	3	30	800	4	200
JA Harris	100	280	3	4	37	200	0	150
Mary Black	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jas. M. Young	200	265	5	8	40	400	13	100
Clem. Latimer	250	150	8	5	50	600	9	150
Wm. Young	400	600	12	12	80	2000	27	300
Jos. Young	100	122	3	2	19	250	8	150
Rob. Hutchinson	350	475	4	15	65	1000	20	40
James Bowen	0	0	3	5	10	250	3	40
Wm A Presley	180	100	6	7	40	1500	23	75
Reginal N. Groves	450	430	5	7	12	500	6	40
Isaac Carlile	75	150	6	2	30	300	4	50
Mary B. Carlile	70	192	2	3	12	500	3	25
Dan. E. Carlile	30	40	3	2	10	100	3	50
James Carlile	75	105	2	4	20	200	7	50
James J. Allen	300	280	8	7	60	1600	18	50
Polly Boyd	0	0	2	5	18	14	0	20
Ann Maxwell	150	200	2	10	20	50	0	0
James Bruce	250	520	7	0	40	1000	20	40
Alex Oliver	400	450	8	13	40	600	10	70
Ag. Bozeman	125	253	3	9	18	300	12	40



1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 32 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Eliz. Robertson	100	400	8	3	25	100	4	40
Elijah H. Spears	200	200	4	6	6	100	6	60
George Burditt	0	0	3	2	16	100	2	20
Andr. J. Buckanan	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0
John W. Brown	300	360	4	7	29	500	6	50
Rufus F. Brown	50	45	2	1	10	300	4	0
Andrew Buchanan	0	0	2	2	10	0	0	0
Geo. Pettigrew	200	487	6	3	40	500	10	20
John C. Sprat	80	90	5	4	31	450	10	30
William Maulden	60	120	7	6	14	300	6	50
Benj. Kay	385	100	7	11	17	480	27	100
Robt. Simpson	30	50	2	1	13	25	0	50
Rob. Keown	0	0	1	0	14	0	0	0
Orange Haley	0	0	2	1	10	100	0	0
George Killy	0	0	1	2	12	50	0	0
Arch. Maulden	0	0	4	4	10	0	0	0
David O'McLin	0	0	6	12	25	50	10	20
James M. White	130	395	8	4	35	400	9	30
Joseph Baker	400	200	6	6	65	1000	17	150
John Spear	205	917	9	19	60	500	30	300
Henry Burton	80	153	3	4	7	500	7	50
James Stack	110	485	4	4	25	100	11	40
Malinda Hamden	40	90	2	4	9	200	4	10
Wm W Bowie	70	100	3	1	12	50	7	100
Frank Robertson	50	51	3	5	12	100	3	40
Wm. Robertson	60	90	1	2	4	40	4	0
Edward Davis	400	600	4	14	30	200	16	50
Eliz. A McKee	30	70	1	2	9	70	2	20
Elizabeth Taylor	110	200	7	13	43	400	10	75
Lewis Pane	20	102	2	2	0	0	1	5
Jas. Lomax	400	400	16	14	54	400	44	100
George Graves	600	900	23	59	70	1200	60	200
Littleton Yarborough	210	190	12	12	28	900	22	200
Elizabeth McCane	73	391	6	1	0	600	6	50
Kittie Tilman	355	545	12	12	15	1200	17	20
William Speer	250	210	7	9	40	800	29	200

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 33 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Andrew Giles	125	175	6	8	50	175	8	200
Est. F. Power	100	66	5	3	20	125	6	0
Wm. Hix for Crawford	550	898	12	36	22	800	44	0
Wm. W. Belcher	225	205	8	4	40	800	18	0
Zach. R. Jones	0	0	4	0	10	200	9	20
Albert Clinkscales	800	1240	15	23	80	2000	82	100
Wm. Clinkscales	400	300	7	7	65	800	34	40
Roger L. Williams	300	300	10	4	40	1200	30	0
Wm. J. Power	325	565	5	11	13	1500	36	100
Elias Kay	100	386	7	11	45	600	17	50
Hugh M. Prince	350	400	7	10	60	800	20	100
Wash L. Prince	75	185	5	5	35	600	14	100
John Brownlee	500	900	7	19	80	1000	83	100
Robt. Harkness	110	397	1	8	15	400	9	6
Benj. W. Williams	150	380	10	6	8	150	9	5
William Dixon	60	370	4	7	10	100	4	60
William Hall	0	0	1	3	7	150	2	50
Thomas McAdams	0	0	2	1	0	150	2	25
Jas. D. Hall	0	0	0	0	5	40	1	0
Fenton Hall	0	0	2	2	10	30	1	20
David Murdock	30	70	2	5	20	50	2	50
William Boyd	30	70	2	2	12	40	1	30
Rob. Boyd	75	25	3	2	12	50	3	50
William Wright	0	0	1	0	0	30	1	15
James Mann	0	0	1	1	7	30	1	25
Mary Hill	200	160	2	2	9	15	1	25
William Crowther	40	10	3	2	20	100	3	75
James Crowther Jr.	30	45	3	1	11	25	2	30
James Crowther Sr.	100	200	4	5	30	300	4	100
Wm. C. Ferguson	25	62	2	1	10	30	2	20
Robert Stuckey	56	100	5	4	8	300	3	0
Tho. B. Milford	80	80	2	2	8	156	6	25
Tinch O'Cann	25	75	3	0	12	70	3	0
Wm. B. Harkness	47	241	1	1	2	75	3	0
Alex Moore	50	35	1	5	15	75	2	6
Robt. Bell	0	0	2	2	1	100	4	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 34 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Ebenezer H. Bell	0	0	4	0	3	70	6	50
Henry Cason	50	120	4	9	3	250	10	20
William Moore	65	42	3	1	4	150	2	40
Hugh Brice	32	118	3	2	11	60	2	34
Riply R. Morrah	0	0	2	2	4	60	3	40
Joseph Bell	400	700	3	9	27	700	37	30
James Hodge	50	109	2	3	13	200	2	15
Thomas Hodge	100	200	4	6	14	150	3	20
John McCurry	150	250	5	5	20	300	7	30
Byrd Martin	50	80	4	4	7	75	4	0
Jos. Cunningham	140	260	3	13	35	500	20	30
Sidney A. McCurry	30	90	2	0	20	75	2	50
Saml. Hunter	0	0	4	3	37	150	12	60
Alex. Hunter	700	1700	6	16	40	1000	35	250
Jacob Martin	250	615	9	11	30	600	26	200
Green L. Johnson	275	200	5	9	50	600	27	0
Elizabeth Bell	170	430	8	10	23	500	18	300
Jonth. Johnson	200	117	7	10	28	200	8	0
William Smith	125	275	8	4	20	600	15	30
Green Fleming	23	27	2	2	4	40	1	10
Joel Lockhart	250	390	7	10	40	1500	10	400
Tho. Cunningham	60	190	2	2	15	200	4	40
Steward Baskins	150	500	8	6	27	400	12	100
Michael Kennedy	150	250	8	4	30	400	10	200
Robt. M. Davis	450	1380	7	23	70	2000	21	30
Chs. P. Allen	300	398	6	11	28	1000	11	50
Robs. Hodges	250	450	5	7	25	100	5	300
Jos. Kennedy	170	530	11	4	35	800	25	75
Wm. F. Kennedy	50	240	4	4	15	600	11	40
Chs. J. Haskell	0	0	30	58	120	5000	350	300
Robs. J. Smith	150	210	6	7	35	700	5	75
Robt. H. Wilson	100	300	4	3	27	150	5	50
John A. Martin	178	85	6	10	30	150	12	0
Robt. Harnkess	125	100	3	1	20	100	3	0
John A. Crawford	75	193	8	0	36	200	6	0
WM A Daniel	100	250	3	2	11	400	7	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 35 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm. C. Cosby	300	845	11	12	75	500	14	100
Jane A. Frazer	150	250	6	0	30	400	12	50
William Lesly	125	55	4	2	30	250	10	50
Nathl. Cunningham	110	164	3	4	10	130	4	0
Flora Dawson	140	130	6	6	22	300	5	60
John Patterson	50	139	4	4	19	100	2	20
<i>Andrew Valentine</i>	50	116	5	3	10	100	5	15
William Cochran	40	62	2	3	7	125	1	40
William Mann	75	275	2	4	14	250	4	40
James H. Baskins	300	334	7	18	36	1200	38	80
Alex McAlister	50	125	4	3	10	300	3	50
William Campbell	150	300	4	1	8	350	9	100
Lewis Clinkscales	160	90	1	9	20	800	7	50
Sterling Bowen	150	300	8	8	15	400	18	20
Alex Wynn	50	90	3	1	12	200	3	10
Whit McCarry	0	0	2	4	0	70	1	30
Ann C. Cann	0	0	0	0	1	60	1	0
Jesse W. Cann	35	65	3	0	4	100	3	20
Joseph Campbell	80	96	4	2	9	150	2	100
JB Patterson	0	0	2	2	5	40	1	7
Pleas. Ferguson	100	240	2	3	16	200	3	50
Thos. C Milford	40	80	2	4	12	100	2	25
Alex. M. Mahon	0	0	1	1	3	75	1	10
William Campbell	30	10	1	0	3	75	3	15
William McMahan	0	0	0	0	0	75	1	15
Feagan McMahan	135	225	5	14	30	600	9	60
John McMahan	20	25	2	2	12	200	2	50
Saml. Baker	283	717	5	7	120	1800	31	300
Geo. W. Bowen	0	0	1	1	10	100	1	10
Est. Witherspoon	300	500	7	5	47	1200	25	300
James Seawright	300	100	6	13	35	500	14	50
Robt. Brownlee	200	500	5	10	50	600	11	0
James W. Richey	200	300	9	14	13	700	3	75
Thos. W. Branyon	130	325	6	14	12	700	12	40
Wm. Seawright	75	385	2	3	25	250	3	50
Geo. B. Richey	200	340	6	6	25	700	13	100

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 36 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Dunn	200	335	8	7	40	300	16	100
Margt. Dunn	150	135	3	5	10	200	5	20
White Agnew	250	215	3	4	30	500	23	0
Anne Sharpe	120	180	2	8	20	200	4	200
Rob C. Sharpe Jr.	300	500	4	16	35	1000	20	200
Mary Hawthorn	100	200	6	14	40	300	7	20
John M. Hawthorn	10	20	5	5	20	400	8	75
Lorenzo Wright	20	40	2	1	7	120	1	20
John M. Pruitt	110	285	2	2	14	250	14	0
James Cowan	400	400	8	15	50	1100	25	300
AC Hawthorn	400	350	15	35	100	1200	2	200
Jas. L. Miller	285	150	6	25	26	625	12	150
Polly A. Lindsay	150	150	6	8	30	600	9	300
Saml. R. Brownlee	100	230	4	8	25	500	14	50
Robt. C. Sharpe Jr.	200	240	9	6	19	600	15	70
Johnathan Galloway	100	400	5	15	16	400	17	50
William Donald	150	450	6	8	35	300	7	50
George Nichols	350	1650	12	13	70	1350	27	0
Rev. JC Williams	160	740	12	17	36	1000	14	300
John Vance	1000	660	13	30	125	2400	58	400
Thos. A. Arthur	300	660	6	8	60	400	42	100
WS Lomax	175	284	5	10	20	600	30	50
John R. McCord	100	270	6	6	25	700	7	0
Saml. R. Lomax	150	188	6	9	30	450	6	80
George Lomax	125	425	7	0	25	400	9	0
HM Wardlaw	100	100	3	3	23	250	4	50
John Turner	50	45	3	3	7	200	8	50
HD Nichols	250	372	10	10	35	400	9	0
WM P. Nichles	100	100	6	8	7	350	10	0
Jas M. Calvert	250	180	5	7	13	400	17	0
John H. Mundy	0	0	6	0	15	800	10	0
Mary Gordon	100	100	3	4	6	50	3	0
Louisa Brazil	0	0	5	1	50	900	13	30
JJ Cheatham	75	298	6	0	17	300	2	200
William Bullock	100	130	4	0	0	250	5	30
WM A Lomax	125	350	10	11	35	450	20	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 37 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Thos W. Smith	0	0	8	7	65	1500	52	20
Wm. Ramsay	0	0	3	3	40	30	2	0
John W. Lomax	228	228	8	17	40	500	20	0
James Elgin	50	75	2	10	19	150	3	30
Hezekiah Elgin	120	60	3	6	15	400	8	15
John Webb	60	60	4	3	25	100	2	0
Adam Clamp	30	0	1	0	5	60	5	30
327illiam Martin	30	75	4	3	10	100	1	30
Robert Martin	180	390	6	16	31	400	9	50
Samuel Martin	80	180	4	10	20	350	6	25
Nath. Houghes	50	35	4	3	20	350	2	20
Samuel Butcher	70	0	2	3	4	140	4	30
James Shirly	150	200	6	8	10	400	7	75
Benj. McClain	40	100	2	0	4	75	2	100
John McClain	35	25	1	3	4	100	3	20
Stephen M. Tribble	130	400	10	12	40	800	13	150
James Branyon	80	160	6	8	12	200	4	150
Saml. Branyon	30	120	2	1	11	70	1	25
Peter Ricket	75	110	4	3	18	200	4	20
Ann Shirley	60	225	2	2	4	400	2	20
John McClain Jr.	150	250	3	6	20	250	2	40
John R. Wilson	400	400	18	10	50	1000	25	50
Jos. McAdams	50	105	4	3	6	150	4	50
Robt. Ellis	500	1500	20	65	90	2000	78	200
Robt. McAdams	150	350	8	12	50	300	18	100
Saml. Pruitt	100	125	5	15	20	500	8	50
Wm W. McDill	100	130	4	3	13	200	8	0
Alley Pruitt	300	500	4	15	27	600	37	20
EC Presley	275	925	20	25	65	1500	30	200
John Miller	100	250	4	6	17	175	3	25
Amanda Drake	40	160	5	3	15	250	2	10
William Agnew	140	335	7	12	43	600	13	50
Andrew Dunn	150	450	9	15	25	700	12	100
Thos. Hawthorne	250	150	4	17	27	500	21	25
David Hawthorne	300	700	8	10	40	1600	31	150
John Hagan	75	90	5	14	30	450	12	0

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 38 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Robert Hagan	100	225	4	6	35	500	12	60
Edward Hagan	75	200	3	6	18	400	6	25
Jane Bowie	45	100	3	7	19	150	4	40
Chas. K. Haney	60	100	4	5	8	300	4	20
Andrew Rickey	100	100	7	7	38	300	6	50
Robert Dunn	150	470	3	3	20	700	21	100
Matha Cobb	250	50	8	12	47	400	14	0
Thomas Strawhorn	60	182	3	4	22	250	4	12
Pascall Klugh	600	900	14	20	70	1500	41	300
Willim McNary	284	144	4	16	50	800	20	0
Jno. Strawhorn	110	110	5	2	75	300	10	20
Jno. McCready	40	90	1	0	15	200	3	25
Willie Ellis	50	161	2	3	7	80	3	10
Thomas Jones	70	141	4	10	7	120	7	20
Rebecca Wilson	0	0	0	2	2	100	1	20
Isabella Tolbert	100	240	7	20	28	300	8	150
Benj. Roberts	180	20	5	1	16	250	13	0
Jas. Hughey	200	376	9	7	25	400	8	100
Jas. Ellis	170	800	8	10	20	400	21	20
Jas. E. Ellis	200	225	8	6	16	300	16	50
Jesse Ellis	125	75	3	3	12	400	10	0
Vinson Fair	350	450	7	10	60	1500	46	200
Mrs. McCracken	100	260	7	9	20	300	4	60
Geo. Duxenberry	140	65	6	5	10	400	3	80
David J. Jordan	350	350	11	11	30	1000	13	30
Elijah Richey	175	118	4	3	26	150	8	50
Samuel Gilmer	350	60	5	0	15	300	12	10
LeRoy Wilson	100	125	6	17	15	200	5	75
Joe. R. Cunningham	75	100	4	2	6	300	7	15
Joel L. Lipford	300	147	4	3	100	2000	35	0
Frances Brooks	250	210	7	17	50	1000	21	30
Sarah Cheatham	400	1200	10	26	59	2000	70	300
Wm. Cheatham	100	120	5	2	18	300	11	100
Wm. H. Brooks	290	520	10	8	35	1000	25	150
Isaac W. Dansby	0	0	4	0	3	150	7	20
Robt. A. Wilson	50	50	2	0	7	200	1	50

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 39 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
LO Shoemaker	50	50	3	4	25	150	4	20
L. William Perry	50	52	3	5	4	100	6	50
Mr. L. Edwards	40	60	2	2	15	200	3	15
Thomas Guffin	150	50	5	3	37	400	2	60
Wm. Pressley	90	128	3	7	20	400	8	90
Jas. Pressly	130	270	8	10	40	500	17	100
Saml. Lockridge	60	300	5	3	20	100	4	50
Andw. Gillespie	120	355	4	8	40	600	10	100
Est. Thomas	500	646	9	15	34	1000	47	120
LeRoy Johnson	300	660	9	7	34	600	22	60
John Gray	400	400	12	18	40	600	30	100
Robt M Palmer	1200	1245	20	75	150	2500	84	300
Wardlaw Perrin	150	390	3	0	40	600	15	75
JF McComb	100	206	7	3	15	200	8	50
Lewis Gillespie	80	227	8	5	18	200	6	25
John Lyon	200	187	6	24	35	700	22	15
Jane mcllwain	250	93	5	9	17	250	5	0
Miss M. Hagan	150	150	5	7	15	200	6	0
Dison M. Rogers	500	300	6	22	50	1200	70	300
Alex G. Hagan	50	178	3	0	25	175	0	20
Jane A Swain	156	100	7	3	20	200	2	40
Andrew Stevenson	150	59	7	9	34	400	10	100
James C. Stevenson	50	27	3	4	8	200	4	0
David M. Williams	90	310	5	4	21	100	1	60
Peter Henry	125	245	5	7	30	400	8	40
Benj. Bowie	30	26	3	7	10	175	6	60
Vincent Ratcliff	60	95	4	10	20	120	5	30
Wm. J. Ratcliff	30	70	1	4	4	75	4	20
Wm S. Stevenson	100	384	4	13	40	500	9	40
John E. Ellis	68	165	4	3	15	150	9	40
Robert M. Ellis	30	103	2	3	7	75	3	30
Jemima Kemp	100	260	3	4	6	100	3	12
Abram Haddon	100	140	8	7	17	500	2	20
Z. Haddon	100	190	5	9	18	300	6	20
Robert W. Haddon	200	115	10	20	25	1200	40	20
John Cowan	700	700	20	30	100	2000	40	50



1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 40 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Nichols	0	0	2	5	20	150	2	4
AP McKee	150	183	3	8	60	600	16	75
Henry B. Bowie	40	77	4	4	16	200	3	125
Wm. B. Bowie	100	96	5	10	30	500	7	75
Frank Bowie	70	40	6	3	16	325	3	75
Jane Robinson	50	70	3	7	14	100	2	0
Maria chandler	80	25	3	6	5	100	1	0
Benj. Eakin	400	384	15	5	20	800	29	300
Jas. McIlwain	150	225	5	5	19	350	9	200
Geo. M Maddon	80	137	4	0	10	150	3	5
Rich. P. Doyle	0	0	3	2	13	100	0	60
Wm. McIlwain	65	136	5	9	24	350	7	30
Lucretia Ruff	170	400	1	0	11	200	3	15
Wm. S. Robinson	60	150	4	0	0	200	3	28
Thos. Stevenson	40	136	2	3	3	100	1	20
Hannah McComb	150	350	7	3	16	300	3	30
Wm. McComb	60	50	3	5	12	100	2	25
William Gordon	80	370	6	6	28	200	4	40
Jane Cunningham	25	75	4	1	13	75	0	70
Robt. Gordon	320	1830	25	40	60	1200	30	150
James Carlile	140	200	9	3	10	200	2	75
Nimrod Davis	25	100	2	1	7	100	3	10
John Daxon	75	250	2	6	28	200	4	30
William D. Stone	25	150	2	2	17	150	1	15
Gideon Stone	80	220	4	6	25	300	3	25
Reuben Long	80	110	4	2	13	180	2	24
Nancy Robinson	100	250	5	20	30	600	16	120
Elizabeth Richey	125	260	3	7	16	350	2	60
Alex. Austen	150	260	12	6	45	800	18	200
Wm. E. Barrmore	70	230	2	1	14	300	7	20
Jas. A. Bigbee	100	115	4	6	7	200	3	0
Jas. C. Gamble	100	150	3	7	18	400	6	15
Turner Davis	50	100	3	3	15	400	1	50
Mary Buzbee	85	245	6	8	40	400	11	10
Jas. M. Vandiver	150	235	3	5	20	300	7	0
Uriah Matteson	25	140	3	4	36	200	1	25

1860 Abbeville District Agricultural Census (page 41 of 41)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John W. Bigby	100	290	6	7	5	500	5	100
EM Mattison	150	300	8	9	30	800	10	200
Thomas Moore	50	40	3	1	21	200	3	12
John Donald	75	325	8	6	25	500	6	30
Nath. Ware	58	155	2	2	25	600	2	0
William Maddox	400	1500	7	35	150	2500	20	100
James Taylor	250	1380	10	20	30	1400	4	400
Thomas Norwood	30	75	4	0	15	250	2	70
Julia Johnson	200	300	6	3	45	800	10	75
Isabella Latimore	150	200	4	1	30	400	6	100
HM Latimore	200	300	3	12	30	800	1	30
Stephen Latimore	300	450	6	13	45	1000	27	100
J. Rob. Latimore	75	200	4	2	20	250	3	50
William Long	100	255	7	9	23	600	8	0
James H. Shaw	1000	1820	10	40	150	2000	6	0
D&J Coleman	75	55	2	4	20	400	6	0
James Davis	40	75	1	3	2	50	4	40
Bozier Mattox	50	35	3	2	25	150	4	0
A. Edmond Ellison	35	275	1	1	16	300	2	10
Eliza Mattison	150	470	8	17	33	800	5	300
Melissa Kay	100	225	4	5	23	300	5	0
Isabella Kay	200	400	6	15	75	800	6	10
Marhall Bigsby	150	110	6	4	20	500	3	50
Delia Mitchell	50	120	3	4	11	100	3	10

Note: Free black farmers in bold italics. Source: 1860 Federal Census of Agriculture, Abbeville District, South Carolina.

APPENDIX J – 1850 NEWBERRY DISTRICT

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table J.1:** 1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
TW Thompson	125	80	5	8	15	0	0	0
Jesse Binfield	15	0	5	6	14	100	0	0
C.M. Jones	60	30	5	6	14	100	3	0
William Reid	200	155	9	20	60	800	42	0
David Boozer	300	160	8	22	35	1000	25	0
Thomas H. Pope	400	100	7	7	40	700	0	100
Wm. N. Lane	300	85	5	15	70	700	30	100
SJ Carwile	800	130	10	30	100	2000	63	200
WF Harrington	50	358	6	8	30	1000	0	0
James Houston	200	150	5	15	100	1500	43	100
MW Miller	33	0	5	15	25	300	0	50
FB Higgins	563	946	12	49	100	2700	65	0
Thomas Changler	340	140	6	20	31	1100	27	75
Robert Stewart	700	300	16	25	70	1600	8	200
John Harp	700	600	11	54	170	2500	101	100
William Welch	400	100	6	30	85	1800	67	300
James S. Bowers	50	40	3	7	11	250	0	50
Jesse Coate	100	100	3	7	38	300	7	30
James Neele	100	20	3	5	17	400	12	100
George Neele	500	200	7	26	70	1200	67	200
F. Teague	150	50	6	14	40	500	20	50
W.S. Chalmers	60	90	5	6	25	300	6	0
Jesse Keller	300	110	6	25	50	700	30	100
SS Reader	70	84	4	5	20	300	4	0
James Chalmers	500	700	15	25	100	2500	54	200
John P. Neele	500	500	15	35	200	2500	95	150
AS Dobbins	60	100	3	5	19	300	6	20

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 2 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
AW Chalmers	500	250	13	37	150	3000	40	200
WG Neele	200	160	5	12	40	250	19	0
thomas B. Chalmers	60	100	1	6	7	300	5	0
James Dobbins	76	20	2	7	30	300	1	50
JN Shumpert	160	140	4	16	38	800	7	100
JN Calmes	340	40	6	24	80	1500	0	30
Robert Burton	350	200	13	30	90	1400	38	200
WW Waldrop	75	55	5	10	16	350	8	20
Joseph Thomas	25	18	3	8	20	140	2	50
Mary Thomas	40	100	2	4	10	100	3	20
Obediah Seamans	65	200	5	10	15	250	14	30
JR Spearman	250	530	9	18	75	1400	50	200
Samuel Shumpert	100	49	3	8	20	200	8	20
David Stevens	500	200	12	12	50	1000	23	0
Matilda Kelley	30	60	4	7	22	200	7	0
Mary Boozer	147	61	7	20	25	650	12	250
Jan. C. Lake	40	140	4	8	20	200	4	40
John Williams	230	100	8	43	60	2000	21	50
John Harp	200	100	1	11	30	400	10	40
Levi Langhorn	250	150	6	8	35	800	16	100
Jesse Spear	125	119	10	22	75	540	11	100
Henry Hendrix	70	190	2	4	13	300	9	40
Reuben Hendrix	100	50	4	14	25	400	9	40
Frederick Boozer	300	250	10	10	40	800	45	75
HM Hunter	300	127	9	26	70	900	15	200
George Boozer	300	300	17	30	50	800	34	150
Levi Langhorn	50	10	2	5	13	300	4	20
Bailey Cole	60	20	2	4	22	300	4	50
Hamilton Plunket	100	219	6	12	27	500	6	100
James B. Floyd	305	345	1	9	19	800	76	20
WF Dillon	25	5	2	5	15	150	3	25
Joseph Chupp	140	80	3	8	75	600	4	50
Newton Boozer	90	20	2	8	25	200	6	25
Cornelius Workman	290	375	9	25	75	1400	73	50
Dennis Senn	250	150	7	7	100	800	42	30
Jesse Senn	40	80	3	5	18	200	4	100

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 3 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James M. Senn	125	45	6	8	35	500	15	70
David Boozer	130	80	6	20	60	600	29	80
David Senn	40	20	3	6	20	200	3	20
TW Boozer	75	30	4	5	15	250	4	50
Martha Stewart	100	108	3	8	19	350	4	50
E. Stewart	500	300	3	10	50	1000	30	150
GC Cleland	30	0	2	5	11	200	4	100
John P. Clary	90	64	2	4	16	300	12	20
John Clary	300	300	8	15	20	1000	27	50
JL Gilder	300	500	12	18	60	2000	60	100
Samuel Reader	60	43	4	7	20	300	6	100
Abner Reader	90	56	2	6	25	400	9	0
DB Pearster	250	270	7	10	60	900	24	200
Frances Lewel	200	160	8	12	38	400	9	60
Alfred Reader	100	94	2	2	11	600	9	50
John Reader	200	70	3	5	15	350	7	0
TD Butler	100	35	1	2	30	100	0	0
Drayton Pitts	200	200	3	4	30	200	4	200
James Aken	30	20	2	3	8	125	5	30
Andrew Mottes	25	25	2	3	7	300	2	60
Charlotte Campbell	50	35	2	2	13	200	5	30
James Reader	300	100	3	17	90	1000	24	150
FL Boozer	80	80	4	6	29	500	5	100
JR Gary	350	1300	10	30	60	2000	55	200
HW Gary	200	250	7	8	50	1200	29	0
Christopher Whitman	60	290	4	7	21	350	2	60
JW Dalrymple	200	160	3	7	38	700	10	25
Abel Cannon	80	154	5	10	18	400	6	100
David Cannon	150	60	5	10	25	600	7	100
GS Cannon	175	225	8	20	35	800	23	50
Richard Clary	30	145	3	5	15	200	12	0
Wm. Cannon	180	200	8	12	50	500	21	30
Wm. Croker	40	0	2	4	8	300	8	0
EP Lake	90	70	7	13	20	400	14	25
Robert Cleland	100	700	6	13	30	500	7	50
Canacy Pitts	300	225	13	22	49	600	29	150

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 4 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
AP Langhorn	100	200	5	20	42	450	12	50
John Cleland	90	250	3	5	40	400	6	10
James McClung	70	30	2	8	30	350	5	75
John Sterling	100	113	2	6	30	400	9	75
WF Peterson	12	0	1	3	8	100	2	50
DB Cappleman	80	34	2	7	12	250	6	30
William Senn	35	45	0	0	3	100	0	0
Frederick Senn	30	0	1	1	0	200	3	20
E. Johnston	50	113	3	5	26	200	4	30
Isreal Chandler	35	18	3	3	12	150	3	50
Thomas Butler	50	65	1	8	24	300	4	50
Benj. Butler	100	98	1	3	20	300	3	50
Washington Floyd	2000	1000	40	110	500	7200	265	300
Jackson Butler	20	0	0	2	0	150	3	50
Hester Butler	50	150	3	3	20	200	4	50
Reeseey Butler	60	40	1	7	25	200	4	75
YC Boozer	60	100	3	4	20	100	6	50
Jeff Davenport	20	30	2	4	10	150	2	25
John Senn	200	74	4	8	35	200	8	20
Daniel Mangum	200	150	4	20	30	800	23	100
JL Davenport	100	45	5	10	37	500	13	100
BR Mangum	120	80	4	7	15	500	8	100
Bennet Wallace	600	900	9	25	50	1500	38	100
JR Johnson	65	35	3	6	19	200	13	25
Wm Satterwhite	200	140	7	10	54	600	12	50
AP Davis	70	60	3	5	21	300	6	30
Elizabeth Davis	50	100	3	7	20	200	5	15
HCH Davis	100	50	4	5	26	400	6	75
Joseph Goggins	90	30	3	3	15	300	10	10
Bailey Goggins	50	50	3	3	5	200	2	50
James L. Davis	25	15	2	3	1	100	3	20
Moses Anderson	600	400	8	15	105	2000	42	200
Sarah Dalrymple	120	88	5	6	38	500	8	30
William Reader	65	0	2	3	10	80	4	10
MF Workman	200	56	8	17	50	700	22	200
David Johnson	70	130	2	5	32	300	5	40

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 5 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Ira Johnstone	25	25	3	6	16	100	2	10
Susan Livingston	230	500	8	16	55	1000	28	300
Kellis Anderson	340	260	10	15	50	1200	30	300
James Goggins	75	100	2	10	50	300	8	0
Stephen Johnson	40	30	4	4	20	200	4	30
Stephen Hudgeons	100	60	3	10	40	400	7	50
RB Holman	325	206	12	15	50	1200	70	150
Benjamin Lake	200	100	4	6	27	500	0	40
Elijah Lake	15	35	1	1	12	150	2	25
Peter Hair	450	126	6	32	60	1200	12	150
Bird Croomer	400	164	3	10	40	1000	48	50
<i>Sheppard Williams</i>	60	0	6	9	16	300	8	40
Joseph Reid	200	165	8	12	26	800	25	30
Josiah Stewart	130	50	4	5	15	300	8	0
John C. Stewart	100	50	4	6	20	400	5	20
Samuel Reid	130	364	5	5	25	800	15	25
Johnathan Galoway	165	295	8	15	60	600	14	100
Michael Baker	45	8	2	7	10	200	3	25
Joseph Baker	25	8	3	6	10	100	3	25
<i>John Wadsworth</i>	20	30	0	0	10	100	2	40
Joicy Allbritton	75	65	3	7	22	300	10	10
Wm. Franklin	25	8	2	4	14	250	3	75
Edward Kelly	20	5	3	3	18	150	6	3
Milton Spence	40	60	3	5	16	300	4	25
James Spence	100	160	7	5	30	500	9	50
JB Wilson	200	660	12	23	60	1220	31	50
HW Rickard	100	537	7	23	60	400	10	200
NE Rhodes	185	322	5	7	40	300	6	30
WM. Hill	60	20	2	3	15	200	2	0
David Wicker	105	0	4	9	30	280	14	0
JMM McMorris	325	695	6	12	60	700	53	30
<i>Charles Brown</i>	60	50	4	5	15	200	4	20
Wm. Ragland	35	40	4	6	20	300	3	50
Henry Halfacre	75	65	3	6	17	300	15	20
Ray Griffith	48	80	2	4	10	200	5	10
Jacob Bair	80	130	4	11	15	350	13	25

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 6 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Reason Davis	130	70	6	6	20	440	5	100
Van Davis	21	0	2	3	20	160	2	0
Jacob Summers	20	0	2	4	12	100	4	25
JP Kinard	400	400	10	35	60	1500	103	300
Samuel Montgomery	120	50	3	11	30	400	6	50
WW Houseal	50	46	4	5	25	300	9	60
AA McDill	60	74	3	5	20	150	4	30
WW McDill	50	50	2	3	11	150	2	0
Elizabeth Caldwell	100	85	4	8	20	250	6	20
George Caldwell	12	8	1	3	10	100	3	8
RP Caldwell	30	25	0	0	0	30	8	100
Abijah Davis	50	0	5	5	17	85	8	100
J.A.W. Chalmers	100	202	4	9	30	800	15	100
James J. Sloan	250	275	5	17	44	1000	28	100
John P. Buzzard	150	164	5	13	25	500	8	50
John Sligh	100	75	5	7	1	800	6	50
WW McMorris	400	340	20	30	100	2000	87	250
PW Gilliam	235	235	7	23	50	600	20	50
WC Gilliam	300	650	10	30	60	800	52	100
NP Glasgow	100	180	5	10	30	600	10	100
John P. Glasgow	150	300	9	10	40	800	15	35
Henry McCullough	30	0	3	3	20	250	6	100
RB Gilliam	350	380	10	20	80	1400	29	50
Z Wright	200	325	12	15	50	800	9	100
Thomas Jones	30	7	3	6	20	300	6	10
Mary Davis	60	210	9	12	12	200	7	0
PY Hunter	200	100	10	18	38	600	30	90
AC Glasgow	200	250	12	14	60	900	36	25
EG Butler	75	75	3	5	28	200	10	15
Van Davis	113	3	3	7	30	325	14	100
Nicholas Summer	125	80	5	18	30	440	16	20
Alfred Summer	70	70	4	7	30	400	16	10
Jennetta Ricker	200	100	2	5	22	240	6	15
David Sligh	200	200	5	19	40	1000	43	200
George Ricker	35	150	1	3	22	280	0	30
GS Sligh	200	80	6	14	25	400	21	40



1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 7 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm. Zalazly	45	55	3	7	20	300	5	50
Andrew Turner	400	300	8	28	100	1500	22	150
John C. Bonds	170	630	12	38	60	1200	30	100
Leonard Horton	11	0	2	5	9	40	2	0
E. Johnson	60	40	4	12	20	250	10	20
N. F. Johnson	100	30	4	11	37	500	17	30
John B. Ricker	230	199	5	15	40	900	12	100
Elmore Graham	16	0	2	1	7	75	3	50
Wade Johnson	60	144	6	13	58	500	11	80
Andrew Wheeler	40	47	4	5	23	200	11	25
James Bonds	400	400	15	25	100	1200	25	100
William Riser	85	115	2	14	20	500	12	100
Isaac Johnson	100	50	4	10	21	150	6	0
DF Hutchinson	30	20	1	1	6	50	5	10
Robert Norris	30	0	2	3	0	150	4	25
Benj. Kennaday	40	50	3	6	8	150	4	25
Wm. Felker	50	30	1	5	13	350	7	25
Wm. Bishop	50	56	3	6	12	200	8	50
John Harmon	60	60	3	12	19	300	4	0
Jane Starks	135	265	12	18	12	200	39	60
Rebecca Bonds	130	370	4	6	32	500	18	30
George Oxner	100	20	8	9	12	400	12	50
Jarred Smith	80	700	5	9	10	500	8	20
Shelton Garret	35	135	2	4	7	200	7	35
John Jones	120	122	4	13	30	600	13	50
Lefton Johnson	50	107	5	12	40	400	8	60
Lemuel Oxner	110	170	3	6	35	450	13	15
George Speaks	150	313	6	19	40	1000	30	150
James Lofton	90	168	7	9	19	400	9	75
William Hunter	330	75	8	6	44	900	11	80
John B. O'Neil	1000	1000	17	40	150	3000	15	600
James S. Gilliam	300	80	8	12	50	1000	18	50
WD Bazin	400	50	4	12	40	2000	35	400
P. O'Ferrill	40	48	4	4	15	250	0	50
David Werts	110	330	7	13	44	600	12	100
MM Higgins	350	210	6	24	130	1200	48	100

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 8 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Micheal Werts	500	600	4	25	40	2000	75	300
Daniel Stewart	115	200	5	7	35	400	7	50
JS Spearman	400	600	10	15	100	2500	50	200
Noah Martin	240	60	5	14	60	600	35	0
Martin Roiser	25	0	2	2	17	150	4	25
Levi Slawson	65	35	3	6	32	300	8	35
WW Davenport	30	20	2	3	24	150	7	30
Moses Davenport	100	50	5	7	35	460	15	40
Sarah Davidson	180	200	5	6	19	200	7	30
P. Williams	300	300	7	25	30	1000	25	100
Joseph Waldrop	420	150	6	24	87	500	68	0
John S. Bavoks	120	57	3	4	21	250	12	0
David Motes	35	40	4	6	25	200	1	20
John Golding	100	150	3	9	17	350	8	0
Elizabeth Smith	13	0	1	1	3	40	2	0
Hilly Mangum	75	55	3	3	11	200	4	0
Lucinda Pitts	110	13	3	6	28	400	21	10
Chesley Pitts	120	6	0	3	15	100	3	10
Elizabeth Golding	50	10	3	6	10	50	1	20
Mary Reader	200	60	4	8	40	400	16	0
John Mangum	700	700	10	18	130	2000	45	200
Ira Pitts	50	0	1	2	5	100	2	25
William Peterson	150	90	4	8	18	500	10	50
Edward Workman	185	15	4	16	46	640	15	0
Wash. Mangum	50	0	3	7	9	100	1	15
David Davenport	50	50	1	5	6	100	0	0
JP Davenport	50	50	3	6	30	600	18	40
Russell Gibson	100	96	5	9	35	700	20	100
Simon Brooks	150	56	4	7	30	500	28	50
Bluford Griffin	1000	560	20	40	250	3000	100	200
LY Stewart	350	50	6	25	50	1500	45	0
John Wallace	200	60	3	8	40	600	17	10
Robert Wallace	500	375	10	20	80	1100	31	50
John Jason	700	1300	12	35	200	3000	95	0
JT Martin	450	350	10	40	104	3100	171	1500
H. Davenport	335	425	8	21	30	0	0	0

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 9 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John C. Stewart	80	70	3	8	8	300	4	20
J. Edwards Bobo	700	840	18	57	50	2500	14	0
JW Ropp	150	173	8	10	50	500	32	50
William Burges	70	250	6	11	34	300	9	100
James C. Vaughan	475	525	10	15	75	1200	0	0
James S. Stewart	660	840	15	30	75	1600	135	200
JC Hill	400	260	5	10	50	700	25	25
Joseph White	30	53	1	9	25	200	2	20
Daniel Rudd	400	600	2	25	125	1800	50	200
Elisha Paine	225	135	8	20	50	1200	10	1000
JF Wells	500	350	10	30	80	1800	38	300
Francis White	70	20	6	9	30	600	7	100
Elijah Hill	100	0	2	4	15	300	6	200
James Hill	500	200	9	38	100	4000	36	150
Thomas Hill	270	440	3	20	100	1800	47	100
Fields Adams	70	131	4	7	35	400	3	0
Wesley Smith	100	300	4	5	30	600	18	200
JH Williams	1200	1400	28	85	230	5000	300	200
Andrew Wicker	100	80	4	15	40	300	12	50
Alamarion West	30	20	4	5	13	100	3	30
Joseph McCullough	15	0	1	0	2	100	3	20
Henry Burton	450	450	8	20	75	1800	25	200
Zion Cook	400	1300	10	40	70	1600	70	100
Charles Floyd	700	2000	16	85	100	4000	150	1000
Oliver Towles	400	450	8	30	70	4000	70	300
Reuben Y. Pitts	400	200	12	40	50	2000	60	100
Margaret Golding	350	50	8	17	140	1600	20	50
Elizabeth Davenport	120	20	4	9	26	500	7	15
John Williamsom	900	300	3	5	38	4000	160	0
Thomas R. Gary	250	210	10	20	60	1500	30	0
Mark Glenn	250	130	11	24	95	900	48	100
James Busby	100	180	1	4	3	400	35	0
John Satterwhite	200	160	6	14	60	1000	30	200
Peter Moon	1200	800	20	40	250	4000	190	200
Drayton Waldrop	500	300	8	40	100	1500	75	100
John Rudd	90	220	5	5	50	300	0	75

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 10 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Gilliam Smith	200	175	9	20	75	600	20	400
John B. Williams	400	600	6	20	80	1500	55	250
William Wadkins	160	200	1	1	27	500	5	0
William Wadkins	400	300	8	20	50	1000	18	500
Elenor Wilson	30	40	3	4	17	150	3	0
Sarah Sheppard	200	40	5	8	18	600	4	10
Thomas Lake	360	700	6	25	120	1000	33	50
Thomas Lake	170	170	4	14	50	650	34	75
John W. Hunter	165	200	4	8	50	500	14	50
Susanna Waldrop	36	33	5	3	20	300	5	150
Daniel Stewart	125	167	4	10	70	500	11	75
Elizabeth Werts	100	170	4	4	30	300	7	50
James Coleman	350	350	12	35	100	1500	35	300
John A. Roman	120	20	3	4	18	300	0	0
Mary McClure	300	920	15	40	100	1000	40	100
Daniel Goggins	300	500	4	16	80	1000	40	100
Samuel A. Morgan	77	100	4	6	20	400	12	30
Jacob Shumpert	65	119	5	16	15	200	6	20
Pinckney Vines	280	320	2	16	40	1100	54	50
Henry Sibley	100	70	8	12	20	600	9	200
Edney Dickert	40	65	3	5	9	100	7	0
George Davenport	70	57	5	6	30	200	8	30
George Long	260	425	7	28	75	500	10	50
Sibly Blair	100	50	5	8	14	200	4	10
William Odams	110	20	3	7	20	225	4	60
By. F. Pysinger	150	150	3	3	20	400	9	6
Edward Kelly	100	150	4	7	20	500	6	100
Christian Mills	100	200	5	13	21	200	7	15
Joshua Boyd	143	25	4	13	34	400	9	50
Benjamin Conwell	40	55	7	6	13	500	3	100
Mack M. Boyd	160	40	4	14	27	350	7	20
HW Dominick	300	250	7	13	23	1000	26	50
Charles Cleland	700	1000	14	57	129	3000	94	200
RM Shumpert	256	250	3	14	50	500	13	0
Catherine Conwell	200	176	2	11	20	500	9	20
JF Shumpert	150	350	5	20	46	400	12	75

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 11 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Samson Bickly	50	20	2	2	11	200	4	50
Walter Herbert	300	200	4	14	44	800	18	50
John Shumpert	155	300	4	7	18	250	15	6
Peter Shumpert	60	20	2	8	14	250	15	15
Margaret Whitman	100	30	2	7	30	300	7	30
Margaret Nobles	130	190	2	3	30	250	5	15
JP Boozer	80	0	3	14	15	300	16	0
JO Mangum	125	120	6	16	40	700	18	150
Mark Morgan	60	15	4	10	26	300	2	100
James Kilgore	400	400	10	40	75	1680	4	200
William Werts	200	183	6	10	24	900	36	100
Thompson Wilson	70	330	4	4	9	500	9	20
George A. Shumpert	100	220	4	15	40	400	8	50
GG DeWalt	200	175	8	25	60	800	15	30
WA Elmore	60	124	2	7	20	200	3	12
John Moore	85	21	3	4	14	300	12	20
Robert Moffatt	300	270	10	25	45	800	34	100
William Welch	75	91	5	9	22	400	12	100
Jacob Perkins	100	54	3	13	18	300	10	15
Michael Felders	225	75	6	22	30	600	20	100
D Adkins	150	50	3	28	10	400	7	0
Sarah Spence	200	100	4	8	22	300	6	10
William Hunter	74	34	3	13	22	800	11	100
Sarah Pugh	50	86	6	8	33	150	2	20
John Leprone	60	60	3	7	10	150	2	10
Henry Bailey	40	70	2	5	20	300	4	40
Michael Kinard	230	175	4	10	45	400	3	0
Margaret Kinard	0	0	8	2	25	200	2	0
Samuel Chapman	200	40	2	14	32	600	14	60
Henry Boozer	210	370	0	33	50	1000	28	50
Daniel Boozer	25	25	2	3	18	120	5	10
Nancy Brown	85	15	3	16	14	600	12	50
George Brown	500	150	6	25	40	1000	27	50
Robert Marmicheal	150	390	13	26	40	1000	13	100
Thompson Young	140	360	4	16	32	650	20	100
Abel Enlow	12	12	0	0	16	120	0	40

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 12 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Sarah Summers	50	50	2	5	20	200	1	40
John Whitman	130	140	6	7	20	600	6	15
Nathaniel Hunter	200	300	13	20	80	1200	33	50
James Y. Hunter	40	60	3	3	12	200	3	0
Daniel Cureton	165	200	15	50	100	1000	50	300
George Myers	50	80	2	8	15	250	5	100
Hawkins Dennis	160	15	5	11	40	800	20	30
Jessie Dennis	50	80	2	3	8	200	12	10
Mathew Hall	175	150	3	23	61	900	19	200
David Rackord	300	100	4	12	22	600	20	10
William Carmikeal	140	20	7	9	25	400	12	100
Elizabeth Thomas	100	50	6	13	45	600	8	75
John C. Hunter	80	15	5	12	26	420	12	200
Elizabeth Hunter	250	250	6	9	35	490	9	20
Jacob Long	200	120	6	25	70	800	14	70
Allen Lester	45	155	4	16	40	500	3	100
JA Conwelly	0	0	1	1	20	150	1	10
George Boozer	50	50	4	7	25	300	4	30
WP Harmon	80	110	6	10	40	500	9	10
WF Dawkins	250	363	3	4	50	1500	14	0
George Dominick	200	200	4	15	30	400	11	30
Samuel W. Cannon	140	160	5	16	40	400	15	100
Henry M. Cannon	150	110	5	15	60	500	20	50
John Germany	170	120	7	13	36	900	20	150
Samuel W. Speerman	150	250	7	12	50	600	15	150
Edward Stephens	450	250	9	9	20	700	20	0
Melvin Eichelberger	375	400	6	5	21	800	0	0
John S. Harmon	250	300	10	35	75	1500	43	400
GW Lindsay	200	380	4	26	50	800	31	100
Nancy Adams	250	250	6	8	32	400	14	100
Tabitha Atkinson	350	150	15	23	40	1500	87	100
Jesse Scurry	200	250	5	5	50	700	40	40
David C. Boozman	300	240	6	15	70	400	46	50
Elizabeth Grigsby	300	70	12	30	60	1200	5	0
William Abney	600	300	10	20	70	1000	20	100
John Chappel	700	800	15	40	200	2000	52	400

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 13 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
AL Lark	500	666	18	40	150	3000	20	500
R. Satterwhite	300	200	10	10	110	1000	100	20
Graves Spearman	300	350	7	12	100	1600	40	400
John Boozman	60	130	3	5	40	1000	4	0
Franklin Spearman	400	280	11	22	120	1500	55	150
James Kilgore	60	0	2	6	24	500	4	0
James Wilson	150	345	10	15	19	700	8	30
George A. Sligh	125	100	7	13	23	500	19	100
Mark Hawkins	100	304	6	20	60	600	9	70
John Mathews	50	50	4	8	17	300	5	50
Samson Merchant	45	30	2	9	37	300	7	25
James Lester	20	74	1	0	18	0	0	0
John W. Summers	700	400	6	9	100	3150	0	0
John Boozer	31	41	2	6	26	350	0	15
David Boozer	35	95	2	5	19	150	4	25
Henry Boozer	40	100	3	8	25	200	2	40
William Boozer	18	27	1	1	6	80	3	0
Frederick Boozer	100	160	3	8	21	30	4	35
Daniel Boozer	25	0	2	3	11	100	2	0
William W. Boozer	60	40	2	13	26	500	7	15
Allen Hawkins	100	150	3	14	35	500	11	100
Rebecca Hawkins	150	334	7	23	45	1200	12	30
William Workman	120	281	2	5	30	260	7	50
John Kinard	20	110	3	3	9	380	3	40
David Taylor	0	0	0	0	5	50	5	30
Mary Long	30	36	2	5	11	150	1	50
WK Lindsay	200	176	2	5	14	300	4	20
Jacob Cook	100	200	5	22	41	800	13	0
Mathias Kinard	150	132	3	17	13	60	3	0
BW Nix	250	408	6	18	30	1000	18	25
HD Stuckman	50	43	3	6	21	300	10	40
Jacob Bedenbaugh	80	20	2	12	38	300	5	10
Daniel Moore	35	32	2	3	11	150	0	0
Harrington Hawkins	35	36	3	4	16	200	5	0
Drayton Kinard	75	100	4	8	35	300	13	15
William Feagle	50	68	3	13	67	300	4	50

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 14 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
David Scott	110	13	2	5	21	200	6	10
John Bedenbaugh	57	3	2	1	25	160	2	20
Noah Enlow	100	204	1	3	14	200	1	5
Abraham Bedenbaugh	65	63	4	3	30	300	3	20
Luke Nichols	70	130	2	12	20	250	2	100
Allen Nichols	0	0	2	4	20	120	1	7
John H. Stuckman	125	55	4	10	25	200	5	40
David Bowers	200	474	6	20	30	700	19	50
William Shealy	80	220	6	26	35	600	10	25
Phillip Buzzard	100	900	15	45	60	1000	5	100
William Cannon	200	300	5	6	40	800	23	0
James Elmore	65	57	1	7	16	100	5	15
Wm. Bedenbaugh	25	20	1	1	15	80	1	0
John Boozer	10	10	2	2	17	50	0	10
Archy Mills	50	50	2	5	16	200	6	10
George Morris	100	247	7	17	36	400	15	15
Jacob Hawkins	25	38	2	2	5	50	4	6
Simeon Bedenbaugh	30	25	2	9	17	170	3	6
Henry Bedenbaugh	80	28	2	7	15	150	2	5
Wm P. Bedenbaugh	30	119	1	4	13	150	3	5
John A. Bedenbaugh	40	68	1	10	19	200	4	13
John Hare	235	545	7	32	56	800	18	100
Daniel DeWalt	100	100	4	18	50	400	0	10
Henry Dickers	0	0	1	1	0	100	0	15
James P. Stockman	30	45	2	20	60	300	5	50
Levi Cook	25	65	1	8	33	200	0	0
George A. Dominick	60	166	5	7	15	340	6	20
William Neel	39	72	4	4	40	400	9	20
Henry Croomer	30	20	1	2	2	140	6	15
John R. Levell	100	150	6	16	25	500	10	250
Charles Gary	40	60	3	9	25	250	4	0
Jacob Sligh	50	30	5	10	30	400	13	250
Nathan Hunter	75	59	3	3	15	200	4	25
John Swedenburg	125	155	6	18	57	650	32	100
James Caldwell	260	60	8	27	60	800	34	150
Chesley Davis	300	520	8	27	50	1200	34	150



1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 15 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm. C . Davis	100	50	6	8	40	300	14	50
John Glenn	220	1030	13	27	100	700	38	200
<i>Jesse Glester</i>	50	20	4	11	14	300	4	0
Henry Wicker	35	0	2	6	34	300	7	40
JC Eichelberger	200	52	19	51	50	1200	65	0
P Willingham	425	1175	6	50	46	1000	30	0
WW Willingham	70	0	3	7	12	250	10	150
JA Renwick	150	350	10	40	50	1200	13	200
JS Renwick	200	600	8	22	50	800	26	100
Elizabeth Renwick	150	100	10	25	50	1000	26	150
<i>George Greer</i>	30	0	2	4	4	200	5	0
John Glenn	45	0	3	5	5	200	5	50
Daniel Oxner	28	0	1	1	0	250	9	50
EL Dugan	100	81	5	11	30	400	4	50
James Buchannon	20	74	2	3	4	100	4	20
Joseph Buchannon	25	0	3	7	8	100	3	0
Henry Bishop	20	32	2	4	0	100	6	20
Andrew Campbell	50	0	2	3	4	75	6	0
H. Sheppard	400	167	14	19	60	1200	28	100
FW Boozer	60	180	7	15	30	400	8	20
John W. Summers	600	400	20	58	75	2600	1	100
George Major	45	81	5	10	25	200	2	25
John Dawkins	100	100	4	18	36	400	7	0
David Witt	60	130	2	14	16	300	5	10
Aaron Dominick	75	225	2	17	30	600	5	50
Jacob Derrick	65	260	8	23	31	350	11	75
George Felders	130	170	8	22	40	600	18	100
Calvin Felders	0	0	3	11	16	140	2	0
John Felders	275	241	6	26	30	600	10	25
WJ Kilgore	70	30	5	7	12	200	4	25
Susanna Shppard	50	50	2	2	13	300	3	20
Jesse Wise	200	180	8	36	50	800	27	75
Job Johnston	1955	600	15	50	60	3000	90	100
Mercajah Gorce	140	55	4	2	35	250	10	20
Thomas Alewine	166	0	2	2	0	400	12	10
James Hogg	150	45	3	7	30	450	11	100

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 16 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
JW McCants	75	95	1	5	14	300	12	30
George Blair	100	243	7	19	20	1000	26	150
George Turnipseed	800	500	15	40	125	3000	100	400
Clary Goree	30	20	2	3	10	140	3	10
A. Darby	275	75	5	20	70	800	37	200
Stephen Darby	40	110	2	6	15	200	17	20
Ash. Oxner	55	32	2	6	16	300	5	50
Lewix Hogg	10	5	0	0	5	30	3	15
Joseph Keller	160	27	6	10	40	500	16	150
John Gilliam	150	150	5	12	20	600	25	400
Samuel Hutchinson	45	0	1	2	0	50	3	10
Reuben Gilliam	400	500	10	55	100	1500	80	100
John Darby	50	60	2	2	15	200	6	50
David Heller	120	160	1	7	10	400	18	30
Mary Gilliam	100	61	1	6	15	250	5	50
Jacob Croomer	50	30	1	1	11	130	2	20
Julia Duncan	100	80	1	2	7	150	4	20
James Adams	80	141	2	2	22	300	19	60
Ann C. Kelly	120	9	1	1	2	100	1	30
Wm. H. Ruff	460	47	12	20	45	800	66	200
John H. Epling	40	70	1	7	10	200	3	100
Henry Oxner	80	78	3	7	50	250	7	50
David Brown	0	0	1	1	1	75	2	0
Uriah Croomer	40	10	1	2	0	125	5	12
Miles Croomer	60	20	1	2	9	125	7	15
Hardy Heller	150	250	3	6	12	150	35	60
John B. Glymph	65	148	2	8	6	450	15	100
Henry Adams	65	48	1	2	0	400	30	40
Henry Croomer	140	10	0	0	24	100	3	15
John Bone	35	0	2	1	10	100	3	50
Samuel Harmon	50	70	2	7	25	300	6	100
John P. Livingston	28	22	3	6	25	200	3	50
James Redd	100	15	4	16	60	500	11	200
George W. Brooks	100	65	2	13	16	600	17	300
John McKinney	20	40	1	1	15	160	1	10
John Heller	100	100	1	5	10	200	16	50

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 17 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm P. Gilliam	120	60	2	10	20	200	11	15
Caroline Watson	30	100	2	4	8	180	2	20
Allen A. Cook	40	142	3	12	24	400	3	10
John A. Wise	50	150	1	6	15	300	6	60
John Wise	200	200	11	33	51	900	20	100
D. Sheppard	40	27	2	4	20	260	0	20
George Wise	500	660	15	40	60	1200	88	200
David Wise	80	100	7	17	25	800	9	50
Michael Sheely	200	300	7	30	34	600	10	40
Henry Wise	80	220	9	17	13	300	9	10
George Derrick	130	327	10	22	60	700	11	40
David Duke	28	412	1	5	3	100	0	40
Wililam Wates	40	60	4	5	25	100	2	10
Samuel Wates	100	350	6	15	40	360	2	15
Robert Hamm	0	0	1	3	16	320	2	25
Michael Rackord	47	6	2	7	13	200	2	0
John Harmon	200	1300	6	50	200	1900	3	20
Belton Stockman	25	375	3	6	11	100	3	0
John Dominick	100	100	3	6	18	300	3	50
John H. Stockman	50	200	4	11	15	340	7	50
Mary A Outts	50	50	4	4	20	100	0	10
Robert Taylor	45	20	3	5	7	150	5	0
James Enlow	10	0	1	2	0	60	2	6
PW Counts	75	95	3	12	25	300	5	50
william Elmore	125	309	4	10	35	300	10	0
John A. Witt	88	12	6	5	20	250	6	10
Christian Paysinger	300	800	15	45	30	1200	35	100
Edward A. Brown	100	150	6	6	40	300	8	35
James Sloan	35	78	2	7	19	200	3	8
William F. Lake	40	25	3	4	12	175	8	30
John McNeil	150	12	1	1	5	200	6	0
James A. Henry	100	191	4	4	25	300	5	100
Archibald Sloan	360	360	4	14	124	1500	28	40
DF Reid	50	150	3	2	14	100	3	0
William Caldwell	25	52	0	0	14	100	1	0
Robert Caldwell	35	55	2	8	11	200	2	40

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 18 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James A. Caldwell	70	65	2	12	15	400	10	100
Robert Caldwell	50	23	3	4	13	60	2	15
Hugh Wilson	100	100	2	8	11	300	3	100
James W. Bowles	20	10	1	4	8	70	0	30
John Hancock	20	40	1	1	0	60	3	30
RF Attwood	200	784	4	16	55	1000	28	100
Henry Kindard	30	75	3	7	27	200	0	30
William Darby	70	130	3	7	5	250	6	50
James Sloan	105	305	6	18	35	800	24	160
George B. Boozer	125	305	3	10	20	500	25	100
William Price	75	178	3	20	40	600	10	40
Thomas Crosson	160	400	4	27	68	800	20	50
Michajah Harris	110	315	10	17	62	600	6	100
Thomas F. Harris	70	244	4	8	28	400	5	50
Thomas Price	130	136	8	15	50	500	18	100
James J. Hogg	115	17	4	10	50	350	4	50
Ann L. Brown	150	450	6	10	30	100	40	7
Joseph Caldwell	500	300	12	30	110	2000	52	1000
Isaac Ervine	600	600	20	30	100	2000	70	500
YD mcCrackin	600	50	16	38	80	2000	50	0
SJ Caldwell	150	240	6	8	25	500	25	150
John G. Haltiwanger	70	70	1	5	26	300	7	0
Henry Summer	200	180	4	10	50	1500	66	200
Thomas B. Wadlington	270	430	5	14	55	1000	65	200
James McCollum	270	700	8	20	40	1200	70	50
Sarah Harris	200	50	6	16	23	700	6	60
Henry Thompson	70	169	7	12	23	300	9	20
HH Brooks	0	0	2	2	8	125	5	20
John Livingston	50	84	2	8	20	3000	13	100
Samuel caldwell	70	85	5	8	17	200	6	40
Michael Buzzard	400	936	10	50	80	2000	22	100
Samuel Chapman	0	0	2	4	10	110	2	30
Francis Wilson	90	10	4	19	23	360	0	20
John Feagle	0	0	2	4	10	280	5	20
John Peaster	30	77	1	1	0	300	7	45
David Holman	130	100	5	7	10	500	33	35

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 19 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Odle	32	43	1	2	11	125	5	15
James Odle	32	43	2	2	11	125	3	15
Gasaway Odle	32	43	3	3	18	125	3	15
Elijah Odle	32	43	0	0	4	125	3	15
Franics Bobb	100	130	3	5	20	300	9	10
Charles Wilson	0	0	1	2	5	80	4	25
Goerge L. Wilson	150	60	5	13	30	400	15	200
Daniel Buzzard	700	1000	8	35	120	2000	110	75
Allen Cates	50	75	3	12	18	200	3	20
Allen Gibson	200	250	4	17	34	600	38	50
James Caldwell	0	0	3	4	17	150	2	10
NW Davison	40	85	1	3	27	250	2	30
JW Hutton	45	20	0	0	11	160	5	50
Wm. Hutton	60	50	5	11	18	400	3	50
Reuben Davidson	50	150	2	5	12	150	0	100
Reuben Bunn	0	0	3	6	20	225	6	30
George Feldman	150	200	6	8	30	400	16	0
JS Miller	100	135	1	14	18	600	8	0
JM Brooks	250	90	7	21	50	1200	48	400
PC Caldwell	300	350	8	17	50	1000	45	100
Frederick Cranson	200	400	3	28	53	800	20	200
Abner Pitts	175	340	4	21	50	1000	20	200
John Smith	0	0	1	1	0	80	0	0
Richard P. Clark	380	320	7	12	30	800	40	100
Jacob H. Hunt	200	200	6	30	60	800	35	100
Jacob S. Buzzard	50	50	5	6	9	200	0	10
Jacob Buzzard	100	200	4	18	25	200	10	0
Elizabeth Halfacre	100	100	5	10	30	200	2	100
David Buzzard	100	152	4	16	40	400	22	50
Hannah Thomson	100	20	2	5	13	200	2	30
Jane Wright	10	60	3	3	15	25	1	10
John P. Golman	230	40	10	20	25	700	30	0
PW Wicker	35	60	2	5	12	150	5	50
James Moffat	250	650	9	20	65	1200	50	100
James Moore	40	60	2	4	14	200	3	30
Levi Rackord	16	48	1	4	11	200	4	0

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 20 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Nancy Miller	30	90	2	2	10	125	7	50
Reuben Dawkins	75	45	6	8	30	400	16	100
John Miller	0	0	4	1	6	100	3	30
Elizabeth Kibler	200	20	6	8	30	400	16	100
Elizabeth Stawder	45	20	3	5	14	100	4	0
Henry Suber	400	400	9	20	50	1200	65	200
HH Counts	200	233	3	15	20	1300	40	200
Belton Counts	125	135	4	6	30	250	40	20
Nancy McCollum	500	200	6	7	20	1000	10	400
Daniel Wichker	112	10	2	3	15	200	12	50
John D. coon	50	10	2	8	19	300	2	150
Richard Sondley	900	1400	30	60	220	8000	250	1000
David Clapp	65	90	1	2	0	200	10	50
Nancy Wicker	70	80	2	0	11	180	9	15
Peter Wicker	50	2	2	6	12	150	7	30
James Morris	40	10	1	1	8	150	5	20
David Croomer	260	63	4	14	20	550	17	200
Michael Wicker	125	35	5	7	13	300	10	75
George Singley	100	49	0	5	11	120	5	20
Hillard Graham	200	356	12	32	75	560	20	300
Martin Singley	0	0	1	2	6	300	7	50
William Bolen	42	3	2	2	8	250	4	15
Ephriam Wicker	30	20	1	4	7	100	4	50
William Bishop	75	60	4	3	0	400	14	70
Jacob Wicker	90	60	2	5	35	300	9	60
Jefferson Suber	50	50	1	3	20	100	10	0
Eli Suber	45	55	3	7	30	200	5	75
George A. Suber	30	40	1	4	15	200	7	15
Joseph Heller	150	50	2	6	5	150	25	15
mary Suber	190	10	5	15	30	600	24	60
Isaac Croomer	70	14	2	3	10	125	5	10
Thomas Suber	60	0	2	3	13	150	3	30
John Oxner	50	0	3	2	7	160	3	10
SL Dickert	75	15	2	2	7	60	3	10
Simon Dickert	90	10	1	6	12	200	10	50
Mary Dickert	0	0	1	2	10	180	9	50

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 21 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Thomas Montgomery	30	34	2	3	15	200	0	60
Sarah Montgomery	10	30	1	1	0	25	0	40
Patrick Markin	125	263	3	14	28	400	9	50
William Lester	80	106	3	3	18	280	3	25
Isaac Herbert	250	1000	14	50	80	1000	33	40
David Halfacre	300	220	5	20	50	300	35	100
Benj. D. Lake	45	21	2	3	11	140	3	0
Charles Sligh	125	275	6	34	40	1400	41	200
RC Swindler	150	234	7	30	73	1200	21	50
William Davis	150	450	5	8	37	1200	12	0
John McKerly	800	105	7	14	80	3000	175	20
James B. Beard	550	150	11	16	50	880	36	28
Smith L. Davis	300	100	10	20	60	1600	56	100
John J. Sligh	400	50	4	17	22	2000	85	20
Robert Dugan	17	25	5	15	14	500	20	50
James B. Glenn	200	100	1	15	25	700	48	100
Ephriam Lyles	450	120	10	30	60	2500	85	0
E. Oxner	400	296	6	36	75	1000	39	50
John D. Sims	7	0	3	4	1	175	0	40
Elizabeth Maybin	600	400	15	21	70	2000	90	100
Jesse Maybin	400	500	8	12	30	1200	86	200
William A. Herron	300	127	5	13	15	600	37	20
RS Lyles	300	150	5	15	25	1000	37	50
PW chick	500	226	12	25	50	2000	75	0
George Ashford	60	22	4	8	0	200	15	10
B. Richard	350	220	5	10	50	700	60	10
Charles E. Sims	0	0	2	3	6	225	0	100
JKB Sims	400	700	6	14	100	500	7	20
Thomas F. Lyles	500	100	3	25	46	1200	35	40
John B. Lyles	300	200	7	31	16	1000	60	0
Robert Buford	35	25	2	1	26	150	6	50
Dury? Davis	80	100	3	4	7	300	18	50
WL Wilson	200	30	3	2	9	100	3	25
James M. Suber	125	323	2	4	30	400	23	100
FF Maybin	250	210	3	15	35	900	49	400
Charles W. Hodges	4	0	3	4	5	200	4	25

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 22 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Lucy Kenner	260	230	5	11	25	600	12	50
Posey Glenn	450	163	3	16	37	1000	76	100
john Murphy	200	0	1	2	13	240	3	40
SB Yarborough	100	63	5	12	25	300	12	10
Elin Roebuck	0	0	0	3	10	75	4	25
Micajah Suber	600	700	17	40	150	3800	90	400
Joseph Baker	35	15	1	7	9	120	3	12
John Ramage	140	293	4	9	25	500	6	12
John W. Summers	200	1400	0	0	0	600	0	0
Thompson Earle	350	375	12	10	40	800	41	0
Martin Suber	500	300	14	26	30	1000	78	50
George Golman	300	375	15	50	150	2250	65	100
David Cooke	90	62	6	13	40	400	12	30
William Fair	450	150	5	28	88	1000	40	50
William Bridges	700	700	15	35	100	2000	50	400
James Graham	350	750	16	35	80	1500	59	50
David Kibler	250	350	9	33	26	700	13	100
Rachel Griffith	50	50	1	4	13	300	7	20
Samuel Bowers	150	65	2	20	30	400	7	50
Stephen Bowers	150	400	8	17	35	700	18	75
Mary Livingston	40	20	3	3	15	140	2	0
Phebe Noles	150	150	6	14	18	400	7	0
William M. Werts	100	50	1	4	14	100	0	0
Simeon Taylor	30	30	7	14	4	100	2	40
Isaac Dominick	50	50	5	13	15	100	3	40
John H. Gillian	150	30	6	14	25	800	24	100
John Dominick	35	65	5	15	15	200	2	60
John Bowers	100	300	1	10	18	300	2	15
Christopher Rackard	50	80	1	5	26	200	8	20
JW Stockman	25	85	1	3	13	200	3	20
William P. Taylor	25	55	3	6	12	250	0	0
Jacob Warner	50	270	1	11	19	300	5	50
Henry Dominick	1400	1500	20	42	86	2000	29	200
Jacob Hiller	150	500	8	25	30	600	8	75
IA Wheeler	100	200	3	5	25	140	5	30
Jacob Wheeler	400	600	8	25	60	1000	40	200



1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 23 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Joseph Bolen	40	180	2	10	25	250	2	15
Henry Suber	200	200	5	20	39	700	18	100
John Denson	60	200	4	8	13	300	8	100
Alfred Denson	70	30	2	6	18	200	6	0
James Abram	200	80	5	12	25	500	7	50
Aaron Johnson	100	137	4	10	30	400	22	50
Willian Denson	0	0	2	4	8	75	4	30
William Smith	150	238	4	10	30	400	11	40
Harrison Sheppard	60	226	3	10	12	400	8	25
Henry Buzzard	45	5	1	3	17	125	5	50
James Reid	130	135	2	10	10	150	3	50
John M. Bolen	100	340	5	13	30	360	10	0
Lemuel Glymph	250	430	8	44	70	1700	56	300
TC Crooks	100	70	7	13	25	880	19	125
John M. Mars	250	204	5	20	13	800	20	0
Benjamin Duckett	200	550	8	27	75	600	30	150
John G. Davenport	350	719	15	20	50	1700	50	700
James Moore	75	25	3	6	17	0	0	20
Wm. B. Smith	400	200	7	12	33	800	33	10
William Scott	130	90	5	20	35	600	27	100
Daniel Suber	200	380	5	25	80	1000	4	200
Jacob Baker	100	60	3	10	15	400	11	200
William R. Hentz	250	250	5	10	40	600	24	100
Thomas Croomer	230	100	5	25	30	1000	33	100
George Young	300	200	5	4	100	1400	45	0
JG Housand	120	360	5	8	20	700	11	50
NW Duckett	600	1700	24	60	250	3000	105	300
William F. Kelly	75	26	7	15	39	450	12	80
Frederick Johnston	110	80	3	10	48	700	10	10
Samuel McKee	80	250	6	26	25	400	8	100
Israel Mathews	150	45	1	10	25	400	14	50
William Ray	300	955	7	24	80	1200	88	60
Margery Atcheson	80	30	4	8	13	300	21	100
John Kennedy	275	200	8	14	35	700	52	100
Holoway Hill	500	100	5	10	20	400	21	10
Frederick Weston	0	0	3	10	19	300	10	20

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 24 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Rebecca Odle	180	20	2	3	24	160	8	20
William Odle	70	70	3	6	15	300	9	20
Nancy Watson	300	200	5	25	40	800	60	100
William Duckett	115	42	3	12	39	400	8	50
Thomas Philips	0	0	1	3	14	75	1	15
Joseph Duckett	60	140	4	8	17	200	14	40
Francis Duckett	60	100	6	10	33	400	7	0
Jane Neighbour	100	19	4	8	18	500	7	40
Washington Odle	100	50	1	12	20	1500	10	5
Joseph Watson	75	153	4	14	8	200	17	0
Henry Whitmire	700	200	8	20	80	200	40	0
nathan R. Brandlet	500	400	4	25	80	2600	60	0
John Roberson	0	0	2	2	27	300	6	25
James Epps	1000	400	9	40	80	3000	100	200
BC Jennings	300	56	3	12	50	1000	63	10
RB Withersby	40	60	2	5	7	200	4	100
George Hipp	200	117	7	12	34	800	61	100
SC Hargrove	500	450	8	20	50	1000	54	300
William Abrams	175	80	2	6	47	300	5	200
Martha Abrams	150	150	8	12	50	1000	30	200
William Golding	200	60	2	0	90	80	1	5
Susanna Humes	100	65	1	7	21	300	6	50
John Sims	160	120	4	6	25	500	21	0
Allen S. Shell	400	200	11	30	75	3500	40	100
John R. Abrams	100	200	5	5	29	420	8	50
John Mathews	20	15	2	1	7	250	8	60
Baruck Whitmire	60	100	3	3	23	200	3	20
Elisha Cogburn	0	0	4	5	17	100	8	0
Baruch Duncan	250	68	3	6	20	500	7	50
John N. McCracken	40	60	6	15	20	250	4	50
John N. Herndon	700	1400	15	35	175	1000	100	200
<i>Wade Sanders</i>	100	64	4	10	40	500	16	200
<i>Charity Sanders</i>	60	0	2	3	5	120	4	60
Sarah Mathews	7	3	1	6	22	150	4	100
Samuel Abrams	150	100	4	8	50	400	21	100
William McCrackin	25	5	1	2	15	100	0	30

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 25 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Martha Hays	75	25	2	4	20	100	2	20
George Hipps	100	50	2	10	20	600	9	100
Elizabeth McKee	150	50	4	10	25	300	8	20
William Mars	300	1000	7	35	100	2000	60	400
Nathan Whitmire	250	400	10	25	60	1000	30	200
John N. Summers	134	10	5	18	10	300	17	100
James Gordon	125	40	2	7	8	200	10	30
Mary Lane	150	150	5	9	30	425	9	50
Frederick Whitmire	75	37	4	10	20	300	6	50
George Hipp	10	8	1	4	7	60	4	75
William Hipp	0	0	3	3	20	45	3	20
Daniel Oxner	70	60	1	1	0	300	9	20
William cally	75	25	4	6	12	200	6	0
Samuel Anderson	200	100	8	32	30	1000	18	35
James A . Mars	100	100	2	11	20	400	6	50
Jacob Sligh	110	50	4	12	25	300	13	50
George McCracken	400	100	10	20	44	1600	36	0
LB Moffatt	275	65	4	4	23	200	6	0
John F. Croomer	285	12	5	10	50	520	15	30
Elijah Wideman	100	40	4	9	29	150	9	20
George H. Chapman	150	50	3	15	25	600	40	30
William Martin	150	50	3	10	20	800	7	100
Jane Reid	400	100	5	35	50	600	33	0
Samuel Sloan	140	10	1	3	14	100	0	5
John Reid	150	90	5	15	40	600	16	200
Phillip Crotwell	80	20	2	10	30	500	12	20
Sophia Neel	100	100	4	4	15	350	4	30
George McCullough	30	0	0	3	4	30	2	40
Archibald Chapman	0	0	1	1	8	45	2	0
Margaret Peaster	300	500	12	20	100	1600	43	40
Ann Cannon	90	10	2	2	16	400	10	0
Margaret Quattlebaum	80	10	3	6	10	180	3	20
Edward Livingston	100	100	4	16	40	300	6	50
Martha Livingston	40	35	2	4	5	100	1	30
Andrew Clinch	50	0	2	2	10	100	3	30
Jane Livingston	50	36	2	7	20	100	3	30

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 26 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Stephen Beard	100	14	3	7	30	300	10	70
Jacob White	80	60	3	7	18	450	0	60
William Frazer	40	10	1	1	7	100	3	20
Abraham Moore	300	300	8	20	40	1000	27	100
John A. Lovey	100	38	3	11	30	1000	15	30
George Babb	300	50	2	16	27	480	4	100
David Kinard	0	0	2	1	1	200	1	0
John Cook	200	200	7	20	70	880	30	150
AF Sligh	30	36	2	4	15	200	5	0
Martin Kinnard	125	25	7	23	20	400	15	200
John Livingston	30	47	1	3	16	250	6	200
Mary Kinnard	25	45	2	7	16	120	3	50
Michael Kinard	103	100	5	20	22	600	22	200
John Kinard	40	10	1	4	3	200	10	100
Daniel Livingston	40	10	1	3	2	150	8	50
Robert Livingston	0	0	1	1	0	100	4	0
Henry Wets	100	50	3	22	20	400	15	50
George Kunkle	0	0	1	1	2	6	1	8
Jacob Kinard	40	40	2	0	5	150	6	20
Daniel Stone	20	16	5	2	10	347	9	50
Kesiah Stone	110	50	5	18	28	460	13	50
Elizabeth Kinard	0	0	2	10	19	140	1	50
Ester Singly	100	100	6	6	16	300	19	80
Adam Kibler	200	40	12	20	50	1000	45	125
Henry Smith	40	37	2	6	25	320	5	30
William C. Aull	147	100	4	5	25	440	7	0
John P. Aull	100	200	4	6	50	300	7	50
Adam Sheely	0	0	0	2	15	80	2	20
Drayton Kibler	100	96	2	2	16	160	5	15
Mary Levy	100	20	1	2	14	140	3	20
Elizabeth Long	50	60	3	3	6	200	3	20
Henry Long	45	52	1	9	32	600	5	50
Bartlet Long	65	68	2	5	14	360	4	30
Samuel Livingston	300	376	1	9	13	200	2	0
Margaret Cook	53	15	3	12	24	240	5	25
Martin Singly	500	500	10	60	50	800	24	50

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 27 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jacob Singly	350	350	10	30	100	1300	41	200
Harmon Aull	100	50	4	8	20	340	4	100
Adam Bedenbaugh	350	425	4	19	45	1000	38	150
William Kibler	300	190	5	21	50	700	24	100
Andrew Croomer	280	20	9	20	100	1200	24	300
M. Barre	645	265	10	25	120	1800	72	100
Jacob A. Kibler	1000	400	8	50	100	3000	50	500
William Burley	200	50	2	4	10	100	0	20
JB. Kibler	60	42	1	2	3	250	5	30
Chistopher Kinard	90	10	6	20	25	480	6	5
John Coon	220	100	3	11	21	300	1	100
John Wideman	300	200	10	15	80	900	9	30
John Kinard	136	40	8	12	25	200	8	20
Micheal Croomer	8	0	0	1	3	50	2	10
Harrison Kinard	0	0	1	2	4	100	3	15
George Dickert	50	62	1	1	20	200	9	10
Andrew Kinard	50	0	1	1	3	150	2	50
Sarah Smith	120	110	3	8	10	300	6	10
Sarah Peaster	100	100	4	16	30	140	8	50
Lewis Hutchinson	0	0	2	2	0	75	2	10
Peter Rickerson	100	100	2	4	10	150	2	20
Andrew Clinch	60	0	3	3	7	120	2	15
Sarah Livingston	60	15	4	6	11	120	2	25
Martha Livingston	100	200	2	5	20	300	8	100
Rebecca M. carre	100	78	10	20	25	750	16	100
SL Harrington	1000	1000	12	30	100	2500	30	150
Dury Scurry	300	560	3	11	30	1000	27	0
Robert Mooreman	500	100	7	13	25	1000	48	300
James N. Moffat	50	64	5	6	28	275	6	25
John Buzzard	60	40	3	12	30	420	13	50
Rosanna Moore	80	15	2	5	14	100	2	10
Abraham Wicker	35	0	0	0	11	60	8	35
Henry Coon	300	200	14	25	30	1600	70	500
Jacob Setzler	160	68	3	5	25	4000	21	25
George Croomer	48	0	1	4	9	125	4	100
James A. Wicker	100	15	1	10	10	140	6	50

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 28 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
David Wideman	60	50	3	5	26	600	5	50
George Setzler	80	40	5	6	7	400	5	10
David m. Cannon	260	100	3	12	30	500	23	25
Martin Coon	68	12	1	3	10	140	3	20
AJ Clay	60	20	2	5	10	150	5	0
Thomas Wicker	125	75	6	8	30	600	20	10
Adam F. Croomer	100	127	1	7	30	600	16	40
Sarah Setzler	50	0	3	4	15	200	4	0
David L. Wicker	130	120	5	15	45	600	12	70
William Epting	100	133	1	8	20	450	12	60
Adam Croomer	180	320	6	18	40	800	33	175
James Hutcherson	96	40	3	12	20	560	8	60
Emanuel Croomer	100	20	2	10	15	300	7	20
Lemuel Lane	200	147	6	14	50	1000	41	20
Charles Thompson	200	100	3	7	30	500	12	15
David Croomer	20	30	1	2	0	100	3	30
Adam Croomer	0	0	0	0	0	50	4	10
JF Swindler	0	0	1	2	0	125	3	25
Alfred Bundrick	50	30	1	2	18	100	3	50
John F. Eagle	100	123	2	6	32	400	7	50
David Wicker	150	100	4	7	21	150	5	10
Lewis Croomer	40	10	2	2	18	600	6	75
Wm. L. Ridlehuber	130	0	3	3	35	600	10	0
Jacob Epting	0	0	4	8	7	150	5	50
Jacob Litzey	100	80	4	3	25	400	12	50
Peter Hopp	60	50	5	8	21	300	10	50
Saber Lake	200	100	6	15	30	600	25	30
James L. Croomer	170	170	6	8	28	1000	50	100
Jacob Mosier	275	125	6	13	35	440	14	20
Abram Dickert	0	0	1	1	0	100	2	25
HM Hentz	200	138	5	10	40	500	20	0
David Hentz	400	190	10	25	60	1000	40	100
Henry Metts	100	200	6	9	16	260	13	150
Wm. M. Eichelberger	300	100	4	6	13	225	11	25
Wm. Swedenbury	80	80	3	15	40	400	20	30
George Egner	300	100	3	10	30	250	47	0

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 29 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Lake	150	50	7	14	12	480	28	20
David Ridlehuber	50	100	2	2	10	140	8	10
<b>William Tobe</b>	0	0	0	0	0	75	5	0
Catherin Desiker	60	20	3	2	4	350	12	30
Jesse Beam	20	50	1	1	0	50	1	10
David F. Suber	120	230	3	4	15	320	2	0
John Crooks	317	300	8	14	80	1260	34	200
John A C Crooks	100	60	2	6	30	400	12	50
John F. Glymph	100	100	10	12	30	460	14	0
Joseph Lominick	40	0	1	3	0	100	3	10
Sebastier Fritzman	10	0	2	4	8	30	1	10
George Miller	130	40	3	12	30	500	24	75
William Croomer	100	62	1	2	16	200	10	15
Jacob Flker	100	130	5	9	20	350	8	10
Peter Felker	20	0	2	2	6	75	3	50
Jacob Suber	900	300	8	25	85	2000	44	150
TG Lake	0	0	2	2	5	125	4	100
Henry Suber	100	20	2	7	50	600	21	30
John Glymph	400	600	5	25	75	1400	25	50
David Suber	400	260	7	29	60	1000	30	20
Ephriam Suber	700	300	15	30	75	2500	90	200
James W. Sanders	50	36	2	4	17	200	6	50
Reuben B. Lyles	60	30	2	3	16	0	0	0
William Lyles	300	100	9	11	21	0	0	0
Thoms Henderson	600	400	12	15	100	1000	93	0
Rebecca Garden	200	50	6	8	36	100	14	20
William? E. Hardy	1000	800	20	35	220	2500	100	500
Nathanial Teale	200	127	3	0	27	350	11	10
Henry Bolen	60	140	2	15	17	320	13	30
John J. Suber	200	156	9	23	37	800	24	300
AG Dickert	120	64	5	20	20	600	18	100
FW Caldwell	200	40	10	15	100	1200	58	200
William Bobb	70	50	1	6	10	200	4	30
Phillip Sligh	500	500	10	30	80	1800	43	200
Benjamin Mathews	65	68	6	8	42	400	13	200
JW Long	40	70	4	7	30	150	9	40

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 30 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
George Long	80	148	5	15	30	170	14	70
Calvin Kinard	90	100	3	13	18	400	5	5
John Metts	0	0	3	7	32	300	2	20
Wilham Lever	40	100	1	9	24	200	5	70
Jefferson Kinard	50	100	3	6	10	200	2	20
George Metts	150	50	3	10	24	125	3	0
Miller	90	100	2	6	10	100	3	40
Sarah Hendrix	50	50	2	10	10	80	4	10
John Hottman	0	0	3	3	6	75	1	10
Allen Volentine	35	140	3	10	10	150	2	10
John Bolen	30	80	3	4	12	75	3	20
Middleton Bolen	25	165	2	6	14	140	2	0
John T Long	50	80	2	5	6	120	2	40
FH Dominick	75	347	5	25	18	360	8	0
Johnathan Fulmer	50	75	3	4	9	100	3	40
levi Monts	40	136	3	6	20	200	4	20
Jacob Shealy	50	117	3	6	25	200	3	15
John Monts	150	110	4	13	35	600	9	100
Henry Long	40	136	3	6	12	150	5	25
William Monts	100	160	4	7	40	400	9	100
William Croomer	50	0	4	2	16	160	3	50
Amanda Hipp	0	0	1	2	7	40	1	10
George A. stzler	150	33	4	10	31	400	17	30
William Hipp	50	50	3	15	10	300	10	10
Sarah M. Hipp	50	50	2	6	23	100	4	10
William Kinard	250	100	3	13	37	400	14	20
George Feagle	100	275	4	6	50	600	11	75
John Werts	125	293	4	17	30	400	18	30
David Coon	125	75	3	22	28	480	25	50
William S. Coon	50	12	2	4	25	125	4	30
John Kinard	100	7	5	8	25	300	11	150
George Shealy	50	170	2	12	23	200	2	15
John Burley	130	150	4	12	60	600	11	100
Sarah Dickens	150	70	3	7	13	150	11	30
John Riser	50	50	2	4	25	300	7	50
John Kiser	200	28	4	15	23	500	42	50



1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 31 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Mary Folk	500	100	4	25	40	800	19	75
Peter Dickson	160	40	3	3	4	200	7	0
John Hugg	0	0	1	1	0	75	4	20
David Coon	16	9	1	3	9	100	5	40
John Summer	500	1000	13	20	80	2500	50	500
Margaret Coon	50	10	2	3	8	100	3	30
William Chapman	100	75	5	6	20	320	19	17
John Miller	100	20	6	15	14	450	9	70
Adam Epling	200	150	8	16	25	600	25	100
John Sease	100	50	4	12	30	180	15	0
Jacob Epting	61	40	1	3	12	120	9	30
Susanna Setzler	70	20	1	2	16	260	8	10
John A. Cannon	125	75	10	8	15	500	10	100
JW Folk	200	200	6	38	55	500	18	50
WF Fuff	150	50	3	10	20	400	10	10
John A. Folk	500	500	20	60	50	2500	47	400
Christian Suber	200	300	4	24	65	1000	12	100
David Litzzy	70	38	3	1	30	600	14	50
Langdon Ruff	150	50	6	7	15	400	15	0
George O. Ruff	500	350	8	42	100	1300	50	0
Alan Kinard	120	35	4	8	25	440	14	20
George A. Rackord	70	90	4	8	3	400	8	10
Elizabeth Rackord	500	200	10	30	30	920	26	100
David Sligh	300	100	10	20	40	960	30	100
Levi Livingston	20	0	1	5	10	200	9	20
George Glenn	250	750	12	30	100	1200	35	150
Martin Gary	300	375	10	30	40	1000	3	200
Andrew Croomer	50	120	4	7	25	240	8	100
George Boozer	40	156	3	8	15	100	4	25
Linton Vance	100	4	3	25	75	1000	0	25
HA Hunter	14	0	2	8	30	0	0	30
Simon Friar	160	100	8	20	30	200	7	200
Cline	60	40	2	4	28	275	0	0
James M. Crosson	7	3	1	3	2	0	0	0
John Caldwell	90	0	7	7	20	600	0	200
AC Garlington	20	31	4	6	20	200	0	150

1850 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 32 of 32)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
<i>SJ Jones</i>	7	0	4	3	15	80	0	100
<i>John Holman</i>	250	116	12	38	70	1500	50	200
<i>JB Pratt</i>	70	100	5	5	20	520	0	0

Note: Free black farmers are in bold italics. Source: 1850 Agricultural Census, Newberry District, South Carolina.

APPENDIX K – 1860 NEWBERRY DISTRICT

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table K.1:** 1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jacob Singly	450	600	9	40	90	1500	31	100
Jesse Schumpord	45	130	2	10	28	180	3	50
Conwhiles Clamp	1	14	0	4	14	50	2	10
Adam Hartman	150	250	5	20	40	300	18	40
George Counts Sr.	130	130	2	16	20	340	7	20
Luther Counts	5	63	2	3	8	40	0	5
Simon Miller	60	130	2	4	21	225	5	40
Calvin Kinard	70	105	6	7	20	300	8	30
John Metts	98	131	4	7	9	240	8	25
William Metts	0	0	0	5	7	0	0	0
George Metts	57	71	1	11	20	200	5	25
George Hartman	0	0	2	9	19	130	2	0
George Shealy	60	265	6	9	20	200	4	30
John A. Boland	50	75	2	4	9	100	4	40
Middleton Boland	40	150	3	8	15	150	1	20
John A. Hipp	60	135	3	2	35	400	0	0
William Shealy	200	450	5	20	40	400	8	20
Abraham J. Frick	5	55	0	2	6	0	0	0
David Cannon	35	10	2	2	10	100	1	10
John L. Seas	150	343	5	8	35	300	9	75
Jacob Wheelan	600	977	12	28	60	1500	24	100
Joseph Boland	60	240	3	5	12	300	4	0
George M. Bowers	100	207	4	6	18	150	3	10
Henry Dominick	500	1200	10	12	100	800	11	20
JW Hockman	140	70	2	10	26	250	4	25
LS Wheelen	200	269	5	20	65	300	14	100
Mary Livingston	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 2 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Phebe Nates	40	30	3	5	12	150	5	5
Christina Cook	50	110	2	6	9	150	4	10
William Werts	40	60	3	3	14	50	2	20
Jesse Dominick	30	66	1	2	5	60	1	0
S. Taylor	75	70	4	10	10	225	7	25
John Dominck	80	100	1	10	30	300	7	50
Elizabeth Stockman	15	45	2	1	5	50	4	0
Jacob Kibler	18	118	1	4	13	180	2	5
Wm. A. Reid	30	120	4	5	6	75	2	10
J. Kinard	100	200	4	8	25	250	6	50
Poly Taylor	30	50	2	6	10	30	1	10
John Bowers	200	130	4	13	30	200	6	50
Staffle Rickard	30	100	3	4	25	100	1	30
Can. Taylor	8	0	0	0	12	15	0	40
David Taylor	75	169	3	1	23	200	3	10
Jacob Hacking	65	73	3	3	14	90	4	45
James Wood	30	49	1	0	15	50	3	0
Jacob A. Bowers	50	60	1	6	15	140	2	30
Wesley Counts	130	340	5	12	33	300	5	40
Christinah Downing	14	86	1	3	20	60	0	10
JH Stockman	125	335	7	20	43	350	5	100
John Dominick	100	300	2	9	40	300	5	50
Belton Stockman	60	290	3	4	9	100	2	30
Wade Harmon	150	262	4	20	50	500	5	15
Jacob Hiller	150	650	6	35	45	300	6	100
John Moore	100	200	2	3	8	150	7	30
William Elmore	100	100	2	5	30	200	5	40
JW Moore	0	0	1	0	7	35	1	25
Mark Waits	16	24	3	3	12	150	0	20
Joseph Tolbert	4	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
JS Waits	20	35	1	2	14	50	0	40
Jesse Free	1	14	2	2	2	0	0	12
William Waits	20	20	0	0	1	30	0	0
Manuel Waits	15	55	2	2	18	70	1	25
Drayton Waits	10	107	1	2	15	30	0	0

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 3 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Daniel Hahn	50	110	3	6	7	50	1	15
Presley Fellers	40	160	2	4	10	125	3	20
Michael Rickard	48	5	3	5	14	150	0	15
Archey Mills	30	200	5	7	16	200	1	20
:Patrick Wise	150	510	5	10	25	200	7	50
Catherine moore	60	150	4	15	15	125	3	0
John Wise	130	60	3	12	12	300	6	60
Bund Crowman	70	70	3	5	2	0	0	0
George Dominck	160	200	3	12	16	480	9	50
WC Aull	20	90	5	2	8	50	1	5
Dempsey King	2	3	1	1	7	0	0	0
Drucilla Banks	15	10	2	0	0	0	0	20
William Long	12	16	1	1	7	0	1	20
Asbury Bedenbaugh	35	46	2	3	7	125	1	30
Tenare Fritzman	68	252	5	3	30	200	3	100
Rebecca Hain	100	360	2	0	13	250	6	0
HM Dominick	50	300	5	5	30	200	2	60
Sarah Dewalt	50	150	6	10	20	100	1	0
Peter Charles	40	60	1	5	12	200	0	0
WP Harmon	250	1150	15	20	70	1300	24	20
Margaret Whites	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Hair	200	450	6	14	65	800	15	100
JH Boozer	40	176	4	7	20	0	0	0
Allen Cook	50	195	4	4	27	250	5	50
WR Lindsay	150	198	2	3	18	200	4	45
John Wise	175	265	10	20	40	600	18	75
George Wise	500	500	20	40	50	1200	35	400
George Derrick	95	332	7	17	34	350	3	20
Michael Shealy	150	300	7	23	30	400	4	100
Jesse Wise	400	300	17	40	60	850	30	200
Jacob Derrick	150	150	8	19	36	400	15	100
George Fellers	273	625	16	12	45	600	15	200
AM Dominick	125	315	10	13	28	310	12	200
Jacob Cook	165	235	6	8	25	400	17	150
John Dawkins	65	135	3	12	16	300	2	0
Lemuel Boozer	22	114	3	0	12	175	2	0

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 4 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
H. Sheppard	430	700	11	35	50	1800	35	300
Frank Dawkins	30	120	0	6	15	75	3	55
George Mayer	75	144	2	7	22	250	2	20
AW Monts	12	164	2	1	13	100	0	20
Mathias Kinards	40	242	2	8	22	150	0	50
Adam Mayer	50	150	2	4	21	170	2	25
Pheby Penn	30	160	4	4	20	125	2	30
Ja. Bedenbaugh	40	60	4	5	15	200	2	15
Harrison Stockman	100	150	3	10	50	500	2	200
JA Bedenbaugh	60	230	5	6	25	250	6	0
Simeon Bedenbaugh	40	67	2	2	12	60	2	16
George Morris	150	450	8	16	27	400	11	40
JM Kelley	75	39	2	0	12	75	2	0
Polly Bedenbaugh	15	39	1	2	6	20	1	12
John Summers	20	3	2	0	2	25	1	10
Christon Enlow	30	20	1	1	13	60	2	40
Allen Hawkins	160	140	6	11	43	500	10	80
Washington Boozer	110	121	3	11	35	600	4	25
Rebecca Hawkins	110	204	11	7	45	500	2	40
Drayton Kinard	135	160	5	15	30	400	6	50
Daniel Moore	40	120	3	0	9	20	2	20
Pinckney Bedenbaugh	40	72	2	2	15	70	2	20
David Prisock	16	53	0	0	4	50	0	20
Wm. B. Boozer	25	35	1	3	13	60	2	0
A. Bedenbaugh	50	98	3	0	25	200	2	15
Luke Nickles	26	230	0	0	2	0	0	0
Allen Nickles	40	85	4	2	19	200	2	40
Andrew Nickles	30	55	2	4	12	180	1	0
Mark Hawkins	180	200	5	14	61	600	13	60
Drayton Hawkins	20	20	2	3	5	100	1	5
Henry Thomas	15	60	2	0	3	40	1	20
Noah Enlow	14	88	1	1	8	30	1	0
HW Dominick	80	192	2	7	21	200	5	50
Henry Boozer	26	163	3	3	7	80	0	24
JW Boozer	25	55	2	2	9	100	2	75
David Boozer	25	35	2	1	13	50	1	50

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 5 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
George Dominick	100	270	5	10	30	300	8	50
James Lester	45	89	2	2	12	75	2	20
William Lester	90	136	5	7	21	175	5	30
Thos. S. Harris agt	125	195	5	6	30	600	20	75
John Mathis	70	30	2	1	6	30	3	20
Jan. S. Long	200	100	11	0	50	600	7	40
Margaret Boozer	60	100	3	4	12	100	1	20
Samuel Hunter	150	390	5	10	29	250	12	50
John Whitman	150	70	5	15	30	400	10	50
Elizabeth Whitman	120	148	5	7	25	400	5	100
Yates Mayer	16	22	1	2	10	40	2	25
Daniel Cureton	525	1000	11	20	40	1140	35	125
Thos. Hunter	120	252	4	10	24	225	9	75
Sarah Summers	40	120	3	1	13	100	2	100
Samuel Chapman	130	110	3	7	24	400	18	50
Jas Hunter	100	150	7	9	40	400	5	60
PH Dennis	220	155	6	19	30	600	20	50
Jesse Dennis	80	59	4	6	29	500	12	25
Wesley Thomas	60	190	5	14	35	400	6	40
James D. Shealy	95	17	6	8	27	200	10	30
David Rickard	148	335	6	18	34	400	13	80
Thos. Younger	100	400	4	21	32	400	18	30
Elizabeth Carmical	100	197	4	20	34	500	7	15
Thos. Younger	175	265	8	22	35	460	12	20
George Brown	400	600	12	43	30	1200	35	150
Henry Baley	95	115	4	6	30	400	7	100
Dw Boozer	60	43	1	0	9	75	0	0
JA Boozer	60	46	2	1	7	40	6	10
BF Paysinger	110	274	6	12	20	360	6	100
Mary Spence	90	303	5	17	20	300	9	12
David Adkins	60	140	2	7	25	200	4	70
JJ Cook	50	187	4	8	22	225	8	30
LA Perkins	20	133	2	0	0	50	4	0
John Laegrone	40	80	3	5	5	150	4	10
Samuel Donwody	30	20	2	1	8	120	2	3
JR Lake	0	0	0	7	7	150	4	15

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 6 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Ben Lake	250	250	4	16	20	400	12	15
Enick Lake	0	0	1	2	4	125	3	20
Drayton Lake	25	40	3	4	14	125	4	25
Charley Teague	145	220	6	8	26	400	15	200
Jacob Werts	6	16	1	1	0	40	2	50
Sarah Shepard	75	175	6	3	22	450	3	20
Sarah Nobles	75	170	4	5	15	225	4	75
Wm. Lake	100	145	3	2	18	175	13	20
LHM Boozer	100	95	4	0	16	200	10	0
Thos. F. Stilwell	70	141	3	7	15	320	14	0
F. Weber	500	400	7	3	30	1600	16	100
JR Benlaw	250	450	10	10	40	600	33	300
CW Hubert	85	125	4	4	24	350	11	50
JF Schumpert	70	20	2	5	16	150	9	40
George Schumpert	175	185	6	9	18	500	22	60
Drayton Kibler	80	132	3	12	17	300	4	70
Randal Croft	350	600	7	35	105	2000	60	500
ER Schumpert	80	400	5	6	63	275	10	30
Catherin Conor	60	146	4	5	18	275	4	50
John Schumpart	105	113	6	7	13	300	9	50
Samson Bickley	25	45	4	6	16	100	4	40
Christinah Mills	60	240	2	15	19	250	4	100
GM Boyd	0	0	1	2	9	125	3	5
Edward Kelly	130	145	5	6	14	400	13	300
DA Cannon	65	342	5	2	17	500	12	50
Isac. Herbert	250	1000	20	20	75	1500	54	100
JM Boyd	40	70	2	0	15	125	4	50
K. Ragan	100	185	4	3	13	250	12	15
George Long	448	1027	10	15	80	1000	70	200
Edney Dickert	55	60	3	1	11	150	6	20
Drayton Waldrop	140	110	4	1	16	300	14	50
MP Nelson	30	12	1	2	12	75	4	25
Sible Blair	90	70	4	4	30	150	6	10
Wm. Lane	160	155	5	7	40	450	31	150
Jamy. Gilliam	175	210	6	11	35	700	13	60
Wm. Ragan	350	450	9	15	40	600	85	30



1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 7 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
JG Davenport	320	649	13	20	125	1200	55	1200
Samuel Spearman	200	184	6	6	60	800	38	300
F. Long	0	0	4	8	27	250	13	15
Frank Moon	100	193	4	5	26	100	7	30
David Werts	50	56	5	3	24	250	7	75
Belton Werts	75	82	4	3	24	175	11	100
WL Buzzard	100	114	6	2	7	50	6	20
Henry Werts	160	253	4	3	15	600	30	75
MF Kinard	300	700	20	30	80	1200	68	25
David Werts	150	430	3	8	55	600	26	100
Jackson Teague	150	150	7	7	40	400	27	100
Daniel Stewert	100	200	3	3	30	300	6	15
J. Thomas	40	160	1	3	10	100	3	50
JF Peterson	55	55	3	8	25	300	5	50
James Sperman	400	600	8	6	100	1000	60	200
Jan. Werts	170	200	5	6	35	600	20	0
MM Boyd	105	205	4	14	14	300	8	0
John B. Oneall	700	1200	23	46	100	1500	31	500
JM Boland	60	160	4	4	12	80	2	15
John Williams	300	260	9	38	22	400	9	400
W. Waldrop	100	33	5	5	15	300	16	150
John Harp	250	320	7	15	80	1500	26	80
Robert Burton	600	400	9	25	70	1000	88	200
John R. Spearman	300	700	14	8	75	1000	80	250
Henry Kendrix	40	74	2	4	15	150	4	50
HL Murphy	140	145	6	8	23	100	17	100
Malinda Cannon	200	250	4	5	10	300	9	50
Thos. William	200	200	4	2	10	500	9	0
A. Sloan	70	155	3	6	8	150	0	25
Mary Colewell	60	62	4	5	6	186	2	100
JA Colwell	100	150	6	20	12	600	10	100
Wm Colwell	33	100	1	2	3	100	1	15
Daniel Buzard	175	315	3	2	36	300	21	30
FJ Thompson	30	100	1	0	12	100	2	0
WH Sitzler	40	40	2	5	2	30	3	50
SG Gallman	140	160	4	8	10	300	20	0

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 8 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm. S. Calwell	53	97	2	0	7	120	4	30
JH Livingston	100	100	6	3	5	125	8	200
Catherine Thompson	60	46	3	7	17	50	4	20
DH Buzzard	230	570	9	24	60	700	20	100
PFJ Wicker	40	50	1	5	7	60	2	20
Elizabeth Kibler	75	125	3	8	20	100	9	30
Nancy Millar	40	24	1	2	0	30	2	5
Levi Shepard	30	67	3	2	10	20	2	25
James Moore	35	65	3	5	8	25	2	15
James Sloan	38	75	2	8	22	200	4	25
Presley Henry	25	34	3	3	15	100	12	10
Jacob Sligh	160	278	5	21	22	600	4	60
James Reid	75	85	3	0	19	150	15	100
John Reid	150	350	10	21	27	300	6	200
Sarah Bob	100	90	3	3	3	50	20	0
Sophy Neal	175	312	2	2	12	100	3	8
Henry Beard	20	30	1	0	1	60	4	15
Elizabeth Griffin	40	56	3	3	8	50	3	0
Spencer Beard	20	30	1	0	0	60	44	15
Al. Moore	250	487	16	29	33	900	5	75
Isaac Enlow	50	22	4	6	15	100	10	31
SH Fellers	35	85	2	5	12	300	3	10
Samuel Broox	25	25	2	1	9	50	6	5
John McCulen	40	65	3	1	5	75	5	0
Sarah Fellers	60	104	5	10	10	100	33	50
Edward Stephen	155	245	6	11	23	600	6	75
Grave Spearman	250	190	10	2	100	1200	8	200
FA Floyd	300	814	15	12	100	1000	56	50
Gideon Furguson	350	590	12	25	75	800	42	75
CW Lindsey	260	430	9	10	35	650	38	100
FA Nancy	300	390	18	50	70	1500	78	300
DL Boozman	400	440	11	23	27	1500	35	100
JH Williams	1500	4500	35	40	150	4000	275	125
AL Lark	300	900	30	33	100	2000	70	500
Elihee Pain	250	150	4	6	15	200	30	0
ES Chappell	80	160	4	6	60	150	10	20

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 9 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
D. Abney	300	1000	10	4	46	1000	18	0
John Simpkins	400	513	6	35	60	1700	78	30
Jas. N. Lipscomb	400	750	9	35	75	2000	68	200
Silas Walker	100	125	1	12	40	600	26	100
JW Chappell	300	400	14	12	40	1500	25	300
James Hill	300	533	14	12	80	900	0	30
WJ Peterson	50	75	3	6	5	200	7	30
Geo. F. Wells	600	900	12	30	75	1800	44	600
John Wadkins	195	300	4	8	25	300	13	0
M. Williams	495	992	8	25	70	650	72	150
Gilliam Smith	180	80	5	8	22	500	25	200
Francis White	290	449	5	11	33	400	14	600
Thos. F. Harmon	200	358	9	8	25	300	23	50
Jas. C. Vaughn	210	650	5	6	40	500	29	50
DF Vaughn	340	660	9	31	50	2500	80	100
DV Scurry	350	350	12	15	40	500	48	0
CB Griffin	600	446	25	25	150	1500	80	800
JW Ropp	121	233	5	12	60	800	19	150
Margaret Golden	70	233	10	6	30	500	17	100
Lucy Pitts	270	350	11	13	50	800	34	100
David Cook	70	80	3	6	21	180	6	20
John Elmore	100	79	2	2	17	300	14	20
William Welch	620	780	15	30	120	3000	113	250
JFP Crosson	75	70	5	4	19	400	6	15
John Sligh	100	70	8	10	25	500	28	50
WA Elmore	70	114	3	6	26	150	10	20
Henry Halfacre	335	275	5	3	8	300	12	0
JS Hair	140	110	4	6	38	550	23	250
PH Crottell	45	115	2	6	16	125	9	50
Henry Long	60	80	5	14	12	100	5	15
GC Moffett	35	75	1	5	8	50	4	15
SJ Cook	75	65	5	10	17	300	6	60
Margaret Cook	35	43	1	7	21	200	2	15
Madison Longshore	50	67	3	30	13	200	8	40
John. Hendrix	18	12	2	1	0	150	2	30
Rebecca Hendrix	100	60	6	2	30	500	13	100

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 10 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Galaway	120	80	7	5	50	800	37	0
Jesse Spence	75	45	4	4	34	500	13	100
Levi Longshore	200	200	5	5	35	400	18	40
LF Longshore	0	0	2	0	16	80	3	0
Frederick Boozer	370	310	10	3	20	1000	36	70
James Garret	75	95	5	5	11	200	9	50
George Boozer	300	300	14	20	45	800	30	100
Bayley Coal	25	45	3	3	12	300	6	15
JC Boozer	80	84	4	3	20	400	15	2
Pheby Gasaway	25	27	2	1	6	50	1	50
GH Boozer	50	69	6	11	22	200	14	150
Jesse Senn	70	50	4	10	20	200	4	100
James Senn	200	200	5	7	50	500	35	100
J. Chupp	75	20	3	4	9	225	6	100
Thos. N. Boozer	70	55	6	10	20	250	13	250
EM Lake	200	200	8	7	30	700	22	70
N. Martin	40	49	3	1	2	100	8	15
Thom. M. Neel	200	210	4	3	45	450	30	80
MM Coppack	215	775	7	6	60	800	32	0
WA Long	69	200	3	4	31	40	4	8
Daniel Goggins	400	400	7	8	50	600	69	150
Wm. Flaid	4000	2000	20	150	200	9000	300	500
M. Werts	300	500	10	18	60	1200	43	200
Lucy Stephens	80	30	2	6	10	300	4	75
AP Davis	160	264	5	3	25	500	19	160
AJ Kilgore	145	135	7	12	35	400	20	0
BF Chalmers	25	46	2	4	4	50	4	30
FH Dennis	100	140	4	0	10	200	15	50
SN Davidson	90	197	2	7	10	500	18	75
JA Kibler	460	545	9	50	49	1300	49	200
Margaret Livingston	40	60	2	8	30	200	3	30
Van Davis	80	43	4	5	3	300	9	50
John Colwell	160	14	3	7	22	700	16	200
JP Buzzard	400	400	7	20	25	700	22	25
GP Sligh	40	72	3	4	8	200	10	10
James Moore	50	50	1	3	12	40	4	0

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 11 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Ben Mathis	120	113	7	3	30	300	12	200
Charles Wilson	30	20	1	0	11	100	3	34
JS Buzzard	240	100	4	6	30	600	40	0
Joseph Chupp	98	12	4	5	40	400	6	60
William Dickert	100	160	3	2	20	125	16	0
Levi Longshore	50	23	3	3	12	250	4	50
Caroline Boozer	100	100	3	4	26	300	7	50
Thos. Boozer	80	100	5	6	13	260	17	75
JM McMorris	38	64	1	2	7	100	5	10
J. Stewart	150	270	5	4	25	400	14	100
AJ Longshore	310	963	9	15	80	1200	57	100
Iry Lake	45	92	3	5	4	150	4	50
Levi Slawson	70	47	6	1	25	400	0	40
WD Reeden	100	52	3	0	9	0	0	0
Eligh Martin	50	125	2	2	22	200	13	50
Ellen Scury	175	175	7	6	13	350	11	0
John C. Stewart	100	50	5	5	28	250	11	50
James P. Williams	480	720	10	25	90	1200	50	250
A. Tribble	400	460	11	19	50	500	56	50
Henry Burton	2000	3000	40	80	250	5000	149	360
Margaret Floyd	370	530	6	11	70	1000	56	300
JB Floyd	300	407	6	11	100	800	39	300
M. Anderson	600	450	4	22	75	1000	64	30
JB Chappell	150	197	5	15	61	1500	5	100
Wm. Peterson	100	116	4	5	15	200	5	200
HR Mangum	150	169	7	13	25	400	13	40
AF Workman	100	200	8	20	60	800	13	50
JP Davenport	70	60	3	5	22	200	11	0
John Golden	125	73	5	1	20	700	25	50
Simon Brook	115	6	2	1	20	250	8	50
BF Griffin	1081	920	10	55	125	4000	138	300
MF Workman	450	500	8	25	90	1400	50	100
Ira Johnson	30	20	1	2	11	300	6	15
David Johnson	35	115	1	3	17	300	3	0
Joseph Pitts	75	64	3	2	12	250	7	50
Wm. Smith	250	230	8	8	33	1000	27	100

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 12 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Mary Pitts	150	315	5	3	15	700	18	40
John F. Golden	150	380	12	6	30	800	34	40
Wm. Reider	60	50	3	3	13	200	9	10
John Senn	100	98	4	2	20	150	8	50
Mary Colton	25	75	1	1	10	60	2	10
PL Moats	33	52	3	3	4	150	2	50
WD Cannon	275	225	5	15	40	800	55	100
RH Clary	400	329	9	21	50	1200	86	150
Jacob Sligh	80	40	4	12	16	150	12	100
John Leutebery	125	155	5	12	38	350	23	150
James Chalmers	550	950	10	23	63	1800	63	160
Mary C. Campbell	40	135	4	2	10	210	6	20
Isaac Keller	250	250	12	12	60	800	49	150
PC Chalmers	130	237	5	9	40	200	18	100
Thos. Montgomery	45	74	2	5	14	150	4	60
Elizabeth Butler	80	70	7	4	16	125	6	30
AC Glasgow	225	405	5	7	60	300	15	50
D. Oxner	24	6	1	0	0	50	1	10
Nancy Davis	65	65	6	15	11	150	2	40
PW Rhoes	30	58	4	4	12	130	5	40
Jane Richey	45	55	2	0	5	125	3	40
Thoas. A. Chalmers	150	181	3	8	13	300	14	60
PY Hunter	160	160	8	8	27	550	24	200
Michael Baker	24	2	2	5	19	60	2	20
P. Baker	24	2	0	4	13	60	3	30
HH Folk	300	230	5	15	31	400	32	25
Sarah Smith	75	100	3	1	0	100	3	10
<b>Charley Brown</b>	75	54	5	3	0	30	3	10
Nancy Franklin	35	15	6	4	12	15	1	50
James Spence	80	160	5	2	21	350	6	25
Milton Spence	65	20	2	8	18	160	12	50
Jas. B. Wilson	300	700	5	15	60	600	34	100
FB Glimph	110	420	4	6	13	375	18	25
David Wicker	65	40	2	6	18	200	6	40
RF Watwad	300	811	6	25	54	800	32	200
JB Boozer	300	300	10	15	40	1000	49	300

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 13 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
FB Chalmer	150	75	8	5	12	300	16	100
Henry Kinard	35	65	3	4	18	50	2	0
PS Wilson	40	42	3	3	27	100	2	20
HC Wilson	40	35	2	3	5	100	4	10
Thos. Price	200	400	10	6	52	450	29	150
Jane Crosson	120	221	5	11	18	150	7	50
G McGraw	80	65	3	4	8	0	0	0
Patrick Martin	55	253	6	9	11	150	6	50
PS Slown.	175	443	8	10	25	300	11	130
William Neal	50	60	4	3	13	200	4	30
John Sterly	100	117	4	8	25	300	7	30
Pes. McClung	75	81	3	6	28	350	6	30
WA Senn	33	54	3	1	24	200	2	40
Elizabeth Johnson	90	72	2	3	11	250	8	25
RP Waldrop	75	85	4	2	11	250	10	75
Joseph Davenport	200	100	4	5	7	500	13	50
B. Butler	55	18	2	3	10	100	3	25
R. Butler	55	45	3	2	13	350	5	100
Martin Butler	35	12	0	0	0	100	2	30
Isreal Chalnder	50	100	4	7	16	200	4	80
William Pitts	150	262	3	3	23	400	17	50
Silas Goggans	11	3	0	0	4	90	2	15
Samuel Livingston	25	28	1	0	0	50	1	0
RF Latterwhite	240	240	7	8	36	900	27	50
William Latterwhite	200	260	8	12	40	350	14	150
Joseph Goggans	150	126	3	3	20	200	14	25
H. Livingston	400	264	12	8	32	1200	20	60
SH Johnson	35	40	2	1	18	200	2	15
James Goggans	60	126	5	4	15	250	4	40
Bennet Wallace	460	740	12	30	80	2000	65	100
Sallie Johnson	40	22	3	3	9	300	5	50
John Satterwhite	300	450	10	10	60	1000	40	100
DM Bulter	30	40	1	2	8	200	3	0
JB Mangum	100	160	6	5	30	500	11	150
BR Mangum	200	200	8	8	35	600	22	120
DB Pister	400	650	11	25	50	1500	51	150

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 14 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
JN Dobbins	30	46	4	2	16	150	1	50
HP Dobbins	60	100	6	18	26	200	9	100
HW Chalmers	200	660	17	26	60	2500	30	50
WS Chalmers	180	220	10	10	34	600	34	150
Sarah Reeder	60	40	0	4	17	250	7	20
AW Reeder	125	275	6	6	49	860	19	150
PP Reeder	200	160	4	15	30	500	30	100
HM Reeder	175	205	6	3	14	400	27	40
Mary Reeder	125	195	4	6	23	256	7	30
WC Davis	130	70	4	2	12	300	8	25
Mary Johnson	150	80	10	16	30	350	14	100
Christy. Davis	440	500	7	20	75	1200	34	200
Christopher Whitmore	60	300	2	3	8	500	2	16
Elizabeth Long	50	68	1	5	9	150	2	30
SL Aull	80	165	0	12	14	100	12	40
PB Bedenbaugh	65	210	2	1	12	0	0	0
GM Lingley	65	400	3	10	10	230	7	70
Sophia Livinston	30	44	3	7	16	40	3	40
PW Long	80	190	3	5	25	300	10	15
F. Kamson	250	850	8	12	57	450	23	50
Thos. Long	65	85	5	2	12	40	2	10
FC Dominic	300	1575	10	65	150	1000	28	75
Jacob Shealy	80	320	3	7	30	150	6	100
Henry Sheely	40	141	3	2	5	150	5	40
Levi Monts	65	353	3	9	36	200	5	75
John Monts	100	180	6	15	34	500	12	125
William Hipp	90	160	4	14	46	250	13	15
SA Setzler	150	272	6	15	30	375	16	50
Handy Hipp	20	50	2	3	3	60	3	10
William Cromer	50	74	4	8	13	150	6	50
George Feasel	100	200	4	11	60	600	12	25
Henry Koon	40	70	2	4	22	200	5	50
FD Balentine	50	110	3	6	15	100	3	10
Margaret Koon	75	125	3	1	20	300	5	20
FA Riser	50	178	2	5	17	50	6	50
Sarah Dickert	40	180	4	2	16	0	0	10



1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 15 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
CB Counts	30	70	1	0	15	50	7	8
GA Counts	225	320	3	25	44	925	21	100
FDA Kibler	240	260	7	14	40	700	14	50
HP Bedenbaugh	125	190	4	7	45	400	10	30
Jacob Kibler	700	1000	12	40	100	2000	42	250
Margaret Kinard	50	120	2	3	6	400	2	8
Jacob Epting	55	135	3	5	8	100	8	40
John Riser	75	85	5	12	25	300	10	125
FB Kinard	35	72	2	2	2	35	3	50
John Widemon	150	525	12	25	67	680	11	125
John Kinard	40	150	2	6	10	150	6	20
CA Rikard	130	130	4	10	12	600	20	100
FS Boines	100	195	4	8	35	700	8	100
HM Wikcer	25	29	0	1	6	75	3	75
Sarah Pister	50	130	5	6	8	140	4	20
FP Richerson	30	64	0	8	16	40	2	8
DW Livingston	35	80	1	3	13	150	1	30
Sallie Livingston	35	40	2	7	12	100	3	50
DF Livingston	35	45	2	3	14	150	5	0
Thos. Ellerson	140	110	4	17	82	1200	18	200
Drayton Kinard	26	49	1	3	4	70	4	6
Henry Werts	15	42	5	15	20	300	7	60
DC Werts	25	7	1	1	1	75	0	25
DB Kinard	25	29	1	0	3	50	3	10
GM Lingly	100	75	2	4	20	240	12	15
AP Dominic	50	95	2	3	12	350	0	125
PH Cannon	125	275	4	7	42	300	4	125
Jacob Werner	125	300	7	9	39	300	8	50
M. Heall	175	1000	11	25	40	700	18	300
David Kibler	300	525	10	26	26	400	26	200
Wim. Bridges	25	30	3	4	0	300	0	30
Wiley Bridges	130	10	7	5	8	250	8	50
Lamuel Bowers	75	150	3	12	25	300	7	50
Mathias Barre	800	860	20	60	145	4000	158	30
Dr. FW Thompson	250	250	10	20	25	600	0	0
HMW Miller	200	500	10	20	50	800	17	20

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 16 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
AF Johnson	395	510	10	8	60	600	60	0
WA Hunter	100	325	9	20	30	400	2	100
SC Merchant	300	260	11	20	90	1000	40	100
David Halfacre	150	690	4	16	30	400	15	200
FB Higgins	600	844	15	30	30	1500	69	75
WW McMorris	425	375	28	64	86	550	72	350
PH Hunt	350	400	20	30	25	400	60	50
Tobe Johnston	2100	2350	50	60	75	5700	100	300
Col. S. Fair	450	250	12	28	50	15	69	200
John F. Calmers	70	70	6	7	3	300	12	0
Dr. E. Ewarts	250	474	15	8	46	500	70	60
FL Boozer	100	121	6	9	8	400	20	50
R. Stewart	350	750	17	25	80	6000	24	16
JF Cleland	40	40	4	3	20	250	9	50
CS Cleland	85	359	4	3	32	300	8	100
Robert Moffatt	250	300	10	25	50	600	30	100
Rebecca DeWalt	175	175	6	15	35	500	10	50
AC Garlington	400	250	6	15	40	700	84	100
CD Spearman	175	195	7	10	50	400	36	0
Thoas. Wadlington	600	1350	12	17	55	1000	80	150
Frank R. Cromer	0	0	1	1	2	40	2	10
Jacob Felker	200	100	3	2	14	200	5	30
Wade W. Suber	0	0	2	5	20	200	6	100
Emanuel Sligh	65	185	5	5	5	250	11	40
John Glymph	280	250	10	15	50	900	19	0
Thoas. H. Cooks	200	196	5	10	20	250	10	10
Wm. Cromer	80	66	2	7	10	200	8	15
Saml. Harman	70	120	4	12	20	250	6	50
Joseph B. Heller	100	230	4	7	50	100	18	40
Jesse Beam	0	0	0	0	0	25	1	20
Jacob Wicker	40	160	4	4	12	250	7	100
John Heller	60	24	2	5	15	140	5	25
Henry Cromer	45	90	2	3	5	100	3	75
Isaac Cromer	35	15	1	1	0	100	5	25
Frank Lominick	0	0	1	3	10	100	8	100
Henry Ringer	40	60	2	4	6	100	3	20

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 17 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Lemuel Lane	225	285	4	26	20	700	46	100
Emanuel Cromer	150	175	6	8	25	350	9	25
Charles Thompson	150	130	4	4	15	300	10	100
David M. Cannon	150	150	4	5	15	300	12	50
Miles Cromer	38	100	3	4	20	250	7	50
Thos. K. Alewine	45	95	4	5	27	250	7	50
Henry Oxner	35	125	3	2	14	100	3	25
Henry Epting	50	50	1	3	5	220	7	20
Andrew Cromer	150	150	10	15	30	400	20	200
Benj. Abrams	40	20	0	0	7	150	5	20
Dr. Wm. Holton	80	280	5	7	40	600	10	300
George Feldman	150	150	4	2	18	300	16	0
Madison Brooks	350	750	10	15	35	1000	70	200
Micajah D. Suber	280	615	5	20	30	500	25	100
JH Graham	250	312	5	15	30	400	20	75
Felix Graham	66	200	3	3	10	100	4	25
Jno. F. Singly	0	0	1	1	0	80	6	40
James Morris	40	86	2	2	5	150	3	10
David Koon	75	165	3	7	17	250	7	25
Belton Counts	225	255	5	15	30	50	26	200
George Haltiwanger	100	40	3	10	5	100	5	40
Nancy McCollum	150	650	4	10	10	100	5	200
Henry Gallman	600	1200	15	45	140	2500	100	300
Sallie Counts	275	170	8	15	15	600	25	100
Mary Garrett	30	90	2	1	1	50	0	24
James Fair	400	1060	15	40	65	2000	95	200
John Cook	300	185	10	32	40	1000	30	100
Nancy Slight	60	100	1	1	0	250	7	100
Martin Kinard	150	150	12	28	50	1000	24	100
DD Stone	176	176	6	10	15	640	21	200
George Riser	80	70	4	5	30	450	20	100
JB Counts	80	184	4	5	30	675	19	50
AL Ruff	300	200	7	30	24	1500	50	400
mary Kinard	65	30	2	6	10	300	5	75
Wm. Long	75	50	1	3	7	300	8	75
Sallie Kinard	50	65	2	7	7	240	5	50

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 18 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Andrew Kindard	75	30	4	6	12	250	9	75
John Livingston	70	30	0	0	36	275	6	100
Jal. B. Livingston	30	20	2	5	4	100	4	30
Edwd. Thomas	0	0	1	0	6	100	5	20
Margaret Quattlebaum	35	45	3	3	14	175	7	50
Max. Livingston	0	0	2	4	14	100	3	20
George Galman	500	1200	75	60	140	1900	60	300
Jas J. Jones	62	120	2	5	20	100	4	100
George Robb	100	215	3	7	15	200	8	100
Miram Cinch	40	24	2	3	8	100	3	40
John Livingston	70	30	0	0	36	275	6	200
Lewis Spillers	0	0	1	2	6	100	3	20
Dr. Jno. Herndon	1100	1700	15	80	200	4000	200	500
PC Ferguson	200	120	4	7	30	700	40	100
Zacheus Wright	400	105	10	15	44	300	18	100
Henry Smith	96	18	1	8	27	300	6	30
james Moffett	300	440	3	15	20	650	17	200
Nathan Whitmire	300	400	10	25	60	1000	35	400
Wm. Wallace	400	500	14	15	60	2000	96	500
Nancy Koon	560	540	15	35	70	1400	76	300
Agnes Cromer	30	18	3	3	10	75	3	15
Robt. Seaman	60	110	2	4	11	150	8	10
Simon Dickert	70	70	2	5	10	100	5	15
Jas. Hutchison	150	65	5	7	30	400	10	200
Jacob Egle	124	100	4	6	20	250	7	100
Alfred Bundrick	50	46	2	7	25	250	8	100
Jacob Cromer	25	115	2	4	10	130	2	20
John F. Cromer	110	190	3	3	15	200	10	50
Barbara Cromer	45	55	2	4	12	120	3	25
Sarah Dessicer	75	125	1	6	26	300	8	10
Mary Kopp	40	30	1	4	20	100	2	20
Micajah Epps	40	46	1	4	12	100	4	10
Elijah Weidiman	100	80	2	8	25	220	3	50
Lemuel Glymph	350	280	7	26	50	1120	23	150
David F. Suber	200	281	8	12	50	750	21	150

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 19 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jabez G. Lake	280	340	8	28	37	500	27	100
David Wicker Sr.	40	200	2	4	12	200	3	30
Josephus Glymph	75	125	4	9	20	300	16	100
Rev. P. Moser	100	286	6	16	35	200	14	50
Wm D. Cromer	75	60	3	6	17	200	6	80
George Ivy Ropp	55	55	3	8	6	100	3	60
Jacob Litesey	100	30	2	6	20	300	10	120
Wm. L. Ridlehoover	200	125	4	15	16	500	20	150
Adam Cromer	200	300	8	14	30	500	12	100
Adam F. Cromer	150	177	7	12	10	400	15	200
Thos. S. Suber	40	40	2	6	13	250	6	115
Jacob Setzler	200	540	5	11	20	300	15	100
Wm. R. Kentzy	300	514	12	33	120	1500	36	50
Danl. Wicker	54	60	5	3	5	160	8	5
Dr. JA Bond	185	300	5	10	35	600	40	100
Christian Suber	240	300	12	18	120	2000	46	500
Thos. W. Hollaway	250	300	7	15	50	600	23	150
Wm. M. Hatton	100	154	4	6	12	250	15	50
ES Keith	650	1200	10	40	50	1200	120	400
Marthat K. Davison	40	65	2	3	0	100	5	50
KS Davidson	40	135	3	5	10	125	3	50
Thomas V. Wicker	300	400	7	18	55	700	52	200
Dr. JA Besley	230	390	0	22	64	700	24	100
George H. Dickert	100	100	2	3	15	200	10	120
Geo. H. Chapman	160	140	8	12	16	500	37	50
Noah Chapman	30	10	2	2	2	50	7	0
Wm. Summers	375	870	20	35	100	2000	62	500
Wm R. Chapman	90	100	4	6	30	450	22	100
Susanna Setzler	30	40	2	4	12	100	3	50
James Coromer	100	140	10	15	45	300	6	200
John Miller	90	30	4	10	23	500	14	50
Adam Epting	150	370	6	19	17	600	18	100
Jasper N. Epting	0	0	6	3	20	125	2	20
John A. Cannon	300	365	10	25	65	700	34	100
J. Wesley Folk	300	400	4	24	65	700	48	200
John Kinard	134	50	4	10	25	300	20	300

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 20 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Kinard	200	155	5	12	30	350	17	200
Sallie Kinard	30	90	4	6	13	50	1	10
Wm. Metts	32	72	2	2	6	125	10	15
Phillip Sligh	500	600	15	30	60	1500	37	200
Jim Suber	30	20	2	2	4	80	3	20
Jesse Dickert	0	0	1	2	5	100	5	25
Uriah Cromer	25	50	1	1	7	100	5	20
Wm. Bishop	140	200	4	10	20	300	27	100
Mike Wicker	100	80	3	8	10	100	10	100
John Hutchison	0	0	1	3	16	130	6	75
David Riddlehuber	0	0	2	3	20	175	5	50
Henry Setzler	0	0	1	2	5	75	1	50
Nancy Cromer	24	20	1	2	5	100	3	30
Anderson Wicker	60	55	3	3	8	250	16	100
Mary Cromer	20	30	2	3	5	100	3	50
Miller Suber	40	60	2	3	10	100	5	50
John A. Cline	70	100	1	4	23	100	6	100
Danl. Hughey	700	1300	15	35	100	3000	100	1400
M. Buzhardt	400	400	15	25	40	600	35	400
Jacob Suber	250	205	10	8	40	1000	30	200
Wm. P. Gillam	100	200	7	5	20	400	14	100
Laura Goree	100	200	4	6	12	200	14	100
Col. Ja. Sonalsy	1200	1400	15	50	50	3000	220	1200
TW Caldwell	720	1080	20	30	40	1800	125	200
Col. CJ S. Brown	300	400	10	12	50	1000	36	200
Mary A. Glasgow	100	250	5	20	15	450	11	100
Mary Bundrick	0	0	2	3	10	100	4	50
Dr. TB Rutherford	650	2225	28	30	90	2500	135	400
Andrew Campbell	0	0	2	3	20	300	10	100
Henry Wicker	0	0	3	3	10	100	2	50
Wm. Wicker	0	0	1	5	10	100	2	50
JA Renwick	620	650	20	35	125	2000	165	200
GS Sligh	50	40	4	1	0	100	6	50
Joseph Caldwell	1000	3300	35	70	100	3500	110	500
Ed. Caldwell	150	120	3	3	0	0	0	300
TB Kennerly	220	650	8	20	35	600	47	25

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 21 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Ann L. Brown	40	24	4	4	30	300	3	50
Honore Thomas	40	160	3	4	0	150	6	30
Jacob Dickert	50	50	3	5	10	100	5	20
Mitchell Suber	0	0	7	3	10	300	7	100
Mary Cates	30	90	4	4	0	100	2	10
Dr. JW McCants	150	450	4	26	15	600	23	150
AJ Oxner	100	20	3	5	7	300	14	75
EM Reese	15	42	1	2	2	130	2	25
Clary Goree	40	10	1	2	0	150	2	20
George Clair	220	220	10	15	10	1000	33	100
Johu Gilliam	180	190	4	5	17	200	7	150
Joseph Kellar	175	80	8	6	16	250	14	50
George Turnipseed	600	1100	15	40	80	2500	90	300
Ellen F. Darby	175	525	4	6	35	6500	23	100
Mary Gilliam	70	70	4	6	10	150	3	50
Lang H. Keely	30	100	2	4	10	170	1	50
<b>Nancy Duncan</b>	30	17	2	3	0	50	6	20
Wm. H. Ruff	160	185	15	15	35	800	24	100
Ephriam Suber	450	570	20	22	50	1400	27	100
JW Saunders	50	40	2	4	18	150	4	100
Wm. Golding	45	45	3	3	11	150	7	40
Wm. Lyles	90	320	8	13	22	650	16	100
Emmanuel Suber	100	185	4	4	17	300	15	50
Jno. AC Crooks	100	300	6	10	24	500	19	50
John Glymph	425	253	15	15	20	1400	37	40
<b>Jas. Adams</b>	90	200	4	10	25	400	9	50
Thos. Crooks	170	250	5	8	12	325	12	75
<b>Henry Dawkins</b>	30	23	2	2	14	50	3	20
JW Willingham	60	50	2	3	7	150	5	100
Jacob Suber	450	550	12	30	50	1000	50	200
Danl. Suber	250	720	5	20	90	1500	30	100
Peter Felker	30	10	0	1	5	100	2	30
John Glenn	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dr. GW Glenn	200	560	10	34	40	800	26	200
Geo Sligh	200	300	7	18	20	300	15	200
David Sligh	200	300	6	11	25	400	16	200

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 22 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Hillery Sligh	75	120	6	11	25	400	16	200
Geor. Cannon	450	300	5	30	40	800	35	200
Isaac Cannon	100	120	2	5	15	400	17	100
David Cannon	200	247	7	6	30	600	20	50
PL Galsgow	32	60	2	2	13	160	5	50
JNO Hages	0	0	1	4	0	100	2	50
Nathan Hunter	60	73	3	8	20	350	6	100
Abel Conner	100	160	8	10	30	500	18	100
Wm. Davis	200	300	2	8	33	400	22	200
Dr. Jno. Gary	600	360	15	25	60	1500	64	150
HW Gary	550	250	15	15	40	1500	53	100
DL Gary	250	550	6	13	40	900	25	0
Jacob Summer	120	100	7	12	20	300	30	150
Martha Goree	175	175	7	20	50	700	24	100
Noah Rhodes	140	145	4	12	25	600	34	300
George Speake	200	260	15	30	50	1200	40	100
Garrard Smith	100	190	3	6	20	300	9	150
Lemuel Oxner	100	180	6	17	30	500	19	50
Jas. Lofton	30	74	2	4	10	100	5	150
Jno. W. Bishop	80	120	4	7	15	300	23	10
Charlotte Pace	50	50	1	2	0	150	1	50
Lawton Garrett	50	120	3	2	11	250	8	50
Lofton Johnson	135	30	5	13	27	300	8	50
Lewis Jones	60	100	3	5	10	150	5	50
Hillary Jones	28	79	3	5	5	100	4	100
John Harmon	75	75	5	5	20	200	7	100
Cyrus Bishop	80	105	6	6	20	150	8	50
Robt. Duncan	15	34	2	5	0	100	2	100
Margaret Wheeler	100	100	5	5	15	250	10	100
Isaac Johnson	60	65	4	6	20	100	8	40
Dr. Jas. Hill	100	144	5	15	25	400	10	20
David Hutchison	25	25	1	2	10	100	2	100
Ezekial Johnson	20	80	1	2	10	100	2	200
Wm. Scott	400	300	6	18	60	1200	50	100
Thoms. P. Abrams	125	155	15	10	24	500	17	300
John Glenn	0	0	3	5	10	100	2	50



1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 23 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
JK Schumpert	200	375	6	11	40	700	23	150
Andrew Turner	400	400	20	21	60	500	19	250
Nancy Miller	150	373	8	12	40	1000	9	100
Leonard Horton	20	40	1	3	6	100	6	0
George Oxner	70	142	11	9	20	400	5	50
John Richey	250	550	10	15	100	1000	33	50
Jas Duckett	1000	1830	40	60	300	5000	114	600
Bh mathis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Hoseal	200	289	10	16	25	450	12	75
John Calmes	600	300	12	30	50	1000	100	500
Wm. Riser	200	175	8	15	37	400	23	200
Leml. Abrams	100	200	5	10	25	500	15	100
Thoms. Cromer	250	570	10	20	50	1000	24	400
Lorenski Anderson	150	185	9	2	22	600	16	300
Henry McCullough	0	0	8	0	10	250	8	50
Margaret Boyd	40	97	3	6	20	150	4	130
John Glasgow	200	250	10	15	20	700	25	100
Robt Gillam	250	350	6	20	40	600	25	300
Dorothy Hunter	115	85	6	8	15	225	23	100
Jas. Caldwell	150	380	7	16	25	1000	40	200
John Aull	150	200	6	8	20	500	21	300
George Epting	170	170	5	12	20	0	0	0
James Sloan	20	350	3	3	12	0	0	50
Joseph Reid	193	250	10	18	60	800	48	400
Dr. RP Clarke	450	863	15	20	70	1500	76	600
HW Ricker	150	340	10	24	24	200	15	200
Hon. JP Kinard	1300	1400	25	60	100	4000	200	1000
Thos. Chalnder	250	450	12	17	40	500	20	200
Pottis Gillam	250	285	8	25	60	500	25	200
Col. JS Renwick	400	650	20	30	60	1500	44	200
Maj. JA Mars	220	280	7	20	30	1000	14	100
Alfred Duncan	50	50	5	5	8	250	9	75
RH Mars	100	296	3	1	30	500	9	400
James Gordon	40	120	5	4	20	250	2	100
Fred Johnson	175	275	9	17	30	500	16	100
Sarah Mathis	10	10	0	0	5	50	1	20

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 24 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Saml. McKee	160	120	5	5	20	250	8	0
John R. Johnson	0	0	0	4	8	0	0	0
George Denson	30	100	2	1	10	100	1	0
Margery Atchison	75	100	2	5	15	250	11	50
Elizabeth Canady	150	150	3	5	16	200	9	75
Wm. Ray	400	885	8	30	70	1800	113	475
Chas. Sims	0	0	2	0	10	200	25	50
Elijah Odell	125	175	3	7	22	150	7	50
Fred Wesson	0	0	4	5	16	200	5	50
Holloway Hill	250	550	10	20	30	1000	45	50
Thomas Watson	500	880	23	25	70	1500	56	100
Elizabeth Duckett	47	110	4	4	15	300	5	35
John Whitmire	0	0	2	6	15	150	4	15
Jas. Duckett	50	90	4	7	15	100	6	25
Levi Whilliams	0	0	1	3	0	100	2	35
Joseph Duckett	125	300	7	7	30	350	23	50
Benj. Duckett	235	725	12	14	96	1500	47	200
Henry Whitmire	250	800	15	25	40	2500	60	0
Barruch Duncan	60	250	8	15	25	500	9	40
<b>Wade Sanders</b>	150	110	3	5	30	600	23	100
Jas. Gordon	40	90	3	4	13	250	5	300
Eliza Hipp	80	60	3	5	20	250	7	52
Wm. Mars	125	275	12	24	60	1000	32	200
NR Mars	130	280	8	20	40	800	17	150
Elizabeth McKee	75	85	4	3	25	350	12	500
John F. Sims	210	100	7	7	50	600	25	100
AS Shell	200	300	8	12	50	800	30	100
Susan Homes	30	130	4	4	20	200	3	50
Absolum Shell	30	40	2	5	20	250	2	100
John Abrams	150	200	8	7	40	500	27	100
Gaseaway Odell	26	60	3	2	10	250	3	50
Baruch Whitemire	40	110	3	3	20	250	5	50
Mark Shell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mark Shell	0	0	1	2	10	100	0	25
Dr. Jno. Mars	400	750	10	20	70	2500	45	100
Martha Abrams	200	116	6	15	35	500	22	200

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 25 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm. F Abrams	60	198	4	6	21	100	5	100
LC McCracken	375	525	10	14	40	400	45	100
P. Moses	0	0	2	3	5	200	8	40
Maj. Hargrove	400	500	10	20	30	600	31	100
Dr. JM Eppes	1000	1300	20	40	100	3000	165	400
Smith Davis	350	700	17	33	75	2500	80	300
Irez Suber	453	1000	12	40	25	800	100	150
Dr. RC Swindler	300	75	15	15	35	1200	36	100
James Wilson	105	395	6	6	30	600	8	25
Henry Buzzard	25	31	2	0	0	150	5	100
Peter Hair	950	965	12	60	135	2700	81	150
Jas. Rinnick	550	300	15	40	100	2000	45	1000
CF Sligh	215	280	8	20	40	650	38	100
M Worthy	450	600	8	30	28	600	33	0
Robet Mormon	600	312	10	18	35	1200	40	200
RS Lyles	300	600	12	12	40	1200	45	500
Wm. Kelley	160	508	5	4	27	500	15	0
George Ashford	110	320	4	10	30	250	25	100
CH Hodges	140	460	6	5	20	200	22	100
Bennet Hancock	140	294	6	1	33	300	10	300
William Smith	275	725	7	10	75	2000	40	100
George Chaplin	100	134	3	0	8	100	8	300
Jas. M. Suber	175	273	6	10	30	400	20	100
Thoas. Odell	260	640	12	26	44	800	37	150
H.C. Kinner	100	116	4	10	25	400	16	15
Jas. M. Henderson	350	400	12	10	21	1800	105	300
James B. Glenn	60	140	2	8	10	400	3	200
Benny Richard	225	387	2	20	30	700	49	0
John V. Lyles	300	550	6	18	30	600	34	0
Wm. E. Hardy	600	1435	15	27	150	200	82	200
Abraham Gordon	300	136	9	10	65	600	36	100
John A Gilliam	350	250	10	12	35	1400	60	0
Emanuel Oxner	375	321	10	20	65	1000	60	50
Micajah Harris	200	225	4	20	33	250	6	30
EP Lake	125	500	7	6	50	700	22	20
Jacob Kibler	428	310	8	23	54	1000	41	100

1860 Newberry District Agricultural Census (page 26 of 26)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
HH Kinard	725	503	12	36	132	1800	176	1000
HH Kinard	725	525	8	42	82	1500	221	300
Jessey Coats	80	120	4	12	44	600	6	125
Ellin Wilson	0	0	3	3	12	400	2	30

Note: Free black farmers are in bold italics. Source: 1860 Agricultural Census, Newberry District, South Carolina.

## APPENDIX L – 1850 SUMTER DISTRICT

### AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table L.1:** 1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm. Rogers	28	24	2	5	6	400	0	0	120
John S. Ashmore	400	612	12	26	70	1100	1400	30	400
Ezykial Keels	120	480	10	25	40	500	1350	15	120
John Hayers Jr.	100	335	5	14	30	300	660	0	200
Job Keels	55	335	4	1	18	150	0	4	275
John Gibbs	30	254	5	8	30	130	330	1	150
Danl. Keels	150	350	5	7	75	600	0	11	150
John Frierson	250	650	7	15	75	800	1500	10	300
Daniel cole	70	334	9	12	40	320	0	12	250
Hoke Wilson	110	790	7	21	40	400	0	5	350
Paul Wilson	60	142	9	14	40	350	300	0	0
Jas. Tomlinson	30	220	3	12	30	300	240	0	200
Nathan Hall	16	90	3	3	20	100	360	0	125
Wm. Pepwell	30	70	4	6	50	300	300	2	50
Danl. Anderson	100	642	1	10	20	100	300	1	300
Thos. Locklair	90	610	6	9	45	450	500	1	300
Saml. Lowry	200	800	7	20	30	200	600	6	350
Elias E. McLeod	180	206	5	10	30	600	750	12	400
Saml. Dennis	25	30	3	4	20	120	0	1	100
Wm. J. Keels	15	0	1	0	15	100	0	0	25
Arthur Gibbs	15	196	4	7	15	105	0	0	100
John Keels Jr.	50	900	0	0	14	240	180	2	100
Jesse N. Gibbs	150	1250	14	25	160	1000	0	7	450
John Nesbitt	25	75	1	0	15	40	0	2	30
Wm. Nesbitt	70	130	2	3	20	350	450	0	200

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 2 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James G. Ivy	35	198	0	3	16	132	0	1	20
John Welsh	75	173	10	18	40	400	450	3	300
Abednego Locklair	75	175	8	8	25	200	450	2	20
Jas. Locklair	40	210	7	5	30	150	0	1	50
Bartlett Sanders	250	2350	10	25	80	1000	900	17	200
Wm. Sanders	22	0	2	1	22	100	0	0	70
Robt. Durant	35	0	5	2	15	150	120	4	50
Adolphus Ackland	500	2000	15	40	60	800	360	25	30
Jesse Smith	240	1760	8	20	60	400	300	5	250
Wm. H. Smith	140	140	7	12	50	500	300	10	150
Elias Smith	170	860	9	20	60	600	1050	6	150
Nelson Kerby	200	400	14	30	50	700	0	4	200
John Kerby	300	1200	8	15	30	300	0	2	200
James Vann	40	136	1	2	8	100	0	2	40
Chas. Chandler	40	102	7	6	30	200	300	0	0
Daniel Conners	25	125	1	0	3	30	126	0	15
Samuel Chandler	70	200	5	10	35	150	600	0	100
Thos. Welch	150	450	3	9	20	350	6150	5	100
Ruebin J. Welsh	30	0	3	6	20	200	2400	2	25
Elias Gibbs	25	175	6	14	25	100	690	0	110
Levi Brown	35	65	3	5	14	100	650	3	25
Thos. Hardy	60	214	6	5	30	200	0	4	0
Thos. Chandler Jr.	55	600	2	3	30	150	0	0	50
Ephriam Vann	100	140	7	12	55	250	150	1	125
William Keels	55	335	6	20	47	600	450	12	300
Ervin J. Goodman	120	140	6	5	25	600	180	5	100
Henry Goodman	75	200	3	10	30	350	0	4	150
James Lemon	40	135	6	6	20	400	450	6	50
John H. McElvin	25	300	1	0	50	400	0	0	100

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 3 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Christopher J. Haynes	100	300	9	15	50	300	360	3	100
Robt. Fulwood	500	2300	10	30	150	1200	1200	17	1200
John Rhodus	60	65	6	2	40	150	0	1	80
Martha Lightberry	25	475	1	7	13	200	210	1	60
Hiriam M. Legare	150	1000	7	18	30	550	600	2	100
Thos. Chandler Sr.	110	860	9	16	110	600	0	4	275
Wm. Mims	250	1150	9	8	50	425	420	11	600
Benj. E. Wilson	70	116	3	8	19	140	0	1	50
John Cole	150	290	4	23	47	500	300	6	200
Robt. Lowry	50	1000	3	19	30	100	360	1	100
Richard Wilson	75	425	3	3	21	200	90	3	75
Henry Cassels	75	241	5	5	50	300	600	8	200
Jas. Lecory	400	2600	7	35	70	1500	450	25	200
Molly Brogdon	60	100	5	3	60	270	0	2	150
John W. Brogdon	60	390	7	6	20	100	0	3	100
Wm. H. White	30	50	2	1	23	70	0	1	80
PJR Haley	300	300	9	4	25	100	0	2	50
JW Ridgeway	300	200	17	26	50	800	0	0	400
Jas. R. Frierson	40	300	5	6	26	150	0	0	100
Aaron Hodge	12	200	12	7	25	175	0	0	175
AL Kolb	40	149	1	0	21	150	0	4	50
EM Tobias	30	196	3	2	35	150	0	0	75
David Cabbage	60	200	4	5	30	200	180	4	50
Wm. B. Cumbee	500	2000	20	70	35	700	300	25	600
Jas. Plowden	250	750	17	30	30	500	480	6	150
Edgar Plowden	200	1100	20	22	80	600	0	18	200
KP Haynsworth	400	1112	13	50	100	700	900	25	500
Wm. Rhodus Sr.	200	500	15	18	25	400	150	6	200
Henry B. Drose	15	83	15	2	20	150	0	0	200
Joseph Richbough	50	107	2	2	30	80	0	3	100

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 4 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
JL Tindale	150	4000	5	10	25	500	1500	0	100
Aaron Mitchum	150	575	9	30	30	400	0	11	200
George K. Ridgeway	50	375	2	2	9	200	0	0	100
JB Hilton	1200	2600	42	150	150	2100	4500	53	1500
Geo. H. Hodge	17	143	7	1	25	100	0	0	100
RW Stukes	40	50	5	10	15	30	0	0	10
JM Tobias	20	80	3	0	7	50	120	0	15
LM Ridgeway	50	616	8	8	35	270	420	0	150
Isaac B. White	20	20	2	0	10	100	0	0	50
Benj. Hodge	28	807	2	3	60	100	0	0	150
George. Rouse	27	949	4	1	20	154	210	0	75
Jos. H. Dennis	42	400	2	6	5	100	150	2	50
Wm. Joy	30	30	0	0	8	60	221	3	100
Hester Ridgeway	85	590	2	2	39	300	150	5	150
Laml. M. Thames	20	8	3	0	30	100	750	1	25
Thos. Cresey	35	395	2	5	9	100	246	0	50
Mary Ridgeway	100	860	6	10	25	200	240	0	150
Henry F. White	8	550	3	7	15	50	240	0	50
Henry H. Lowder	45	280	3	1	25	200	0	2	75
Wm. Lowder	50	50	2	4	15	150	0	1	20
Rachel Burgess	200	500	5	5	15	700	900	8	200
Wm. B. Burgess	50	550	2	0	20	200	0	0	50
Jas C. Strange	290	1060	12	25	40	400	0	6	200
Wm. Kelly	50	228	1	0	42	400	0	1	200
Joseph Jones	200	148	8	10	25	300	1500	6	200
Jas. C. Blackwell	200	300	7	9	50	600	0	8	300
Celia Berry	60	40	2	6	6	100	0	2	20
George Griffin	25	100	1	0	0	150	0	1	80
HH Timmons	25	125	4	5	10	150	0	2	50
Mary A. Ridgeway	35	115	4	3	7	131	0	1	50



1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 5 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John R. Gamble	65	402	4	7	35	250	180	4	120
Wm. Strange	36	64	4	1	20	180	0	1	10
MB Holliday	80	150	4	12	35	400	0	5	150
MD Bithune	350	680	6	8	30	350	900	11	50
BL Lowder	140	160	9	8	40	500	246	10	300
Mary A. Clark	300	1000	12	30	50	600	0	25	150
M. Hustances	33	40	0	3	16	150	0	1	30
Mary Johnson	100	160	4	6	30	300	0	2	50
WM? Johnson	100	100	1	2	26	250	0	2	0
Joseph Spratt	300	700	6	14	40	700	600	13	500
WM JF Burkett	100	52	6	8	20	250	0	6	75
John W Horton	175	809	8	13	50	500	560	17	200
Dianna Horton	300	700	10	55	15	500	800	6	100
<b>Sarah Pearson</b>	70	30	1	3	0	200	0	3	75
Wade Warde	45	305	4	5	15	250	120	6	200
Jimima Bukbaugh	100	40	8	6	15	200	1500	4	0
Wm. D. Wise	30	33	1	0	0	70	0	1	0
JM McKnight	400	3000	12	18	50	1700	0	45	1200
Wilkerson Griffin	20	5	2	3	12	100	300	0	120
Jas H. Dingle JR	500	4034	20	30	100	1000	0	36	2500
<b>Moses Dingle</b>	50	100	6	4	12	350	300	3	100
John D. McKnight	300	750	10	45	20	500	0	10	200
Jas. C. Walker	400	50	13	11	15	500	600	27	0
Mary Tenant	40	56	8	12	18	150	0	6	200
WW ownes	200	450	6	9	30	400	600	10	250
<b>Rich. Pearson</b>	50	50	4	6	12	250	300	4	35
<b>J. Pearson</b>	20	20	2	3	15	200	300	2	80
Mary A. Brunson	75	225	5	8	10	200	0	2	100
WM H Smith	20	65	5	2	20	200	0	0	25
Wm H. Rhodus	100	122	2	4	4	125	0	0	50
Albert Mitchum	15	0	0	0	10	150	0	3	75
Mary A. Lesesne	100	600	7	11	10	250	600	6	100

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 6 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Martha M. Frierson	18	20	0	0	4	150	0	1	50
Geo. Frierson	50	75	4	0	4	250	0	0	200
Adam Conner	30	380	7	4	5	100	0	3	150
Mary AE Canty	400	4000	28	43	40	1200	1350	36	2500
Alex. S. Gernel	600	440	7	5	30	175	150	2	100
Margaret A Lesesne	250	6500	5	5	18	400	300	8	500
Chas. Lesesne	60	240	3	3	15	200	120	8	50
Thos. E. Tobias	60	160	3	3	40	100	210	0	51
John Hodge	240	2700	16	15	55	1000	0	5	300
Thos. Tobias	45	301	6	2	40	170	240	2	50
Wm. Herrington	35	361	11	7	25	200	150	0	60
Elix. Pendergrast	200	1500	12	30	60	600	0	0	600
Jas. Z. Herrington	75	223	3	4	12	150	0	4	100
Isaac Bagwell	130	636	15	27	80	550	450	7	500
Wm. J. Brogdon	150	582	15	10	50	500	600	8	500
Henry Montgomery	200	800	12	12	170	700	1500	17	700
Wm. B. Bently	25	226	3	7	35	300	0	0	100
Wm. Barfield	25	25	0	0	25	100	0	0	100
Lenora Lymore	30	30	4	7	23	250	0	0	50
John M. David	22	100	6	1	11	120	0	0	0
Wm H. Brunson	100	239	7	16	62	500	2400	7	200
Hiriam Laymen	60	1140	8	4	30	300	0	0	200
Isaac Hodge	30	20	2	3	17	150	0	0	50
Abram Hodge	100	200	5	4	25	300	150	5	300
Geo W Philips	80	120	8	27	25	250	480	4	0
Adam Davis	40	290	4	3	18	150	0	3	100
Henry Hudwel	120	1800	8	13	50	500	0	9	300
Jesse Yeats	25	35	3	2	35	150	90	0	60
Saml. Simmons	30	144	4	5	0	100	0	1	60

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 7 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Marcus Stokes	50	75	3	9	38	300	0	0	100
Jane H. Dixon	110	90	4	20	30	500	0	16	150
Leonard Brown	120	250	8	15	20	500	450	17	200
Zachariah McKinny	100	132	3	15	40	400	0	13	250
Jonathan Weston	50	0	6	12	60	500	450	0	500
Donald McQueen	85	175	3	10	30	600	0	5	60
Leah McFadden	500	1500	18	30	80	1800	6000	79	350
Eliz. B. Pringle	200	300	6	2	35	400	0	8	350
Jas. B. Bruson	100	100	5	20	35	250	300	2	100
Jane Potts	50	65	3	5	28	200	0	2	80
Wiley Fort	200	1400	14	20	50	1200	150	18	400
John M. Newman	30	87	1	1	12	100	0	3	100
Jesse Baker	80	80	4	8	25	250	2250	3	150
Jas A McFadden	1200	2600	40	50	150	2500	6000	90	4500
Jas. H. Montgomery	700	2300	25	30	100	1800	6000	61	5000
RR Durant	800	2300	20	70	150	2000	900	74	2000
Spencer Windham	60	390	20	35	60	350	1200	4	150
Wm. Brunson	15	85	0	1	13	100	0	0	50
JJ Nelson	300	1550	35	50	100	1000	180	10	200
John c. Nelson	200	500	8	20	50	300	300	0	300
Isabella L. Nelson	210	1170	5	20	110	400	510	6	300
Jas H. Nelson	100	0	23	60	130	400	300	0	400
EJ Plowden	700	1200	60	150	150	2000	2100	16	900
Agnes Plowden	200	1800	30	100	60	650	300	14	700
Susannah Plowden	150	650	12	30	0	650	300	13	650
EF Plowden	400	800	15	80	30	650	300	13	650
John Blakely	150	750	4	0	12	150	1200	0	180
Thos. E. Dickey	600	2560	35	30	75	900	300	12	800

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 8 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jas. L. Davis	200	250	14	4	30	700	276	2	250
Jas. A. Hodge	150	350	10	25	50	500	300	6	250
Gabriel Plowden	300	1150	11	30	200	1000	600	16	500
John L. Ingram	250	1370	19	26	60	900	1500	15	800
Joseph Hodge	100	500	3	20	20	180	0	4	100
John M. Hodge	800	2000	12	30	125	1700	600	12	2000
Benj. D. Hodge	400	2356	6	60	100	1200	0	18	800
Dudly E. Hodge	150	600	6	3	60	300	0	10	300
Saml. Harvin	300	3100	40	80	50	1890	1200	18	1000
Wm. R. Harvin	260	554	25	50	80	1000	300	9	450
Miles Hodge	18	32	1	7	30	200	240	8	150
Jas. A. Harvin	350	750	15	30	75	1400	3600	30	500
LB Davis	500	1700	4	60	40	500	210	36	1000
John B. Brogdon	75	225	5	7	40	400	210	6	300
Hannah Davis	125	547	4	11	50	650	0	15	200
Turner Davis	150	500	14	31	20	400	480	17	300
Edwin D. Davis	40	100	0	0	10	130	0	2	0
Christ. Tisdale	75	171	6	5	36	300	750	1	150
Robt. Christmas	35	0	5	15	20	200	0	5	100
Reddin Shipman	25	134	1	1	30	150	300	2	40
Eliz. Shippen	20	80	1	1	15	100	0	0	20
John L. Lawrence	49	131	0	0	25	150	0	0	100
Jas. Lawrence	20	118	0	4	14	150	0	2	0
John M. Chandler	25	125	1	0	10	80	0	1	50
John Grooms	30	135	5	1	20	60	0	1	100
Stephen Grooms	40	45	6	7	20	200	30	2	20
Ervin Grooms	30	98	2	3	20	175	120	1	30
Edward B. Plowden	100	400	7	12	26	300	600	11	400

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 9 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
WJ Wilders	80	220	1	5	25	250	300	3	100
EC Reames	200	1000	3	10	50	220	510	7	100
Ann Leary	50	350	4	16	14	300	0	2	0
Darcus Rogers	40	110	3	1	5	150	360	2	50
Mary Wilder	90	200	4	6	20	350	240	6	200
Wm. M Wilder	80	250	4	10	25	400	0	10	100
Celia Fort	80	20	6	4	25	500	540	6	90
Josiah Fort	155	545	6	12	75	700	360	11	175
Moses Brogdon	200	500	4	18	35	800	750	17	600
Danl. Brunson	80	186	5	1	15	200	0	0	0
John F. Gasden	55	100	5	8	45	400	0	3	200
Isaac B. Brunson	70	95	8	19	55	400	540	4	150
Mary Brunson	65	35	8	10	22	350	60	3	200
George W. Brunson	60	70	6	8	40	300	420	4	200
Robt. Newman	25	25	2	1	12	125	0	1	55
Saml. Clark	100	327	10	35	40	400	300	6	300
Wm. Grooms	60	400	7	7	30	200	0	3	0
RW Harvin	75	925	1	13	25	300	0	7	100
Manson Clark	80	90	3	10	50	300	240	4	150
AL Jones	160	550	6	15	40	600	900	14	400
LB Jones	30	120	5	4	12	100	480	0	100
Miles Plowden	250	275	10	35	100	1000	540	28	750
Barney Barfield	60	44	9	18	40	300	330	14	0
Saml. E. Plowden	700	300	12	35	40	800	1500	14	1000
RJ Witherspoon	200	500	6	35	60	675	150	15	300
Jas Mack	100	100	5	7	31	330	2160	0	700
CE Caple	100	193	6	9	32	400	1080	6	250
Geo. David	150	350	4	3	40	40	0	0	0
DM Latimore	18	112	1	4	9	100	360	0	100
Wm Holmes	24	106	1	2	0	150	600	0	100
RP Rogers	206	106	4	6	12	125	180	0	100
Thos. Brugess	150	394	6	23	30	400	60	4	100
John M. Zune	250	1050	6	35	70	800	600	34	500

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 10 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm Wilder	50	148	4	1	20	400	0	1	150
Elenora Johnson	120	380	6	10	50	400	360	10	100
Eliz. Barfield	50	110	5	12	35	200	0	2	200
Wm. Shorter	100	100	5	4	40	150	150	2	150
David E. Shorter	100	400	5	5	30	450	180	7	30
<b>July Carter</b>	100	50	1	1	10	100	300	2	60
Goodson Tucker	25	25	2	1	20	100	30	1	40
<b>Wesley Carter</b>	22	25	2	1	10	60	390	1	30
John Tucker	25	0	1	0	15	180	0	0	30
Rachel Acook	20	85	3	5	14	100	0	1	70
John Shepherd	30	261	2	2	20	300	0	0	75
Richard Dubose	14	227	1	0	18	100	240	0	75
Wm. Rhames	30	92	1	0	12	25	300	0	0
Saml. C. Brunson	45	55	2	1	10	150	0	7	0
Saml. Tindale	50	500	4	3	30	150	0	3	0
Joseph Stukes	30	80	1	1	25	250	0	0	50
Isaiah Mims	16	20	0	0	19	250	90	3	100
Wm. A. Davis	80	360	3	2	20	300	0	0	400
Jas. Thomas	15	335	3	2	20	150	360	0	100
Harry Shorter	57	445	3	2	30	250	0	6	100
Linora Nichols	42	68	0	0	6	150	0	0	10
<b>Jas. Carter</b>	75	30	8	2	25	200	2400	6	120
<b>Isham Carter</b>	20	0	1	1	15	80	260	1	30
Danl. Platt	200	1200	4	25	40	700	300	14	200
Thos. M. Davis	100	234	2	10	35	500	180	3	200
Thos. Richbough	55	70	2	2	14	200	180	2	20
Ths. J. Thames	60	310	3	1	6	150	0	3	100
Eliz. Richbough	80	220	5	3	30	150	1000	5	300
John Wise	80	10	6	4	15	150	840	2	100
Emily Richbough	25	0	5	13	8	150	150	0	30

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 11 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John L. Stukes	25	275	3	1	14	150	0	5	10
LD Bradham	50	480	2	1	35	250	0	3	100
JW Richbourgh	80	260	9	20	40	450	300	12	200
John Humphry	60	355	5	10	50	400	900	3	500
John M. Lipson	120	400	1	0	40	500	0	3	20
Ann E. Walker	70	30	4	2	12	250	600	5	150
Charles Kellen	45	298	5	2	16	150	480	2	0
Gene J. Davis	50	180	5	16	50	400	750	3	50
LR Lipson	30	150	0	0	14	160	60	3	20
Dwight Bryant	60	43	9	9	20	100	0	0	100
EF Bryant	30	195	1	1	30	100	270	2	0
John W. Cooksman	60	240	4	15	50	200	0	3	0
Wm. Bryant	30	166	0	1	27	150	120	1	40
John L. Barwick	15	50	2	1	8	150	300	1	100
Eliz. L. Barwick	60	320	3	3	14	200	300	6	40
John A. Dyson	65	470	6	10	35	300	0	3	200
Hugh Tuchberry	25	30	4	3	12	100	0	3	40
Thos. J. Tuchbury	25	0	0	1	5	100	0	2	0
Peter Lynor	80	420	4	14	20	300	180	3	100
NA Ridgell	30	250	2	15	50	200	0	0	0
Shoowell Ridgell	25	348	0	8	15	100	0	1	50
Geo. L. McCanty	250	250	10	20	40	500	1200	10	0
Mary C. Holliday	100	200	6	7	30	150	0	2	50
GW Lesesne	400	2500	12	90	100	1500	0	20	1000
Saml. Lloyd	25	175	5	3	11	100	0	1	20
John Lloyd	40	160	10	8	20	100	0	2	100
Lorenzo Bryant	37	150	1	7	10	200	180	4	200
J. Burgess	45	84	0	10	15	100	0	4	150
Wm. Ridgeway	45	84	7	5	7	120	0	2	20

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 12 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Wm. Timmons	25	0	0	0	7	100	0	0	100
Wm. Stedham	90	255	2	3	35	400	0	8	300
Jas. Ridgell	160	2000	6	20	25	500	1200	6	400
EB Blackwell	125	385	2	7	30	400	600	7	250
Scarborough	160	350	2	9	30	350	0	8	75
LJ McFadden	250	1300	8	55	50	500	0	18	200
Agnes White	120	450	7	9	25	150	180	1	50
RH Richbough	50	200	1	1	15	150	0	3	100
Warren Rhame	150	270	3	0	15	500	0	5	250
JB Brogdon	100	400	5	10	35	400	0	6	200
Wm R. Carpenter	100	200	8	4	40	625	900	12	500
Charles M. Andrews	50	250	3	0	9	200	0	10	50
Miller Brunson	40	64	2	2	16	75	120	0	100
Thos. A. Rhame	35	59	4	2	15	200	600	2	40
RM Thames	90	343	9	12	40	350	120	9	200
JC Thames	65	25	2	8	12	200	600	7	100
HJ Tindale	400	1100	13	17	80	1200	900	42	1000
Thos. H. Conniers	175	1064	6	20	55	700	600	26	250
Charles Cobia	22	0	2	3	10	150	0	3	0
J. Cobia	140	500	8	13	12	500	0	13	250
Jos. H. Tingale	350	1450	12	40	100	1100	300	40	1000
MM Renbow	575	3429	54	50	200	2200	2400	43	400
John D. Thames	100	333	4	8	40	400	0	9	0
John L. Felder	400	949	30	60	50	800	0	0	400
Robert Harvin	115	260	4	6	100	600	0	6	100
JW Corbitt	16	0	0	0	0	100	0	1	0
WJ Corbitt	150	350	3	7	7	350	0	2	0
Jas. B. Saryden	18	69	0	0	0	120	0	2	0
Jos. M. Corbia	80	10	5	4	10	160	450	5	0
Wm. L. Brunson	60	40	3	0	10	200	700	9	60
Jonah Eden	31	0	2	2	12	100	150	2	50



1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 13 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Eden	10	0	0	0	6	100	150	2	50
A. Rantaw	300	500	3	4	10	200	0	10	150
Sherod Owens	50	86	5	4	10	150	300	3	100
JM Owens	60	76	3	2	15	300	450	3	300
Isabella Brock	50	90	4	4	15	300	0	1	100
Jas. Watt	20	0	4	0	14	150	0	3	25
August Bayan	200	200	8	10	30	600	750	10	30
David Bayan	140	360	35	55	30	800	900	16	40
Davd L. Bayan	110	300	6	10	30	350	0	20	0
John H. Gayle	80	104	8	15	20	350	540	12	100
Robt. H. Watts	80	1220	10	20	100	400	600	7	150
Joel L. Green	1000	2500	73	100	200	2800	0	68	400
Stephen Anderson	60	62	0	0	8	0	0	3	0
Wm. B. Gayle	43	185	7	6	23	350	450	7	50
Wm. S. Gardner	50	150	4	0	25	150	0	0	0
<i>Jas Carter</i>	25	15	4	4	30	20	750	3	10
<i>Eliz. Montgomery</i>	10	15	1	2	20	100	1200	2	20
<i>Eliz. Canty</i>	9	25	3	2	20	160	480	0	70
<i>Wm. C. Nelson</i>	100	1900	6	20	200	450	1200	0	60
<i>Thos. Bozier</i>	45	69	4	3	25	150	150	0	0
<i>Danl. Montgomery</i>	30	70	2	4	8	75	0	0	0
John J. King	70	500	5	15	5	200	0	0	0
F. Corels	1000	4000	20	60	100	1500	0	150	2000
WJ Raigan	50	151	4	0	25	200	360	6	30
Robt. F. Wells	90	130	3	15	25	400	360	13	400
Wm. C. Dukes	280	420	4	15	50	1000	1500	45	300
Wm H. Bochelle Jr.	200	250	5	19	130	350	300	5	100
John R. Rajan	150	270	3	6	20	350	900	15	50
Est. Mrs. EW Tabb	200	300	2	2	43	400	3000	24	50
Thos. W. Briggs	500	450	20	40	100	2500	1500	60	1000

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 14 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John R. King	760	1260	22	82	49	1300	600	50	1200
JR Felder	150	425	10	40	120	1000	5250	23	200
Edwin J. Belson	300	300	2	0	32	800	600	0	90
Wm M. Davis	400	3000	40	100	40	1600	1500	40	1500
Laura C. Livingston	70	400	8	12	30	850	1200	20	500
John H. Raigan	145	291	5	10	28	650	900	18	250
Wm. H. Bochette	160	220	5	20	20	1000	1800	20	500
Benj. M. Bochette	60	60	2	6	10	150	300	8	50
Wm. Holliday	200	370	7	12	35	1000	900	22	600
Richbourgh	150	260	5	20	40	600	900	21	300
Josiah M Felder	70	200	3	10	26	200	300	13	300
CW Wells	70	260	3	10	40	300	0	18	200
Theodosia Wells	80	320	5	3	25	100	0	12	250
Zebulon J. Rajjan	75	267	5	10	18	300	0	8	50
Jas. R. Brock	180	250	10	20	100	800	900	20	200
John O Brock	100	400	6	15	80	700	600	15	200
Alex. P. Brock	80	320	4	2	50	600	450	11	200
CJ Carpenter	100	70	2	0	8	250	0	1	90
Wm. Brewer	60	20	3	10	25	100	360	1	50
Wm A Stukes	55	240	0	0	40	300	600	4	200
Joseph H. Stukes	150	180	10	8	60	800	900	22	1200
GW Stukes	50	333	3	8	50	200	0	5	400
John H. Mims	20	80	4	4	40	150	300	3	100
Wm. L. McDonald	30	50	4	6	10	150	180	6	25
Charles Brunson	75	100	1	1	10	200	0	8	0
C. Collete	100	400	4	20	30	250	600	15	400
<i>Sarah Gayman</i>	40	10	4	3	10	100	0	1	75
WW Stukes	50	200	7	7	75	200	0	2	150

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 15 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John C. Graham	84	200	9	5	22	400	0	12	50
Rich. Chewning	22	0	2	0	18	150	0	2	50
WW Coulliette	30	175	2	5	3	100	120	0	50
AB Brailsford	175	700	0	20	15	600	1800	30	100
John Holliday	50	324	3	5	0	300	120	8	20
Cardum M Belser	175	425	7	10	60	1000	0	0	500
Susan Richbourgh	70	63	2	11	16	200	300	5	100
Saml. Richbourgh	85	155	3	4	23	300	120	8	200
John L. Rich	90	400	3	4	7	300	600	0	150
JL Jones	16	30	2	1	6	150	90	0	140
Charles R. Harmon	120	361	6	20	30	450	180	7	200
RC Dollard	40	450	1	1	6	0	0	8	50
Eliz D. Brunson	100	138	3	4	14	250	0	2	30
Danl. Lloyd	100	431	8	10	40	300	0	0	200
Thos. T. Touchbury	125	270	8	8	16	300	90	6	200
WF Butler	200	400	11	34	50	700	900	17	200
PM Butler	400	600	11	50	30	2000	0	15	3000
CC Thames	80	50	6	0	30	400	180	9	100
Sarah Bradham	100	100	4	0	20	600	1500	8	500
RJ Holliday	30	20	4	6	12	150	0	0	75
JS Tindale	250	2850	2	40	60	800	0	12	200
Harriet Bethune	150	100	3	0	15	500	350	18	100
EH Tallow	50	250	3	6	25	100	90	0	150
Jas. Geddings	20	60	0	2	3	100	0	1	75
ED Garrett	90	76	3	5	18	200	0	0	125
Wm. H. Richbourgh	25	0	0	0	12	100	0	1	25
Thos. Geddings	28	22	2	2	6	130	0	0	15
Erby W. Hodge	25	0	1	3	23	125	0	1	75
MJ Kelly	40	380	4	3	25	125	0	0	50

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 16 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
RA Harvin	60	175	4	1	40	250	600	2	50
Thos. D. Davis	60	720	7	10	35	250	300	4	300
John Brunson	9	0	0	0	8	100	0	0	30
Hiriam Wilder	52	190	3	3	15	200	0	1	40
JW Richbough	50	115	0	0	20	175	300	3	150
Henry Jennings	30	75	1	0	14	75	0	0	20
James Wise	40	60	1	3	20	200	0	2	200
Mary Richardson	100	173	1	1	30	300	0	2	100
WM A James	100	300	3	8	12	400	360	12	200
Harriet Hodge	140	510	3	50	40	800	0	5	200
EG Dubose	190	555	1	15	40	1000	0	27	200
MD Brunson	50	45	2	5	50	300	0	4	100
Timothy Jennings	35	319	3	2	36	150	0	0	60
Eliz. Bunsby	70	430	12	15	28	350	150	9	200
MB Cockerill	230	370	5	25	38	400	300	12	250
WL Singletery	23	500	2	1	26	80	0	3	40
Mary Alsbrook	75	325	8	15	45	300	0	9	150
Miller Alsbrooks	50	146	4	6	13	200	0	3	30
Thos. Alsbrooks	40	142	0	0	20	220	0	2	0
Elias Hodge	70	164	6	12	40	300	0	7	200
Benj. Courtenay	85	200	6	10	25	200	0	1	200
Wm. Osteen	80	332	3	5	55	250	0	2	75
Lewis Brodaway	80	500	1	8	55	250	240	5	100
Ethan Hodge	75	75	7	3	35	300	450	4	400
Charley Pritchard	18	60	6	4	5	70	0	1	24
David Gorrote	50	50	1	0	11	300	0	0	50
David Rogers	70	370	9	9	30	500	240	3	100
Paul Lawrence	60	190	4	1	20	130	0	0	40
Jared Gooten	150	50	3	3	35	300	0	3	100
Wm. Hodge	400	450	4	15	50	400	0	10	400

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 17 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jas. Hodge	250	850	6	11	45	500	600	4	300
Oliver Hodge	40	100	4	6	6	150	0	1	20
DA Dixon	80	95	4	4	21	325	0	5	150
Wm. Woodard	30	50	1	1	21	300	0	0	50
Jas. A. Carns	50	0	2	4	9	150	0	2	100
TL Wilson	14	0	1	0	0	70	0	0	0
John J. Crosswell	100	126	0	6	11	300	0	7	300
AB Bradham	150	900	12	20	150	650	1500	10	1200
Mary Broadway	50	295	2	3	18	225	0	6	20
Eshter Parders	500	450	4	40	75	1500	0	40	1000
Joseph M. Settles	150	130	5	8	30	800	0	12	300
HH Wells	800	1200	18	28	50	800	1200	25	200
John B. Tindale	120	150	2	8	20	400	360	10	100
Mary AE> Lynum	150	200	5	10	20	400	360	6	100
Goerge Floyde	20	0	0	5	28	90	0	0	20
Henry L. Garrett	20	0	0	0	8	150	0	0	50
Wm. Giddins	45	0	0	1	6	100	0	0	30
Benj. G. Hodge	38	0	2	5	20	200	0	4	10
Thos. Garreth	225	1275	1	24	50	800	0	15	75
Wells	80	30	1	0	20	300	2400	4	50
Rebecca Jackson	24	0	2	2	10	80	0	0	25
Martha Winkler	20	0	3	0	18	100	0	0	50
Rich. A. Wells	300	560	4	14	30	800	0	9	600
<b>Jos. Gibbs</b>	100	250	5	6	40	400	0	2	40
<b>Thomas Chavis</b>	50	142	0	3	35	200	180	0	350
Ann Nicholas	16	0	2	2	1	100	0	0	30
Phil. McElvine	115	385	12	15	60	500	150	3	250
Henry Kelly	100	750	7	55	75	900	0	0	600
Thos. Poll	16	84	2	0	10	100	0	0	40
RM Ridgell	32	118	4	6	15	150	0	2	100

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 18 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Mary M. Kelly	80	70	3	12	25	200	600	2	200
JB Bagnol	100	192	3	0	14	160	0	5	50
Arthur Furman	35	0	0	0	4	100	300	1	50
Saml. Tindale	250	500	11	15	35	475	180	10	300
Ransom Kolb	33	0	0	0	12	200	0	2	200
Benj. Pack	200	900	10	15	50	500	300	9	500
John Williams	20	163	1	7	30	80	0	0	100
<b>Wm. Montgomery</b>	15	0	1	0	10	110	300	1	100
Wm. L. Reynolds	350	1600	12	12	60	1000	750	25	1000
Eliz. McLean	50	270	1	8	15	200	0	5	50
John Harmon	160	290	4	13	50	350	600	7	300
Charles L. Skinner	65	100	9	11	17	300	570	0	100
Jas. Johnson	20	0	0	0	6	200	0	0	100
Eli. Weeks	30	0	3	0	15	200	300	0	100
Margaret Rhame	200	600	12	15	30	500	240	14	200
Eliz. Kelly	80	140	2	2	20	220	120	0	150
Daniel Burton	50	350	3	10	25	250	90	5	30
HW Mahony	120	233	5	8	14	400	0	9	200
LF Rhame	600	1554	15	37	80	1500	3000	72	1000
AD Rhame	200	418	7	16	50	900	450	25	600
Julias Coners	76	764	4	10	27	300	0	2	30
MH Coniers	250	750	10	30	50	1000	1200	56	200
Thos. Chewning	35	50	4	7	25	300	0	0	150
Wm. Chewning	25	0	2	7	4	150	0	2	150
John A. Brown	20	0	1	1	16	80	0	2	0
JW Brailsford	100	130	6	8	20	400	300	9	250
Joseph Brailsford	15	0	2	3	12	60	0	0	75
Frances L. Rivers	50	0	1	1	21	250	0	1	0
Mary A. Barwich	25	0	2	6	16	200	240	0	40

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 19 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Marten Barwick	60	0	2	0	8	800	0	6	300
Charles P. Coniers	225	375	0	0	20	500	0	0	50
Dempsey Griffin	200	440	10	30	60	600	300	10	200
Jas. D Weeks	500	1500	10	20	100	1300	600	40	500
Thos. Griffin	25	0	2	2	20	100	150	2	50
Martha James	18	0	5	1	14	50	0	0	50
Robt. Ardis	30	0	1	6	30	250	510	0	0
F. Weeks	95	468	3	10	37	500	0	16	100
Thoas. D.Rhame	300	348	8	23	52	1125	450	24	900
Joseph Weeks	150	550	3	8	30	800	600	13	200
Thos. Weeks	70	322	10	26	40	550	240	8	65
John Carpenter	70	60	2	13	20	250	0	3	0
John Ballard	65	67	3	12	14	300	3000	3	50
John Thigpen	30	0	0	0	12	200	900	6	100
Mary M. Bradley	30	70	5	8	12	140	0	2	30
Martha Butler	20	0	2	0	25	200	0	0	30
Chas. W. Felder	28	0	0	0	0	190	0	4	75
John Driggers	10	0	1	2	6	110	0	0	40
Ed. Broughton	700	7000	40	100	300	3500	0	20	100
Jas. Lawrence	200	1120	20	50	130	1500	0	18	200
Thos. Broughton	90	0	6	6	50	500	1800	13	800
Charles Moore	60	220	5	3	10	300	0	0	150
Wm L. Felder	30	70	6	8	16	300	0	0	200
Wm. M. James	500	600	15	40	150	1800	1500	60	2600
Es. M. James	600	1600	12	40	100	1400	0	40	1200
CRF Baker	18	140	3	3	20	100	0	0	0
WHB Richardson	1000	5000	24	40	72	2000	3600	160	3000
John L. Boyd	300	800	8	30	50	1000	1200	50	500
Jeptha Dyson	20	180	2	1	12	40	0	0	100

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 20 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John P. Richardson	900	6000	20	60	150	4500	3000	200	2500
John P. Richardson	450	6000	20	60	200	1800	1500	100	500
JB Richardson	450	4000	20	80	150	4000	1500	130	1000
Thos. C. Richardson	500	500	12	30	48	2000	5400	48	1000
Est. Richardson	140	3000	2	4	25	600	0	12	250
Daniel Dubose	1200	1800	8	40	100	3500	1800	140	300
JL Belser	150	800	12	28	18	450	1500	13	100
CP Elliott	1000	500	12	35	150	3000	3000	104	1500
M. L. Moore	800	1259	5	15	50	100	1500	40	500
RC Richardson	2800	4200	50	200	300	7000	3500	375	6000
LR Chewning	25	0	7	10	30	125	0	0	0
JG Canty	15	185	1	0	2	75	0	0	20
Peter Chewning	100	400	12	18	30	500	0	13	50
Charles M. Richardson	70	0	1	0	7	250	0	6	100
Wm. O. Richardson	35	15	3	3	25	100	0	0	140
Martha Belser	600	3400	25	92	150	1800	180000	0	400
Eliz. Beaufort	60	140	3	20	10	250	0	0	10
Charles Compton	8	0	1	1	35	30	0	0	50
Alex. Campbell	10	0	2	2	30	150	0	0	0
Jas. A. Harvin	1000	1500	10	54	152	3000	450	125	1500
Wills Ramsey	1000	2600	20	20	100	2500	3000	88	1000
Rich. B. Cain	600	3400	10	42	300	3000	1800	80	2000
John O. Holiday	40	300	5	8	20	150	0	4	75
Hanna Haynesworth	400	900	15	60	200	1000	1200	47	500
<b>Benj. Legare</b>	60	40	6	10	30	175	0	0	100
Celia Giddings	18	7	1	4	22	150	0	0	20
Joseph Alsbrooks	25	0	2	3	18	120	0	2	200
JH Alsbrooks	20	80	2	1	16	135	0	0	100



1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 21 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Washington H. Brown	230	230	4	12	70	700	6000	18	300
Danl. Lynum	150	306	7	12	47	200	300	7	200
Andrew Caraway	15	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	40
Jas. Caraway	13	0	2	2	8	120	600	0	60
<b>Aaron Abrams</b>	30	0	3	5	0	250	0	0	8
EWP Rivers	50	200	0	4	25	250	0	4	100
FAG Nesbett	55	300	3	5	30	550	0	2	250
JL Belser	300	400	6	24	50	1000	2100	15	350
John Kolb	80	220	1	11	60	400	540	1	50
Wm. Ardis	30	470	5	6	40	250	0	0	75
Wm. Weeks	26	100	0	3	15	150	150	2	50
JM Kolb	20	60	3	5	18	150	0	0	25
Jacob Giddings	60	215	5	10	30	300	240	1	200
Robt. Weeks	80	1170	2	2	80	500	1800	8	50
Charles Weeks	220	1200	12	12	80	1100	1500	20	150
Benj. Kobl	20	0	1	1	10	150	0	0	30
Saml. Stedham	14	0	0	0	2	90	0	0	50
Gabriel Osteen	30	70	4	6	15	200	0	0	100
EJ Pugh	350	700	9	22	100	1500	1800	38	800
Thos. Osteen	80	600	5	9	46	400	450	0	150
Wm. Hudson	20	0	1	2	25	150	0	0	25
Willis Osteen	30	120	1	2	15	200	300	0	50
Danl. J. Brunson	120	550	6	18	80	600	0	20	300
Wm. Childers	60	0	0	0	12	150	0	6	50
<b>Jas. Smiling</b>	20	0	2	1	12	100	180	0	30
<b>Jas. Gains</b>	20	0	1	0	12	70	360	1	0
<b>Thos. Gains</b>	28	0	1	5	7	80	180	1	0
<b>John Gains</b>	17	0	1	0	20	80	0	1	30
<b>Wade Gaines</b>	20	0	0	0	5	70	150	1	0
<b>Louisa Gaines</b>	50	300	4	10	25	150	300	1	75
<b>Wesley Sweat</b>	8	0	0	0	1	50	0	1	20
LP Jones	100	200	4	8	25	400	1800	6	20
JL Mallette	225	500	5	10	25	800	0	20	150

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 22 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Arthur Turner	60	200	2	3	25	130	0	2	100
Robt. Turner	35	0	0	1	14	120	0	2	80
Edward Geddings	40	0	1	1	10	130	0	2	50
Joseph Ardis	18	0	1	1	17	175	240	1	0
Wm. Nettles	220	488	8	12	30	500	0	20	20
Es. Jesse Nettles	120	60	11	13	29	500	0	7	30
John Nettles	50	0	3	4	25	200	0	2	20
John Nettles Jr.	200	300	8	12	33	600	0	19	200
ML Tisdale	100	300	3	8	60	600	0	7	200
Oliver Hodge Jr.	35	0	1	1	28	80	0	0	20
Elijah Hodge	200	100	4	18	70	750	0	12	400
Wm. Wise	50	30	2	8	25	450	0	0	100
Mary Broadway	15	85	2	6	7	60	0	0	20
A. Broadway	20	0	2	4	15	100	0	0	30
NB Gayford	50	150	3	6	23	180	0	1	0
Abner Alexander	163	673	6	8	75	600	450	6	200
EB Davis	800	3000	20	50	125	3500	3000	135	1400
WD Stuckey	80	0	3	1	0	300	0	20	150
Jas Watson	40	0	3	1	4	200	0	3	30
Wm. B. Corbett	100	140	6	8	26	500	630	17	200
Robt. A. McCutchem	200	300	3	3	42	573	0	28	300
Leroy Shaw	150	350	2	2	10	400	630	18	50
JJ Shaw	136	486	2	10	25	500	0	20	0
Wm. Shaw	450	150	8	12	70	1750	750	74	2500
Wm. J. Scarborough	75	40	2	6	26	400	0	16	200
Ransom Scarborough	77	80	4	10	51	500	0	7	300
Henry Scarborough	223	477	8	16	100	1500	660	30	0
Ed. Scarborough	40	0	0	0	0	200	0	5	800

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 23 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Hardy Scarborough	54	134	1	2	14	250	0	6	70
Alfred Scarborough	350	600	12	26	50	1500	4200	40	800
Marth Brewer	20	0	0	0	17	76	0	0	40
John Mathis	45	0	0	0	15	130	0	5	50
Wm. Mathis	150	375	5	9	55	400	300	14	200
Wm. R. Josey	60	240	0	6	30	300	450	5	100
Isham Josey	40	145	2	4	20	150	210	4	20
Arnold Baker	40	15	1	4	11	125	0	2	40
Adison Baker	50	105	3	3	39	175	0	11	75
Robt Josey	180	650	3	5	55	400	300	11	200
Sarah Wilson	300	400	5	20	45	500	150	10	225
Sephrena Fleming	300	500	7	16	50	500	900	6	100
Hopkins Daniels	50	240	3	6	15	225	0	4	50
Jarvis Scarborough	150	170	3	12	60	500	0	14	200
Ela. Copeland	140	175	0	4	17	350	0	3	0
Thos. J. Smith	12	195	1	2	14	100	0	0	50
Harry Baker	34	0	2	2	23	225	0	3	50
AG Revell	24	0	2	5	13	125	0	2	8
Ripley Copland	100	1300	8	12	60	400	150	3	200
Wm. Baker	30	95	0	0	11	200	0	0	20
Sarah McCoy	35	65	4	0	12	110	600	0	0
Mary McCoy	41	0	3	3	40	325	780	2	200
John Harrington	180	320	3	25	44	600	720	8	200
Ervin Benbow	32	33	4	7	33	175	300	4	100
L. Lacost	500	630	12	30	80	1500	450	40	1500
John Montgomery	400	862	13	17	40	900	630	28	550
Eliz. Clark	70	359	2	4	46	300	510	6	200
Isham Clark	25	0	3	4	18	125	0	2	30
Napoleon McLeod	70	150	5	7	31	400	1500	8	150

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 24 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Moses B. McLeod	300	600	10	36	26	500	600	19	100
Saml. Cooper	300	650	5	25	50	1200	1200	32	600
B. McLeod	120	280	2	2	30	300	600	10	50
John M McLeod	30	30	0	1	18	100	0	4	0
BG McLeod	30	40	0	0	15	225	0	3	0
M. Wharton McLeod	20	120	2	8	25	150	0	0	100
Harriet A. Fullerton	40	100	2	8	20	150	0	3	20
Thos. Nesbett	20	0	0	0	0	100	0	1	0
Wm. E. Herring	82	162	3	10	30	250	180	0	250
BM Whorten	80	292	2	8	25	400	900	12	250
WW Bradley	200	400	2	14	42	800	240	20	400
CE Wilson	200	100	2	6	20	250	240	7	150
Janl. J. Reese	100	0	1	2	15	400	0	6	300
MP Mayo	300	1600	8	40	90	1500	600	32	1500
Es. D. Shaw	300	840	0	15	50	500	900	33	300
JA Mayo	60	140	3	9	30	600	0	0	600
WA Muldrow	475	625	11	59	50	1100	780	37	800
BB Muldrow	800	2447	50	146	140	2000	600	50	2500
Robt. Muldrow	814	2267	36	120	140	3660	900	125	2000
John H. King	25	0	3	7	12	150	180	0	80
JE Witherspoon	400	600	25	25	90	1400	990	30	1200
WM Harris	250	450	6	25	65	700	1200	20	350
GG Greeg	50	0	4	15	45	450	600	5	150
Est. Joseph M. Andrson	200	600	0	0	0	750	360	16	400
JB Caragan	20	0	1	2	0	175	0	0	50
Jos. M. Dorrel	20	0	1	4	15	100	300	2	100
Est. Wm. Wilson	400	200	4	15	50	1000	600	25	300
Robt. Wilson	160	240	4	16	40	800	600	25	300
AF Wilson	200	400	4	7	50	700	450	21	500
Ed. Anderson	175	289	7	18	45	600	600	12	500
Wm. E. Mills	600	700	6	16	75	1200	600	35	600

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 25 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Mary L. Wilson	400	236	7	8	38	600	1290	15	600
Thos. R. English	500	700	8	25	30	500	570	25	600
Joseph A. Scott	240	500	3	12	60	1000	750	14	200
GW Cooper	600	2400	10	36	150	3000	900	90	3000
GW Cooper	500	2700	20	40	150	3000	3500	80	2000
ACLD Belk	35	0	1	2	10	200	60	0	200
Geo. McCutchen	544	1020	4	19	96	1500	720	63	600
JW Sweet	200	250	3	12	15	400	0	0	300
Rich. Singleton	400	300	0	0	40	2000	0	32	1000
Rich. Singleton	300	500	15	60	66	3000	0	0	200
Thos. Kelly	72	200	0	1	24	300	450	12	75
Mary Alexander	100	200	2	3	9	200	0	5	100
Federick Kelly	25	0	0	0	5	100	0	1	125
Wm. Dunn	215	1185	10	24	50	450	0	19	300
Joel B. Stokes	18	0	1	6	15	60	0	0	40
Abram Gallaway	50	150	0	8	27	200	0	1	100
Ab. Galloway	25	0	2	3	25	50	0	1	50
BAJ Scarborough	75	160	0	0	0	80	0	2	25
JB Childers	28	154	1	1	18	100	0	1	80
GW Kelly	100	300	4	15	24	400	90	12	200
Jane Brumlett	50	200	2	0	14	50	0	2	6
Robt. Elmore	25	0	1	2	6	75	0	2	0
Hugh McKinzie	50	100	5	22	30	200	0	3	40
Charles McLean	200	740	5	35	70	500	0	7	200
Wm. Brown	30	240	1	1	9	81	0	2	20
Simon Kelly	350	480	3	5	50	1000	0	19	300
Geo. Kelly	26	0	0	0	6	80	0	2	30
Lucretia Jordan	100	180	3	2	16	250	0	2	40
Jas. Rembert	1000	3060	13	47	140	3000	0	131	2000
Frederick A Leard	60	738	5	16	15	250	0	3	100

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 26 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Joel Davis	105	1400	7	11	20	100	0	2	20
Jim Brown	30	0	1	1	11	130	0	0	50
Britton Dority	20	0	0	0	10	150	0	0	20
John Holland	25	0	1	2	5	150	60	2	25
BJ Barrett	140	0	4	20	49	600	0	15	500
EW Green	350	500	3	6	50	800	0	24	400
LM Tisdale	20	0	1	0	0	125	0	2	50
John L. Brown	32	0	4	5	16	150	450	4	80
Ira W. Brown	23	0	2	2	9	150	0	0	65
E. Dixon	300	500	15	35	70	1200	3000	52	600
AF Couser	330	407	2	6	33	600	750	21	400
Est. JW English	1000	2370	0	0	0	1800	600	117	400
Robt. Fraser	75	75	2	2	4	75	0	1	50
George Huggins	25	0	2	3	0	100	0	1	150
Harriet Jordan	60	40	2	3	16	0	0	2	0
Burrell Dunn	100	140	2	2	12	200	0	3	20
JM Woodard	70	0	1	12	20	300	0	5	30
Thos. Fraser	450	850	6	18	45	600	0	43	300
Willis Walson	25	0	0	0	8	125	0	0	20
Isaac Robinson	20	0	2	0	10	100	0	0	0
John M. Dority	16	0	0	0	6	90	0	0	12
Solomon Wlason	100	160	2	8	30	500	0	5	60
Isaac Watson	20	0	0	0	9	50	0	1	12
John Brown Sr.	70	248	0	4	10	300	0	3	40
Jas. Brown	40	0	0	0	27	126	0	0	40
John Brown Sr.	23	0	2	3	14	160	0	0	0
Solomon Brown	18	0	0	0	9	60	0	0	10
Issc. Atkinson	35	0	1	4	1	100	0	1	0
John Woodard	100	400	3	2	30	500	0	27	30
Hardey Stuckey	350	290	2	20	50	2000	3000	55	150
John E. Dennis	600	850	6	14	30	1400	1200	100	1000
Gilbert Crosswell	65	50	0	4	10	200	370	12	50
M. Duboze	235	465	10	12	60	1100	300	13	200

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 27 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John C. Shaw	300	700	2	15	25	300	0	10	0
John O Durant	240	700	6	50	63	800	0	55	500
JW Stuckey	140	260	4	12	35	600	600	21	175
John L. Bradley	400	600	6	25	30	1000	180	50	400
Thos. M. Muldrow	350	290	3	8	40	700	0	53	1500
Alexander? Alexander	45	280	2	2	20	150	0	2	100
JH Stuckey	75	75	2	4	17	350	0	8	100
McCutcheon	40	130	1	12	18	250	0	0	100
John Boyken	24	96	1	1	12	130	120	1	50
Martha Davis	40	85	2	1	10	150	0	1	40
Albert James	280	1103	7	14	35	1000	210	49	200
Paul Davis	100	300	2	16	30	200	380	12	50
Jos. Davis	100	200	3	1	25	300	480	0	10
Gina Davis	100	150	5	3	20	250	0	3	50
Alfred Davis	60	140	3	1	10	200	0	5	0
Thos. Davis	30	130	2	2	6	150	0	3	20
John M. McLeod	70	140	4	3	12	225	0	4	50
Wiley Brown	20	80	0	3	10	80	0	0	10
Jos. Boykin	50	0	4	16	25	250	0	4	50
HH Corbett	150	850	8	30	30	750	0	12	150
Danl. Driggers	30	100	1	2	10	120	0	0	20
Thos. D. White	80	0	0	9	34	275	150	8	150
Abigail Peebles	150	150	3	2	30	300	120	18	50
Elisha Driggers	25	0	3	6	22	100	0	1	25
John Baker	24	0	3	7	14	250	0	2	30
Darling Davis	80	220	12	25	35	551	1350	14	50
Stephen H. Boykin	160	1805	6	10	61	450	0	0	400
Sarah McLean	30	0	0	3	10	100	50	0	30
Jesse Lee	30	0	2	0	16	225	0	1	40
John Lee	40	100	1	1	8	100	0	1	20
Mary Grayes	200	150	2	5	15	300	60	2	200
FB Grayes	25	125	0	1	20	150	150	1	0
Danl. McLeod	150	350	8	30	30	500	600	8	100

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 28 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
RM Higgins	30	306	1	1	12	100	0	1	100
LL Westberry	30	140	2	2	20	150	0	2	0
TL Smith	100	433	7	13	40	500	0	5	400
Wm. L. Reynolds	600	400	4	17	30	1300	0	30	500
Saml. Hollifield	35	55	2	1	5	60	0	1	40
DA Richbough	39	100	3	10	30	200	180	1	200
Mary Carter	15	0	2	0	8	50	0	0	10
jas. Brukett	20	0	1	0	2	50	0	0	0
Elisha Holland	30	0	1	2	10	150	0	1	50
Wm. L. Watts	15	0	1	0	6	50	0	0	30
John Shiver	28	82	4	3	18	250	0	0	100
Eliz. Hawkins	30	20	1	3	25	120	0	1	40
SM Dixon	30	10	5	2	18	200	0	1	200
Leon Burkett	50	75	5	8	21	200	0	4	75
Stephen Burkett	35	135	5	7	15	100	0	2	70
Thos. Ammonds	15	0	0	1	19	45	0	0	0
Sarah Robinson	100	448	2	1	15	300	0	3	60
Moses Moris	15	0	2	2	15	100	0	0	30
RB Rhame	140	200	4	12	20	300	0	8	40
John Rhame	250	150	10	20	30	600	0	33	1000
Thos. M. Ready	25	0	2	3	20	100	0	0	30
Rich. Hyotte	80	150	7	6	20	150	0	2	50
Rich. Hatfield	25	0	1	1	6	100	0	1	30
WW Wilkinson	825	1240	40	20	65	3000	2100	75	800
R. Bracy	200	400	8	12	50	650	600	25	400
Wm. Saudners	1000	550	15	35	70	2300	1200	100	1200
LA Saudners	150	50	0	0	30	800	0	21	250
JM James	250	150	1	25	25	500	600	0	400
Sarah Kendrick	50	0	3	1	75	250	0	7	150
M. Saunders	500	1174	10	5	45	800	900	43	200
John M Cain	500	150	7	4	70	2000	0	70	0
LJ Denkins	90	810	3	11	6	100	0	25	30
Manson Sylvester	70	96	8	10	15	500	2400	14	50



1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 29 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
TE Boykin	225	185	2	3	12	700	0	40	200
Robt. Wilson	300	200	6	14	50	1000	0	40	500
RW Barnes	90	110	2	15	0	400	0	25	200
RM Saudners	160	253	2	15	20	450	300	30	600
Isaac G. Lenoir	100	0	0	2	25	500	600	20	100
Wm. Saunders	200	550	1	15	40	1000	750	25	600
RM Moore	350	550	3	28	60	1750	750	50	1000
Thos. O. Saudners	350	180	6	25	50	1000	0	43	500
JM Dessassure	2000	1800	25	75	600	11500	2800	502	5000
Wm. O. Cane	50	300	3	7	6	200	600	3	200
Jas. Bradley	35	250	3	3	0	100	0	0	25
Jos. Dunlap	30	105	1	0	20	120	0	1	20
Alex. Bell	30	0	1	0	10	200	0	2	100
Os. Mathis	35	165	3	2	14	100	0	2	300
Thadwell Mathis	100	148	2	4	16	250	0	2	100
Danl. Mathis	40	160	4	7	38	280	120	1	80
LD Belvin	25	80	0	2	7	125	0	0	12
Sarah Belvin	70	80	2	2	18	175	0	2	20
B. Coughman	30	0	1	0	6	150	0	1	100
Evan Mathis	50	50	2	3	16	300	0	1	50
Lucinda Marshall	24	0	2	0	14	70	0	0	25
Joshua Myers	150	900	4	6	25	300	360	13	175
Wm. Dority	30	70	2	0	10	125	0	0	30
John Miles	26	0	1	2	9	165	0	0	8
JJF Hatfield	30	55	0	0	18	100	0	3	60
Robert Arants	18	117	4	1	8	100	0	2	20
James J. Corbitt	22	78	1	3	14	70	0	1	30
Danl. Weldon	20	0	0	0	17	100	0	2	60
Richard J. McEchern	100	255	2	2	8	100	0	1	0
Wm. McErchern	40	0	3	3	24	150	180	2	20
Saml. Weldon	50	50	7	18	22	300	0	9	50
Jas. Corbett	150	600	4	8	40	450	0	7	200

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 30 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Richard Raigan	1400	2900	25	75	80	3500	5400	120	2500
JW Rolins	20	0	3	2	10	150	900	2	200
E. Holland Jr.	28	0	0	0	3	75	0	1	40
G. Limbacker	40	160	3	7	12	80	0	0	50
John Brown	15	0	1	0	12	120	0	0	0
Alex. Dority	60	0	1	2	20	350	0	3	75
Thos. Hancock	80	120	5	3	50	500	0	0	0
Gordon Hancock	25	0	0	4	5	100	0	1	0
Sarah Allen	300	700	6	18	45	800	600	25	600
Mary M. Bell	35	65	2	5	9	106	0	0	100
Wm. Davis	25	20	1	3	18	250	0	0	50
Geo. M. Mathis	20	280	2	4	12	80	0	2	0
John Moseley	60	140	3	6	10	200	0	3	150
Jas. JL Allen	110	186	2	1	25	600	3000	11	530
John J. Moore	675	2325	8	62	175	3800	2250	100	1500
EM Gregg	400	2100	10	35	80	1500	1500	56	1500
JL Frierson	7000	5000	40	135	150	6000	0	263	6000
JB Wilder	400	1050	3	18	30	800	600	19	500
WJ Singleton	150	0	8	12	25	300	900	4	200
Robt. D. Bradford	400	1000	8	25	70	900	300	41	1500
John L. Richardson	300	275	3	0	26	500	0	0	50
John L. Richardson	700	4500	10	95	250	3000	6000	50	300
Sarah Felder	75	25	3	1	6	150	0	4	15
John W. Dargan	125	275	5	15	25	500	0	12	300
Elise. Norris	90	0	4	7	20	200	0	8	32
WJ Reese	1400	2600	25	125	60	3000	0	90	1000
WE Richardson	500	330	5	45	100	1000	0	40	1000
RF Mayrant	80	2300	3	0	15	500	0	4	50
Est. Thos. Bracey	500	1100	7	15	0	2000	0	40	1200
JL Decoin	100	25	12	21	100	800	0	38	1000
OL Reese	1000	2500	6	40	50	2000	1200	80	2000

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 31 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
WJ Reesee	200	550	3	6	50	700	0	30	1600
<b>Richard Gayle</b>	20	0	2	8	25	200	300	0	10
Louiza Mural	28	0	3	1	0	100	0	0	200
Est. SJ Mural	750	2000	15	50	100	3000	1200	173	800
JS Bradly	1000	2000	30	120	125	4000	1500	140	3000
Jordan M. Bradly	700	1350	15	60	60	1500	0	52	1000
AL Converse	1500	250	5	18	35	900	0	0	90
WM Ross	75	125	6	18	25	800	0	13	100
WBB Michell	200	300	2	10	10	300	0	0	500
WD Anderson	800	800	20	103	200	4000	0	120	800
SA Fraser	300	700	0	0	30	1200	600	70	200
SA Fraser	100	100	6	10	0	300	0	0	20
WJ Atkinson	160	140	12	50	45	800	0	25	800
F Atkinson	60	177	3	15	50	300	360	3	200
<b>Wm. Elison</b>	200	150	5	16	30	1200	0	35	700
SD Sumter	80	195	4	12	60	800	1500	0	800
HL Pinckney	700	700	8	50	121	2000	0	80	1500
John Rutledge	100	585	8	8	25	500	3000	0	200
John Powers	23	0	1	2	20	200	150	0	100
Burrel Moody	200	470	25	55	40	700	600	23	200
Chas. C. Moody	137	5	15	45	60	600	300	20	200
Jas. Graham	26	0	2	2	10	130	0	0	0
Jos. Ray	16	14	4	15	30	300	360	0	100
John W. Atkinson	50	180	5	12	40	350	0	0	150
Jas. Atkinson	80	70	5	12	7	300	0	12	150
Eliz. Richardson	26	570	10	10	25	200	300	4	75
Washington Allen	125	325	0	20	30	700	600	20	600
Wm. English	32	38	3	8	10	140	0	1	40
Saml. J. Herst.	40	10	2	4	15	500	0	0	125
EA Beth	20	60	1	0	0	115	0	1	20
Benj. Summy.	40	40	4	0	18	60	0	2	100
GP Coke	150	350	8	4	30	500	1000	20	500

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 32 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
JP Bell	100	517	9	9	20	150	350	4	400
Wm. Ballard	120	350	6	5	40	250	0	9	350
Wm. F. Spann	200	690	8	30	50	600	450	28	500
Hugh Graham	75	190	4	12	12	150	1050	2	0
Wm. Whites	200	306	4	12	20	700	0	30	50
Peter Summy	20	0	0	1	12	120	0	2	70
Benj. F Summy	10	0	1	2	10	100	0	0	25
John Saunders	350	850	1	5	75	800	0	40	1000
WW Ives	30	170	4	11	20	200	0	3	100
Isaac Cates	25	175	4	3	17	150	0	3	100
Daniel Cates	40	520	4	14	20	40	0	0	80
Rich. Ammonds	15	0	1	0	20	60	0	0	5
John Catoe	15	0	3	1	17	100	0	0	10
<b>Henry Scott</b>	30	0	0	0	14	200	0	0	50
Abijah Kemp	20	0	3	3	15	100	0	0	100
GD Brown	55	100	0	2	10	250	0	0	100
Wm. D. Brown	25	0	2	5	10	200	0	0	50
Thos. Catoe	30	130	2	0	8	100	0	0	30
Jas. Dease	10	0	2	1	16	50	150	0	15
Wm. Peitts	30	0	4	5	15	200	670	0	20
Wm. K. Bell	100	1000	2	8	12	200	0	13	200
Wm. H. Caple	25	0	2	4	7	150	0	0	100
Mark Johnson	5	0	1	0	6	75	0	0	100
Joseph L. Bossord	80	1000	10	10	30	500	21000	0	800
LM James	250	1050	1	28	35	600	0	15	800
Isaac A. Richbourgh	140	600	6	13	30	250	900	5	200
Mary L. Witherspoon	100	60	3	5	5	500	0	14	50
CL Witherspoon	250	50	5	0	20	800	0	35	250
Hampton Elmore	35	65	4	7	15	150	0	2	30
John Dority	130	180	2	5	30	400	0	15	150
JC Rhame	70	230	6	6	30	300	600	13	400

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 33 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
<b>Thos. Lowry</b>	15	0	2	4	30	80	600	1	25
Thos. Maples	25	0	8	10	5	150	0	0	150
LH Denkins	175	75	6	20	18	450	0	9	100
Elenora Spann	160	50	3	0	0	500	0	0	0
Alex. Watts	50	253	5	0	0	250	900	3	150
Isaac Lenoir	300	700	4	30	60	2000	1800	60	600
Evaline Jenkins	50	0	1	2	8	100	600	1	50
Jas. Pitts	350	1225	12	28	130	1000	1200	35	900
L. Lorryng.	300	700	7	40	100	1000	1800	20	700
Alex. McFarland	30	20	1	2	8	100	0	3	50
Britton Hare	25	25	1	1	4	100	0	0	50
Tho. Haire	25	0	1	1	10	120	0	2	150
Eliza. Jennings	120	180	4	14	20	1000	600	10	100
Tyra Jennings	20	30	0	0	5	50	0	1	0
Eli Bradford	110	70	3	8	20	150	600	2	20
Wm. McFarland	20	0	2	1	9	70	0	1	30
Penelope Black	80	85	7	15	35	400	900	8	300
Mary E. Oneal	40	0	2	5	16	250	0	4	100
JM Jennings	160	205	6	20	30	600	0	16	300
HH Freeman	22	0	1	0	4	80	150	1	25
Wm. Barkley	50	250	4	3	20	200	0	0	50
John L. Bradford	300	700	10	40	60	1700	0	30	1500
John S. Bradford	400	2600	20	80	100	2000	0	50	2000
Sarah Graham	15	61	3	2	12	1000	0	0	50
JC Stafford	50	26	3	4	24	275	0	4	50
CC Jackson	250	250	6	16	50	700	2400	24	200
C Stiles	40	61	1	4	25	200	900	0	50
LM Spann	500	300	5	30	30	1000	450	27	400
<b>Joseph Benenhaley</b>	10	0	2	0	0	90	0	1	15
Wm. F. Wright	55	100	2	7	26	350	150	5	150
Wm. G Cane	20	32	1	0	4	100	0	0	0
Wiley Deas	5	0	1	0	15	50	0	0	100

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 34 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jas. A. Moody	60	40	6	12	25	400	120	3	30
Wm. C. Guerry	200	400	4	8	50	800	3000	40	400
Est. GW Colclough	375	125	0	0	50	1500	0	35	800
John R. Pollard	250	2250	8	35	50	800	0	12	100
Babery Jones	50	50	1	3	8	300	0	3	25
LJ Denkins	12	0	3	3	15	50	0	5	200
John F. Ballard	40	40	4	4	0	100	0	10	0
Jas. R. Spann	80	44	3	3	11	150	0	3	0
Sarah L. Redford	15	10	0	0	10	100	0	3	100
Jas. Landen	37	100	3	3	8	30	0	2	20
Wm. Weldon	25	0	1	1	6	200	0	2	20
Jas. Jones	60	40	3	6	0	100	0	1	0
AF Tate	100	150	0	0	3	500	600	0	30
Jonathan Westbery	23	0	3	1	7	50	0	0	0
SJ Murray	1050	1200	10	100	175	5000	4800	177	0
Rebecca Stuckey	60	0	3	1	12	300	0	3	50
Mary L Commander	150	300	3	10	90	1000	540	34	45
LL Fraser	925	4975	10	40	80	4000	5100	138	1000
Joseph E. Brown	70	128	3	3	50	350	1860	6	300
JC Strother	43	10	3	2	12	0	450	2	200
Thos. Dubose	300	700	5	20	65	1000	750	35	150
Jas. Jory	35	34	0	0	9	180	450	1	80
FH Kennedy	600	1000	7	30	34	1500	1200	60	200
Est. Stuckey Sr.	300	1500	4	9	90	1500	900	51	400
Howell Stuckey	500	1700	3	11	85	1700	0	47	800
Wm. McCutchen	200	200	3	8	54	725	450	20	300
H. Kennedy	350	400	3	30	192	2470	1050	32	800
H. Kennedy	1300	3500	8	100	200	6000	3600	140	1570
HD Green	1100	900	20	80	120	3000	2100	180	800
Robt. L. Harrott	400	400	7	30	100	1800	3000	52	490

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 35 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Arch. Barnes	100	163	0	0	0	200	900	4	50
BB Spann	1000	1500	10	30	110	2500	0	80	1500
Wm. R. Spann	280	700	4	8	40	700	600	19	800
LP Gayland	600	1400	7	40	50	2000	900	55	2000
Thoas. D. Gerold	120	0	2	4	30	500	450	8	130
Hasting Jennings	352	14000	6	25	50	1500	1800	54	350
Wm. B. Jennings	100	130	3	23	50	300	6000	17	200
TM Lee	125	90	4	3	8	2500	0	5	20
David R. Lee	152	25	4	4	15	200	0	4	20
LR Jennings	500	800	12	40	120	1700	600	47	2000
Jesse A. Jones	32	3	0	0	1	150	0	0	70
Sarah Brown	50	500	4	6	12	200	900	0	50
Rich. B. Brown	50	0	2	3	25	175	900	0	60
Ervin A. Brown	25	0	4	7	12	275	450	2	50
JL Knox	500	500	6	18	40	1400	360	22	1400
FA Brown	200	300	5	25	35	600	1500	8	300
John B. Brown	30	80	2	5	30	200	1500	3	100
FG Spann	150	350	4	3	25	700	1200	20	400
RB Spann	85	0	3	2	20	300	360	8	300
Rebecca Mellet	20	20	2	5	0	150	0	1	50
Jackson Newman	22	43	3	8	25	250	0	12	100
Wm. Deloman	143	130	2	12	30	536	1800	27	120
Benj. Mitchell	75	250	5	12	20	300	750	0	100
Abnor Brown	126	174	3	12	50	400	600	12	100
FG Jenkins	30	0	4	6	21	300	0	0	150
JS Cummings	50	100	2	0	25	200	450	2	40
H. Watts	100	265	8	17	50	800	0	8	300
SG Mitchell	45	0	5	10	60	300	1800	0	100
WH Brunson	150	250	2	10	40	200	600	6	100
HL Abbott	150	425	8	15	40	600	600	15	300
Wm. Vaughn	200	800	4	15	18	300	600	6	200
John Andrews	100	400	5	16	25	350	700	7	250
FM Dick	650	1350	18	50	100	2500	3000	75	800

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 36 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
AD Foxworth	75	65	10	5	20	300	840	12	200
Willis Spann	420	650	8	25	100	1500	2100	52	800
GS Punch	120	380	4	11	25	500	300	17	300
JFM Mitchum	100	180	3	10	12	150	900	5	200
Absolam Christmas	28	70	3	7	15	200	180	2	120
GW Alson	120	176	7	0	40	600	4500	0	200
Jesse Brown	26	0	2	10	7	300	450	0	150
Wilburn D. Clark	30	83	1	4	7	100	360	3	75
Jane McCoy	40	200	1	2	5	50	0	0	100
RL McLeod	150	800	3	30	60	500	1050	25	200
Danl. McLeod	150	450	7	18	50	800	1500	23	600
GSG Deschamps	85	0	2	7	20	250	360	3	150
Dempsey Boyle	10	0	0	0	14	90	0	1	30
GW McCutcheon	125	388	3	2	45	500	600	15	100
WW McCutcheon	125	390	1	5	50	700	900	19	200
W Prescott	250	120	5	12	30	850	900	25	300
Jas. E. Rembert	1000	1000	20	60	200	3000	1800	164	1500
WH Burges	450	200	12	40	50	1600	0	80	0
WS Burges	300	500	5	20	0	1000	0	25	250
CL Crane	45	145	3	6	0	150	450	0	60
JE Muldrow	280	680	10	25	70	900	1200	35	200
Charles McKay	29	116	4	7	9	150	150	2	200
JW Horne	40	0	1	1	10	125	150	2	100
John M. Donald	300	1100	15	58	80	1400	0	19	400
Jacob M. Landon	200	500	10	30	100	800	600	11	600
Sarah McKay	75	75	2	4	25	300	240	0	100
Saml. McKay	70	75	3	4	50	330	0	7	0
Mary Growman	25	0	5	15	20	80	0	1	80
Elias Durant	400	1880	20	40	60	900	1050	60	1200
RG Potts	25	0	1	2	0	200	240	0	75
Mary Carter	200	750	13	17	25	100	450	20	0



1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 37 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Sarah McDonald	200	700	15	23	100	800	300	20	700
Matilda Durant	45	80	7	6	30	200	240	6	50
JH McIntosh	200	900	5	30	35	800	0	17	300
John Baker	90	410	8	8	25	350	120	3	350
JM Baker	70	540	4	6	40	300	0	6	100
HS Dickinson	50	365	3	2	25	150	0	1	75
Rich. Sessions	50	360	9	7	50	350	300	1	100
Wm. Perrell	20	0	0	0	7	50	0	1	5
Saml. Welsh	30	0	1	3	8	70	0	1	50
Joseph Swails	5	0	0	1	11	50	0	0	20
Wm. Brown	100	200	4	8	25	100	600	20	100
Henry Floyd	18	0	1	1	15	50	270	0	15
ME Lawrence	120	1880	6	7	10	400	0	2	100
Joesph Pate	15	0	0	0	20	100	0	0	0
Ridden Lee	30	350	6	11	50	150	0	2	50
AL Hicks	50	0	3	1	25	100	0	2	40
John Lee Jr.	25	50	3	6	20	100	0	1	100
John Lee Sr.	25	65	4	5	13	80	0	1	20
John A. Lee	50	202	3	4	40	250	0	4	100
Charles W. Lee	60	240	5	10	40	200	450	4	70
WG Lee	30	70	2	4	20	250	0	3	20
Saml. Tunstall	40	960	7	18	40	60	0	2	100
Jesse M. Hill	100	600	10	20	75	400	0	4	30
Joel Allen	50	34	6	30	60	250	0	4	60
Connel L. Lee	35	165	1	2	20	150	0	3	30
Saml. Chandler	150	400	5	12	30	350	0	5	100
Margaret L. Lee	40	396	6	2	25	200	480	2	60
James Thomas	70	165	6	5	40	400	600	1	100
Benj. Barfield	25	0	10	8	20	100	0	2	100
W McKenzie	400	2100	25	65	200	2700	6000	15	600
Andrew Floyd	20	80	2	2	15	100	0	1	55
Nathaniel Floyd	20	80	4	3	15	110	0	4	40
Eliz. Hickson	50	850	6	9	40	400	0	3	150
Moses Huitt	40	320	2	3	30	250	0	3	200

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 38 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John R. McKnight	35	65	5	5	30	150	0	1	50
Isaac Langston	30	120	6	10	30	120	0	2	100
Stephen Floyd	30	25	4	3	20	700	0	0	50
John W. Floyd	30	0	8	8	25	150	0	3	50
Stephen Floyd	30	160	3	1	10	150	450	1	100
Mereditch Welsh	26	0	2	2	25	100	0	3	40
Thos. Caraway	32	168	4	3	10	91	0	3	100
Frances Gowdy	30	70	2	2	10	100	0	1	10
Lewis Pigotte	125	600	13	12	75	600	300	8	300
Eliz. Murphy	40	10	6	10	50	100	0	1	50
John Truluck	130	270	3	4	35	225	0	2	100
John L. Truluch	24	41	3	2	25	130	90	0	28
Fanny Langston	35	300	3	1	22	200	0	3	40
Benj. Langston	20	180	0	0	15	150	0	0	60
Arthur Tomlinson	70	271	6	7	60	300	0	2	300
Sarah Tomlinson	100	900	8	15	20	300	540	0	40
Ira Tomlinson	50	190	6	10	25	200	0	0	60
GW Truluck	50	200	9	15	40	250	180	2	75
AS Baker	60	400	6	5	27	350	0	2	300
Jas. Moore	200	4100	8	20	35	600	400	11	500
Elish. Smith	10	128	1	4	15	50	120	0	20
AH Thompson	70	166	4	4	20	400	0	0	150
Wilson J.Mims	30	200	2	4	40	200	0	1	100
JB Coker	100	300	12	15	50	350	0	0	75
RS Moore.	35	0	3	0	30	100	0	0	75
Henry Shuler	25	75	4	3	35	160	300	1	75
Elias Dorell	10	0	2	0	10	30	0	0	15
Robt. J McKnight	25	375	4	3	20	150	0	3	20
Peter McKenzie	50	350	2	4	35	300	900	7	120
Sarah Floyd	45	455	5	3	60	300	0	1	100
Saml. McKenzie	100	3900	8	8	80	500	7500	10	400

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 39 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Floyd	18	242	1	2	12	60	90	1	10
Jas. McKenzie	28	174	2	3	30	125	150	1	100
Jane Parker	15	0	3	4	12	150	0	0	30
F. Rush	100	2700	10	40	75	300	450	9	700
Temper M. Coker	25	275	2	2	18	300	480	0	50
Moses Floyd	20	881	1	0	15	50	0	0	40
Wm. Valentine	30	350	6	10	6	200	0	1	100
John S. Wilson	24	0	1	1	10	100	0	0	40
LM Green	25	550	6	7	30	30	0	1	40
Isaac Robinson	20	0	1	0	10	60	0	1	20
Wm. Coker	10	0	0	0	6	50	0	0	0
Adkson Dubose	49	96	3	2	40	75	300	1	50
Mary Dennis	50	250	3	3	35	90	240	0	75
Jane Patner	50	950	1	2	15	150	0	1	20
Dale Coker	100	525	8	10	46	300	0	1	65
John W. Backer	35	0	2	4	30	150	360	3	120
John Lavender	50	400	8	20	40	300	0	0	50
John M. McFadden	200	1500	10	60	30	1000	300	21	400
Hugh Thigpen	35	1800	5	8	40	200	300	0	25
Dennis Thigpen	12	305	2	8	12	100	0	0	20
Sarah Rose	2000	1400	12	25	40	1000	0	13	400
Hary Johnson	2000	738	7	14	75	700	0	8	500
Harper Johnson	90	1100	2	12	100	450	600	5	100
MP Biggins	30	220	2	3	15	260	600	3	80
GD Turbeville	30	0	1	0	15	75	450	0	30
Thos. Lowry	12	0	0	0	10	80	0	0	0
Susan Wilson	35	35	2	5	15	55	600	1	50
Wm. Bearse	30	183	4	6	15	75	270	0	50
Danl. Dennis	60	505	7	7	50	200	0	2	125
Barwell Evans	120	286	4	14	40	600	0	8	400
Mills Barfield	75	569	9	15	30	300	450	0	300
John M. Smith	40	120	3	4	20	200	600	0	100
Dan. Gibbons	50	350	3	4	12	200	0	4	0
Isaac B. Gibbons	50	37	3	8	40	150	300	1	15

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 40 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
WH Gibbons	50	0	1	2	15	125	360	0	20
Sarah Beard	15	150	3	6	20	200	210	2	40
Michael Gibbons	100	800	5	20	50	400	1200	4	80
JB McElvane	75	1225	4	12	40	320	0	2	100
Haley Bowen	20	0	1	2	7	100	600	2	40
Joshua Ranar	30	370	2	6	29	100	300	1	40
Ann E. Coker	50	100	2	9	12	300	0	0	50
John Robeson	20	0	0	0	15	75	150	1	30
Jackson Singletary	66	200	4	5	25	200	0	2	150
Elijah Pate	20	0	0	0	8	50	0	1	30
John Dubose	40	210	7	10	40	250	150	1	100
Wm. F. Byrd	30	70	4	3	20	150	0	0	30
John L. Singletary	35	0	0	5	40	100	450	0	150
Wm. Brand	150	750	4	12	60	700	600	9	300
Wm. A Welsh	25	100	3	0	11	120	60	1	30
SED Johnson	80	175	2	6	65	400	3750	0	200
JM McIntosh	80	700	3	15	15	350	480	3	100
Aaron F. Beard	40	140	2	3	9	100	30	0	0
Robt. Varner	50	150	2	0	15	200	600	0	40
Wm. Gibbons	50	275	2	1	30	100	0	0	0
Whitey Coker	20	0	1	3	15	70	1200	0	20
Lewis Robinson	66	0	3	5	25	230	90	1	20
Brand Howell	75	325	9	10	30	126	600	0	120
Wm. Johnson	50	500	3	50	80	300	300	0	80
Wm. McElvan	300	1700	30	150	100	1400	3000	21	500
Martha Smith	150	2350	15	30	40	500	2100	10	200
SA Burgess	300	1500	20	80	100	1200	600	17	600
WB Burgess	200	760	15	85	50	800	0	40	300
John A. Burgess	400	1643	14	15	40	800	600	18	300
Wm. J. Morris	40	0	6	5	25	70	300	1	75
Joseph S. Burgess	200	700	9	20	15	600	600	8	300

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 41 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
S. Witherspoon	350	800	40	70	35	1300	1500	15	600
John L. Reardon	300	1200	35	80	65	700	990	10	500
Jonah Fleming	35	8	3	4	20	150	990	2	100
Danl. Evans	400	2500	23	90	150	900	600	13	400
Danl. A. Evans	30	0	4	8	25	125	300	0	125
John Harrington	60	190	12	5	50	200	210	5	50
SA McIntosh	350	350	2	8	12	280	660	5	200
James Epps	300	2180	35	70	80	1290	450	35	250
HLM McIntosh	30	365	20	20	30	200	300	0	30
WD McIntosh	250	1286	20	35	110	500	2400	10	200
WM McIntosh	34	900	1	1	5	150	300	1	40
Philip Pierson	100	675	8	12	12	300	150	3	100
HM Faden	400	3000	12	40	70	1750	1200	14	300
EA Fleming	140	412	7	10	40	500	150	7	500
Jas. Evans	195	1200	12	25	65	600	4080	13	350
Elias Morris	24	0	2	0	20	150	600	0	60
J. Evan	115	100	5	3	45	275	300	2	40
Tyra Moris	15	0	4	1	18	100	750	0	30
Stephen Evans	25	135	3	0	15	120	0	1	40
Wm. Evans	60	140	2	5	30	200	360	1	20
PL Warsham	100	600	5	10	61	600	150	9	200
WW Boddin	50	146	5	3	20	300	540	2	150
Wm. J. Gambel	75	670	4	12	30	350	240	3	80
DR Gambel	175	400	6	14	55	600	0	6	75
John F. Gambel	30	720	3	1	20	125	300	1	50
David Green	75	655	3	10	25	200	900	4	40
Jos. Green	60	440	2	5	15	100	0	4	40
Wm. B. Green	15	85	2	5	25	150	0	0	10
Eliz. McElvan	100	100	5	10	50	300	750	2	200
Leo. Goodman	100	286	5	14	75	420	540	2	80
Henry Goodman	150	1400	25	40	50	500	300	4	100
Wm. Budden	18	82	2	5	28	200	150	2	60
John Player	50	50	5	12	60	200	0	0	180

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 42 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Morris	20	40	4	3	25	120	240	0	50
WW Player	300	20	6	8	25	100	360	2	55
GW Barfield	25	0	2	1	20	110	750	0	100
Wm. H. Woods	350	1700	20	30	75	1500	900	32	400
EM Woods	30	55	1	0	0	150	150	1	60
Elijah McElvan	45	350	2	4	30	150	0	1	40
John B. McFadden	350	1150	6	25	50	1500	750	20	360
Robt L. McFadden	300	1975	20	60	45	500	900	12	300
JS McFadden	300	500	10	20	50	1500	1500	20	700
John G. Taylor	20	0	0	0	0	120	960	4	300
Saml. McFadden	200	1500	22	40	30	825	540	24	800
Liles Shaw	150	400	3	6	26	250	300	6	80
Jos. L. Stoy.	70	360	7	30	60	500	1200	0	150
GC Muldrow	650	2500	18	41	150	2000	1800	50	1500
Sml. McBride	600	6400	30	150	180	3000	3000	70	2000
HG Witherspoon	800	1100	30	90	200	2000	4500	61	1000
ME Muldrow	500	3500	20	74	100	1500	900	30	1000
Hugh Castles	50	0	3	8	28	225	900	3	150
EJ Rembert	300	400	6	25	45	1000	1800	30	1200
WW Bradley Jr.	350	609	10	12	50	900	1980	35	150
Jas. Bradley	100	400	0	0	0	200	150	6	0
Hugh Wilson	500	600	11	32	100	1000	960	31	500
Martha Wilson	600	600	15	40	60	1500	2700	40	2000
SM Wilson	100	0	0	0	0	500	0	17	0
EB King	40	150	1	3	12	80	0	3	20
JS Wells	60	0	0	0	10	225	0	8	0
Est. Thos. Wells	500	1737	6	10	60	1400	1200	40	500
Eliz. English	200	300	10	20	50	600	450	19	100
John Donalds	150	450	9	5	45	400	0	21	105
John M. Donalds	25	0	3	1	0	50	210	3	30

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 43 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Jane Lucas	200	800	10	15	100	1100	7500	22	550
Josiah Suckey	200	610	10	25	80	900	0	16	500
John Amassen	35	0	0	0	35	250	0	3	60
Saml. E. Wilson	215	320	10	10	60	900	450	26	200
Chas. Sinkler	300	1000	4	16	0	470	0	17	650
SA Colebough	2000	8000	20	140	400	8000	12000	200	3000
SA Colebough	800	5200	20	60	50	4000	0	100	1000
Eliz. Lansdale	30	70	2	7	6	140	0	2	30
RM English	200	426	6	40	30	600	600	30	100
John Green	410	1000	10	30	80	1400	1300	80	100
Wm. J. Kelly	75	215	4	8	25	400	0	9	90
Abel Dixon	200	200	6	24	50	800	0	8	100
WA Colebough	400	717	25	75	75	1400	1800	46	1200
JD Chandler	350	800	8	35	100	1300	2250	35	1000
Jas W Jennings	30	0	0	0	0	60	0	2	0
John G. White	100	240	2	16	50	450	600	12	250
Wm. Hancock	50	300	15	35	100	300	0	1	200
Thos. Baker	150	250	5	20	30	500	4500	6	300
Jas. Mccallum	60	11	2	8	12	240	0	6	100
FM Mallett	270	630	7	20	50	800	600	28	500
Wm. E. Mattee	200	280	11	30	70	1500	1800	50	100
Danl. Foxworth	150	225	3	12	20	500	2250	21	300
JH Cloclough	200	800	60	80	150	1500	600	55	500
FS Cloclough	600	400	20	60	50	1500	600	65	500
JL Moore	900	4000	4	60	200	5000	1800	108	1500
GM Harrington	20	130	2	20	45	300	0	4	200
Ezekial Windham	18	150	3	0	42	80	600	3	100
Wm E Plowden	400	900	3	50	70	1400	0	36	800
John Ballard	100	150	5	15	15	500	0	16	300
Henry Spence	350	800	6	30	70	1200	1800	42	1000
SE Nelson	1000	2700	30	60	200	3000	2100	120	2000
PH Nelson	1024	1024	20	50	100	3000	600	130	2000
HM Reames	300	1100	5	30	75	1000	3420	35	200
SM Deschamps	12	0	1	3	0	100	450	0	150

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 44 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Eliza. Chandler	245	205	5	20	35	750	1200	10	200
JA Fulwood	290	700	10	10	50	1000	2400	20	400
WW Gaylord	25	156	1	4	24	100	0	7	100
Henry A. Holyday	40	0	0	0	0	100	0	3	100
Frances London	40	235	3	5	20	185	540	3	40
CS London	23	14	3	12	28	170	300	1	35
WW Bradford	250	750	10	20	50	800	0	20	600
Wm. L. Lee	150	166	4	18	45	400	450	4	300
MB Wingate	20	0	1	1	0	60	0	1	0
Ed D. Felder	60	0	5	15	22	200	360	8	60
Wm G Barrett	50	140	5	5	15	250	0	0	70
Wm. S. White	200	500	8	25	35	1200	900	14	1000
Edward Wingate	40	60	1	5	22	100	0	3	50
JW Bradford	300	1700	12	30	60	1300	0	50	2000
Hannah Vaughan	200	500	0	0	0	1500	0	21	500
John W. Smith	27	0	0	0	3	150	300	0	20
CD Vaughan	130	130	4	10	40	250	600	3	56
SR Chandler	325	450	20	40	150	1600	4500	70	1500
Andrew Chandler	125	222	5	6	27	300	450	5	250
Jos. Chandler	100	230	3	8	25	200	300	6	40
JR Chandler	142	88	4	13	30	600	1500	19	100
Stephen Mitchell	40	59	3	5	30	350	0	0	70
Penelope Ricks	150	250	12	21	20	600	1200	15	150
Leonard Chandler	200	800	5	12	30	400	600	11	80
John Perry	11	7	1	0	8	90	0	0	60
John O Harrott	300	200	6	20	50	700	1500	25	300
JW Rembert	300	525	10	30	155	1116	4500	40	1000
Robt. M. Pringle	150	600	25	35	50	600	1800	7	400
Graham Vaughan	70	330	9	17	30	300	300	2	100



1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 45 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Canaan Mizon	50	250	2	3	15	250	300	1	40
Wm. Brown	23	0	3	6	17	200	0	1	50
John Grooms	60	50	7	18	50	300	90	4	200
Emily E. Watts	60	250	6	0	16	225	0	1	160
Barrett Watts	18	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	50
Julius Watts	175	225	5	30	50	600	0	14	150
Edward Stuckey Jr.	90	0	3	17	50	650	300	8	0
Wm. M. Scott	400	700	8	34	40	900	900	35	500
Wm M. Scott	350	450	6	15	40	800	900	25	500
Edward Garland	24	0	0	0	0	725	0	4	30
Jas. H. Briton	20	7	2	3	2	300	0	0	150
Wm. L. Frances	7	0	3	5	0	100	0	0	50
A Conway	50	60	5	5	8	250	0	0	100
F Hoyt	25	95	3	2	7	260	660	0	200
Jas Terry	8	0	2	2	0	150	0	0	0
Graham	60	440	6	25	25	300	1500	0	100
Geo W. Lee	175	235	8	20	75	700	12000	15	700
A White M.	150	400	6	20	20	600	1200	12	200
John E. Brown	300	750	6	40	85	1000	300	36	400
JH Dingle Sr.	400	1600	8	32	30	1625	750	50	500
John China	50	56	6	10	10	400	0	0	200
AL Moses	30	15	3	3	4	350	1500	0	0
H. Hainsworth	30	0	5	7	4	275	300	0	50
H. Skinner	180	1510	12	28	49	600	750	6	300
FL Moses	600	1000	20	80	80	2000	900	92	1200
Wm. Lewis	40	360	6	10	0	560	0	0	200
Saml. Watson	60	114	5	20	30	600	0	0	200
E Andrews	85	415	2	0	5	50	1800	0	150
JB Witherspoon	400	800	14	60	120	1200	0	52	1500
JL Haynesworth	300	200	12	5	25	300	700	12	20
W Webb	300	500	18	50	125	1700	3000	12	350
Elijah Pringle	500	1300	45	120	100	2200	2250	22	1500
Timothy Norton	30	0	3	4	5	150	0	0	0

1850 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 46 of 46)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Thos. E. Flowers	70	0	5	8	26	300	900	4	100
EB McLaurin	70	300	3	12	12	500	0	0	150
Cathrine McDowell	350	250	6	25	50	1500	300	24	1000
AA Nettles	75	0	4	15	15	400	0	6	150
Wm. L. Brunson	300	700	12	38	50	800	150	25	400
Lenoard White	1100	3000	12	85	100	6000	6000	210	500
Joseph B. White	500	500	10	30	20	700	0	30	500
Simon Terry	50	80	1	5	26	200	300	6	50
GG Bradford	120	280	4	14	30	500	430	11	120
Wm. K. Dixon	200	310	5	15	25	300	990	14	400
Thos. D. Sumpter	300	1000	8	22	50	1400	0	60	600
Eliz. Manning	400	800	10	30	30	1200	0	50	0
Richard. L. Manning	50	1400	20	50	30	900	0	85	800
John. L. Manning	200	450	4	6	60	1200	0	0	0
RS McFadden	300	900	10	25	35	800	700	15	500
Saml. Furman	600	800	18	25	35	700	0	31	600
Mary W. Muldrow	450	750	10	60	80	1000	1200	37	300
AE Barrett	75	225	3	6	24	700	0	8	100

Note: Free black farmers are in bold italics. Source: 1850 Agricultural Census, Sumter District, South Carolina.

APPENDIX K – 1860 SUMTER DISTRICT

AGRICULTURAL CENSUS SELECTED CATEGORIES

**Table K.1:** 1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census Selected Categories

	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Charles Spencer	115	131	6	14	35	600	1000	30	100
Wm Rogers	20	30	2	4	0	0	0	3	50
James A Carons	5	0	3	6	20	700	0	2	50
Henry D. Green Jr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
James A Ambrose	10	130	1	3	0	0	0	0	25
GW Durant	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
WM H Holleyman	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0
Jasper A Dixon	110	65	3	8	0	400	0	9	0
W. Stuckey	150	250	5	25	35	600	0	12	250
John H. Drier	150	150	7	20	40	600	0	29	300
Nancy Dixon	200	200	2	2	5	0	0	0	20
James Watson	0	0	0	0	1	30	0	1	20
Dempsey Watson	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	2	20
Moses Mims	0	0	1	0	1	100	0	0	50
Mary McGee	2	0	1	1	5	0	0	0	10
John McGee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Middleton Dubose	250	450	11	17	35	600	0	18	200
Jackson Bramblet	0	0	0	0	5	30	0	0	0
Bryant Watson	0	0	0	0	7	100	0	0	25
Wm K. Dixon	300	460	10	30	75	1250	1250	65	800
Mary Boykin	40	40	3	5	20	150	0	1	50
Wm. Kelly	0	0	1	0	15	80	0	2	0

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 2 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Sarah Kelley	100	100	0	0	24	0	0	0	20
Augustus Belk	60	70	2	1	22	200	0	11	150
Camilla W. Dinkins	100	240	1	0	12	100	0	0	50
John J. Stucky	200	170	2	3	50	1000	0	25	300
Arthur Hall	0	0	2	2	11	60	0	1	20
Abner Alexander	200	500	9	19	79	1000	0	18	100
Jefferson Alexander	30	120	1	2	20	150	0	5	25
Stokes	50	75	2	4	40	250	0	3	20
RE Alexander	80	245	2	3	30	200	0	5	50
Tempe Dunn	80	120	2	6	15	200	0	3	50
Pinkney Skinner	60	45	2	4	15	125	0	3	50
James W Stokes	35	77	2	3	10	150	0	3	50
George H Kelley	300	1075	9	19	50	1000	400	33	1000
Richard Gattis	20	15	0	0	2	50	0	2	50
Clay Kelley	300	1250	0	0	20	600	0	0	600
Abram Galloway	100	350	1	3	30	200	800	2	75
Absolam Galloway	0	0	1	1	12	0	0	0	0
John D. Galloway	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
John Childers	50	100	0	1	10	75	0	2	25
Nancy Hholland	50	56	2	4	16	200	40	3	75
Albert Rogers	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
William brown	80	58	2	2	15	250	0	3	100
Jane Bramblet	80	220	1	6	7	50	0	3	20
Tully Elmore	40	150	0	0	10	75	0	0	10
Absolam Elmore	0	0	6	8	12	125	0	2	20
Hugh McKinnie	70	72	3	9	30	200	0	5	75
Tirie J. Stokes	40	110	1	1	15	150	0	0	50

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 3 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Frederick McCaskill	25	165	2	3	10	100	0	0	25
Chalres McLean	150	750	8	27	30	600	0	13	300
A Dixon Stokes	80	120	2	4	30	400	0	8	50
<b>Bell Tab</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
James Barons	15	400	1	7	10	250	0	14	75
Hettie Boreman	20	30	0	0	10	0	0	0	25
<b>Austin Nicholds</b>	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	20
Shand Barons	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Tabitha Barons	0	200	1	1	4	0	0	0	20
James Prescott	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Richard Brown	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	1	25
Jesse Brown	0	0	0	0	8	25	0	1	0
Colubus Brown	15	0	0	0	10	50	0	1	50
Richard Brown	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Lavina Davis	60	80	8	17	20	600	0	3	100
Garrison Davis	0	250	2	2	10	0	0	0	25
Bryant Mooneyham	20	0	2	3	15	150	0	0	25
Joshua Marsh	20	120	0	0	30	200	0	0	35
Bryant Bateman	40	160	2	4	15	75	0	2	20
Isaac watson	35	60	1	2	15	200	0	2	25
Britton Dorrity	0	0	2	4	20	200	0	2	50
Wm Wilkinson	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	10
Solomon Watson	100	100	1	5	16	50	0	1	50
Samuel Watson	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	2	0
Jesse Watson	20	0	0	2	11	60	0	0	25
John Dority	20	30	0	0	15	150	0	1	75
John Brown	80	120	1	3	8	150	0	0	20
Ira Brown	20	0	1	2	5	75	0	3	20
Jesse Brown	25	0	0	0	4	50	0	1	0
James Brown	30	0	0	0	18	100	0	3	50
Solomon Brown	25	0	0	0	16	100	0	1	75

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 4 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John Brown	40	0	2	5	15	300	0	7	70
JH Stuckey	75	0	1	8	29	450	0	24	50
Jesse Morrend	130	150	0	22	30	500	0	15	50
Harriet Jordan	70	80	2	5	12	300	0	5	0
Robt. C. Vaughn	25	0	1	4	4	150	0	0	50
Gilbert Copwell	80	35	2	6	15	600	0	30	100
Wm. Watson	40	0	1	5	19	60	0	4	0
Jesse Boykin	1	0	0	1	8	0	0	0	50
Lewis D. Husband	2	0	1	4	2	100	0	3	200
Hard. Stuckey	0	0	5	25	90	2500	600	80	500
Danl. S. Stuckey	140	140	1	1	10	170	0	7	20
Hardy C. Stuckey	170	130	0	0	12	250	0	5	10
Edward Stuckey	800	1100	10	54	125	3000	0	103	500
Henry Stuckey	0	0	0	0	0	250	0	13	0
AW Laird	100	22	0	0	30	500	0	16	450
JWD Laird	100	0	0	0	0	300	0	12	20
AB Scarborough	60	440	2	0	15	250	0	6	40
Leander Shand	150	300	0	0	0	300	0	14	100
Jesse McKay	40	30	2	6	25	200	0	2	100
A White and son	200	700	4	16	70	1000	800	32	800
Wm M. DeLesene	30	17	0	3	30	400	0	20	600
A White Jr.	225	525	7	25	50	600	400	23	200
James L. Haynesworth	0	0	2	0	3	25	0	0	100
Thomas B. Hodes	310	400	6	10	25	1000	2400	50	175
Wm. D. Duncan	35	34	1	0	8	150	1200	0	75
Robt. J. Dick	180	470	5	28	40	3500	4000	100	300
A. Jackson Moses	20	2000	2	1	13	350	8000	0	300

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 5 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
George W. Lee	800	2925	12	40	125	3500	4000	100	1000
James K. Corbett	175	360	5	30	20	450	1200	11	150
Charles L. Comb	40	140	3	2	0	100	0	0	125
Freeman Hoyt	300	300	6	17	60	1000	1600	6	500
John Peavy	15	15	0	0	7	100	0	1	5
Mary S. Nettles	30	150	3	1	5	0	0	0	0
Thomas M. Baker	150	250	1	0	15	200	150	0	100
Elizah Pringle	400	600	20	50	70	1800	0	38	1400
Edmond Stuckey	200	0	4	10	70	1000	0	40	300
JC Shand	0	0	3	3	14	0	0	0	0
P. F. McLeod	150	850	6	19	30	400	0	19	300
Jesse P. Smith	130	1970	5	15	100	800	600	17	350
Mary Smith	30	0	3	6	20	150	320	0	100
Wm H. Smith	200	875	7	23	60	800	480	19	500
James Thomas Hill for another	150	850	1	0	0	400	0	7	200
Nelson Kirby	200	600	10	20	70	1000	800	5	400
Daniel Kirty	100	360	4	12	17	200	0	3	100
J. Morgan Carter	70	390	3	7	26	800	0	9	150
Martha Shulds	100	230	4	6	8	300	120	2	10
Evanda Kirby	35	162	4	3	23	150	600	0	200
Elias Mims	40	107	2	0	30	200	0	0	60
Rebecca Hickson	77	530	0	3	18	300	0	7	80
William H. Weaver	100	800	3	7	160	300	0	1	100
Ira D. Langston	50	0	1	0	8	0	0	0	20
Elizabeth Sephirms	60	355	1	1	0	100	0	0	50
Wm. C. McNail	75	200	4	11	30	300	0	2	100
Thomas Welch Jr.	55	233	2	3	30	125	0	2	25
Rebecca Hickson	0	0	3	5	10	0	0	0	0

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 6 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Elizabeth Coker	0	0	0	0	6	100	0	0	0
John D. McWish	9	15	2	3	15	100	0	0	50
EP Truchask	50	100	2	5	20	150	0	3	50
John F. Trusbask	50	150	4	11	40	350	0	6	150
John Trusbask	40	60	3	4	22	150	0	2	200
James A. Buddin	30	240	2	4	18	200	640	3	60
Ira Kirby	17	33	2	6	12	150	0	2	5
Arthur Tomlinson	50	250	6	2	20	300	0	0	50
George W. Frederick	60	200	4	6	30	350	0	3	100
Jno. B McMillan	70	530	7	4	30	0	0	3	10
Wm. D. Hinds	25	163	3	8	20	200	0	0	10
John Barker	60	340	3	9	30	300	0	1	50
HS Dickson	60	355	5	3	25	200	0	1	400
Mary W. Callum	30	0	3	6	12	150	0	4	25
Wm. W. Green	300	664	12	33	30	1200	1000	80	300
John E. Muldrow	400	800	15	45	100	2000	0	60	1000
David R. Durant	250	850	2	18	80	800	0	18	600
Francis Jr.	70	180	3	3	20	250	480	15	200
Elias E. McLeod	150	140	5	10	40	500	0	8	60
Elias Gibbs	70	130	6	10	50	225	0	3	200
Arthur Gibbs	45	255	4	10	25	100	0	2	120
John B. Hicks	45	92	6	2	40	250	0	2	150
Lavegna McKinsie	18	164	2	1	8	25	0	1	50
David Congress	20	80	0	0	6	30	200	0	25
Young Welsh	15	370	0	0	50	150	0	0	20
John CC Tomlinson	40	660	4	3	25	200	200	0	75



1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 7 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William G. Frierson	60	270	3	10	15	250	0	2	200
David J. Lemon	50	100	3	1	30	200	280	0	50
Samuel Tomlinson	120	480	10	20	50	400	1200	4	150
Ira Tomlinson	120	260	8	20	50	300	3400	6	150
Rueben Welch	150	700	5	9	40	350	0	3	250
Levi Moore	70	142	2	5	25	300	1000	7	100
Andrew Woods	125	1675	4	4	20	200	0	6	50
Christopher Player	200	587	7	16	86	800	650	12	200
Thomas J. Green	30	150	2	4	26	250	280	2	50
Robert McElveen	25	225	4	3	13	150	0	0	0
Middlton Annsion	40	0	0	0	0	200	0	3	400
John Player	100	550	10	20	120	900	10000	9	600
<b>John Nowling</b>	25	25	2	5	10	50	0	0	50
John Frierson	180	720	3	24	30	700	400	10	300
Thomas E. Lemon	60	225	3	8	30	400	600	9	50
Martin Rhodes	300	935	5	20	60	800	1200	27	375
Saml. L. Muldrow	150	1050	5	25	150	600	0	4	200
Est. of S. McBride	800	8100	14	136	200	3000	3200	69	2500
Wm. E. Plowden	700	1100	20	50	175	1900	1350	74	2000
John H. Cooper	300	266	6	7	25	500	600	39	400
Wm. J. Muldrow	520	1480	8	40	150	2000	400	80	1600
Lenora J. Muldrow	1100	1900	11	50	200	3000	3000	60	3000
Leah McFaddin	650	1550	6	44	130	1500	1200	48	500
Eliza Chandler	150	300	1	2	12	300	600	8	200
Wm. W.D Chander	30	0	1	0	10	75	120	0	10

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 8 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Mary R. Reams	150	900	6	20	26	500	600	6	500
S. Ira Reams	18	100	0	2	26	450	400	7	400
FS Reams	18	100	2	2	27	450	400	8	400
HM Reams	75	150	1	3	25	450	1200	8	500
Erwin J. Shand	225	455	8	22	50	800	1000	20	500
Marcus D. Lee	140	160	5	19	70	700	0	5	200
James R. Brandon	150	384	10	30	70	800	440	5	400
Wiley Fort	300	1300	13	20	40	1000	600	0	150
Robert C. McFaddin	200	800	12	30	75	1000	400	20	30
James D. McFaddin	1200	1200	30	150	200	5000	8000	120	3000
Jesse Baker	80	70	2	3	20	150	600	2	50
Isaac R. Brandon	150	300	8	18	90	900	400	7	300
James D. Blanding	300	500	1	40	70	1200	1200	25	500
Henry Yates	15	35	2	0	10	100	200	1	100
Jesse Yates	15	35	1	9	20	250	200	0	100
Keplan Seamore	70	1030	3	7	30	550	800	3	300
Lamoner Seamore	60	440	2	6	40	800	400	3	200
Robert Tisdale	20	35	2	10	15	100	200	1	50
Mary Brunson	200	50	9	3	40	800	0	8	400
William J. Furman	30	76	3	8	18	200	0	2	75
Rebecca Furman	25	30	1	4	15	150	200	0	30
William J. Brogdon	50	176	4	12	40	300	1000	0	250
Josiah G. Fort	280	1370	10	21	71	1200	550	10	300
Celia Fort	70	80	4	4	32	1000	840	4	60
Abner Brown	95	225	4	8	58	400	300	4	80
William Hancock	50	88	3	12	30	320	0	3	20
CL Osteen	60	68	3	4	25	100	0	2	20

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 9 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Caleb Birchmore	25	0	1	0	3	50	0	1	10
John China	100	120	3	9	30	500	1600	10	300
William Lewis	300	600	3	4	0	1600	4000	25	0
James H. Aycock	150	350	2	4	43	600	1000	0	75
Joahn E. Brown	27	10	3	2	19	350	0	0	150
JC Haynesworth	350	400	18	38	75	1200	800	35	1800
JA Fulwood	300	1100	7	15	80	1600	3000	22	400
John S. Green	175	275	4	6	20	400	600	16	100
JB Witherspoon	800	500	24	38	40	2000	2400	54	1000
FL Brunson	50	150	2	6	20	300	800	2	80
David Andrews	25	55	2	2	4	100	0	4	50
James Davis	300	1000	8	25	50	1200	0	42	200
Joseph Y. Holladay	0	0	1	3	10	75	0	2	25
Spencer W Davis	200	400	4	10	40	600	400	14	300
James Stafforrd	40	36	4	7	15	200	800	1	0
<b>Thomas Lowry</b>	0	0	5	10	45	200	0	2	300
James L. Morrissey	30	470	1	3	10	100	0	0	30
Wm M. Wilder	120	91	7	8	30	450	720	10	300
WW Wade	300	600	3	17	30	1200	800	26	200
WW Brunson	190	220	2	0	50	600	0	6	200
David Brunson	90	176	1	1	10	300	200	0	50
Kather D. McDaniel	400	200	4	20	45	1000	1200	32	600
Elizabeth Buford	50	140	4	7	0	300	0	0	40
EF Burkett	33	64	2	4	11	100	0	2	50
Robert C. Webb	250	550	3	21	60	600	0	25	200
Wm L. Burnson	210	510	6	24	30	700	800	8	100
Jno. Okermmot	300	200	6	30	40	800	1200	40	300
Elizabeth D. Michel	50	96	2	20	22	150	320	1	25

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 10 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James K. Chandler	250	250	2	18	30	1000	480	54	500
Lucas Chalnder	100	300	3	5	30	400	1600	10	100
Joseph Chandler	950	250	5	10	40	1000	0	40	500
Samuel Chandler	50	0	0	0	40	250	200	4	200
Andrew D. Chandler	150	315	5	10	42	350	0	7	300
Est. Rembert	200	500	8	12	100	1200	4000	30	500
Elizabeth English	300	200	5	14	50	1000	800	21	500
J. Ruse English	400	1500	15	35	60	900	200	41	300
John Gibbs	30	0	1	0	15	750	0	0	125
Rhoda Gibbs	70	400	6	25	50	250	0	1	150
John C. Rhames	140	410	4	9	75	300	1200	8	350
Joseph M. Sanders	50	0	4	9	22	300	750	2	100
William Sanders	15	0	9	5	24	100	0	0	100
BD Sanders	2	2312	6	20	60	1000	200	15	100
FJ Deschamps	150	268	6	20	20	500	600	23	120
L. Boyce	20	23	3	5	35	250	0	1	30
Josiah Lucky	238	572	6	24	60	1400	0	37	800
Charles McCoy	30	115	0	0	7	50	0	0	0
Mary Newman	30	20	3	5	50	150	0	1	0
John Mathis	30	0	1	0	8	150	0	5	40
Jeb? Daniels	24	40	3	0	20	175	0	3	150
SD Wells	150	650	3	3	30	300	1000	22	0
DS Wells	400	600	5	10	100	1000	800	60	1000
William Wells	100	250	1	2	20	150	400	8	100
Boyle	25	0	2	4	5	180	0	0	100
JH Fraggins	65	194	1	9	16	150	0	0	70
Edward Garland	7	0	1	1	2	40	0	1	15
Crosswell	100	107	4	9	31	500	0	18	250
Robt. A. McCutcheon	350	437	3	5	70	1000	2000	92	120

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 11 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
George McKutchen	800	1102	2	12	120	2000	1800	101	800
TR English	365	1200	6	9	30	900	1600	13	800
John D Hearnd	40	45	3	5	21	300	120	7	100
Rob. Enlgish	0	0	3	5	20	200	600	5	50
McRaid	15	0	2	0	8	150	0	0	0
Absolom Wilson	200	100	1	3	22	500	1200	28	200
Robt. El. Wilson	200	100	2	5	20	400	1200	26	200
Ann E. LeCost	250	150	6	15	60	1000	960	20	600
SE Hanson	120	0	1	6	20	300	0	18	50
SDM LeCost	150	250	1	4	20	300	1000	12	100
Saml. LeCost	970	750	2	10	45	330	0	20	75
Tabitha Benbow	40	40	4	5	20	200	0	4	0
Dwight M. Harrington	200	280	8	15	30	1000	0	28	200
Isiah McCoy	30	20	1	5	20	200	0	3	100
Edward McCoy	8	0	2	0	20	150	0	3	50
Sephronia McCoy	25	0	2	6	15	100	200	0	150
Riply Copeland	40	60	7	7	30	400	400	7	150
Jon Presscot	160	1240	3	6	11	100	0	1	100
Jno. Copeland	30	0	1	1	20	100	0	2	50
Thomas Smith	30	0	0	0	20	50	0	1	25
Javis Scarborough	40	60	4	10	50	400	0	15	400
John Scarborough	250	775	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lemuel Scarborough	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	3	0
A Scarborough	0	0	0	0	0	90	0	4	0
JS Scarborough	0	0	1	3	17	400	800	7	75
A Scarborough	75	75	8	16	40	1400	1600	25	6
Margaret McCullum	400	800	2	4	9	200	240	4	50
Rick Scott	60	70	10	30	70	1300	600	47	300

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 12 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Posey	550	800	1	4	20	300	800	8	50
Nancy Mathis	100	250	7	12	16	400	960	10	200
Jackson Bell	100	225	2	1	20	100	0	1	20
Daniel	30	70	2	6	19	200	240	6	50
R. Posey	70	280	3	9	50	500	600	10	75
Sephronia Fleming	150	650	2	9	30	450	1200	0	200
Mary Fleming	100	145	3	4	10	160	600	7	200
AJ Kenel	100	145	2	4	20	200	0	7	30
William McCoy	40	85	3	5	15	200	0	9	75
Adel. Baker	40	10	2	7	25	150	0	4	50
Scarborough	50	60	7	0	10	100	0	2	30
Jn. M. Montgomery	9	0	4	7	45	1200	1120	60	1000
SDM Clark	560	800	3	10	30	400	0	7	200
Isham Clark	75	400	1	6	30	150	0	5	30
Margaret McLeod	35	0	2	3	0	200	0	8	150
David McLeod	125	145	3	12	40	160	0	7	0
G.M McLeod	24	48	1	9	30	150	240	3	50
Ken Deane	35	109	5	1	10	100	0	0	20
S. Cooper	30	130	4	13	60	1000	800	35	800
WW Bradley	340	600	4	13	60	700	1200	36	800
W Kerring	280	0	4	11	40	250	680	3	150
RM Wheeler	150	223	5	15	47	500	160	26	500
WC Wilson	125	129	4	3	15	300	0	16	50
NW Copeland for another	300	400	4	10	15	200	1490	11	200
AF Wilson	200	500	4	16	40	500	480	28	600
JH DuBose	300	400	4	4	40	600	200	30	600
EM Gregg	700	1900	20	20	100	1800	800	64	1000
Mary W. Andrson	200	260	2	4	30	500	320	3	225
Robt. B. Wilson	450	610	6	25	90	1850	900	60	1000
James Dorrell	35	0	2	2	15	200	400	5	50
SE Wilson	350	200	5	20	60	1000	0	40	200
BF Wilson	50	0	0	0	15	125	0	9	50

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 13 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
JG Anderson	150	50	3	7	25	150	1000	6	150
JW Hudson	30	28	2	3	30	150	200	0	250
DF Reese	14	0	2	3	10	70	0	0	50
JE Witherspoon	450	0	8	22	70	1500	1200	30	1200
Elizabeth J. Bradley	350	300	2	7	40	900	1000	26	100
James Bradley	300	500	0	0	6	300	0	15	0
H Wilson	100	200	6	18	60	600	0	15	200
HH Wilson	400	500	6	20	75	900	800	32	500
WE Mills	800	3000	4	8	140	1500	4000	58	300
Annie Land	400	600	8	12	60	800	0	39	100
Adline E. Dennis	700	550	3	15	30	1500	2000	140	800
BJ Barnett	500	350	10	44	65	1500	0	77	1600
CS Barnett	30	0	0	0	0	125	0	10	0
Wm A. James	400	250	4	8	50	1200	0	72	1000
WW Wilson	25	0	2	3	10	150	0	5	1000
FM Muldrow	600	450	4	0	60	2500	0	150	500
Thomas McCrady	30	120	5	3	18	150	0	2	50
Shadrack Mathis	50	200	3	3	10	200	0	1	20
Marning Mathis	40	280	5	1	16	100	0	4	15
Wm. Mathis	40	0	2	0	20	100	0	6	25
Daniel Mathis	50	250	4	4	24	300	0	6	20
Eustus Stuckey	60	0	2	4	30	200	0	6	50
GS Rhames	60	70	2	5	20	125	0	5	100
FS Britton	25	75	2	0	10	100	0	2	20
G Hancock	25	75	2	0	30	200	0	2	50
Benj. Hatfield	10	0	1	2	10	50	0	1	25
Peter Hawkins	25	0	1	3	25	150	0	1	50
Elizabeth Hawkins	40	20	3	5	30	150	0	2	200
Ann Capols	20	0	0	0	8	100	400	0	25
S. Dixon	30	10	2	3	25	100	0	1	50
John Shiver	50	150	4	16	30	400	0	1	100
Marion Dunlap	25	115	0	0	15	100	0	1	50

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 14 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Samuel Hatfield	30	0	0	0	10	100	0	2	150
Elisha Holland	15	30	1	1	8	100	0	0	100
Dred Howell	10	0	0	0	15	50	0	0	10
Middleton Brown	40	160	2	6	20	200	0	3	50
Wiley Trimuel	50	100	5	7	30	350	0	3	100
Richard Hatfield	25	75	3	2	0	50	0	2	100
stephen Purket	50	100	2	3	25	200	0	2	50
Mendal Smith	50	114	5	8	18	200	0	1	50
Gus Capols	20	80	1	0	10	100	0	1	50
Sam Dixon	30	70	3	7	30	150	0	2	100
Richard Richburg	20	0	1	0	10	150	0	0	25
Elisha Holland	30	50	2	4	15	100	0	1	50
Robert Howell	20	0	1	0	20	100	0	0	20
Bill Hatfield	10	0	0	0	15	60	0	0	10
R. Hatfield	20	80	1	3	10	90	0	0	25
Stephen Burket	60	120	3	5	30	200	0	2	100
William J. Reynolds	800	1200	8	20	25	1000	0	21	500
Est. L. James	400	800	10	15	31	1200	0	22	400
Mrs. Belvin	200	200	4	5	30	400	0	2	200
Wm. Belbin	40	160	2	6	20	200	0	3	150
William Dority	50	150	3	4	20	250	0	3	200
Alfred Donal	60	140	1	0	15	200	0	2	150
B. Caughman	70	130	3	8	25	300	0	4	200
Patsey Deese	20	0	4	0	15	100	0	0	50
Addison Baker	60	140	3	11	20	300	0	2	100
A. Baker	40	0	1	4	10	200	0	2	80
John Harriston	15	0	0	0	15	80	0	0	20
Jackson Revill	80	40	3	7	15	250	0	6	120
DA McKay	20	0	0	0	10	50	0	1	30
WT Wright	50	130	1	1	18	100	0	1	0
RA Rembert	330	160	6	26	60	700	400	36	300
Wm. Trimmel	15	0	2	1	7	80	0	1	0
Charles Jones	7	0	0	0	7	60	0	0	0



1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 15 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
George Jones	20	40	0	0	7	160	0	1	200
PJ Tate	100	150	1	1	5	200	0	0	100
Rivers Jones	40	0	2	3	10	100	0	2	100
<b>WR Tidwell</b>	8	0	0	0	15	70	0	0	0
<b>WR Tidwell</b>	20	0	0	0	10	50	0	1	0
<b>AA Tidwell</b>	8	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0
<b>Isham Scott</b>	20	0	2	8	20	60	0	1	50
<b>Jno Scott</b>	20	13	2	6	15	100	0	2	60
F Scott	10	23	1	4	10	50	0	2	40
Benj. Murney	50	30	1	0	20	150	0	4	25
Blonell Moody	300	350	17	33	60	700	0	34	200
Est. JA Moody	120	17	3	7	18	400	0	10	100
<b>Wm. Ellison</b>	500	300	4	10	43	2000	0	80	1000
<b>Henry Ellison</b>	30	0	0	0	0	75	0	13	0
Wm. W Anderson	1200	1350	20	100	175	4500	0	170	1200
DB McLarin	390	1800	7	30	60	1200	0	80	50
Ned A Furman	15	0	3	8	15	150	0	0	50
WE Richardson	500	310	15	40	100	1000	0	60	1000
Levi Burkett	80	80	5	0	4	175	0	2	20
JJ Jennings	40	11	2	4	23	200	0	1	0
Est. E. Jennings	150	100	4	9	25	500	0	8	300
Est. JM. McFarlowe	46	4	2	8	5	120	0	2	50
HH Bradford	110	66	6	16	56	500	400	7	100
GW Bradford	370	2630	13	45	100	1500	0	71	400
<b>Eliza Bradford</b>	30	70	2	4	10	150	0	0	50
<b>Dick Gayle</b>	50	0	3	8	25	300	0	0	20
<b>Elias Davis</b>	10	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0
<b>Tom Laney</b>	5	0	0	0	10	40	0	0	15
Mary A. Braiford	300	800	2	0	30	500	0	17	300
LH Dinkins	200	50	5	17	50	700	0	18	300
Jefferson Crosswell	1100	1200	5	34	180	6000	2400	256	1500
for JB More	800	2200	0	0	20	1000	0	80	300
Jefferson Copwell	800	400	0	40	100	2100	0	156	500

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 16 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
for Mrs. Braiford	90	110	8	0	0	600	0	0	0
Randolf Braily	70	0	2	0	0	600	0	6	100
RB Brown	30	70	1	4	15	300	0	0	200
Major Green for another	300	700	8	20	30	800	0	32	20
Ensley Dargan	150	350	5	8	20	400	0	16	200
Oliver P. McRoy	110	230	6	12	30	750	800	18	800
Sarah JC Elliot	2000	1371	12	57	198	3450	0	120	6000
HS Moore	800	900	15	17	90	3000	0	65	3000
John J. Green	400	460	10	20	40	1200	0	110	150
John F. Ballard	30	30	2	5	10	150	0	3	0
JR Pollard No.1	300	1000	5	20	15	800	0	10	400
JR Pollard No.2	200	800	3	10	35	300	2000	3	200
PA Dupre	100	200	2	4	7	200	0	7	100
Thomas D Foxworth	800	700	8	27	80	1500	2000	60	350
WJ Atkinson	140	120	8	10	50	700	0	30	500
Margaret Scott	350	350	4	8	30	800	200	23	75
BA James	220	513	1	22	36	1200	0	18	50
RM English	425	600	8	20	75	1200	2600	75	800
AC Spann	100	25	3	3	115	1100	0	0	200
Moses Brogdon	250	450	5	18	100	1200	1600	18	700
MB Heingate	30	26	1	0	8	100	0	2	75
Jno. Richardson	230	340	7	8	25	750	0	0	200
Barbary Jones	50	50	2	2	13	100	0	0	0
Thomas S. Hone	30	0	1	0	0	100	0	2	15
Tirie D Spann	30	160	1	4	20	150	0	1	50
LB Jones	40	60	2	8	30	250	800	3	100
Joseph S. Ardiet	450	400	2	0	0	550	0	56	200
for another	200	300	6	20	50	450	1000	20	300
James R. Spann	80	40	2	5	9	300	0	3	400
Sarah S. Spann	60	100	1	3	5	250	200	1	40
Frances A. Jones	30	0	1	0	15	75	0	4	40

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 17 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Duke Saskey	100	200	0	0	6	600	0	0	0
Sarah A. Exum	20	5	2	0	10	150	0	3	20
Wm. S. Watts	35	54	2	0	7	100	0	1	20
AW Boykin	450	1500	5	10	75	1800	0	160	600
for	480	320	4	8	50	2000	400	150	1100
JS Bradley	150	250	3	15	58	600	0	20	400
(see above)	80	220	0	30	35	500	0	0	100
AC Barret	90	160	2	6	24	400	0	17	300
Leonard Brown	200	400	2	24	55	600	1200	40	500
John J. Brown	100	50	6	2	30	250	0	9	200
Wm H. Gaylor	33	147	2	10	23	275	1000	6	100
Oliver McLeod	40	100	1	3	23	150	0	4	100
William Deschamps	230	370	5	28	50	900	1600	44	800
Saml. Jinkins	70	0	0	0	15	200	0	4	150
Joseph Cumming	150	150	5	10	30	500	1000	25	500
EA Brown	75	425	8	22	30	400	600	10	150
Henry J. Abbott	200	400	5	21	30	700	1000	23	300
Jacob M. Maschaw	100	140	3	9	5	200	480	4	150
Edmund Tilder	200	60	2	7	22	200	1600	6	100
Willis Spann	600	500	10	27	100	2300	3200	42	800
Elenora Rembert	1000	2000	8	15	43	1400	0	75	700
Elias Durant	380	1475	13	42	128	2200	1200	54	700
Sarah McDonald	200	600	5	12	15	500	0	16	50
Samuel Dennis	60	600	1	5	33	250	0	3	100
David Chalnder	55	80	2	6	20	125	0	3	50
Lazarus Hain?	50	150	3	1	50	160	0	5	100
Elias Chalnder	40	115	5	3	15	200	300	5	80
Eliza Vanse	40	250	2	5	30	200	300	2	100
Harriet Keels	100	300	4	5	45	500	600	6	200
Miles Barfield	100	550	6	20	90	250	0	3	150
Joseph A. Lemon	120	250	2	8	50	400	1200	9	100

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 18 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Benjamin W. Lakes	75	175	5	6	10	200	250	1	0
William O Lemmon	70	85	3	0	25	300	250	3	100
David J. Lemmon	65	75	3	0	25	150	600	1	150
Edwin R. Gruman	120	540	5	6	30	500	400	1	100
Wm. K McElveen	60	240	2	6	25	300	0	0	200
Abednego Locklair	130	580	7	14	30	150	0	3	150
John C. McElveen	125	350	6	6	50	500	0	5	100
Robert L. McElveen	50	200	3	0	20	150	0	0	0
Joseph A. Flemming	45	62	6	2	30	250	800	2	100
Wm W. Player	30	20	2	5	25	150	0	2	50
Wm. B. Green	25	210	2	2	30	150	0	2	50
William Buddin	50	150	3	15	100	300	0	2	100
Patrick M. Gibbons	40	50	3	5	100	250	160	2	150
John D. Buddin	10	20	2	0	10	50	0	0	50
Jacob Keels	115	285	5	10	40	350	0	14	300
John F. Muldrow	200	600	8	32	50	700	800	13	300
Matthew Muldrow	300	700	5	8	20	300	0	14	100
John M Cooper	85	110	6	7	30	400	0	7	150
ME Muldrow	300	1100	10	40	75	2000	400	22	1400
George W. Cooper	3500	5500	40	114	511	7000	6000	328	7000
John F. Gordon	60	40	3	0	23	700	0	5	30
Adrille David	125	125	5	10	35	300	0	8	25
BLANK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rebecca Newman	18	32	2	3	15	75	0	0	20

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 19 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Isham Vaughn	100	300	7	12	30	300	720	4	150
RL Christmas	75	225	5	10	50	300	1000	5	150
Susan Tisdale	80	120	3	15	50	300	1000	4	300
John J. Thigpin	15	0	0	1	10	75	160	1	40
Elizabeth Thigpin	25	75	1	1	25	200	0	0	50
Mary J. Skurry	15	15	1	0	14	50	200	0	25
John L. Lawrence	50	130	4	4	35	300	480	3	100
Reddin Thigpen	40	110	3	5	60	200	0	1	40
Samuel J. Tanner	32	120	2	4	24	180	0	3	75
John B. Brogdon	150	345	7	20	25	1000	600	14	500
Spencer M. Davis	150	250	5	17	30	600	400	15	500
Anthony L. Jones	200	400	9	14	40	1000	0	25	750
Hampton Davis	60	60	0	0	20	250	0	1	20
Wilborn D. Clark	60	100	3	4	13	225	0	2	60
Smauel C. Mitchell	100	120	3	5	60	250	800	5	100
Nancy Ivy	100	60	1	1	15	100	0	1	50
Ervin Grooms	45	80	2	0	30	200	0	3	25
Stephen Grooms	50	50	6	7	60	200	0	2	0
BLANK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Asher Grooms	100	50	3	20	40	200	0	2	25
Joseph B. White	350	600	4	16	50	1200	800	37	200
Margaret E. Olden	25	75	3	4	5	150	600	0	50
Daniel E. Kels	150	450	5	18	70	500	240	20	200
Ezekial Keels	120	284	4	20	49	700	600	16	200
William Keels Sr.	70	1330	4	11	35	500	800	6	200
Isaac Keels	70	146	3	11	15	300	0	8	75

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 20 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Lorenza Tomlinson	40	460	3	6	20	125	0	2	200
Thomas Chandler	40	96	5	7	40	275	0	3	200
Isaac J. Cander	50	170	3	5	15	80	0	1	50
Sameul Carder	46	216	4	7	25	140	0	1	100
Ezekial Cadner	40	170	4	6	14	180	0	2	125
William Keels Jr.	50	250	5	5	40	225	0	4	100
Samuel Wilson	140	268	10	15	40	400	0	5	400
Nosia Wilson for another	400	2000	10	30	100	2000	400	48	500
Nosia Wilson Self	200	800	8	35	100	1200	1600	25	500
Robert J. Anderson	95	305	7	16	125	600	1000	11	300
John Lockliar	40	66	5	13	23	250	160	0	50
James Locklair	40	257	5	10	40	250	0	1	100
Willian Kinlarnd	15	0	3	3	12	100	0	1	30
Allen Locklair	10	0	1	0	6	40	0	1	25
William Popwell	25	75	2	2	10	50	0	1	0
William Nesbitt	70	220	5	10	25	250	1000	2	100
John Nesbit	35	165	1	1	20	100	800	3	50
Benj. Wilson	70	170	6	9	40	250	0	2	100
William Mims	300	672	12	8	85	600	120	10	500
Elias Mims	33	120	0	0	20	150	0	1	0
Timothy Mims	25	140	1	0	20	100	0	2	0
Hyman H. Logan	150	500	12	30	80	300	800	4	50
John Singletary	80	25	2	0	20	150	0	3	100
Albert Logan	15	0	1	1	10	50	0	1	30
Lewis S. Logan	20	0	1	1	0	70	0	1	25
Howel Stuckey	600	1600	8	20	130	2300	1000	55	800
Mary S. Commander	160	280	4	8	40	800	0	13	120
William Shaw	375	290	5	15	60	1800	300	96	750

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 21 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Sara Scarborough	110	448	5	3	30	500	0	15	500
S. Leroy Shand	300	197	1	4	16	440	1600	27	150
John S. Shaw	215	433	3	4	34	600	0	35	300
William R. Shaw	100	350	2	5	33	400	0	12	300
Robert H. Arnants	50	85	3	5	15	200	0	2	150
William Blythe	30	0	0	0	15	150	0	0	100
Thomas A. McLeod	26	74	2	0	8	50	0	1	50
James Scott	8	0	0	0	2	40	0	1	30
Robt. S. Yates	20	0	3	1	14	80	0	0	20
John W. McCaskill	23	120	0	0	11	40	0	2	25
William F. Atkinson	25	62	3	2	14	150	0	0	100
SW Atkinson	50	150	2	0	6	100	0	0	0
James Boykin	45	0	5	6	19	150	0	4	50
Margaret Boykin	80	580	3	3	6	50	0	1	25
Stephen Atkinson	40	60	1	3	13	150	0	0	15
Pheoby Atkinson	20	0	3	3	20	100	0	0	50
Willy Brown	40	90	2	3	9	150	0	0	30
William Davis	30	100	1	2	25	150	0	1	40
Stephen Croft	50	80	2	4	11	50	0	0	25
John Holland	20	180	1	0	6	25	0	2	15
John Davis	125	225	6	8	25	300	0	10	50
Kinneth McCaskill	23	0	0	0	8	50	0	4	25
Willis Watson	25	25	0	0	10	150	0	0	40
Darling Davis	200	500	6	24	70	800	1000	15	100
Joseph Brown	35	55	1	0	20	150	0	1	25
James Atkinson	40	0	1	0	2	75	0	5	150
Robt. Davis	40	40	2	3	23	200	0	1	30
Hampton H. Corbett	600	1400	3	20	50	1200	0	30	500

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 22 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Arthur Nichols	20	0	1	2	0	25	0	0	25
John Baker	100	140	2	9	26	175	0	4	75
EHL Peebles	210	550	5	15	25	500	0	16	25
Abigail Peebles	175	225	4	10	7	300	0	10	15
E. Spencer	5	0	2	2	0	40	0	0	50
Charles H. Durant	8	4	5	0	25	200	0	0	150
SP Durant	0	0	1	0	11	0	0	1	75
Thomas J. Parson	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
HL Wilson	0	0	2	5	6	50	200	0	50
WJ McLeod	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RW Druant	1	0	1	2	9	0	0	0	0
H. Fullerton	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
WHB Galloway	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
W McCallum	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
JS Durant	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
JL Bell	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
WAH Davis	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
WH DeBurg	6	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
JR Peerson	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0
RS Potts	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
JS Potts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AW Durant	85	725	5	5	40	475	0	11	150
BLANK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
David Cole	75	525	4	8	100	400	0	0	100
James Long	600	2100	10	30	150	1000	2000	20	500
Mar. A . Goodman	100	319	3	12	30	200	0	5	0
Ezekial Windham	15	45	0	2	10	100	0	1	40
Robt. Taylor	0	0	0	0	12	125	0	3	150
John Smith	20	243	1	0	20	100	0	0	50
Richard Posserell	0	0	0	0	20	100	0	0	25
Benj. Cassels	15	35	3	0	23	100	0	4	25
Richard Wilson	25	5	3	0	25	175	0	2	100



1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 23 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Louis J. Lowellan	0	0	1	0	15	120	0	1	100
Mark Huggins	15	37	0	0	0	50	0	0	20
Margaret Huggins	0	0	1	0	15	50	0	0	25
SH Miller	0	0	2	3	15	0	0	0	150
CV Ezell	0	0	1	0	10	200	0	3	100
Morgan Baker	75	55	0	0	0	100	0	3	50
MJ McLeod	150	650	3	5	50	600	0	20	150
Jno. L. Scott	0	0	0	0	8	200	0	0	100
CW Durant	250	750	2	20	100	1000	400	40	30
James S. McIntosh	320	1080	8	35	110	1500	1600	31	8000
Raffield for another	400	927	10	30	100	1500	0	53	600
Robt. Fraser	70	80	3	7	10	400	240	8	150
John W. McLeod	300	360	6	8	70	800	0	22	200
WM A Bryan	300	1000	6	15	50	1000	100	40	150
Livingston R. Jennings	700	700	15	40	150	1600	500	50	1000
James H Jennings	1500	1500	20	30	50	2500	0	70	1000
Charles C. Jackson	200	1000	1	14	12	800	1500	25	1000
Rufus Hacker	140	366	3	8	22	500	0	14	200
Joshua Myers	300	850	12	20	50	1200	1200	50	800
John Philips	25	45	1	4	15	400	0	28	200
Thomas D. Gerald	125	75	4	12	20	400	1000	35	200
Lawrence M. Spann	400	1100	2	25	60	2500	1000	100	200
Henry W. Atkinson	0	0	0	0	0	200	0	6	100
Henry L. Pinkney	700	1300	8	30	175	4000	0	128	700
Judson J. McKella	10	0	0	0	18	150	0	1	400

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 24 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James C. Cheening	10	0	3	7	0	125	0	1	1000
Virginia Guerry	50	50	2	4	12	300	400	4	250
Patrick H. Nelson	600	1660	20	40	100	3300	1300	160	0
Amarintha Nelson	150	550	3	6	30	1300	0	10	1500
Sebastian Sumter	100	175	4	6	50	800	0	23	1200
William S. Seal	300	1100	50	70	200	3000	0	80	500
Sarah R. Nelson	1000	1677	40	90	120	4100	1600	230	500
Samuel N. Burgess	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	300
Wm. B. Murray	450	150	6	15	40	2000	0	125	200
Elizabeth Murray	1200	800	8	20	80	3500	0	175	150
George M. Murray	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	1500
Elizabeth Richardson	25	0	1	0	8	200	0	0	100
Hiram E. Sloan	87	313	3	0	20	400	0	10	1000
Richd. M. Moore	150	450	2	0	50	500	0	20	500
Wm. G. Kennedy	650	2500	10	24	100	1200	1600	80	500
Wiley J. McKane	1000	1500	25	30	150	5000	4000	200	0
Wm. D. Yates	55	50	0	0	20	150	0	3	100
Henry D. Green Sr.	900	550	18	50	100	4000	4000	180	100
James E. Rembert	1000	1000	20	30	120	3000	6000	130	1000
Sarah Allen	400	600	12	25	50	1200	0	25	1000
Robt. L. Harriott	700	1300	20	24	40	2500	0	80	1200
NB Belvin	60	140	2	6	8	200	0	8	100
Daniel Weldon	36	34	4	6	15	100	0	3	25
Thomas Hancock	75	50	9	5	75	150	0	1	50

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 25 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Eliza M. Colclough	1300	400	16	88	300	5000	8000	130	5000
Eliza. M. Colclough	1300	700	18	66	250	5500	8000	130	5000
Eliza M. Colclough	25	100	2	0	120	150	0	0	75
Wm. Boykin	30	0	1	3	15	150	0	1	100
Robt. J. Hare	40	0	4	5	18	220	0	2	250
James Bradford	185	300	5	22	100	1260	1600	21	250
Joseph S. Ardist	80	58	2	2	24	200	0	4	10
John J. Knox	1060	1315	25	30	125	2400	600	100	500
Adaline Moore	25	25	1	1	10	200	0	1	100
Elisha Carson	600	600	6	40	30	1200	1600	40	300
Charles Frost	40	0	0	0	7	100	0	4	20
George Cato	28	22	4	7	8	150	0	5	50
James Cates	30	0	1	3	10	200	0	4	40
James Cann	25	20	0	0	15	100	2000	4	60
Wm. Ballard	250	600	5	12	80	600	0	12	500
Thomas Richardson	60	96	4	6	0	350	120	11	100
Louisa Murrell	20	80	4	4	7	100	0	2	50
John W. Brownfield	230	470	3	0	20	900	0	45	200
Isaac M. Lenoir	500	800	20	30	70	1200	0	72	300
James JL Allen	150	360	12	12	45	800	0	10	600
Frances M. Dinkins	100	800	2	4	15	380	0	20	300
James A. Atkinson	80	145	2	11	20	350	0	13	0
MA Evely	53	87	3	4	36	200	0	15	100
Elizabeth Thomson	120	85	2	10	53	450	0	22	40
EL Murray	180	20	3	3	20	700	0	40	300
Robt. S. Mellette	400	450	9	10	60	1000	1000	30	3000
John Sanders	250	866	2	4	30	1000	320	42	400
Augustus Sanders	250	150	3	6	100	600	0	45	200

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 26 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John M. Dessaussure	4000	2037	60	90	600	12000	10000	441	2500
Saml. N. Zonny	200	300	5	5	62	600	0	36	250
Wm. Prescott	160	240	10	5	25	300	0	26	300
Simpson Sanders	500	200	13	5	45	1000	0	35	1000
Robt. H. Prescott	150	0	0	0	0	100	0	1	50
Wm. A. Sanders	300	0	3	3	11	300	0	3	75
Wm. SC Ellerbe	150	200	3	7	20	800	0	23	150
Isham Moore	500	600	7	30	60	1200	900	65	800
Marion Sanders	500	1000	6	6	20	900	0	65	900
Laura Richardson	30	0	2	0	0	150	0	0	50
Ezra Bell	35	65	1	5	15	200	0	3	60
<i>Jessy Benenhaley</i>	30	0	1	3	10	100	0	1	20
<i>Ferdinand Benenhaley</i>	25	0	1	0	8	120	0	1	30
<i>Jacob Benenhaley</i>	20	0	0	0	10	80	0	0	25
Sarah S. Spann	15	0	1	2	4	60	0	0	20
John N. Boyd	0	0	2	6	2	0	0	0	0
Alex. Brailsford	100	130	8	8	40	600	0	9	20
LM McRoy	100	295	6	0	25	800	0	0	50
Peter Chewning	175	448	7	60	200	700	0	15	100
Robert Ardis	0	0	0	0	25	300	0	0	10
Lewis Burke	23	27	2	1	25	300	0	0	10
John A. Knight	0	0	1	0	15	100	0	0	5
EWP Rivas	60	140	3	5	28	350	1170	5	205
EA Ramsay	855	2745	52	90	260	3000	720	120	1030
MG Ramsey	0	0	5	6	30	600	400	17	100
William Lynam	150	193	3	5	25	900	0	50	200
Eugene Nesbit	200	143	4	6	20	0	0	0	0
Isaac Nicholds	0	0	4	7	18	175	500	0	75

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 27 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Hamilton Witherspoon	1200	2800	20	50	150	4000	3000	135	4000
William Nettles	300	700	8	20	0	1200	1500	25	200
Oscar Hodge	0	0	0	0	14	80	0	2	50
Nancy Hodge	200	200	5	15	60	400	0	3	100
Richard B. Cain	1000	3000	32	40	200	3400	2250	160	2000
FW Mellette	600	1695	14	50	150	2200	0	85	2000
WH Haynesworth	300	700	15	40	120	1200	1800	38	100
DJ Lynam	140	34	9	18	70	700	1860	22	300
WH Brown	250	200	5	9	35	500	0	12	200
EJ Pugh	235	809	8	11	55	1300	1380	9	200
FW Beckham	200	250	5	5	30	350	0	14	100
JW Richardson	90	280	3	5	30	350	0	9	100
D Bradshaw	0	0	0	0	6	65	140	0	25
BG Hodge	60	90	1	4	25	170	184	2	75
WM Giddens	0	0	1	1	11	100	0	4	50
JO Holladay	70	100	3	10	32	375	0	18	100
JF Giddens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JR Jackson	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0
Mary Furman	0	0	1	0	19	120	0	3	20
CR Compton	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	2	150
SE Johnson	100	168	2	2	21	250	4140	9	0
Mary Brunson	200	300	8	9	20	600	1380	7	100
Thomas Pool	20	80	3	1	40	200	552	2	30
Thomas Garrett	200	400	2	0	22	150	0	0	50
Ranson Kolb	0	0	0	0	6	50	0	1	10
JW Nettles	180	270	4	16	30	700	334	25	200
Oliver Hodge	70	80	3	3	16	200	0	2	100
Elisha Hodge	280	100	3	9	43	500	552	8	500
William Osteen	75	375	4	17	45	250	0	5	75
Eliza. Brodway	100	425	3	18	30	200	0	5	50
EH Bateman	0	0	1	0	8	80	0	1	0
WM. Ritchford	0	0	2	1	6	100	0	4	50
B. Allsbrooks	0	0	2	3	18	30	0	0	40
NB Cockerill	160	500	7	10	30	450	0	16	100

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 28 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
F. Rollinson	30	95	3	3	5	60	0	0	30
Elias Hodge	200	505	7	23	50	450	0	8	100
Jared Morton	150	50	6	8	14	200	322	9	100
WS Wells	150	60	3	6	38	300	920	6	100
William Wise	30	66	4	3	30	100	0	0	20
M. Broadway	40	210	2	3	16	150	0	3	50
H. Rodgers	30	66	1	6	17	500	0	2	30
Stephen Floyd	0	0	0	0	25	125	0	1	25
JS Nickles	75	85	5	6	53	350	0	3	35
WM Hudson	0	0	0	0	25	450	0	6	75
C. Rodgers	100	240	3	20	30	200	0	2	60
Vinson Floyd	0	0	2	0	2	50	0	0	0
Josiah Geddens	23	64	1	1	9	70	0	2	0
Edward Giddens	40	47	0	0	7	100	0	5	50
William Davis	60	107	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Willis Osteen	80	185	2	4	20	200	1012	2	75
Jacob Geddens	60	205	3	6	40	300	0	0	30
James Kolb?	25	75	3	7	18	125	0	1	40
Sampson Geddens	0	0	0	0	12	375	407	0	8
WJ Tisdale	130	284	4	8	30	400	0	15	100
IJ Caroway?	0	0	1	0	5	50	460	0	25
RS Wells	300	600	10	17	80	1200	0	11	200
WA Smith	0	0	2	6	12	100	210	2	0
Ann Nicholds	30	28	1	1	7	100	0	0	0
John Rembert	0	0	0	0	15	100	138	0	3
Martha Winkles	60	109	3	4	16	100	0	2	70
James Hair	0	0	2	4	9	200	828	0	30
John Giddens	0	0	0	0	8	50	910	2	150
G. Osteen	50	200	1	6	14	200	0	1	20
Benjamin Kolb	0	0	2	3	13	150	0	1	50
T.H. O'Steen	120	358	6	19	40	400	1750	9	100
WH McLeod	0	0	2	3	25	125	0	1	75
Ensley Weeks	35	65	3	5	19	200	0	3	70

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 29 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Noah Graham	60	140	3	3	0	100	0	0	25
E. Solomons	15	25	1	0	0	200	0	0	50
Jenkins O. Fleming	0	0	1	0	0	25	0	0	40
Archibald Anderson	18	0	2	0	0	25	0	0	0
Napoleon Lewis	0	0	1	1	80	450	280	0	20
Thomas Dickinson	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	50
Frank Moses	0	0	2	1	20	200	0	0	10
Montgomery Moses	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samuel Watson	0	0	5	12	40	0	0	0	0
Lucas Loring	60	140	2	3	25	400	2000	2	250
Jno. S. Richardson	11	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
W. Edward Dick	15	0	1	0	0	100	800	0	25
Nancy Haynesworth	250	350	6	18	20	500	400	28	20
Alexander	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
HH Philips	5	8	1	0	19	0	200	0	0
Frances Sumter	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	20
Esther A. Dinkins	30	10000	1	0	0	125	0	0	0
William Haynesworth	15	0	2	4	10	200	0	0	25
Susanna Newman	10	240	2	8	7	0	0	0	25
Charles Bozzard	4	140	1	1	13	30	750	8	100
JL Bartlett	15	85	2	0	20	250	750	0	60
SSG Deschamps	20	90	4	6	8	200	0	0	50
Donald McQueen	30	0	2	5	30	140	0	0	100
John Terry	60	40	2	4	0	550	0	0	50

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 30 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
FS Brown	50	150	1	2	7	300	400	20	100
James Dingle	10	40	3	5	4	30	0	0	100
Henry Wideman	800	1200	10	30	95	2500	800	75	200
SF Wilson	65	0	4	10	3	400	0	0	3000
MP Mages	180	200	6	10	40	500	400	29	250
KP Mages	400	900	4	21	60	500	100	15	400
PA Mages	100	900	1	10	36	400	0	18	200
TA Mages	100	100	3	10	7	350	0	0	100
TA Grigg	75	479	1	5	19	200	0	1	200
William Norris	100	340	3	12	100	600	0	12	100
JS Frazier Sr	275	200	6	22	100	1000	0	34	200
JL Frazier Sr.	300	300	2	10	35	600	3000	80	200
Johnathan Wistbury	1200	800	6	40	75	35000	2000	165	1500
William Burrows	60	382	5	3	6	250	0	0	0
Lavinia Lowder	150	550	6	0	12	600	1000	0	100
NO NAME	100	0	2	1	15	350	0	5	150
Elizabeth Rhame	200	100	5	19	22	400	0	10	200
BF Brown	360	150	8	15	27	600	0	16	100
Jno. Brown	8	0	2	1	10	50	0	0	75
William Brown	12	0	1	0	3	50	0	2	15
Jesse W. Burket	60	40	3	0	12	200	0	5	10
Jno. White	25	60	9	21	40	700	1200	19	200
Thom. H. Burket	75	85	3	8	12	200	0	6	100
Joseph Roberson	100	200	5	10	40	400	0	6	100
John Roberson	100	200	4	6	25	400	0	5	100
James Roberson	50	75	2	12	20	200	0	2	100
Isaac Richburg	200	550	7	5	45	300	0	0	350
William Ross	150	50	4	9	30	250	0	12	150
Matthew W. Toes	50	150	3	7	25	250	0	3	50
Mary E. Boykin	10	60	2	0	20	30	0	0	50



1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 31 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
SH McLeod	210	406	6	12	40	800	0	39	50
Washington Bradley	400	400	9	11	30	600	0	16	150
William Sanders	800	500	8	14	140	2000	0	30	200
Thomas O. Sanders	600	400	8	20	100	1500	0	80	75
William Ives	300	170	2	0	8	200	0	7	1500
William S. Burgess	300	200	4	21	20	500	0	34	300
NH Carroll	120	130	0	1	21	120	600	9	100
Richard Aarons	20	0	2	1	14	20	0	1	50
John Cato	50	30	2	0	12	150	0	7	500
Peter Mundy	30	0	0	0	12	150	0	9	200
JR Brown	30	50	2	5	30	600	0	4	200
WD Brown	25	165	5	7	30	200	0	2	200
Thomas Case	50	30	3	6	20	200	0	2	30
<i>Washington Scott</i>	30	0	2	0	12	200	0	2	50
<i>Henry Scott</i>	40	0	0	0	15	250	0	2	100
Elizabeth Kemp	5	0	3	0	20	50	0	0	30
Barron Cato	200	200	6	8	40	400	0	2	250
Eliza Kemp	5	0	0	0	3	50	0	0	50
Moses Mansie	10	0	1	2	0	50	0	1	0
Isaac Cato	50	140	3	5	30	250	0	3	200
<i>William [Pells] Pitts</i>	30	0	1	5	10	200	0	1	100
CK McLeowd	400	230	6	18	30	600	200	30	200
Hardy Scarborough	60	200	0	2	14	250	960	4	350
Frances Scarborough	225	755	5	5	40	700	800	24	300
Edmond Scarbory	70	0	0	0	0	200	0	13	0
Moriah Coley	20	0	1	0	5	150	0	1	30
Henry H. Wells	800	1200	12	28	86	1300	1500	30	200
John Kolb	65	235	4	6	30	400	0	0	35

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 32 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
William Ardis	55	600	5	5	70	400	420	0	100
RB Barkley	0	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0
John Nettles/	200	300	6	18	28	750	100	15	100
Samuel Bradford	450	525	1	45	75	1500	2800	45	200
James Hodge	200	700	2	13	40	400	1000	6	200
James Spauling	60	143	4	5	26	250	1058	1	0
<i>Madry Gowins</i>	0	0	0	0	11	50	184	1	20
<i>Lavicy Gowins</i>	100	300	3	1	8	20	196	0	0
<i>James Gowins</i>	0	0	1	1	4	150	180	0	10
<i>Thomas Gowins</i>	0	0	4	2	6	100	500	1	30
<i>Wash. Gowins</i>	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
<i>Wade Gowins</i>	0	0	1	0	13	100	600	0	25
<i>Thos. Chavis</i>	130	104	2	5	27	700	912	2	400
<i>John Gibbs</i>	0	0	0	0	9	45	0	1	0
<i>Caroline Chavis</i>	20	30	3	2	6	50	100	0	0
<i>L. Bandeham</i>	0	0	0	0	7	80	900	0	0
<i>James Gibbs</i>	100	134	3	6	12	300	800	0	100
<i>Albert Chavis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	150	0	0	0
<i>Wm. Chavis</i>	25	15	0	0	8	100	0	0	0
<i>West. Sweat</i>	0	0	2	0	9	80	0	0	0
JH Fruman	600	660	1	12	50	1000	100	17	400
John O. Durant	800	800	5	30	100	3000	0	179	1300
Alexander Foxworth	125	30	0	18	40	300	160	7	300
Henry Foxworth	30	0	0	4	10	200	40	5	100
George C. Huggins	15	0	0	0	0	80	50	1	50
Wm. Richardson	200	350	4	7	40	700	500	40	500
FJ Moses	900	1850	14	41	90	2300	1500	41	500
EJ Rembert	365	400	4	0	40	1000	800	50	0
AF Carver	400	600	3	25	51	1050	160	75	2000
James Carver	160	300	2	2	32	600	0	30	400

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 33 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Moses F. McLeod	150	200	2	12	60	600	200	18	300
DW Bradshaw for another	200	1000	0	0	9	100	0	14	0
John E. Wingate	30	30	2	4	22	250	0	0	50
DA Foxworth	60	200	5	0	17	600	0	0	100
NAME BLANK	360	350	0	25	80	1300	300	60	400
RL Harriet (pauper)	0	0	2	0	10	150	0	3	200
William Wingate	20	40	2	0	6	80	0	1	30
Thos. E. Flowery	50	50	1	6	25	0	0	0	250
Robert W Andrews	12	3	1	5	4	150	0	0	350
Saml. R. Chandler	770	1018	15	35	200	3000	9000	102	2200
Isaac J. Chandler	400	600	11	59	100	1400	2400	75	800
CM Furman	700	1000	3	35	36	2000	400	130	300
S. Furman	20	0	1	0	0	0	0	10	50
SH Dick	200	0	8	17	50	700	100	35	150
J. Jennings	250	210	5	13	40	800	0	30	400
Estate H. Jennings	1300	700	6	20	50	1800	0	50	500
V. Parson	50	0	2	0	10	150	0	3	200
Mary J. English	40	60	4	11	26	400	800	4	200
JW Pitts	500	1400	13	32	150	1300	0	64	600
Charles J. Shamison	700	100	10	16	50	700	0	40	0
Jno. W. Atkinson	150	150	8	22	120	1000	0	10	500
Estate TM Dick	600	400	10	65	165	2000	4000	150	500
Charlotte Haithcock	30	70	1	5	10	75	0	2	30
RJ Manning	800	2400	0	20	100	1800	0	100	400

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 34 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
And another [linked to above]	300	600	0	0	50	700	0	25	100
LW Dick	350	250	2	21	50	650	0	25	150
SR Spann	150	0	4	26	100	650	800	21	500
Nathaniel Bradford	100	160	12	20	50	800	1200	15	400
WW White	550	650	6	60	60	500	1000	40	250
NO NAME	120	180	0	0	0	200	0	5	100
NO NAME	200	200	0	0	0	300	600	20	150
John Hendrick	500	340	1	0	50	2000	0	70	200
for The Proprietor	500	350	3	22	30	500	400	30	100
Wm. Evans for Another	400	400	6	9	50	1000	0	50	200
Morsal H. White	450	150	5	15	20	600	800	0	250
[Blank]	100	125	1	0	0	100	0	0	50
John K. White	150	350	2	20	40	400	0	23	150
Henry Spann	900	1400	6	25	100	2000	2200	63	1500
Manning Mathis	40	285	5	6	18	200	0	6	40
Thomas Corbett	50	239	0	6	16	200	0	5	40
William McCorsham	100	300	3	7	20	100	0	2	50
Wm. J. Hancock	25	0	1	1	8	100	0	2	25
RJ McCorsham	40	0	1	0	18	100	0	1	25
Jesse Corbett	30	70	2	1	10	70	0	3	25
Percilla A. Corbett	60	180	3	2	14	120	0	3	50
James J. Corbett	40	260	5	10	20	200	0	5	75
Thomas Britton	16	0	1	0	8	50	0	1	30
Zena L. Bradley	16	84	1	0	11	50	0	2	15
Darcus Boykin	60	220	2	6	6	100	0	3	25
Stephen Boykin	35	70	1	1	27	80	0	0	40
John Boykin	60	174	2	2	16	150	0	6	40

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 35 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
Elisha Driggers	19	53	1	3	8	50	0	2	10
Elijah Driggers	25	0	0	0	10	50	0	2	0
Willim S. Corbitt	30	145	3	3	18	100	0	2	50
Jesse Lee	50	100	3	3	18	150	0	2	50
John Lee	50	137	2	4	24	100	0	1	100
John Mosely	60	140	3	5	21	200	0	4	50
Wm. D. McEacham	30	55	0	0	6	100	0	2	50
Jno. R. McLeod	150	450	1	5	25	200	0	4	50
John Myers	36	126	1	3	21	100	0	3	40
Alex. Collins	100	345	3	5	10	100	0	6	25
Thomas L. Smith	100	433	3	27	60	500	0	7	400
Robert M. Huggins	60	240	4	6	13	100	0	2	60
Doller McKensie	25	375	4	15	15	100	0	1	25
Danl. Richburg	50	250	4	6	18	100	0	4	100
Wm. H. Clarkson	60	43	4	6	20	150	0	0	25
Mary Cunningham	125	150	3	8	40	500	0	16	100
Matha Deese	10	86	1	1	8	60	280	1	30
James B. Deese	50	50	4	6	10	200	0	2	100
Washington Allen	180	270	7	11	40	800	100	30	500
Leonora Spann	150	300	7	7	0	3600	0	0	0
RD Spann	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rd Spann	130	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John Munday	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0
James Spann	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saml. Bradley	1700	2400	40	160	150	4000	0	260	2000
Emma Bradley	40	100	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Eliza. Tindale	5	0	7	13	30	350	0	2	0
Elizabeth Cambell	45	0	4	10	50	300	0	4	0

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 36 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
James A. Harmon	1000	3000	5	20	175	400	0	0	100
Wm. W. Reese	20	610	3	6	100	300	0	20	100
Sarah Ramsey	0	0	2	2	7	0	0	0	0
Orias Mathis	80	420	5	10	0	0	0	0	0
Francis Jenkins	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
James F. Frierson	200	100	10	10	0	900	0	0	600
John W. Frierson	1100	1900	5	45	100	4000	0	141	0
SL Green	30	255	4	4	0	300	0	0	100
Mary Matias	100	300	3	7	0	300	0	0	100
Marion H. Burgess	1000	1300	15	50	70	3000	4000	110	1500
W. Matis Reese	800	1500	10	50	100	1600	400	65	500
JJ Brown	50	100	2	3	2	0	0	0	0
James Caldwell	800	2700	20	100	320	4000	0	246	1000
Mrs. Marion Devaux	250	250	7	10	10	600	0	0	0
Marcus Reynolds	340	260	9	15	50	1800	0	50	250
Mary Singleton	800	2700	5	12	80	2000	0	65	2000
James S. Moore	2500	3500	25	125	500	10000	3000	300	2000
E. May Anderson	400	1500	2	2	20	0	0	0	0
Fh Kennedy	100	1100	3	35	44	1600	800	124	700
JA McCutcheon	100	350	2	5	30	500	800	18	150
GB McCutcheon	350	570	3	7	75	1000	0	42	400
George B. McCutcheon For Another	150	300	0	0	0	500	0	22	200
Sarah Whildon	400	600	6	17	25	1000	600	20	500
JW Rembert	700	899	12	44	137	1700	4500	70	1500
ZW Kinny	130	170	2	25	80	800	1640	30	500
Wm. McKutcheon	350	480	3	12	33	1000	600	43	400
H. McCutcheon	0	0	1	2	5	0	0	0	0

1860 Sumter District Agricultural Census (page 37 of 37)	Improved Acres	Unimproved Acres	Milk Cows	Cattle	Swine	Corn /bushels	Rice /lbs.	Cotton /bales	Sweet Potatoes /bushels
John C. Crother	0	0	1	1	4	50	0	0	0
Dr. Dubose	1000	1700	12	60	100	2500	7500	66	300
MS Punch	200	400	2	12	30	700	1700	29	300
TM Brown	40	66	1	0	14	150	600	6	150
Jane McLeod	200	118	4	11	45	800	0	25	600
JE McCoy	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Elizabeth Christmas	300	700	0	0	10	0	0	0	30
JE Brown	100	100	3	4	26	250	1800	12	100
Jessie A. Christmas	0	0	5	3	8	150	810	2	100
RG Dubose	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RG Dubose for another	200	212	0	0	35	500	0	75	300
WM W. McCutcheon	300	500	2	13	50	1300	200	75	60

Note: Free black farmers in bold italics. Source: 1860 Agricultural Census, Sumter District, South Carolina.