

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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The migrations of four generations of the Powledge family centering around Meriwether County, Georgia were described within the context of social and economic forces in the United States in 1820 to 1900. The family was representative of thousands of families that migrated westward. The migrations were found to correlate with much of the literature on migration and with the economic and social trends in the nineteenth century. Land acquisition as a means to economic improvement and, secondarily, information and support from kin and neighbors were found to be the most important factors in Powledge family movements.

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Families on the Move:
The Powledge Family of Meriwether County, Georgia
1820-1900

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION1
Chapter	
I. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE3
II. RESEARCH METHOD . . . . .	.9
III. MIGRATION INTO MERIWETHER COUNTY, GEORGIA . . . . .	.12
Coastal Georgia Origins . . . . .	.12
Land Lottery Movements of the Second and Third Generations . . . . .	.15
IV. MERIWETHER COUNTY, GEORGIA SOJOURN . . . . .	.20
Rural Southern Life, 1835-1870 . . . . .	.20
Effects of the Civil War . . . . .	.23
V. MIGRATION INTO UNION COUNTY, ARKANSAS . . . . .	.27
Fourth Generation Movements . . . . .	.27
Rural Southern Life, 1870-1900 . . . . .	.30
Fifth and Sixth Generation Movements . . . . .	.34
CONCLUSION . . . . .	.38
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	.46
APPENDICES . . . . .	.50
A. Kindred Chart . . . . .	.50
B. Data on Family Members . . . . .	.51
C. Chronology of Family Movements . . . . .	.59
D. Maps . . . . .	.60

FAMILIES ON THE MOVE: THE POWLEDGE FAMILY OF MERIWETHER COUNTY,
GEORGIA, 1820-1900

INTRODUCTION

Thousands of Americans have considered geographically moving their homes in search of economic opportunity. The nineteenth century witnessed so many family movements that migration became an important factor in United States political, social, and economic development. Americans of the mid-twentieth century are often described in the popular press as the "mobile society" due to frequent cross-continent household changes and widespread business and leisure travel. Nineteenth century travel involved more time and effort than today, but our ancestors' willingness to relocate is one basis for our current attitudes about mobility.

Countless families and individuals made the decision to migrate before 1900. This description of the movements of one family, the Powledges, provides a case study of the economic and social factors that influenced the timing and destinations of migrations. The Powledge family example provides insight into family migration decisions and community settlements.

Extensive literature exists on southern United States history and on migration in general. The Powledge family provides a specific case that can be integrated into the general trends in United States history. A farming family living in Georgia since 1750, the Powledges moved westward into Meriwether County with hundreds of other Georgians who took advantage of the Georgia land lotteries between 1805 and 1832. Protestant church membership and large families were characteristics the Powledges shared with countless southern families. Ownership of land and a few slaves classifies the Powledges as small planters in the plantation belt of central Georgia. Meriwether County is located in the Georgia Piedmont--one of the areas settled earliest after the colonial period (see Map 1 in Appendix D for Map of Georgia Regions). It was common for nineteenth century families like the Powledges to make successive movements within the state and then further westward. This family reflects the structure and experience of many other southern families with similar characteristics. Their story is a valuable example of mobility and community change within the larger theme of migration in the United States. Family migrations are also significant because of the huge number of continental immigrants, the large land area settled by whites, the political decisions involved in governing the expanding American territory, and the economic development surrounding the migrations.

I. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A wealth of related economic, political, and social literature exists on family movement in response to economic and social conditions within the South before 1900. The literature emphasizes the following themes: 1) the social and economic backwardness of the South; 2) political developments centering on Reconstruction policies and backlash, the Farmers' Alliance, and Populism; 3) statistics about the number, influence, and conditions of blacks (as slaves and as freedmen); 4) economic explanations of the world cotton market and crop choices in the South; 5) the activities of the planter class; 6) statistical studies of migration based on comparisons of the United States Census for specific locations; 7) studies of individual families or ethnic groups migrating between various states and territories in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; 8) studies of factors influencing migration like population surplus, latitude variation, climate, and crops; and 9) explanations of the causes and effects of the Civil War.

A useful source for migration between 1820 and 1880 is Ray Allen Billington's Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier. The book explains the growth of cotton as a major crop in the South, land use patterns in the region, and the development of a population surplus that led to westward migration. Billington also discussed United States relations with native Americans east of the Mississippi River and the land policies that led to the opening of huge territories to white settlement.

The study of the migration of specific ethnic groups abounds in the literature. Daniel Sutherland described the motive for migration in an essay, "Former Confederates in the Post-Civil War North: An Unexplored Aspect of Reconstruction History." Sharon Woodson discussed the reasons, scope, and impact in Kansas of an unusual mass migration of blacks in 1879-1880. John Hudson evaluated the mobility of 1000 North Dakota pioneers around 1930 in an article, "Migration to an American Frontier." Hudson traced the movement of ethnic groups across the United States and evaluated population and cultural traditions in North Dakota; he stressed that high mobility rates characterized cities as well as frontier settlements. He explained that "information networks" bonded widely scattered enclaves and spread news of economic opportunity (Hudson 1976:243-244).

Richard Vedder and Lovell Gallaway used a statistical approach to migration in "Population Transfers and the Post-Bellum Adjustment to Economic Dislocation, 1870-1920." Their research concentrated on regional labor markets and net migration within regions rather than on the motives or movements of specific families. James Oberly sampled military bounty-land warrant recipients in "Westward Who? Estimates of Native White Interstate Migration After the War of 1812." Oberly tracked interstate population movement from 1812 to 1860. In addition to land warrants as a motive for migration, Oberly examined economic class, the size of the state and its location, and the age of the veterans. James Allen used a statistical approach in "Changes in the American Propensity to Migrate." He calculated regional population persistence rates from 1830 to 1930 using United States Census data.

He stressed the importance of migration in American history. He found that "people were more likely to have been recent migrants during the period from 1830-1930 than they have been either before or since," (Allen 1977:587).

Another statistical study using the United States Census is Donald Schaeffer's review of the variables that affected migration in the New South between 1850 and 1860: occupation, previous movements by the head of household, residence in 1860, slave-holding status, age, and distance traveled. His study explored characteristics of migrants and the differences in crops and climate they faced. It focused on general patterns of migration rather than on specific families or the examination of economic and social motives.

Many books and articles describe the hardships pioneer families faced and the diversity of people that migrated in the nineteenth century. In her book about Kansas pioneers, Joanna Stratton mentioned that many families migrated repeatedly. "For some women the move to the Kansas frontier was the last stop in a gradual migration westward. Originally from towns and cities in the Eastern coastal states, they had moved continually westward in intermediate steps as new states and territories were opened to white settlement" (Stratton 1981:24).

Class structure and labor issues were important in the post Civil War South. Legal and social pressures on blacks prevented migration to labor markets outside the South. The planters attempted to control the southern labor force through state laws on planter hiring, contract enforcement, and vagrancy laws which severely

restricted the freedom of blacks after the Civil War. Eric Foner discussed this social class-labor issue at length in Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877. Jonathan Wiener also pointed out the emphasis in the South on labor-intensive rather than mechanized or capital-intensive economic operations in "Class Structure and Economic Development in the American South, 1865-1955" (Wiener 1979:985).

Grady McWhiney's Cracker Culture, Celtic Ways in the Old South portrayed the cultural world in which the Powledge family lived. McWhiney focused on the influence of colonial era Celtic immigrants to the south and west of Pennsylvania. He explained cultural differences between New England and the Old Northwest and the South that exacerbated tensions before the Civil War. He claimed that traditional folkways, values, norms and attitudes in the antebellum South were based on a herding culture "in contrast to the commercial mixed agriculture that was the norm in" New England (McWhiney 1988:xxi). Southern "values were more agrarian than those of Englishmen and Northerners" and family ties were strong (McWhiney 1988:38).

The changing economic circumstances of many families in the nineteenth century often motivated migration. Steven Hahn's, The Roots of Southern Populism, Yeomen Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890, focused on the economic forces affecting rural Georgia families to the north of Meriwether County. He discussed farm ownership and crop changes as land was fenced, as railroad rates increased, as crop prices declined, and as town merchants increasingly held liens against crops before providing

credit. Hahn explained that independent self-sufficient farmers sank into tenancy as they increasingly relied on cotton as a staple crop when the demand collapsed. Eric Foner explained the post Civil War problems of planters and small farmers in terms of credit, tools, and the availability of labor. He also discussed party politics and emphasized the rights, activities, and conditions of blacks. Foner recognized George L. Beckford's Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World when he characterized the impact of the plantation society on the economic and political changes in the South after 1850:

Throughout the world, plantation societies are characterized by persistent economic backwardness. Geared to producing agricultural staples for the world market, they have weak internal markets, and planter classes use their political power to prevent the emergence of alternative economic enterprises that might threaten their control of the labor force (Foner 1988:214).

Foner, Hahn, and others repeatedly emphasized the importance of the railroad tying southern cotton farmers to northern and British markets. Douglas Dowd's "A Comparative Analysis of Economic Development in the American West and South" identified three elements of the South that caused economic problems--cash-crop monoculture, the plantation system, and slavery. He and others emphasized that after the Civil War local farmers lost their land through foreclosure and abandonment. Southern farm land was increasingly held in large tracts by absentee northern owners such as banks and financial brokers (Dowd 1956:565).

Gerald W. McFarland provided a model for this study in A Scattered People. An American Family Moves West because he integrated

thorough genealogy with larger historical settings. McFarland, however, traced four branches of a family from the East Coast to California during the nineteenth century. The family letters, photos, and personalities of five generations are more fully documented than in most families, and he compared economic and social status between generations.

While these studies foster understanding of the environment in which the Powledges lived, they are not specific to this particular family or to Meriwether County, Georgia. There is no extant literature devoted to the Powledge family, but there are two local histories of Meriwether County written in the early twentieth century: Brooks of Honey and Butter: Plantations and People of Meriwether County by Henry L. Davidson and The Historical Account of Meriwether County, 1827-1974 by Regina P. Pinkston. These books explain the settlement and economic activities of the county and mention many pioneer families. The Powledge family is briefly mentioned in the Pinkston book.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

The objective in this study is to describe the movements of the Powledge family centering on Meriwether County, Georgia, between 1820 and 1900, and to place those movements within larger economic and social trends in the rural South to see how they correlate with other studies of migration. Georgia's agricultural population and economy experienced great pressures in the nineteenth century that influenced family decisions about occupation and settlement location.

The research for this study includes a review of family characteristics and historical circumstances in order to understand how the movements of one specific family compared with those more general trends. The characteristics of family units surveyed include: the number of males and females in a family; blood and marriage relationships among family members; the dates of migration; land ownership; wealth; occupation; the movements of previous generations; family members who migrated in groups; and their relationships with other families who settled nearby. The more significant events that provided context for Powledge family movements are: land lotteries; Indian treaties and land policies; soil and climatic conditions in Meriwether County; Southern cultural traditions; periods of prosperity and depression in the rural South; and regional population surpluses.

The methodology for this study involves the use of genealogical worksheets describing lineage, family member relationships, and dates and locations of births, marriages and deaths. These were constructed through routine genealogical research using United States Census

records, interviews with family members, visits to cemeteries, published compilations of state, county, and church records, and microfilms of county records. The project focuses on the descendants of Gideon and Hannah Paulitsch of Effingham County, Georgia. The appendices contain a chronology of family movements and pertinent data on family members.

The economic circumstances of the Powledge family were discovered through microfilms of county records: tax records, land transactions, census records, and estate administration records. Some census records show state of birth, occupation, and property values. Georgia tax digests list separate values for real estate, money, and slave properties. Deeds and mortgages indicate land lot location, acreage, land value, and date of grant.

The economic conditions in which the Powledges lived were elucidated through comparison with other families in the tax digests, from the local histories of Meriwether County, and from microfilms of old local newspapers, the Georgia Messenger and the Meriwether Vindicator. The newspapers and local histories also provide information on purchases and sales of property, bankruptcies of local businesses, land policies, elections, farmer organizations, plagues, unusual weather conditions, family events (administration of estates or marriages), crops, climate, soil conditions, and population figures.

The Powledges lived in a social group which also exchanged information about economic opportunities and family movements. The

names of families in the network came from newspapers, families into which the Powledges married, and local church membership and cemetery records. Tax records and census listings were originally organized by county districts and indicate neighboring families.

Museums were not a useful source of evidence in this study. Population is sparse in northwestern Meriwether County and no local museums exist, eliminating a common source of valuable research material. The primary sources consulted include library microfilm collections, the Georgia Department of Archives and History, and the Meriwether County courthouse.

III. MIGRATION INTO MERIWETHER COUNTY, GEORGIA

Coastal Georgia Origins

The records of Effingham County, Georgia, show Johan Martin Paulitsch, his wife, Ursula Schweighoffer, and a brother, Johan Philip Paulitsch, living in the town of Ebenezer, north of Savannah, about 1751. They emigrated from Salzburg, Austria, to practice their Lutheran faith and became British subjects in James Oglethorpe's colony. One of Johan Martin Paulitsch's six children was named Gideon; Gideon Paulitsch and his wife, Hanna, were listed as having four children: John Martin, Gideon, Jr., Philip, and Christian. These children, the third generation living in America, anglicized the name to Powledge according to county records and migrated within the United States. (Refer to Appendices A and B for a partial kindred chart and data on family members.)

British military activity on the Georgia coast during the American Revolution caused property destruction and a decline in the prosperity in Ebenezer. The town never recovered. At the same time, the land base was insufficient to support the numerous offspring of two generations of early Salzburger settlers. According to Avery Craven, around 1790, the southern Atlantic states experienced an agricultural transition:

...for many decades profits had been uncertain and an air of poverty and despair had fallen...Tobacco, the great staple of Colonial days, had long languished under British regulations, the heavy burdens of indirect marketing, and the wasteful practices of frontier farming methods. Soils had depleted as crop after crop had been taken from the lands and as destructive rainfall had carried surface materials out to the ocean (Craven 1964:19-21).

Some scholars attribute the agricultural decline in the southern Atlantic states to lack of fertilizer and a governmental shift away from local agrarian power to federalism and competing industrial interests. As a consequence, the inhabitants abandoned lands, switched crops, and divided plantations into subsistence farms (Craven 1964:19-21).

Ray Allen Billington attributed the rise of cotton as a cash crop after 1790 in the eastern seaboard states to the invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, a machine that speeded the separation of the seeds from the cotton fibers. Cotton then became a commercially profitable crop and spread westward with the opening of trade routes between the Gulf of Mexico and Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama after the War of 1812 (Billington 1960:311-316). The development of the British textile industry and its incipient New England counterpart, as well as the soil and climate in westward lands prompted the expansion of cotton growing (Wright 1978:13-15).

The settlement of the western frontier often started with the small farmer who sold "his worn fields to a nearby planter whose large-scale methods allowed greater profits." He moved westward with his family, belongings, and livestock, planted a corn crop, and built a log cabin. The second year he planted corn and "if his farm was

good, neighbors drifted in around him." Planters followed small farmers to the best lands.

The planter's slave labor allowed him to extend his cultivated areas more rapidly than the small farmers around him, and his large-scale methods brought him a larger return on his investment. Profits were used to absorb his smaller competitors...and to purchase slaves needed to operate their lands. Plantation expansion went on constantly, but most rapidly in periods of great prosperity or acute depression; in good times high cotton prices favored the planter who specialized in that crop, in bad small farmers were less able to survive than their wealthier neighbors (Billington 1960:322).

William Bowen explained the motivation for migration as less explicit, but nevertheless culturally based, asserting that there was no single overriding motivating factor for long risky migrations. Movement was induced by several indistinguishable reasons of equal importance and by many irritants causing dissatisfaction with one location. Southerners belonged to "as essentially agrarian society that attached great value to ownership of real estate," thus, cheap or free land attracted the dissatisfied (Bowen 1978:17-18).

Another explanation for westward movement is found in McWhiney's, Cracker Culture, Celtic Ways in the Old South. Between 1790 and 1860, about three-quarters of the white population of the South had originated in Ireland, Scotland, Wales or the western and northern English uplands. Their westward movements settled and acculturated the entire South. This strong culture, in which it was a "pleasure to make a frequent change of country," influenced the attitudes and customs of everyone in the South (McWhiney 1988:xxi-12).

As the economy of coastal Georgia declined, families like the

Powledges considered migration. While population increased, crop yields decreased due to land exhaustion and land ownership consolidated under large planters. Farming remained an attractive profession as cotton became a dominant and profitable cash crop. Western Georgia beckoned with its promising soil and climatic conditions, and families migrated to new frontiers in huge numbers.

Land Lottery Movements of the Second and Third Generations

"The desire to get a fresh start on better land in a new place and the expectation that this would improve one's fortunes was the principal reason many Americans had for moving west," according to Gerald McFarland (McFarland 1978:237-238). That motive seems to fit the three Powledges--Gideon, Jr., John Martin, and Philip, because in the 1820s they moved away from the agricultural problems associated with coastal Georgia (please refer to Appendix D, Map of Georgia Counties). There is no evidence that Christian Powledge, a fourth brother, left Effingham County.

James Oberly offered another cultural perspective on the motivation to migrate: the "desire for independence through acquisition of new farms." He also hypothesized that "those who moved did so in part to maintain the older, larger patriarchal family characterized by abundant land and children" (Oberly 1986:439). Perhaps this was the opportunity the three young brothers sought, leaving behind parents and siblings in Effingham County--to establish themselves as landowners and heads of their own households on the Georgia frontier.

The South of the early nineteenth century was a predominantly agrarian society with low population density, slow channels of communication, and imperfect or nonexistent farm labor markets. Farming was an attractive occupation because a family farm provided security against starvation, unemployment, and old age destitution. It also could serve as a means of accumulating wealth and of bringing continuous earnings to the household. The family farm provided a low risk land investment with the possibility of increases in land values and it enabled the family to control its members' labor (Wright 1978:45-47).

Central Georgia was opened to white settlement when the Creek and Cherokee Indians were pressured to relinquish their lands. After the War of 1812, continual white movement into Indian lands and wars eventually pushed all but a few thousand Indians west of the Mississippi River.

From 1815 to 1850 the population of the region west of the Appalachians grew nearly three times as fast as the original thirteen states...By the 1840s the states between the Appalachians and the Mississippi had passed the frontier stage (McPherson 1988:42-45).

After each treaty with the Creek and Cherokee, the Georgia legislature responded to land-hungry citizen pressure by establishing land lotteries. Thousands of whites participated in drawing and speculating for lots. Some of the Georgia land lotteries provided extra draws for Revolutionary War soldiers or orphans and widows. The 1820, 1827, and 1832 lotteries provided preference for veterans, but any white male Georgia resident could participate (Stewart 1965:2).

In summary, a combination of circumstances encouraged the Powledge brothers to migrate in the 1820s. The Powledges in Effingham County had owned land and were familiar with farming, a common occupation in an agrarian culture that could be transferred to new locations. Land ownership was a recognized path to wealth, but large-scale ownership of fertile land was unlikely in coastal Georgia due to exhausted soils and an insufficient land base for the existing population. Western land was available through lotteries or subsequent speculation. The brothers were about the right age to venture from their parents' home and make their own livelihoods.

Powledge participation in the land lotteries bears out their interest in free land. A land lottery for three new counties in central Georgia was held in 1805. George Powledge (believed to be a son of immigrant Philip Paulitsch) was a "fortunate drawer" and was granted land in July 1806 in Baldwin County, west of Effingham County (Wood 1964). Shortly afterward, Chatham County deed records show land transactions for George Powledge in Savannah. Gideon Powledge drew a blank in the 1805 lottery (Wood 1964), but in the 1820 land lottery, he drew land in Houston County, west of Effingham County (Wilson 1983:360). Two other Powledges of unknown descent, Ephraim and Ezekiel, received land grants in Monroe and Upson counties (Wilson 1983:80). Philip Powledge had apparently moved to Savannah because from there he was granted land in Monroe County in 1825.

All of the brothers were probably less than 30 years old during this series of short westward movements occasioned by the land lotteries. It is unknown whether the brothers traveled with other

families or followed relatives. It appears that they pursued opportunities for land ownership routinely and utilized the fortunate draws of relatives. The next available chronological information about the Powledges is newspaper notification of their marriages in Macon, Bibb County, Georgia. The Georgia Messenger carried three notices: John Martin Powledge married Frances Foy in 1823, Philip Powledge married Lucy Godfrey in 1825, and Gideon Powledge, Jr. married Susan Godfrey in 1828. In Bibb County, the three brothers started families, another step toward establishing themselves.

A lottery opened up lands taken from the Creek Indians in western Georgia in 1827. George Powledge, a revolutionary soldier from Effingham County, drew land in Troup County (now Meriwether County) and received the grant in December 1828. John Martin Powledge purchased 101 acres of land in Bibb County and Philip Powledge purchased city land in Macon, Bibb County, both in 1831. The deeds in 1831-1833 show Philip and Gideon Powledge selling the Macon land. In 1827 Lucy Godfrey Powledge died and no other information is known about Philip Powledge after 1831.

The two brothers for whom information is known lived in Bibb County briefly. After marriages in the 1820s and land purchases in Bibb County in the early 1830s, the brothers purchased land further west in Georgia. Gideon Powledge purchased fifty acres in Talbot County (south of Meriwether County) in 1835 and in April 1835, John Martin Powledge purchased 101.25 acres in the 11th District of Meriwether County (previously Troup County).

Lands in Cherokee County thought to contain gold were lotteried in forty acre lots in the Gold Lottery in 1832 (Marlin 1932:35).

"Fortunate drawers" included Ephraim Powledge (who did not receive the grant), Gideon Powledge, and John M. Powledge (Warren 1981:118).

Gideon Powledge of Talbot County received grants in November 1836 and February 1840, while John Martin Powledge of Bibb County received a grant in December 1839. This acquisition of land indicates that the Powledges actively sought land and considered migration as a path to economic improvement.

Gideon and Susan Godfrey Powledge briefly settled in Talbot County, then moved to Alabama. They are listed with seven children in the 1850 census for Macon County, Alabama. Their eleven year old son, John, was the first of their children born in Alabama according to the birthplaces listed on the census records; it appears, therefore, that the Gideon Powledges moved to Alabama around 1839. They were a prosperous farming family with real estate valued at \$4,000. Gideon Powledge and his family returned to Talbot County by 1860. He is listed in the 1860 census as a mill owner and farmer with real and personal property valued at \$18,820. Two sons, Moses John Powledge and J. Fletcher Powledge, enlisted as privates in a Talbot County regiment in the Confederate Army in 1861. Later, Gideon Powledge moved to Tampa, Florida, where he is listed in the 1870 census as a retired merchant. Gideon and his family moved frequently and did not rely solely on farming for income. He and Susan likely received funds from the estate of his wife's father, a wealthy planter in Bibb County, that enabled them to diversify beyond farming.

IV. MERIWETHER COUNTY, GEORGIA SOJOURN

John Martin and Frances Foy Powledge settled in Meriwether County, Georgia around 1835. Subsequent deeds in December 1846 for 101.25 acres and in June 1851 show that John Martin Powledge was established near Lone Oak in northwestern Meriwether County. According to Regina Pinkston's Historical Account of Meriwether Co., 1827-1974, Meriwether County had "gently rolling hills, fertile valleys, and a mild climate and was settled by well-to-do planters from eastern Georgia who developed large cotton plantations" (Pinkston 1974:2-22). The population escalated in the 1830s. From 4,422 in 1830, the Meriwether County population increased to 14,132 in 1840 and 16,476 in 1850 (only after 1880 did population increase, again). By 1850 the population was 50 percent black, indicating large plantations with many slaves. The soil was clay, sandy loam, or gray gravel and had some red subsoil; the county was about 900 feet above sea level and had an average rainfall of forty-nine inches per year, excellent conditions for growing cotton (Pinkston 1974:23-33). The town of Griffin (twenty miles east of Lone Oak) provided rail connections for the northern section of the county. Not until 1895 did the Rome-Columbus Railroad extend into Greenville, twenty miles south of Lone Oak (Pinkston 1974:84-93).

Rural Southern Life, 1835-1870

The ownership of twenty slaves defined a "planter" in 1860, a qualification met by only ninety residents of Meriwether County. In fact 500 of the 700 slaveholders in the county owned fewer than ten

slaves (Pinkston 1974:103)--the Powledges fit in this category with three to five slaves and were typical of the people in their county.

A major Methodist campground was started in southern Meriwether County in 1832 and the area became a pioneer center of Methodism (Pinkston 1974:54-55). Churches in Lone Oak and Luthersville (five miles east of Lone Oak) were established around the 1840s. The Powledges are listed as members in the 1845 rolls of Old Prospect Methodist Church and continuously for many years afterward (Willingham 1964:16-117).

The lifestyle of small planters in the plantation belt of Georgia is illuminated by several historic trends. Residents were accustomed to following cotton prices in the shipping cities of Savannah, Augusta, Liverpool, and London; those were published in the Georgia Messenger. Fluctuations in world demand for cotton "subordinated countryside to town, agriculture to industry" (Hahn 1983:192). In contrast to subsistence farming in which the value of goods was determined by the effort required to produce them, farming a cash crop like cotton meant that the merchant and the market determined crop values (Hahn 1983:73). In 1850, most Southern white small farm proprietors owned their land and farming implements and made day-to-day decisions about farming operations. They produced significant food crops, made much of their clothing and essentials at home, and kept livestock.

Large planters shipped their crops to factors in southern ports or to commission merchants in interior market towns, who in turn, sold it and often purchased supplies needed on the plantations. Yeomen and small planters in the Black Belt who failed to raise sufficient quantities of the staple to make such connections viable, marketed their crops through large plantation owners or small country merchants... (Hahn 1983:27,33).

Many white small farm owners were able to support their families but were unlikely to rise significantly in social class. Small landholders controlled electoral politics because most white males voted before the Civil War. But the social prestige, economic power, and educational advantage was held by the planters.

Agriculture was slow to mechanize, the promotion of cities, towns and internal improvements was lacking, and manufacturing was slow to develop because of the pre-War system of slavery (Wright 1978:8). Lone Oak, for example, was not close to any major roads or railroads until long after the Civil War. Agricultural practices were molded by the availability of cheap western lands, the utilization of slave labor, the low level of technological development, and the aristocratic vision of many planters. These factors resulted in soil exhaustion, land accumulation by large planters, and strained class relations because small landholders were crowded out.

Over time, land and slave prices rose considerably, thereby narrowing prospects for social mobility. Evidence suggests that the Cotton Belt witnessed a growing concentration of wealth and increasing social stratification between 1830 and 1860...(Hahn 1983:16).

Georgia was sparsely populated in the first half of the nineteenth century. There were 15.4 people per square mile in 1850 (Wright 1986:25). A total of 50,000 farms in Georgia consisted of

less than 500 improved acres; only 3,500 farms included more acreage (Roller 1979:526). Apparently in 1850, the average size of a southern farm was 384 acres, of which only 30 percent was usually cultivated, the rest was left for grazing hogs and cattle (McWhiney 1988:67). A typical Georgian, John M. Powledge's property included 405 acres and three slaves and was valued at \$7,698 in 1863. The Powledges probably were similar to about 20 percent of southern whites who lived in log cabins or frame dwellings on less fertile lands and who supervised their own blacks or worked right next to them. These whites had few cultural interests and, dreaming of becoming top planters, defended slavery (Billington 1960:327).

The Powledges associated and intermarried with several other Lone Oak families--Sewell, Justiss, Foy, Prickett, Barnes, and Phillips (Willingham 1964:16-117). They formed a tight community that served as a forum for spreading news of westward lands and economic opportunities. According to Frank Owsley, "the closely knit family with its ramified and widespreading kinship ties was a folk characteristic" of Southerners (McWhiney 1988:xvii, taken from Frank L. Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South, 1949, Baton Rouge, pp. 7-8, 91-94).

Effects of the Civil War

Political and social attitudes were slow to change after the Civil War and slowed the development of the South in comparison with the North and West. Elements of the pro-slavery argument, traditional southern racial ideas, sensitivity to questions of personal dignity

and honor, and rigid constitutionalism based on federalism and local rights remained intact (Rable, p. 138)

The 1870 census listed John Martin Powledge's real and personal property at \$2,900, much lower than the 1863 tax digest records. Slaves were no longer listed as property after emancipation in 1864 and land values declined significantly after the war as well. Widespread devastation of buildings, tools, and livestock created huge obstacles to the resumption of farming. The production of the major crops fell below pre-war levels and the price of cotton declined. According to Foner, farm values fell by 50 percent between 1860 and 1870 and in Georgia alone, three million fewer acres were cultivated in those years (Foner 1988:125). Rural land, rather than slaves, became the chief indicator of wealth and income. Because the large planters were taxed on less property than before the Civil War, the tax base diminished; therefore, tax rates and poll taxes increased, squeezing small property holders (Wallenstein 1984:400-410). Chaotic Confederate financing techniques caused financial losses for countless investors in Confederate notes and rampant wartime currency inflation.

The credit system in the South changed dramatically after the Civil War. Land was one scarce resource in that rural society; limits on credit and access to markets also restricted the economic prospects of small landowners who did not muster the political power to change taxation and other state policies that served the interests of large landholders. "In such circumstances, the autonomy offered by land ownership tends to be defensive, rather than the springboard for sustained economic advancement" (Foner 1988:109).

The number of land owners declined in the South as sharecropping and tenancy increased. Sharecropping is a farming contract between a landowner and individual families who are responsible for a section of land. The sharecroppers retained one-third of each crop if the planter provided implements, fertilizer, work animals, and seed; one half of the crop was kept by the sharecroppers if they provided their own supplies (Foner 1988:173).

...many landowners found it increasingly profitable to go into the crop lien business, under which they furnished supplies, food, and seed to the sharecroppers on security of a further portion of the crop. The sharecroppers were both white and black; both found some kind of security but paid for it by sacrificing all hope of advancement (Brock 1973:386).

John M. Powledge had made a one-third sharecropping arrangement on some of his land before his death in 1881. The terms included proportional payments for cotton bags, ginning, and guano. A widower of eighty-five and dependent on the land for income, Powledge was too old to farm his own land. The sharecropper is unknown.

The financial system in the South was inadequate after the war. Factors, middlemen in the antebellum cotton trade, did not resume business levels due to a wartime collapse of southern banks and cotton brokerages (sources of credit) and poor crops in 1866 and 1867 (Hahn 1983:172). Farmers sought credit with which to purchase equipment or stock lost in the war or to pay off debts with the next cotton crop. Since banks were inaccessible to farmers for loans, storekeepers in towns provided cash and credit and charged heavy interest and high markups on supplies (O'Brien 1988:38-39). Some merchants bought land, started cotton ginning, or sold guano (fertilizer) to strengthen their

position in the market. Advertisements and articles in the Meriwether Vindicator often mentioned guano and plantation supplies.

In addition, the South failed to develop a banking system because of its sparse population and low average wealth and income (O'Brien 1988:37-38).

The Republican-dominated wartime Congress had enacted legislation creating a national currency and a national banking structure that severely disadvantaged rural areas, particularly the capital-scarce South. Banks were required to have no less than \$50,000 in paid-in capital to obtain a charter; they faced restrictions on note issue and deposit formation; and they were prohibited from extending mortgages on real estate (Hahn 1983:172).

The effects of the war were apparent everywhere by the 1870s, as families struggled to rebuild their farms and to adjust to drastic political, social, and economic changes. It would take some years for families to determine whether they could recover lost wealth and status. The years of the war and reconstruction shattered expectations of Southerners like the Powledges. Larger social and economic forces changed their world beyond imagination.

V. MIGRATION INTO UNION COUNTY, ARKANSAS

John Martin and Frances Powledge lived the rest of their lives in Lone Oak, Meriwether County, Georgia. They had eleven children. In the 1863 county tax digest, John Martin Powledge is listed in the 11th District as owning three slaves valued at \$3,100, 405 acres of land (some in Carroll County), \$198 in money, and \$900 of other property, with an aggregate property value of \$7,698. In Meriwether County, the Powledges were prosperous, having acquired land and slaves since 1835, but they did not rank with the big planters who held more than twenty slaves and whose aggregate property values were greater than \$20,000. The inventory of property used to administer the estate of John M. Powledge in 1881-83 lists the aggregate value of his property at over \$7,700 (Meriwether County Superior Court records). All of the property was sold, debts were collected, and land in both counties was sold outside the family for more than \$4,600. The proceeds were evenly divided between the heirs. John M. and Frances Powledge were buried in Lone Oak in the Old Prospect Church Cemetery.

Fourth Generation Movements

George F. Powledge was the oldest son of John M. and Frances Powledge. He married Mary Ann Prickett in 1851 and they had nine children. He purchased land near Rocky Mount (about five miles east of Lone Oak) in 1875 and 1880, accumulating about 400 acres. He also

assisted the administration of his father's estate in 1881. He and his wife were also buried in the Old Prospect Church Cemetery.

Gideon, the second son of John Martin and Frances Powledge, married Louisa B. Sewell and moved to Carroll County, which is west of Meriwether County. Gideon is listed in the 1860 census as a carriage maker with personal property of \$150 and no real property. He probably lived on the one hundred acres his father owned in Carroll County, according to tax digests and estate administration records. Carroll was one of the furthest western counties opened to white settlement in the 1830s. Gideon enlisted in the Confederate Army in Carroll County and served as a chaplain. He also served as a Methodist minister in several circuits in Texas after the Civil War. He was located in Madisonville, Madison County, Texas, in the 1870 census, with Louisa and five children and a total property value of \$350. In the dwelling next door, lived an older Samuel Sewell (perhaps Louisa's widower father) and two sons. As a farmer, Gideon Powledge was barely solvent, but, he had two other transferable skills --carriage making and preaching. His occupations, overcrowding in Meriwether County, soil exhaustion, and a devastated southern economy probably prompted his move to Texas.

The third son, Robert Powledge, married Nancy C. White, and they both lived their entire lives in Lone Oak, Meriwether County. He bought land in Lone Oak in 1872 and 1891. Robert and Nancy Powledge are frequently listed in the Old Prospect Church membership rolls and were buried in that cemetery. Robert's grave is marked by a special stone for his service in the Confederate Army in Company K, 55th

Georgia Regiment from which he and his wife received a small pension. They had five known children, of which at least three were buried in Lone Oak.

One daughter of John M. and Frances Powledge was named after her mother, Frances Foy Powledge. She married Marcus D. Justiss in 1856 in Meriwether County and migrated twice. A local history of Union County, Arkansas, Goodspeed's Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Southern Arkansas, narrates the life of Marcus Justiss. Marcus and Frances Justiss settled in Claiborne Parish, Louisiana (just south of the Arkansas border) around 1859. No particular reason for that location is known; Marcus was about twenty-five years old and they had one baby daughter at the time. About 1870, when Marcus was thirty-six years old and had four children, his family farmed in Columbia County, Arkansas where they are listed in the census with total property valued at \$1,400. The Justiss family moved into neighboring Union County in 1873 and remained there for the rest of their lives. They settled in the town of Schuler and were founding members of the Fredonia Methodist Church (Goodspeed 1890:824). (Refer to Appendix D, Map of Arkansas Counties.)

The youngest son, Philip M. Powledge, married Nancy E. Means of Troup County (just west of Lone Oak) in 1871. They migrated to Arkansas in 1879 according to the birthplaces listed for their children in the Union County, Arkansas 1880 census. Philip would have been twenty-seven years old during this migration; he already had three children and had not purchased land in Lone Oak. His family eventually grew to nine children and all of them remained in Arkansas.

Philip Powledge probably chose Union County because Marcus and Frances Justiss were already there to help him get started. A neighbor and fellow church member, John A. Sewell, and his wife also migrated to Union County in 1879 according to Goodspeed's local history. Other Sewell brothers (George, Alvin, Duke and Frank) and the Thomas Bird family migrated together to Union County, according to a family story. Within the tightknit group of Lone Oak neighbors, families learned about other locations and found friends with whom to migrate.

Other children of John Martin and Frances Powledge left little evidence of their lives. A fourth son, John Martin Powledge, Jr., died at the age of twenty-four and was buried in the Old Prospect Church Cemetery. Five daughters have been difficult to trace: C.A. Powledge who married a Parker, Mary E. Powledge Ledbetter (who died before 1882), Josephine E. Powledge Phillips who married John G. Phillips, Jane H. Powledge who married James Sims of Troup County, and Caroline B. Powledge Barnes. The 1880 census shows Caroline and her husband, James, and a child living with her father. John M. Powledge was a widower and in his eighties and probably appreciated the company and assistance of his youngest daughter's family.

Rural Southern Life, 1870-1900

The 1870s were hard times for Americans due to the years of economic depression following the panic of 1873. Farm population and output increased but agricultural prices and land values declined steeply and many farmers fell into debt. The price of cotton fell almost 50 percent and no profit could be made above the cost of

production. Already inadequate sources of credit were further drained and merchants went bankrupt (Foner 1988:535). Between 1860 and 1880 farm size declined by about 60 percent in the deep south and small farms were increasingly specialized in cotton (Wright 1978:166). The price of a 500 pound bale of cotton was \$100 in 1864, but in 1891 it was a meager \$32.50! (Hahn 1983:186).

Falling prices for agricultural produce on the international market, discriminatory freight rates, the erection of high protective tariffs, the demonetization of silver, and land policies that favored speculative engrossment combined to squeeze farmers throughout the U.S. as a national economy was consolidated under the auspices of industrial and financial capital (Hahn 1983:168).

John Higham wrote, "The period from about 1885 to 1897 was one of recurring calamities and almost unrelieved discontent, culminating in the savage depression of 1893-1897" (Higham 1970:68). Additional disadvantages in the South were the poor quality soil, climate, and high human fertility rates. The southern wage rate remained below the national norm despite some economic growth, because the southern labor market was isolated and population growth continued. The regional character of the labor market was the root of much southern economic backwardness, such as low-wage, low-skill industry, underinvestment in education, and capital scarcity (Wright 1986:52).

Agriculture in the South recovered slowly from the devastation of the Civil War and national economic depressions. Southern per capita farm income was limited by the declining demand for cotton coupled with population growth. The population grew 50 percent but cotton demand was stagnant between 1866 and 1879 (Wright 1986:55-56).

Southerners were preoccupied with white supremacy and repressive labor relations rather than the mechanization of agriculture. Low taxes did little to aid poor southerners (Foner 1988:596-97). While the South had natural resources (waterways, soils, climate, terrain, minerals, timber, and labor supply), it was underdeveloped because it was "not an extension of an industrializing America but a colony" (Dowd 1956:559-560).

The rural Southern lifestyle was dominated by financial concerns after the Civil War. Poverty and indebtedness partially explain the hesitancy of southerners to move to the West and the North before World War I (Dowd 1956:573). Indebtedness was a major problem in an area where interest rates ran 40 to 80 percent and foreclosures were frequent.

With poor techniques, low productivity, mined soil, and high fertilizer costs, with continually fluctuating and secularly falling prices for their crops, the agriculturalists in the South (often including the planter) fell ever more hopelessly into a vicious downward spiral: deadening commitment to the cash crop, rising costs, falling prices, increasing indebtedness, poverty and, for most, peonage (Dowd 1956:566).

The events in Meriwether County reflect the slow economic development of the South. The Meriwether Vindicator advertisements in 1893 frequently mentioned "hard times." Greenville, the county seat, experienced a cyclone March 3, 1893, that severely damaged many buildings (Davidson 1971:300-306). Cotton bale output only increased in the county from nearly 15,000 in 1849 to 22,401 bales in 1899 (Pinkston 1974:105). Greenville was incorporated in 1851 and grew to a population of 1,000 people by 1892. It raised \$16,000 to build an

extension of the Central Georgia Railroad in 1885 and had a bank in 1887.

Town incorporation dates are clues to the even slower development of smaller northwestern Meriwether County towns: Luthersville in 1872, St. Marks in 1897, and Lone Oak in 1901 (Pinkston 1974:193-197). According to Pinkston, in "the early 1900s, Lone Oak had two general supply stores, two cotton gins, a blacksmith shop, a Masonic Lodge, and a two-teacher school (Pinkston 1974:317-318). Not a bustling metropolis! The Central Georgia Railway extended through Primrose and Allie (five to ten miles from Lone Oak) in 1906 (Pinkston 1974:299-300). These developments were forty years after the prosperity observed in 1850!

The Meriwether Vindicator was a weekly newspaper that printed many advertisements and legal notices. Articles and editorials concerned railroad building, the controversy over gold vs. silver currency standards, United States Treasury operation, plagues in southern cities, local outbreaks of cholera, diphtheria and typhoid fever, family morals, universal fencing, cotton worms spreading from the Southwest, and weather affecting the fruit crops. The newspaper did not mention any migrations nor the destinations of potential migrants. Neither were there advertisements of railroad and state promoters encouraging settlement, as seen in the Plains migrations.

The Grange was organized in several county towns by 1873, as farmers organized to advance their own interests. The Meriwether Vindicator did not include much mention of the Farmer's Alliance or

the Populist Party. Local election returns did not show the emergence of the Alliance but were dominated by the Democrats. Roller wrote that the Farmer's Alliance arose "from agricultural depression, an antiquated tax system, disgraceful rural roads, poor school systems, and discriminating freight rates." In Georgia, the Alliance dominated the general assembly enough to push through considerable legislation before 1896 (Roller 1979:530-531). It is likely that Populist platforms and ideas were discussed in Meriwether County, but it is unlikely that the Populist movement changed attitudes about land acquisition as the path to improvement and as a motivation for moving for the Powledge family.

Populism...located exploitation in the sphere of exchange rather than at the point of production and looked directly to the credit and money, not the land, question as a solution to their predicament....A legacy of exclusion from the immediate processes of decision making, a highly personalized view of economic relations, and a decidedly moral interpretation of political conflict...(Hahn 1983:286).

Populist platforms, therefore, did not change agrarian values about land ownership and only partially helped rural people comprehend the dynamics of an "increasingly centralized and bureaucratized society" (Hahn 1983:286).

Fifth and Sixth Generation Movements

The specific attraction of Arkansas for the Powledges is difficult to identify. Several families of Powledge neighbors in Lone Oak and Luthersville had settled in Union County by 1866. Their names are recorded in probate actions and wills in the Union County, Arkansas Superior Court as early as 1853--Sewell, Willingham,

Yarbrough, Gill, Tatum, Robertson, Allen, and Pickett. Arkansas had been settled slowly after the Indians lost their lands. It became a territory in 1819 with a population of 4,000 and a state in 1836 with a population of 14,000 (Billington 1960:469).

The appeal of western lands was expressed in the expansion of the cotton economy westward in the early 1800s. Settlers from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Tennessee moved into the south central states, including Arkansas. The predominant crop was cotton (Craven 1964:185-86).

The migration of cotton and slaves was not a mindless east-west movement from exhausted to virgin soils, but a rational process of geographical expansion and relocation which continued along similar lines well after the war (Wright 1978:15-17).

One prime motivation for the movement from Meriwether County by the fifth and sixth generation Powledges appears to be the frustrated expectations of economic improvement. The availability of land for ownership in Meriwether County was limited by 1880. Acreages already in the family were not large enough to support many families, especially given the difficulties of southern agriculture after the Civil War. Southern Arkansas was attractive because it was less densely settled, thus, offering the potential of land ownership and economic improvement. Union County was similar to Meriwether County in climate and soil and isolation from roads and railroads. While it was comfortably familiar in topography, it engendered hopes of bountiful cotton harvests.

The secondary motivation for the Powledges to migrate to

Arkansas was most likely the information about Union County that was received from previous Meriwether County residents. Wright points out that information between people with kinship, ethnic, and linguistic ties is important in a functioning labor market. Information about jobs, wages, land and living conditions is received as more reliable and credible when passed between kinfolk. Kinfolk could also be relied upon for help during migration and resettlement, thus lessening the risks of movement and strengthening the new community.

Settlers normally migrated with neighbors or kin, partly to mitigate the hardships, dangers, and loneliness of frontier life...also bound together by religious or ethnic ties, tended to search out locales with familiar terrain and soil types, thereby reproducing their previous social and economic experience (Hahn 1983:53).

The Powledges appear to have selected Union County based on information from kin and neighbors about the climate and soil, the potential for growing cotton, the availability of land, and the possibility of establishing a community similar to that in Meriwether County. Earlier Union County settlers had been Old Prospect Church members in Lone Oak or were relatives of neighbors in northwestern Meriwether County.

The children of George Franklin and Mary Ann Powledge were part of the fifth generation of Powledges living in America. Some remained near Lone Oak while others followed older relatives. Leonard A. Powledge left Lone Oak before 1891 for north Texas and the assistance of his relatives, Gideon and Louisa Sewell Powledge. A son named John Augustus Powledge was buried in nearby Moreland in Coweta County, Georgia. Another son, George Ona, was buried with his family in

Haralson, Coweta County. Perhaps the land these sons farmed passed through their wives' families. James Robert Powledge and his wife, Emma Josephine, and some of their children were buried in the Old Prospect Church Cemetery in Lone Oak. Some children have not been traced: Mary Jane, Rossila (who died in 1889), and Rufus Gideon.

George F. Powledge's eldest son, Jacob Martin Powledge, is not listed in indices to deeds and mortgages in Meriwether County. He probably farmed the land of neighbors and relatives in the county. He married Mary Ellen Fuller in 1876 and had nine children (the sixth generation). Two of these boys went to Union County, Arkansas in 1898 to homestead, according to family history. These sons were Franklin Wilkerson and Hardy J. They undoubtedly were assisted by aunts and uncles, Marcus and Frances Justiss and Philip M. and Nancy Powledge, in Union County. They reported that good cotton land was available in Union County, and Jacob and Mary Ellen Powledge decided to migrate, too. They left Meriwether County in 1900 with all of their family, settled in Schuler, just west of El Dorado, and became members of the Fredonia Church. At this time Jacob was forty-eight years old and his children ranged in age from seven to twenty-five. The boys were ready to establish themselves independently; Jacob would support his daughters for many more years. Discouraged with unprofitable farming and the lack of available land in Meriwether County, Jacob probably saw little to lose. The potential of land ownership and prosperous cotton farming in a new place, therefore, was attractive. The encouragements of his relatives and the lure of westward lands also captured Jacob Powledge and his family.

CONCLUSION

The Powledge family migratory patterns between 1820 and 1900 are typical of movements of many other Georgia families in that era. The longitudinal range of movement was slight; in fact, many of the migrations were within the state of Georgia and practically due west in direction. The families relying solely on farming moved to areas with similar soil and climatic conditions. Each generation of the Powledge family was aware of migrations of earlier generations. The Powledges who relied primarily on agriculture moved less frequently than the heads of household who relied on occupations other than farming. Many of the Powledge families had numerous children (up to eleven), similar to rural people of that era. The migrants ranged from bachelors to heads of large households. The Powledges were white, identified with the small planter social-economic class, and owned slaves before the Civil War. They were in neither the highest nor lowest social class and they were never famous. They subscribed to a common Protestant religion, Methodism, and were actively involved in their local church, like many other Southern rural people. The Powledges grew corn and cotton, the two leading crops in Georgia and Arkansas and their movements did not change their crop choices. They were representative of the many Georgia families who moved westward in this period.

The third through sixth generations of Powledges in the study attempted migrations of varying distances. They reflect the breadth of experiences of United States migrating families between 1820 and

1900. They completed a series of short movements of the Powledge brothers as they followed the opening of the Georgia frontier through the land lotteries. The migration of the Marcus Justiss and Philip M. Powledge families to Arkansas and the Gideon Powledge family to Texas provided models of family migration across state boundaries. Fifth and sixth generation Meriwether County Powledges who migrated followed their aunts and uncles.

In each generation, some Powledges remained, whether in Effingham, Bibb, or Meriwether counties. Most of the heads of household who migrated were young (late twenties) and were bachelors or starting families, though a range of ages and family structures existed. For example, Jacob Powledge delayed his migration until he was forty-eight. The number of males and females in the family did not seem to affect migrations in the Powledge family. There were no distinguishable patterns of families following one patriarch in a series of movements, nor of families with children repeatedly moving together. Once John Martin, Gideon, and Philip (third generation Powledges) married in Bibb County, they ceased migrating together and no other Powledge families moved as a group afterward.

Nearly all Powledge heads of household were primarily farmers, typical of most families in the rural South. However, other common occupations are found in the Powledge family as in other migrating families. Two exceptions exist to the age and occupation norm in the family. Gideon, the brother of John M. Powledge, was a mill owner, merchant and farmer who migrated five times in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. During many of these moves, he was no longer young and was

responsible for more and older children. Gideon, the son of John M. Powledge, served several Texas Methodist districts as a minister after he left Carroll and Meriwether Counties in Georgia. He moved at older ages and included a growing family in each migration. These two men relied on non-farm occupations and moved more frequently and later in life than their farmer relatives.

Land ownership was the most significant probable motivation for migration in the Powledge family. Family members participated actively in the Georgia land lotteries and received several grants in various frontier counties as the land was opened to white settlement. The records of county deeds and mortgages indicate numerous purchases and sales of land. The Powledges were never great landowners on the scale of the large planters. Their landholdings averaged fewer than 500 acres and their slaveholding was limited to fewer than those on large plantations. Yet, the Powledges were not poor nor members of the lower social and economic classes. Like hundreds of other families around them, they were marginally successful farmers susceptible to the credit system and soil limitations that ruined many southern farmers after the Revolution and the Civil War. Their migrations roughly correlate with population surpluses in the counties and the exhaustion of soil due to successive plantings of one crop.

Family and neighbors played a large role in the migrations of the Powledge family and other families because they shared information and helped each other. The confusion in following the fortunate drawers and grantees of land lottery lots is an indication of the family interrelationships that encouraged migration to the Georgia

frontiers. The choice of Union County, Arkansas, as a destination reflects reliance on information from migrants from Meriwether County and the Old Prospect Church. Family members attempted to migrate with familiar neighbors and helped relatives who migrated afterwards. Their news about the availability of land opened the possibility of land ownership as a path to economic advancement and motivated further migrations.

The family and neighbor interrelationships are a prime area for further research. First, substantial genealogical work is anticipated on families in four generations who did not migrate and on family members who did not live in Meriwether County, Georgia. A similar broader study would compare other branches of the family.

A second major area for future research is neighboring families into which Powledges married. A study including a wider circle of families would likely identify a pattern of families repeatedly migrating together during four generations. Examples of families that should be included are the Sewells, Foys, Pricketts, Justices, Zipperers and Godfreys. Some tax and census listings indicate that branches of these families lived in Effingham, Bibb, or Talbot Counties in Georgia during the same time periods as the Powledges. The connections between the families and the sequence of migrations must still be made. A chain of migrations connecting some of the families is possible. For example, some Foy families lived in Effingham, Meriwether, and Talbot Counties, but the connection to Frances Foy Powledge and the motivation behind those settlement locations are unknown.

Push and pull factors can be examined in the Powledge family migration case for the insights they yield in migrations of many other families. The land was a push factor when it was overcrowded and declined in fertility. Land was a pull factor when it was readily available at little or no cost and fertile. Population was a push factor when there was a surplus. Population scarcity was a pull factor, attracting families like the Powledges. Reliable information and the possibility of assistance from kin and neighbors were pull factors for Powledges moving within Georgia and to Arkansas. Church membership, crop changes, and climate were neutral factors in the movements. Legal and religious persecution were not factors in the migrations of the third through sixth generations of Powledges. Occupation, for those Powledges not primarily farmers, appears to have been a pull factor in migrations. A long history of movement in the culture of the back country people influenced the culture of most of the South and pushed families to relocate. Periods of agricultural depression were another push factor in the westward movements.

This study concerns one family from which similarities and differences with the literature can be noted. Quantitative assessments about family migrations between 1820 and 1900 would require study of many more families. Areas of rapid immigration, such as frontiers, have experienced low persistence rates. Some scholars explain the population turnover as evidence of many opportunities, or at least expectations of many opportunities. The third generation Powledge brothers seem to support this generalization as they county-hopped across Georgia during the land lotteries. They contributed to

the high population turnover that is witnessed when rural areas are growing. Once western Georgia was settled, the Powledge families slowed their migration pace. Another general finding about migration that the Powledge experience seems to support is that males are more likely to migrate than females. The Powledge family branches studied offered no case of females migrating singly or as heads of households.

The east-west pattern of migration in the United States is also borne out in the Powledge family. Starting in coastal Georgia, the family gradually moved west toward Arkansas with slight north-south variation. The Powledges also followed a commonly noted pattern of many short moves as they migrated from Effingham County to Bibb County, then to Meriwether and Talbot Counties, and then to Arkansas or Alabama or Texas. This pattern is different from the long-distance migrations from coastal states to California, for example.

Scholars have noted that some wealth is required for migration because transportation and resettlement required resources. At the same time, families with relatively more wealth were more likely to remain in a location than the poor. Wealthier families had more to lose if a movement did not prove beneficial. The less wealthy were attracted to the possibility of economic improvement through land acquisition. Since the Powledges were neither wealthy nor poor, they provide an example of these tradeoffs. Perhaps this explains Jacob Powledge's hesitation to migrate with his large family until his sons reported back about their visit to Arkansas. Once land was acquired, in the literature and in the Powledge case, farmers migrated less frequently than non-farmers. John M. Powledge's brother and son, both

named Gideon, are examples of non-farmers moving much more frequently than their farmer relatives.

This study doesn't provide enough evidence of heads of households choosing short rather than long migrations because they had migrated before. It does bear out earlier conclusions that destinations were selected according to the ease with which migrants could continue their former lives. Migrants, including the Powledges, sought locations where they could grow the same crops by the methods they knew, build homes, keep house, grow livestock, and follow the same customs they had already learned. Basic environmental similarity made some destinations more attractive than others for families like the Powledges. However, these considerations may not be as important as the social network of kin and neighbors that provided information and assistance during migrations.

The land lotteries stimulated the third generation of Powledges to move westward. Land availability represented economic opportunity. It was a method by which the three brothers could establish themselves as landowners and patriarchs of families of their own. Southern culture was primarily agrarian and real property was an important element of economic status. The livelihoods of most Southerners were based on crops and farm animals. Farming was the most common occupation. It is no surprise then that four generations of Powledges sought land as their avenue to economic improvement.

The lotteries were speculative. Families took chances that changed their homes and lives. The Powledges dealt with many factors

they could not control that determined their economic success--soil fertility, climate, interest rates, family members' health, cotton demand, prices of crops and of essentials they couldn't make, overcrowding of land, abolition of slavery, Civil War destruction, and land values. These elements of the larger "lottery" in which they lived stimulated further migrations. Migrations were one type of chance that families took. They were also the method by which families tried to decrease the risks of the factors beyond their control.

The Powledges were one family of thousands who migrated. Their willingness to relocate, even in an agrarian society, is a precursor to the mobile society we claim today. So many migrated that old communities were greatly altered. For some people, temporary homes and looking further westward became a way of life itself. They relied upon kin and neighbors and established new communities in the new land. Generations before the mobile society was publicized, families were on the move.

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APPENDICES

Franklin Wilkerson
 Hardy J.
 Dora Ann
 Mattie Belle
 Abbie Lillian
 Lula Bessie
 Wyman A.
 Effie Pamela
 Sallie Bertha
 Lizzie Mae
 Willie Ruth
 Carrie Lee

Jacob Martin
 -Mary Ellen Fuller
 James Robert
 Mary Jane
 Leonard A.
 George Ona
 Rossila
 Rufus Gideon
 John Augustus

George F.
 - Mary Ann Prickett
 John Martin, Jr.
 Gideon
 - Louisa Sewell
 C.A. (Christiann?)
 - Parker
 Mary E.
 - Ledbetter
 Jane H.
 - James L. Sims
 Robert
 - Nancy C. White
 Frances Foy
 - Marcus D. Justiss
 Josephine E.
 - John C. Phillips
 Caroline B.
 - James C. Barnes
 Philip M.
 - Nancy E. Means

John Martin
 - Frances Foy
 Gideon
 - Susan Godfrey
 Philip
 - Lucy Godfrey
 Christian

Gideon
 - Hanna

Johan Martin Paulitsch
 - Ursula Schweighoffer



Appendix A Partial Kindred Chart of the Powledge Family

Appendix B Data on Family Members

FIRST GENERATION

Johan Martin Paulitsch

b.

d.

m. Ursula Schweighoffer, 22 Apr 1754, Ebenezer,
Effingham, GA

Children:

Sulamith Paulitsch

b. 3 Oct 1757, Ebenezer, Effingham, GA

d. ?

m.

Hannah Elizabeth Paulitsch

b. 15 July 1759

d. ?

m. Solomon Groover (Gruber), 7 Oct 1791, Effingham, GA

Gratiosa Paulitsch

b. 7 May 1761

d. ?

m. ?

Daughter

b. 25 Mar 1762

d. 25 Mar 1762

Jonathan Paulitsch

b. 21 July 1763

d. ?

m. ?

Gideon Paulitsch

b. 4 Feb 1766

d. 12 Aug 1827

m. Hannah, Effingham, GA

SECOND GENERATION

Gideon Paulitsch

Son of Johan Martin Paulitsch and Ursula Schweighoffer,
immigrants to Georgia

b. 4 Feb. 1766, Ebenezer, Effingham, GA
d. 12 Aug. 1827, Ebenezer, Effingham, GA
m. Hannah ?

Children:

John Martin Paulitsch

b. 8 Feb. 1796, Effingham, GA
d. 8 Oct. 1881, Lone Oak, Meriwether, GA
m. Frances Foy, 23 Nov 1823, Bibb GA

Gideon Paulitsch, Jr.

b. 1807, Effingham, GA
d. ? Tampa, Hillsborough, FL
m. Susan M. Godfrey, 28 Jan. 1828, Macon, Bibb, GA

Philip Paulitsch

b. ?
d. ?
m. Lucy Godfrey, 5 Jun 1825, Macon, Bibb GA

Christian Paulitsch

b. ?
d. ?
m. ?

THIRD GENERATION

John Martin Powledge

son of Gideon and Hannah Paulitsch
 b. 8 Feb 1796, Effingham GA
 d. 8 Oct 1881, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
 m. Frances Foy, 23 Nov 1823, Effingham GA
 b. 4 Apr 1810, NC
 d. 4 Mar 1876, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA

Children:

C.A. (Christiann?)

b. ?
 d. ?
 m. ? Parker

George Franklin Powledge

b. 16 May 1829, Bibb, GA
 d. 3 Jan 1914, Lone Oak, Meriwether, GA
 m. Mary Ann Prickett, 18 Dec 1851, Meriwether GA

Gideon Powledge

b. 1 Mar 1831, Bibb, GA
 d. 10 Sep 1912, TX
 m. Louisa B. Sewell, Hogansville, Coweta GA

Robert Powledge

b. 25 Sep 1835, GA
 d. 11 Oct 1910, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
 m. Nancy Caroline White

Frances Foy Powledge

b. 5 Dec 1837, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
 d. 5 Feb 1929, Schuler, Union AR
 m. Marcus D. Justiss, Meriwether GA

Mary E. Powledge

b. 1840, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
 d. ?
 m. ? Ledbetter

John Martin Powledge, Jr.

b. 11 Jan 1843, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
 d. 21 Oct 1867, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
 m. -

Jane H. Powledge

b. 27 Apr 1845, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
 d. ?
 m. James L. Sims, 15 Dec 1868, Troup Ga

Josephine E. Powledge

- b. 1848, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
- d.
- m. John G. Phillips, Meriwether GA

Caroline B. Powledge

- b. 1850, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
- d.
- m. James W. Barnes, Meriwether GA

Philip M. Powledge

- b. 13 Sep 1852, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA
- d. 1 Dec 1918, Schuler, Union AR
- m. Nancy E. (Lizzie) Means, 14 Nov 1871, Troup GA

FOURTH GENERATION

George Franklin Powledge

son of John Martin and Frances Foy Powledge

b. 16 May 1829, Bibb GA

d. 3 Jan 1914, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA

m. Mary Ann Prickett

b. 26 Dec 1830

d. 7 May 1908, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA

Children:

Jacob Martin Powlege

b. 16 Oct 1852, Meriwether GA

d. 13 Mar 1933, Schuler, Union AR

m. Mary Ellen Fuller, 15 Oct 1874, Meriwether GA

James Robert Powledge

b. 30 Apr 1854, Meriwether GA

d. 11 Dec 1936, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA

m. Emma Josephine ?

Mary Jane Powledge

b. 5 May 1856, Meriwether GA

d. ?

m. ?

Leonard A. Powledge

b. 1859, Meriwether GA

d. TX

m. ?

George Ona Powledge

b. 17 Sep 1861, Meriwether GA

d. 26 Jul 1928, Haralson, Coweta GA

m. Martha A. Urquhart, 21 Oct 1885

Rossila Powledge

b. Sep 1864, Meriwether GA

d. 4 Jan 1889, Meriwether GA

Laura E. Powledge?

b. 10 Nov 1866, Meriwether GA

d. 31 Oct 1868, Lone Oak, Meriwether GA

Rufus Gideon (Rush) Powledge

b. 10 Dec 1868, Meriwether GA

d. 9 Mar 1939, AR

m. ?

John Augustus Powledge

b. 29 Sep 1871, Meriwether GA

d. 8 Sep 1955, Moreland, Coweta GA

m. ?

FIFTH GENERATION

Jacob Martin Powledge, son of George F. and Mary Ann Powledge
 b. 16 Oct 1852, Meriwether GA
 d. 13 Mar 1933, Shuler, Union AR
 m. Mary Ellen Fuller, 15 Oct 1874, Meriwether GA
 b. 4 Nov 1849, Meriwether GA
 d. 18 April 1910, Schuler, Union AR

Children:

Franklin Wilkerson Powledge
 b. 31 Jul 1875, Meriwether GA
 d. 4 Apr 1947, Shuler, Union AR
 m. Lula Elizabeth Emerson, 12 Dec 1901, Union AR

Hardy J. Powledge
 b. 13 Feb 1877, Meriwether GA
 d. 31 Mar 1942, Schuler, Union AR
 m. Minnie Williams, 6 Dec 1903, Union AR

Dora Ann Powledge
 b. 11 Aug 1878, Meriwether GA
 d. 26 Jan 1965, El Dorado, Union AR
 m. -

Mattie Belle Powledge
 b. 20 Jan 1880, Meriwether GA
 d. 8 May 1967, Three Creeks, Union AR
 m. Carl C. Emerson, 12 Jan 1902, Union AR

Abbie Lillian Powledge
 b. 20 Dec 1882, Meriwether Ga
 d. 15 Feb 1967, Union AR
 m. Jessie Mason, 1912

Lula Bessie Powledge
 b. 3 Jul 1884, Meriwether GA
 d. 1938, Union AR
 m. Drew Ruple, 27 Dec 1911

Wyman A. Powledge
 b. 15 Jan 1886, Meriwether GA
 d. 18 Nov 1966, Canadian TX
 m. Ethel George, 1912,

Effie Pamela Powledge
 b. 30 Jul 1887, Meriwether GA
 d. d. 1970
 m. Ernest Ruple, 18 Dec 1917,

Sallie Bertha Powledge

- b. 3 Mar 1889, Meriwether GA
- d. Nov 1918
- m. Will Smith, Dec 1917

Lizzie Mae Powledge

- b. 23 Oct 1890, Meriwether GA
- d. Apr 1955, Union AR
- m. Taylor Owens, 7 Dec 1909,

Willie Ruth Powledge

- b. 28 Dec 1891, Meriwether GA
- d. 15 Jan 1900
- m. -

Carrie Lee Powledge

- b. 16 Nov 1893, Meriwether GA
- d. 23 Dec 1981, Tohatchi, NM
- m. Earl Eastridge, 25 Jul 1915, Atlanta, Union AR

Gideon Powledge

son of Gideon and Hannah Paulitsch

b. 1807, Effingham GA

d. ?, Tampa, Hillsborough, FL

m. Susan M. Godfrey, 28 Jan 1828, Macon, Bibb GA

b. 1808

d. ?

Children:

Frances M. Powledge

b. 1831, GA

Caroline Powledge

b. 1833, GA

Moses Powledge

b. 1837, GA

John Powledge

b. 1839, AL

Martha Powledge

b. 1842, AL

Louisa Powledge

b. 1847, AL

Lucas Powledge

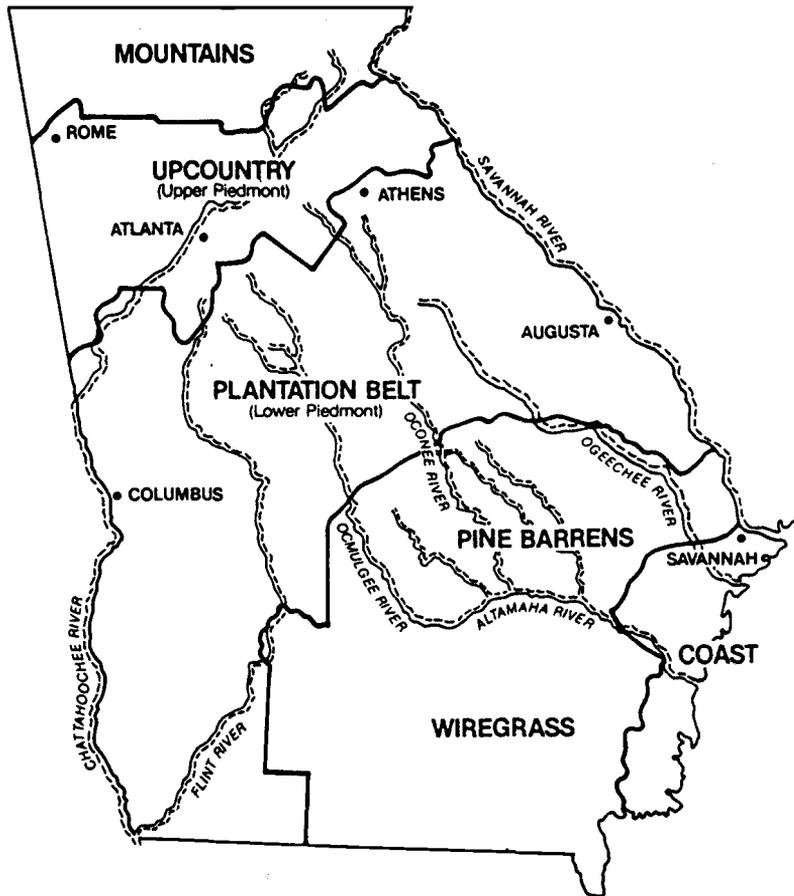
b. 1849, AL

Appendix C Chronology of Family Movements

- 182? John M. Powledge (b. 1796), Effingham GA to Bibb GA
 1827 Philip Powledge, Effingham GA to Bibb GA
 1828 Gideon Powledge (b. 1807), Effingham GA to Bibb GA
- 1835? John M. and Frances Powledge, Bibb GA to Meriwether GA
 1835? Gideon and Susan Powledge, Bibb GA to Talbot GA
 1839? Gideon and Susan Powledge, Talbot GA to Macon AL
 1840? Ephraim Powledge, Effingham Ga to Talbot GA
- 1851? James/ Lewis Foy families, Meriwether GA to Talbot GA
 1850s Sewell, Gill, Allen, Yarbrough families, Meriwether GA
 to Union AR
 1853? Willingham family, Meriwether GA to Union AR
 1859 Marcus and Frances Powledge Justiss, Meriwether GA to
 Claiborne Parish LA
- 1860 Gideon and Susan Powledge, Macon AL to Talbot GA
 1860s Gideon and Susan Powledge, Macon AL to Hillsborough FL
 1860s Gideon and Louisa Powledge, Carroll GA to
 Madisonville TX
- 1870 Marcus and Frances Justiss, Claiborne LA to Columbia
 AR
 1873 Marcus and Frances Justiss, Columbia AR to Union AR
 1879 Sewell family, Meriwether GA to Union AR
 1879 Philip and Nancy Powledge, Meriwether GA to Union AR
- 18?? Leonard Powledge, Meriwether GA to TX
 18?? Sewell brothers (George, Alvin, Duke, Frank),
 Meriwether GA to Union AR
 18?? Justiss brothers (Clarence, Dee, Edward C.) and Thomas
 Bird family, Meriwether GA to Union AR
 1898 Franklin W. and Hardy J. Powledge (brothers),
 Meriwether GA to Union AR
 1900 Jacob M. and Mary Ellen Powledge, Meriwether GA to
 Union AR

Appendix D Map 1: Map of Georgia Regions

(Hahn 1983:7)



Appendix D Map 3: Map of Arkansas Counties

(Everton 1971:13)

