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GEORGIA HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY



PUBLISHED BY THE

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
SAVANNAH, GA.

VOL. 1—No. 1.

MARCH, 1917.

Printed for the Society
By
THE MORNING NEWS,
Savannah, Ga.

One Dollar a Number.

Three Dollars a Year.

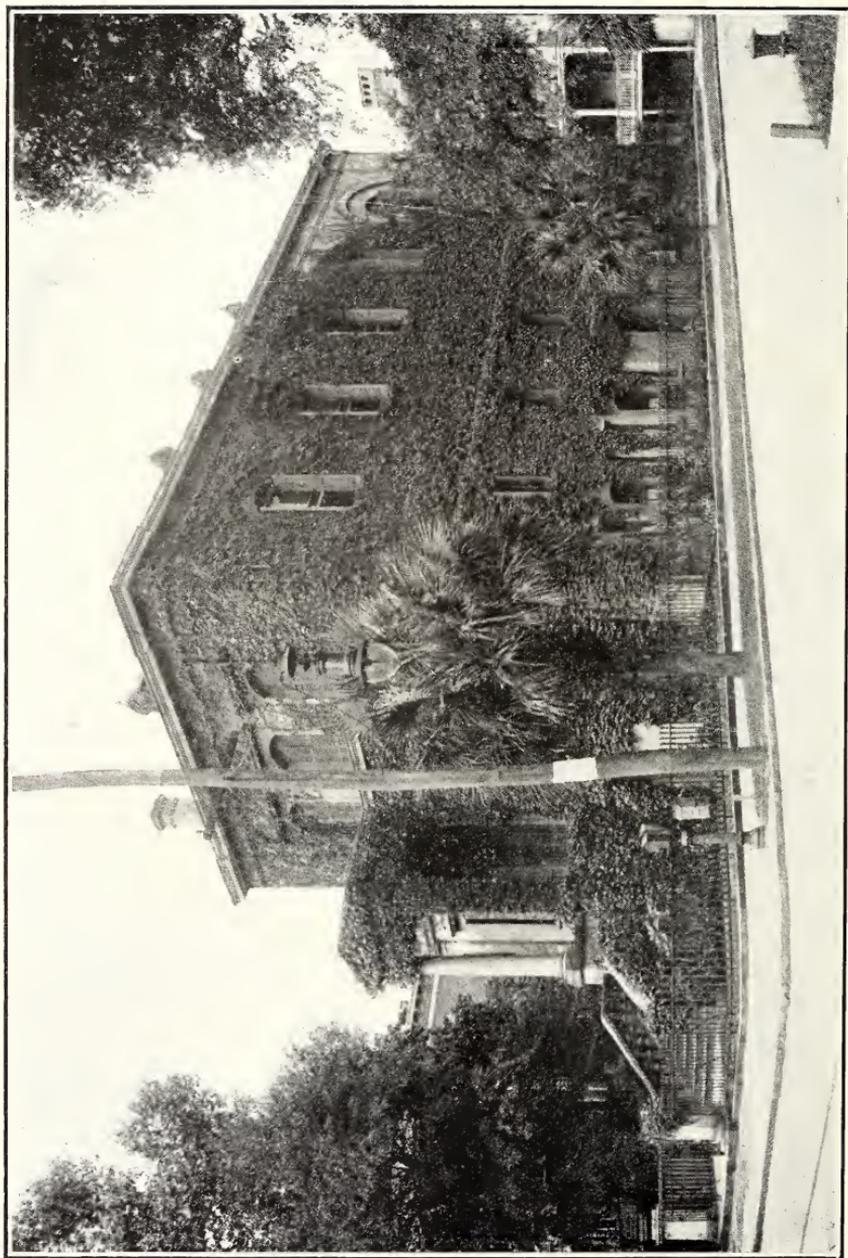
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HODGSON HALL.
The home of the Georgia Historical Society.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND
TELFAIR ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

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THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

ENTERED AT P. O. SAVANNAH, GA., AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

Vol. I.

MARCH, 1917.

No. 1.

INTRODUCTION

To the First Number of the Georgia Historical Society's
Quarterly Magazine.

BY JOSEPH B. CUMMING.

Georgia Historical Society was created to "collect, preserve and diffuse information in relation to the State of Georgia in all its various departments and American history generally, and to create an historical library for the use of its members and others." Thus, in a commercial, not to say sordid, age, absorbed in money making and material pursuits generally, there exists here in our midst alongside the great stream of business, politics and social riot, more or less frivolous and vulgar, a peaceful, placid little realm, sequestered for the resort of quieter and less material pursuits. As such a resort its scope has been widened by its alliance with The Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences. So since this most suitable marriage, here we have an institution in which flourishes the appropriate association of Record and Illustration.

Georgia Historical Society is a venerable and worthy citizen of the State, whose name it bears. Its claim to be venerable is based on the fact that it has lived among us since the year 1839—a period short, it is true, in the history of States but long in comparison with human life. Its claim of worth it finds in its fairly good performance of two out of the three of its prescribed functions. It has done well in collecting information and in preserving it, with the result that it has become an institution of profound interest to the student of history and of immeasurable value to the writer of it.

But it was created to "collect, preserve and *diffuse*." This last mentioned function it has neglected up to this day of grace. Now in its maturity, if we are to apply to the stages of its life the measure of experience, or in its youth if we may gauge its existence by its hopes and aspirations of the future—now it proposes to take up earnestly and to prosecute vigorously the hitherto neglected branch of its duties—the work of "*diffusion*." To this end its Curators have decided to publish a Magazine, the first number of which is issued with these few words of introduction. Georgia Historical Society here enters on a new phase. Hitherto its work has been collection and preservation. Henceforward it will be collection, preservation and *diffusion*.

Its Magazine, while primarily for the purpose of diffusion, it is believed will aid materially in collection. Its pages will be open to those, who, knowing generally unknown scraps of history and more than willing to communicate them, have hitherto had no ready way of doing so. To such the Magazine will be both a facility and an invitation. It is believed that there are lodged in the memory of living persons, hitherto unpublished, matters of real historic interest, which may be collected in the pages of the Magazine, but which would otherwise pass away, unrecorded, with their silent possessors. Indeed it is a melancholy reflection that probably much of such wealth has already been irrevocably lost for lack of the facility which is now offered for gathering and garnering it. There is past history and history in the making, and the Magazine in its role of collector will deal with both.

The Magazine's usefulness in the work of collection is obvious, but especially is the Magazine the Society's late day response to the duty of "*diffusion*"—not merely diffusion of information, but diffusion of *itself*—the Society's self—its proclamation of the fact that it is not, as in a measure it has come to be regarded, a local affair, a Savannah institution. There has been no design in any quarter to make it such. The impression that such it is is the result of the accident of location and because its members and supporters have been mainly in Savannah. It is hoped that the Magazine will, in this particular, change both the impression itself and the fact which created it. The Society's name is "*Georgia Historical Society*." Its name indicates its sphere. It should, it will henceforward, live up to its mission. It is believed that the publication of the magazine will be a long stride in the Society's quickened career. It will remind those, into whose hands it comes, that there is such a thing

as "Georgia Historical Society"—a fact unknown to thousands, who ought to know it, and known to others—who forget it. Its hope is to win members and incidentally to increase the subscriptions, on which the Society mainly depends for its support and efficiency. But distinctly beyond any financial aim of the enterprise, the mission of the Magazine is to make Georgia Historical Society known to the world—its existence, its aspirations, its facilities and its opportunities, and to extend these facilities and opportunities to "all and singular"—to those who feel that they have a message to deliver about the history of the State or of the Country; and to those who wish to avail themselves of its possessions,—it may be said with modesty, of its treasures.

The Society considers it a fact of most auspicious augury that Mr. William Harden is to be the Editor of the Magazine. For something more than a half century he has been the Society's Librarian, and through that long period he has given it the service of a cultivated mind and the devotion of a loving heart. He is thoroughly familiar with—it may be said steeped in—its history and in the history of the State. If success for the Magazine can be secured by the zealous efforts of an editor of culture, discrimination and taste, its success is assured from the start.

So with this Introduction Georgia Historical Society's Magazine is launched. Let cheers and good wishes attend it as it slides out on the sea of literature, and accompany it in all its voyages. But more than this, let brave efforts be made to assure its prosperity and make certain its mission—efforts by all its members, present and to be, to extend its circulation; and efforts by those, who have messages to deliver concerning its work, to fill its pages with matter of high quality in form and in substance, so that this visitor to the homes of our people, issuing quarterly from the bosom of the good old Society, will be welcomed for the pleasure and instruction it brings and for the style and tone, in which it imparts them.

Surely to the people of Georgia, to the friends of Georgia, everywhere, to students of history, to writers of history, to all who are attracted to the intellectual and spiritual side of life, not in vain will be the appeal to sustain an institution conceived in public spirit and living without taint of selfishness, or commercialism, or narrow partisanship or wearisome politics—a little sunlit island in the more or less dreary sea of our material life—*Scilicet* GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY THE EDITOR.

It may be laid down as a general rule that in the inauguration of any public enterprise there is to be found, in some degree at least, the element of self interest on the part of the author, or authors, of the project. Selfishness, like Truth at the bottom of the well, will be found somewhere beneath the surface. This proposition holds good in considering the facts attending the founding of the Georgia Historical Society. A hint of this is given in a statement on the part of one of the organizers, Dr. William Bacon Stevens, afterwards Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania, that "The splendid autographical collection of I. K. Tefft, Esq., together with the many valuable documents in his possession pertaining to the colonial and revolutionary history of Georgia, suggested the importance of such a society, and it was immediately determined by Mr. Tefft and Mr. Wm. B. Stevens to proceed without delay to its formation." Evidence is not wanting to show that, through the means of his office as Corresponding Secretary, the former, who really proposed the scheme, added considerable material to his collection of autographs; and it was significant, to say the least, that Dr. Stevens had long before that expressed his intention to write a history of Georgia; and as soon as the new Society was fairly organized he was invited to take up that work under the Society's auspices. He did accomplish the task, and the Society contributed liberally to the fund for printing the two volumes, thus acquiring the ownership of a large number of copies, many of which are still in its possession.

Dr. Stevens added: "This measure was first decided on towards the close of April, 1839, and, at the suggestion of Mr. Tefft, the latter endeavored to prepare the way and awaken attention to the subject by two articles on this topic, which appeared in the Savannah Georgian of May following. These individuals were now joined by a third, Richard D. Arnold, M. D., and after many conferences as to the best method of procedure, they resolved to address a circular to those whom they thought would be interested in their design." So it happened that the first step towards the organization was taken by three gentlemen, and that of them Dr. Arnold alone was apparently entirely disinterested. But, notwithstanding the fact that self interest entered largely into this matter, we must give them credit for doing a good

thing, for the exhibition at that time of what we now call "public spirit;" and verily "their works do follow them."

The first meeting of the invited persons was held in the room of the Savannah Library Society, May 24, 1839, at which twenty-five were present, and then the names of twenty-seven others, who could not be present, were, by their consent, added to the list of those desiring to co-operate and become members. An adjourned meeting was held June 4, at which the organization of the Society was completed by the election of officers and the adoption of a constitution and by-laws, which had been submitted at the previous meeting and referred to a committee to be revised. The officers elected were:

President—Hon. John McPherson Berrien.

First Vice President—Hon. James M. Wayne.

Second Vice President—Hon. Wm. B. Bulloch.

Corresponding Secretary—I. K. Tefft, Esq.

Recording Secretary—Dr. Wm. Bacon Stevens.

Treasurer—George W. Hunter, Esq.

Librarian—Henry Kirk Preston, Esq.

Curators—Wm. Thorne Williams, Chas. S. Henry, John C. Nicoll, Wm. Law, Richard D. Arnold, Robert M. Charlton, Matthew Hall McAllister.

The society was incorporated by the Legislature in December, 1839, and by the terms of the act of incorporation the copies of the manuscripts obtained from the State Paper office in London, by Rev. C. W. Howard, agent of the State of Georgia, in that behalf, were deposited in the society's archives. Although the organization was not perfected until the month of June, it was decided to date the origin of the institution as the 12th of February—the day (new style) of the landing of General Oglethorpe.

In 1840, the first volume of the Society's Collections, was published, and this was followed in 1842 by the second volume. The first is now out of print.

Upon the petition of the society, in 1842, the City Council of Savannah granted to it a city lot on Liberty street for the erection of a library building, but as its situation was unsuitable, efforts were made in 1847 to purchase from the U. S. Government the lot on Bryan street, on which the Custom House formerly stood, that building having been destroyed in the great fire of 1820. These were successful, and to enable the society to pay for its new lot the City Council granted it the Liberty street lot in fee simple, with permission to sell it and devote the proceeds to the purchase of the Custom House lot.

In 1848 the Society issued in pamphlet form "A sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799," by Col. Benjamin Hawkins, the earliest agent of the United States for Indian affairs, and, as it was then making preparations for building a library hall the late Wm. B. Hodgson, Esq., kindly offered to superintend and bear the expense of the publication of this work. His generous offer was accepted, and the pamphlet appeared as the first part of the third volume of the "Collections of the Georgia Historical Society."

Mr. Hodgson joined the Society shortly after his marriage with Miss Margaret Telfair and his taking up his residence in Savannah, and, because of his active interest in its affairs, he was elected a Curator on the 12th of February, 1845, and was annually thereafter re-elected to that office until February, 1870.

Judge Berrien held the presidency until 1841, when he was succeeded by the Hon. James M. Wayne who retired in 1854, when the former was again made President and continued in office until January, 1856. Then, on that occasion of the Society's anniversary, Judge Wayne resumed the position and retained it to the year 1862.

The society took possession of its new building on Bryan street in June, 1849. In the fall of this year the debt of the society, incurred by the erection of its hall, amounted to \$1,400, which sum was advanced by the late Dr. James P. Screven, with the understanding that it could be repaid at the convenience of the society. This debt was reduced by payments until it amounted, in February, 1852, to the sum of \$800; and at the anniversary meeting of that year Dr. Screven sent the following letter to the society:

Savannah, February 12, 1852.

"Hon. James M. Wayne, President:

"Dear Sir—I propose, with the permission of the society over which you preside, to cancel the mortgage held by me on its lot and improvements on Bryan street.

"This day being the anniversary of the society presents an appropriate occasion for the performance of an act which will free it from debt and enable it to extend the sphere of its usefulness. I have the honor to be respectfully yours,

"James P. Screven."

Besides this generous gift, Dr. Screven had originally subscribed \$200 towards the erection of the hall.

During the months of June and July, 1847, negotiations were carried on between the Georgia Historical Society and

the Savannah Library Society, looking to a union of these two institutions, which union was speedily effected without any serious opposition. By it the Georgia Historical Society secured for its library about 2,500 volumes.

From the time of the completion of the Society's hall, until the close of the war of secession, very little was done in the way of increasing the library, and nothing in the way of publishing. Shortly after the war, however, a fresh start was taken, more thought and attention were given to the wants of the library, and it was deemed advisable for the society, in order to place it on a footing with other historical societies of the country, to put forth a new volume of collections, as soon as practicable.

In saying that nothing was published during the period just mentioned, we mean that no volume of Collections had been issued. From time to time addresses had been delivered which were printed and distributed in pamphlet form, by Wm. Law, Robert M. Charlton, Wm. B. Stevens, Mitchell King, John E. Ward, Wm. A. Caruthers, Bishop Stephen Elliott, Samuel K. Talmage, Alonzo Church, a second lecture by Judge R. M. Charlton, a second by Hon. John E. Ward, Charles C. Jones, Jr., and a strong paper by Bishop Elliott (in February, 1866, while he was President, and less than a year before his death). The last was in the nature of a reply to a resolution of the Society asking him to suggest a plan to increase the usefulness of the Society. Following the death of Bishop Elliott, Mr. Solomon Cohen was appointed to deliver a eulogy on his life and character, and it was put into print.

In the meanwhile Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris published his Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe, and dedicated it to the Society; and the two volumes of the History of Georgia, by Wm. B. Stevens (the first in 1847, and the second in 1859), prepared, as already mentioned, under the Society's auspices, came from the press and brought the institution more conspicuously before the people.

In the summer of 1870, when it was found that the library had increased to an extent which necessitated the procuring additional room in which to place the books, and when it was thought that the library should be removed to a more convenient and central location, various attempts were made to secure a lot for the erection of a building, or to lease some large building adapted to the purpose of a library. No definite action was taken in this matter until the spring of 1871, when an arrangement was made with

the Chatham Artillery by which the two upper floors of Armory Hall were leased by the Society for the term of five years, and accordingly, in June of that year, the library was removed to that building, where it remained until the completion of that elegant structure erected by Mrs. Margaret Telfair Hodgson for the Society, on the corner of Whitaker and Gaston streets, in memory of her husband, and called Hodgson Hall.

The next important incident in the history of the Society was the publication in 1871, of that very interesting volume by the late Anthony Barclay, Esq., relating the history of Hon. Richard Henry Wilde's alleged plagiarism in writing the beautiful poem beginning,

"My life is like the summer rose."

This history was written as a personal favor to the President of the Society, and read by him at one of the meetings, when, by a resolution, the work was ordered to be printed at the Society's expense, provided the consent of the author could be obtained. Permission was kindly given by Mr. Barclay, and in a short time afterwards appeared the beautiful little brochure entitled, "Wilde's Summer Rose; or the Lament of the Captive."

In 1873 a third volume of collections was published composed of the letters of Gen. Oglethorpe to the trustees of the colony from 1735 to 1744; letters of Sir James Wright, Governor of the Province of Georgia, to the English Secretaries of State, from 1773 to 1782; and a report on the condition of the province by Governor Wright, in reply to inquiries from the Earl of Dartmouth. The manuscript of the last named document was kindly given to the Society by G. W. J. DeRenne, Esq., who caused it to be copied at his own expense from the records in London. All the material of which this interesting volume is composed was obtained from England through the kindness of Mr. DeRenne, who volunteered to superintend the copying of the same for the Society during a visit to England, but his kindness and generosity did not stop here. In 1878, learning that Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta, had ready for the press a manuscript entitled "The Dead Towns of Georgia," he offered to bear the expense of its publication if the author would consent to its appearing as the fourth volume of the "Collections of the Georgia Historical Society." This request was readily complied with by Col. Jones, and in a short time the Society was, through the liberality of Mr. De-

Renne, presented with a large edition of a fourth volume of collections, containing the work on the "Dead Towns," and an interesting paper, reprinted from the London Magazine for the year 1745, entitled, "Itinerant Observations in America."

On the 26th of June 1871, William B. Hodgson, Esq., for many years a member of the Society, and for twenty-five years one of the curators, died while at the North, and his widow, desiring to erect to his memory a building bearing his name, proposed to grant it, when completed, to the Georgia Historical Society upon certain conditions, which, being submitted to the Society, were assented to, and the work of building commenced in 1873. While the work was in progress Mrs. Hodgson died without having made any provision for its completion. Her sister, Miss Mary Telfair, desiring to carry out the intentions of Mrs. Hodgson, gave instructions to the workmen to continue their labors until the building should be finished, and being her sister's residuary legatee, she made a deed in trust to General A. R. Lawton, for the use of the Society, of the lot and building thereon, "in an unfinished and incomplete state, but to be finished and completed at the proper cost and expense of the said Mary Telfair who does hereby charge the entire residuum of the estate of the said Margaret Telfair Hodgson, in her own hands now as residuary legatee, or in the hands of her executors, after her death, to such extent as will furnish the means and funds necessary to finish and complete said structure." Before the completion of the building Miss Telfair also died, but the work was carried on agreeably with the terms of the deed, and in September, 1875, the library was placed in Hodgson Hall. The formal dedication did not take place until the thirty-seventh anniversary of the Society, February 14th, 1876, when formal possession of it was delivered to the Society by the trustee, and the dedicatory address was delivered by the President, Hon. Henry R. Jackson.

Taking a backward step, we observe that the Hon. Charles S. Henry succeeded Judge Wayne as President in 1862, and served until his death, August 19, 1864. In less than a month later Bishop Stephen Elliott became President and his service came to a close by his sudden death on the 21st of December, 1866. Reluctantly Mr. John Stoddard consented to accept the office when he was chosen at the annual meeting, February 12, 1867, but declined a re-election the following year, when Hon. Edward J. Harden succeeded him, and held the office until death brought his term to a

close April 19, 1873. Mr. George W. J. DeRenne was elected President at the meeting held June 2, 1873, and, after hesitating, agreed to accept, but could not be persuaded to allow his name to be proposed for another election at the 1874 annual meeting. At that meeting Hon. Henry R. Jackson was the choice of the Society, and was President a little more than twenty-four years, his death on the 23rd of May 1898, bringing his long and most satisfactory term of service to an end.

In the year 1901 the fifth volume of Collections was issued in two parts. Part 1 was printed and paid for by the Savannah Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution who earnestly desired to have the manuscript of the Minutes of the Georgia Council of Safety, owned by the Society, published. Mr. W. J. DeRenne kindly offered to bear the expense of the publishing of the Order Book and Letter Book of General and Governor Samuel Elbert, in the Society's possession, and his offer was gratefully accepted, and the material forms the second part of volume five.

The sixth volume was published in 1904, and contains the Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756-1776.

Col. John Screven was elected President March 6, 1899, succeeding General Jackson, but his career was cut short after less than a year of useful service by his death January 9, 1900. Following him, Hon. George Anderson Mercer held the office from February 12, 1900, to April 5, 1907.

From 1909 to 1913 the seventh volume of Collections came from the press in three parts: part 1 being Letters of Montiano—Siege of St. Augustine; part 2, Oglethorpe Monument; and part 3, the Spanish Account of the Attack on the Colony of Georgia, etc.

Again, later in 1913 the eighth volume of Collections, containing the Letters of Joseph Clay, 1776-1793, and a list of ships and vessels entered at the port of Savannah for May, 1765, 1766 and 1767, saw the light.

Mr. Alexander Rudolf Lawton succeeded Hon. G. A. Mercer as President, April 5, 1907, and declined re-election in 1914, when Mr. William W. Mackall was elected and is still serving in a most acceptable way at this time.

In 1916 the Society published the ninth volume of Collections, and it is composed of the Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806.

In continuation of the list of addresses and other pamphlets already mentioned, the Society has issued a number of others which, for the want of space, are not here named.



MARY TELFAIR.

Purposely no mention has been made herein of the splendid adjunct to the Georgia Historical Society, namely, the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, as a special article has been prepared on that useful institution, by an able writer, for this number of the Quarterly, and it appears elsewhere.

TELFAIR ACADEMY OF ARTS (Georgia Historical Society, Trustee.)

BY ALEXANDER R. LAWTON.

The Georgia Historical Society in its seventy-eight years of life has rendered service in several separate and distinct ways. Primarily, it has collected, preserved, and disseminated Georgia History. Many years before the Civil War it saved from dissolution through bankruptcy and absorbed the Savannah Library Society, and successfully maintained in Savannah until about fifteen years ago, in addition to the historical library which it still maintains, an excellent circulating library of miscellaneous literature. When it ceased this function, it turned over its building and books to the City of Savannah for the first establishment of a municipal public library. This arrangement terminated in the autumn of 1916 with the opening of Savannah's new Public Library building, where the nucleus of the collection consists of books surrendered to it by the Society.

More foreign to the purposes of a historical society is its fourth activity, the inauguration, maintenance, and management of the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences in Savannah, of which institution it is trustee and administrator under the will of Mary Telfair, its generous founder.

Edward Telfair, born in Scotland in 1735, emigrated to Virginia at the age of twenty-three. In 1766 he settled in Savannah, and was a prominent member of the Sons of Liberty, and one of the band who, with James Habersham, broke open the magazine at Savannah and removed a quantity of powder. He was a member of the Council of Safety, conspicuous throughout the Revolution, a member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Articles of Confederation, and twice Governor of Georgia.

Margaret, daughter of Edward Telfair, married William Brown Hodgson, who spent many years of his life in his country's service in the East, and is distinguished for his studies of Oriental life and language and his collection of rare books and manuscripts pertaining thereto. During

her lifetime, as a memorial to her husband, Mrs. Hodgson began the erection of Hodgson Hall, the Historical Society's handsome home on Gaston and Whitaker streets in Savannah, but died before it was completed, leaving her sister, Mary Telfair, as her residuary legatee. Miss Telfair undertook to complete the gift by trust deed to General A. R. Lawton, as Trustee, on June 10, 1874, charging the residuum of Mrs. Hodgson's estate, then in her hands, with the expense of completing the building. It was actually completed and delivered to the Society after Miss Telfair's death.

Mary Telfair, who remained unmarried, died on June 2, 1875, one hundred years after the Battle of Lexington, which opened the Revolution in which her distinguished father had participated. She was the last survivor of the name, and the conspicuous manifestation of her will is her desire to perpetuate it by charitable gifts. She founded and endowed in Savannah the Telfair Hospital for Females, the Telfair Home for Widows, and the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences; and made bequests to the Presbyterian Church in Telfairville in Burke County and to the Presbyterian Church on Telfair street in Augusta.

Her estate was valued at about seven hundred thousand dollars, a very large sum for those days. Her nearest relatives were the grandchildren of an aunt and the great grandchildren of a brother. With none of them was she on terms of intimacy, and they were practically excluded from her benefactions. Each set claiming to be sole heirs-at-law, both sets contested her will, and in the lower court it was set aside in favor of the great grandchildren of her brother on the ground of monomania. The Supreme Court of Georgia (*Wetter vs. Habersham*, 60 Ga. 193) reversed the judgment, holding the true heirs-at-law to be the grandchildren of the aunt. The will was finally admitted to probate in solemn form. It was then attacked by the grandchildren of the aunt through a bill in equity in the United States Court on the ground that many of the legacies and bequests were null and void for various technical reasons, and that they should lapse and go to those who had been declared by the Supreme Court to be her heirs-at-law. Mr. Justice Bradley of the Supreme Court of the United States, distinguished as a great judge and also as the fifteenth member of the Electoral Commission of 1877, decided the case in all its phases against the contestants, and his decree (3 Woods, 443) was afterwards affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States (*Jones vs. Habersham*, 107 U. S., 174).

The item of Miss Telfair's will with reference to the Telfair Academy is as follows:

"Fourteenth, I hereby give, devise and bequeath to the Georgia Historical Society and its successors, all that lot or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements thereon, fronting on St. James Square, in the City of Savannah, and running back to Jefferson street, known in the plan of said city as lot letter 'N,' Heathcote Ward, the same having been for many years past the residence of my family, together with all my books, papers, documents, pictures, statuary, and works of art, or having relation to art or science, and all the furniture of every description in the dwelling house and on the premises (except bedding and table service, such as china, crockery, glass, cutlery, silver, plate and linen), and all fixtures and attachments to the same, to have and to hold the said lot and improvements, books, pictures, statuary, furniture and fixtures, to the said Georgia Historical Society and its successors, in special trust, to keep and preserve the same as a public edifice, for a Library and Academy of Arts and Sciences, in which the books, pictures and works of art herein bequeathed, and such others as may be purchased out of the income, rents and profits of the bequest hereinafter made for that purpose, shall be permanently kept and cared for, to be open for the use of the public, on such terms and under such reasonable regulations as the said Georgia Historical Society may from time to time prescribe; but this devise and bequest is made upon condition that the Georgia Historical Society shall cause to be placed and kept over and against the front porch, or entrance of the main building on said lot, a marble slab or tablet, on which shall be cut or engraved the following words, to-wit:

TELFAIR

ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

the word 'Telfair' being in larger letters and occupying a separate line above the other words, and on the further condition that no part of the buildings shall ever be occupied as a private residence or rented out for money, and none but a Janitor and such other persons as may be employed to manage and take care of the premises shall occupy or reside in or upon the same, and that no part of the same shall be used for public meetings or exhibitions, or for eating, drinking or smoking, and that no part of the lot or improvements shall ever be sold, alienated or encumbered, but the same shall be preserved for the purposes herein set forth. And it is my wish that whenever the walls of the building shall re-

quire renovating by paint or otherwise, the present color and design shall be adhered to as far as practicable. For the purpose of providing more effectually for the accomplishment of the objects contemplated in this item or clause of my will, I hereby give, devise and bequeath to the Georgia Historical Society and its successors, one thousand shares of the capital stock of the Augusta and Savannah Railroad, of the State of Georgia, in special trust, to apply the dividends, income, rents, and profits arising from the same, to the repairs and maintenance of said buildings and premises, and the payments of all expenses attendant upon the management and care of the institution herein provided for, and then to apply the remaining income, rents and profits in adding to the Library, and such works of art and science as the proper officers of the Georgia Historical Society may select, and in the preservation and proper use of the same, so as to carry into effect in good faith the objects of this devise and bequest."

This legacy was attacked on the ground that the Georgia Historical Society was without power under its charter to accept the trust, and that the legacy must lapse and go to the heirs-at-law. It was held that, as no trust could fail for want of a trustee, if the charter powers of the Society were limited as claimed, it would not help the heirs, as the court would appoint new trustees who were qualified.

Very shortly after Miss Telfair's death the Georgia Historical Society had promptly determined to accept the Trust, and had entered upon consideration of the best plan for the discharge of the duty confided to it; but its activities were necessarily suspended during the period of litigation. It was not until May 18, 1883, nearly eight years after Miss Telfair's death that the legacy was delivered to the Society. It will be a blow to the popular impression of will contests to learn that the Society then received not only the residence and its contents and all the railroad stock which had been devised and bequeathed to it, but the additional sum of \$47,060.33, income accumulated during the protracted litigation.

The promptness and efficiency with which the Trustee proceeded with its task is shown by the first opening of the Academy for private view on the Society's forty-sixth anniversary, February 12th, 1885. It was finally opened to the public as a complete gallery of art on May 3, 1886. The Centennial of the Chatham Artillery was then being celebrated in Savannah with great pomp and ceremony, and Jefferson Davis was one of the visitors on that occasion. In this con-

nection it is interesting to note that, excluding the contents of Miss Telfair's house which she bequeathed to the Academy, the first work of art which the Academy acquired was through gift on February 12th, 1880, while the litigation was still in progress, of a bronze statuette, a replica of the bronze Confederate Soldier which tops the Confederate Monument in the Park Extension at Savannah, erected in May, 1879. The statue and the replica in little were both the gifts of Georgia's generous citizen, George Wymberly Jones De-Renne.

The task which confronted the Georgia Historical Society was indeed difficult. Not only were there no artists among Savannah's citizens, but it is doubtful if they then included any with even the elementary knowledge of a connoisseur. It is natural that they did not include men experienced in the inauguration of an academy of art, the successful devising of practicable plans, and the selection of contents appropriate to the purposes and wishes of the testatrix; the artistic cultivation and education of the community. It would have been strange indeed if such men had been found upon the Board of Curators of a Historical Society. The best evidence of the efficiency with which they nevertheless proceeded is that in the Telfair Academy Savannah now possesses a building and a plant admirably adapted for an art gallery and a collection of works of art of recognized high merit.

Necessarily in the beginning there was much uncertainty and some vacillation. That they were not afraid to change their minds and to abandon, for those that were better, plans formally adopted, shows that Savannah was fortunate in the personnel of the men to whom the task was confided. The President was General Henry R. Jackson, distinguished as a poet, an orator, a lawyer, and a diplomat. The two Vice-Presidents had served their country as Brigadier Generals in the Confederate Army; one of them, General G. Moxley Sorrel, who had entered the Confederate Army as a private, was Chairman of the Telfair Academy Committee during the formative period, and for several years thereafter. Colonel John Screven, a man of high cultivation, succeeded him.

Nevertheless there were narrow escapes. Before the Society had found its first Director, the Curators seriously considered a proposition to begin their work in the establishment of an Academy of Arts with the "decoration" in leather of one of the rooms of the Telfair mansion by a self-styled artist who had come to Savannah to "decorate" Savannah's

old theatre, which is more distinguished for its age (it is said to be the oldest in the United States, being built in 1818) than for its beauty. After careful consideration they successfully weathered the storm of inexperience, and in sailing their uncharted sea avoided a course far too ambitious and comprehensive for the funds at their disposal, involving the establishment and maintenance of an expensive library of arts and sciences, a scientific museum, an elaborate art school, and a museum of fine arts. All of these are within the scope of the Trust, but the narrow resources of the Academy have substantially confined the Trustees to the establishment of a museum of art, with incidental teaching. The first actual purchase, however, in which the funds of the Academy were invested, included handsome volumes of the works of Hogarth and Gilray, and a valuable work on botany.

It was in August, 1883, very shortly after the beginning of their work that the curators procured the services of the late Carl Ludwig Brandt, N. A., as Director of the Academy. A German by birth and an American by adoption, Mr. Brandt had been for many years a well known and successful painter. He possessed wonderful energy, ingenuity, and versatility. He had been successful in life, and was willing to devote his time and energies to the Academy for small compensation, correctly believing that it would be his monument. He was magnetic, self-confident, and masterful. The minutes of the Curators during the formative and constructive period which covered the next five or ten years show that he was resourceful, ambitious, full of suggestion, and that practically every recommendation of policy or expenditure which he made was endorsed and carried out, however formidable it might appear.

For twenty-two years Mr. Brandt gave to the work substantially his whole time, residing in the Academy or the Annex for many months of the year. On January 21st, 1905, he died within the institution which he had builded so wisely and loved so well. A bronze tablet on the walls of the entrance hall attests the Society's appreciation of the work which he did. Without such a guiding hand it would have been practically an impossibility to establish the Academy on the basis which has permanently fixed its character as a gallery of art appropriately housed. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, to find another man who would have been both qualified and willing to devote such energy, time, zeal, and skill to the work for a compensation which the Trustee would have been able to pay. All who are in-

terested in the Telfair Academy will forever hold him in loving and grateful memory as its first Director and the founder of its artistic excellence.

With the assistance of an architect of his own selection, Mr. Brandt made the plans and superintended the construction, rendering from time to time detailed accounts which are carefully preserved in the records of the Academy. Immediately after his induction into office he was sent to Europe with a credit of \$20,000 for the acquisition of casts of the great classical statues of the world, and the purchase of paintings. He afterwards made at least three similar trips to Europe to acquire other works of art. Each time he returned full handed. It soon developed that even with the accumulated and the current income the funds of the Academy were not sufficient to establish an art gallery such as Mr. Brandt and the Curators hoped and intended to establish, and it was then that General Jackson advanced the necessary monies. The exact cost of the original undertaking is not easy to ascertain, but the records show that in June, 1886, the total expenditures for all purposes had exceeded \$104,000.

In adapting the old Telfair mansion to the purposes of an art gallery no avoidable alterations were made, it being the desire of the Curators to preserve it in its original form so far as practicable. The living rooms on the first floor and the bedrooms on the second floor remain as they were when occupied by Miss Telfair, save only the covering of the walls with proper material for the handling of pictures, the closing of the windows in the second story, and the placing of skylights in order to get the best light for the display of the collection. They make admirable picture galleries. Most of the alterations and additions were completed when the Academy was opened in 1883, but some of the work has been done within the past ten years as funds were available.

From income alone, accumulated and current, the original fund being still unimpaired, (1) expensive alterations were made in the interior of the Telfair mansion; (2) one of the handsomest picture galleries in America and an excellent sculpture hall (two separate rooms) were constructed as a first annex; (3) a small residence for the Director (now occupied by the Custodian), containing two suitable studios, was erected as a second annex; and, (4) the entire collection of casts, sculpture, paintings, carving, porcelains, photographs, etc., was acquired. The Academy has been free from debt for more than ten years.

It would hardly have been possible for the Academy to be housed in the buildings which it has occupied since 1883 but for the accumulations of income during the protracted litigation over Miss Telfair's will, and the public spirit and generosity of General Jackson, the Society's President, in advancing funds necessary for construction of buildings and acquisition of contents, and accepting repayment in instalments from the income produced by Miss Telfair's endowment. Until 1892 this income was \$7,000 per annum, and since that date it has been only \$5,000 per annum. The advances made from time to time by General Jackson aggregated over \$26,000. Protracted litigation and a ready willingness to borrow money generally bring disaster. Here they clearly contributed in no small degree to the creation of an institution which has no rival in any city of its size.

Just after the death of Mr. Brandt the last instalment of all the indebtedness of the Academy was paid. At that time the Trustee had succeeded in constructing and equipping an Academy of Art in accordance with Miss Telfair's wishes.

The abolition of pay days has taken away from the Academy the small additional income formerly derived from admissions. Its gross income is therefore confined to the five thousand dollars of annual dividends from the Telfair endowment. From this must first be paid all expenses, including the salaries of custodian and janitor, heating, lighting, repairs and fire insurance, which latter, as the value of the collection increases, becomes more burdensome. This leaves but a small margin for the purchase of pictures; and yet since the debt incurred in the inauguration of the Academy has finally been paid, the Academy has acquired fifty-three pictures, every one of which is recognized by connoisseurs as a work of superior merit.

It is regrettable that only twice, and then to a very small extent, has the Academy received funds other than those bequeathed to it by Miss Telfair. In 1889 it received \$3,072.90, raised by public subscription in Savannah, and in 1906, \$2,000 presented by four members of the Society, both of these sums being expended in the acquisition of paintings now in the permanent collection.

For many years there were no free days, the admission fee being twenty-five cents. For many years there were two free days in each week. Now all days are free. The Curators believe that they can best carry out the purposes of the founder by giving to the public the fullest and freest opportunity to see and to study the entire collection. They

try to do even more. The Academy's own collection is supplemented from time to time by exhibits from elsewhere, which also are open to the public without charge. There have been several during the past few years, notably Boutet de Monvel's charming series of pictures of the life of Joan of Arc; several exhibits of American paintings assembled by the American Federation of Arts; etchings assembled by the Chicago Society of Etchers; paintings by Gari Melchers, one of America's most distinguished artists; paintings by Alfred Philippe Roll, who, as President of the French Salon is the successor of Meissonnier, Carolus Duran, and Puvis de Chavannes. In this last were included several paintings belonging to the French Government and sent to this country with the sanction of the Premier, notwithstanding the pendency of the Great European War. There have also been many other exhibits, including paintings by distinguished artists of all nationalities.

The activities of the current season are unusual in their scope, including an exhibition of the paintings of William P. Silva, a native of Savannah; an exhibition of etchings, with a lecture; an exhibition of water colors gathered by the American Water Color Society; a selection of sixty paintings from the well known biennial exhibit in the Corcoran Gallery of the works of contemporary American artists, supplemented by twenty-one specimens of the paintings of foreign artists of high distinction; and a series of three lectures by Henry Turner Bailey. As this paper is written the Board of Curators has authorized the necessary expenditure for the establishment of an art school for both elementary and advanced pupils, to be affiliated with and located in the Academy, and aided from its funds.

One of the attractive features of the Academy is the old Telfair family dining room, now called "The Telfair Room," containing many specimens of furniture, ornaments, family portraits, even rich silk damask curtains, all from the contents of the Telfair residence, many paintings purchased by Miss Telfair abroad, and the fine old books constituting the library. Here, over one of the two quaint and handsome old mantels, hangs the fine portrait of Miss Telfair which Mr. Brandt painted on the order of the Trustee.

It would take a connoisseur to describe the Telfair Collection. The limits of this paper do not permit even a listing. There is an excellent catalog compiled in 1914, with supplemental lists of later acquisitions. The collection of casts is fully up to the standard. It includes the frieze of the Parthenon placed in the cornice of the smaller cast

room and the entrance hall, the east pediment of the Parthenon, consisting of six pieces, and seventy-nine casts of the classical sculptures of the world, among them the massive Tauro Farnese from the Naples Museum. All of these were specially made for the Telfair Academy through the agency of Director Brandt on his first trip to Europe.

The walls of the main cast room are adorned with five mural paintings representing the Roman Campagna, the Acropolis at Athens, the Pyramids and Sphinx, the Temples of Paestum, and Modern Paris, as the principal sources of valued works of art. Four of these are by Director Brandt, from studies made on the spot. The frieze of the main picture gallery contains four paintings by him, representing Appelles, Iktinos, Praxiteles, and Durer, and also eight paintings in the style of German Renaissance tapestry, picturing Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Graphic Art.

Of paintings classed as works of Art the Academy owns eighty-one, and through the generosity of friends displays seven others, which are loaned. Seventy-five paintings are now displayed as a part of its collection.

Sixty-nine artists, most of them men of distinction, are represented in these paintings, of whom sixteen are American, sixteen French, twenty German, five Italian, five English, three Dutch, two Austrian, one Belgian, and one Spanish. This last, the only picture exhibited which is not an original, is an excellent copy of Murillo's Immaculate Conception.

The names of some of the artists represented will sufficiently attest the merits of the collection. They include, among Americans, George Bellows, Henry Golden Dearth, Frieseke, Childe Hassam, Hawthorne, George Hitchcock, Ernest Lawson, MacEwen, Gari Melchers, Redfield, and Shannon; among Frenchmen, Aman-Jean, Besnard, Francois Bonvin, Caro-Delvaile, Il Borgognone, du Gardier, La Touche, Henri Martin, Puvis de Chavannes, Raffaelli, and Roll; among Germans, Braith, Dücker, von Gebhardt, Hagen, Hans Herrmann, Wilhelm von Kaulbach, Kühl, Szymanowski, and Zügel; among Englishmen, Boughton, Brangwyn, and Arthur Hacker; and among other nationalities, Franz Snyders, Cornelis de Vos, Bonifazio, Zuccherro, Stevens, and Laurenti.

In sculpture, casts excluded, the collection is not rich. In the spring of 1914 the Academy succeeded in contracting with the great Auguste Rodin for a replica in bronze of one of his famous group of Bourgeois de Calais; but the European War has thus far indefinitely suspended its making. It

was a great opportunity, but there is grave danger that it is irretrievably lost.

Shortly after the death of Mr. Brandt the Curators were so fortunate as to enlist the interest of Gari Melchers, who for several years gave advice on the artistic merit of all acquisitions. He did not succeed Mr. Brandt, who advised, directed, managed and controlled. His service was absolutely confined to giving us the advice of an expert on questions of art. The collection now represents the judgment and taste of but two connoisseurs. There is a great difference between their schools and their taste. Mr. Brandt was distinctly an Academician, belonging to the old school, and withheld his sanction from the modern tendency to depart from it. When he died there was but one American painter represented in the collection, and this picture was a gift. There was not a single French picture. The main pictures of the collection were German. There was no representation of even the more moderate of those once called impressionists, but whom the more radical impressionists of today would indignantly repudiate as out of date.

Fortunately the taste and judgment of Mr. Melchers gave approval to substantially all of the schools, and during the period of his advice the Academy has acquired specimens of the academic school as well as those of the more modern and less conservative school, represented, for example, by Hassam, Lawson, Brangwyn, Besnard, Martin, Raffaelli, Herrmann, and Bellows.

From this variation of opinion and advice has resulted one of the points of excellence of the Academy. While of old masters we have none, except for a few pictures loaned to us, and on account of the prohibitive cost cannot hope to acquire them until some generous donor appears, yet of modern art, omitting the latest extremists, we have all schools represented, from the conventional conservative academic school to the much admired impressionistic school of the present day, of which the Bellows and Besnard are conspicuous and meritorious examples. The Curators have suffered an irreparable loss in that they can no longer secure the advice of Mr. Melchers, and their activities in adding to the collection are necessarily suspended until they can find an adviser on whose taste and judgment they can confidently rely, and who is willing to make sacrifices for the public weal. Can they find him? Who will he be? How can they hope with their limited resources to enlist the sympathy and helpful advice of one who will reach the standard of excellence to which they are accustomed? The task is in-

deed a difficult one. Let us pray that wisdom and fortune may go hand in hand in its accomplishment.

From the beginning the Curators, recognizing that they did not themselves possess the necessary technical skill or knowledge, have adopted and rigidly enforced the rule that nothing should be displayed in the art collection that was not accepted on the expert advice of a connoisseur. The result is that the Academy has not only a collection of sculpture casts and a collection of paintings, but a collection of works of art. The purpose is not only to delight the eye, but to cultivate the artistic sense, and this purpose it is hoped is being carried out. Without such a rule, rigidly adhered to, no art gallery can successfully fulfill its mission.

BASIL COWPER'S REMARKABLE CAREER IN GEORGIA.

BY WILLIAM HARDEN.

The narration of the following story was prompted by the frequent observation of a striking inscription on a tombstone located in a prominent spot in our old burial-ground, originally the Cemetery of Christ Church Parish, but now known as Colonial Park. And just here the writer asks pardon for venturing to remark that he thinks a mistake was made in ever changing the name from that of The Old Cemetery to Colonial Park. The place is not a park, and the old name suggested the actual use for which it was in the beginning set apart. The people of Boston would indignantly protest against any proposition to call their Old Granary Burial-Ground by any other name save the one it has always borne, and so should the people of Savannah have seen to it that our old landmark never gave up its proper title. But, returning to our subject, the inscription referred to is, in part, as follows:

To the dear memory of
an Excellent and most beloved Mother
MARY
widow of
BASIL COWPER
Daughter of John and Elizabeth Smith
Born in South Carolina
Died the 10th April, 1821,
aged 69 years.

The good lady in whose honor this memorial tablet was erected, married at the early age of seventeen years, as the notice printed in the issue of the Georgia Gazette for Wednesday, February 22, 1769 testifies:

MARRIED. Mr. Basil Cowper, merchant, to Miss Polly Smith, daughter of John Smith, Esq., an accomplished young lady.

As this paper is to deal almost entirely with the acts of the husband, we will now turn our attention to the facts in our possession relating to his first appearance on Georgia soil.

The first newspaper established in the Province was the Georgia Gazette, in 1763. At that time, as its columns reveal, there was in Savannah a mercantile firm known as Morel and Telfair, composed of John Morel and (presumably) William Telfair. When it began we do not know; but from a statement in an advertisement it is gathered that Morel left the Province, appointing an attorney to settle his affairs, about the summer of 1766, and thenceforth, beginning on the 8th of October, in that year, the firm of Cowper and Telfairs, composed of Basil Cowper, William Telfair and Edward Telfair, began to advertise.

From the time last mentioned the name of Mr. Cowper never but twice in a long while appears alone, but always in connection with his partners. One exception is when, in May, 1767, he advertised the loss of a bay gelding. This fact of the joining of the three names in all transactions, even those outside of the business of the mercantile establishment, is evidence of some apparently closer relations than are shown on the surface. The other exception referred to is when, in June, 1768, Mr. Cowper and two others, not his partners, were appointed by the Governor and his Council to adjust the salvage of two boxes of silk saved from the ship Hawk, lately cast away on the southern coast of this Province.

From 1768 to 1770 the three gentlemen, always jointly, made applications for the grant of lands in several of the Parishes which were usually acted on favorably, on certain conditions. They applied in 1768 for 500 acres on the north side of the Ogeechee river, near or adjoining lands of James Bulloch, and still later, in 1769 and 1770, they asked for tracts in the Parishes of St. Paul and St. George. As early as May, 1768, a lot of 500 acres was granted them in St. Matthews. They also obtained land in St. John's Parish.

When the act, known as the Tax Act, granting to his Majesty money for the support of the government for 1768,

was passed, it contained an item calling for payment "To Cowper & Telfairs, their account for colors for the use of Fort George, Five Pounds, Three Shillings and Six Pence."

The next item to be recorded is one of much interest, as it shows the important fact that at an early period the cultivation of hemp was carried on in Georgia, and it was apparently a money-making business. In the tax act for 1773, for the support of government that year, this account was provided for: "To Cowper & Telfairs for bounty on 4,500 lib. Hemp raised in this Province by Mr. William Telfair and Inspected by Andrew Elton Wells @ 10/ p. lib. Twenty-two Pounds Ten Shillings."

When the trouble between Great Britain and the American Colonies started, the position of Basil Cowper, who seems to have been ranked as one of the leading citizens of Georgia, was that of one commonly described as "on the fence." He did not attend the meeting of inhabitants of the Province, held in Savannah, August 10, 1774, at which eight resolutions of protest were adopted, beginning "That his Majesty's subjects in America owe the same allegiance, and are entitled to the same rights, privileges, and immunities with their fellow subjects in Great Britain;" nor was he one of the signers to the dissent to the said resolutions. He was, however, present at a meeting of "several of the inhabitants of the town of Savannah, at Mrs. Cuyler's, on Friday, the 13th of June, 1775," which, while mild in the expression of feeling of resentment towards the mother country, resolved "That the interests of this Province is inseparable from the mother country, and all the sister Colonies, and that to separate ourselves from the latter would only be throwing difficulties in the way of its own relief and that of the other Colonies, and justly increasing the resentment of all those to whose distress our disunion might be an addition," and determined to lay its proceedings before the Provincial Congress called to meet on the 4th of July following. Mr. Cowper was a delegate to that Congress, representing, with David Zubly and William Gibbons, the District of Acton, and was the second one of a committee of five appointed to draw up and present to his Excellency the Governor (Wright) an address in the name of the Congress. The address was prepared, and the report of the committee was presented to Congress by Mr. Joseph Clay who also delivered it to the President, Archibald Bulloch.

The Provincial Congress, on the 13th of July, unanimously entered into an "Association" which declared that they "being greatly alarmed by the bloody scene now acting

in the Massachusetts Bay, do, in the most solemn manner, resolve never to become slaves; and do associate, under all the ties of religion, and honor, and love to our country, to adopt and endeavor to carry into execution whatever may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention, appointed for preserving our constitution and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British Parliament," &c. Again, Mr. Cowper was the second on a committee of fourteen "to present the Association to all the inhabitants of the Town and District of Savannah to be signed." John Smith, probably the father-in-law of Basil Cowper, was chairman of the committee, a delegate representing the town and district of Savannah.

In June, 1775, the Georgia patriots, following the example of other colonies, appointed a Council of Safety, of which the royal Governor, writing to the Earl of Dartmouth, said "The Council of Safety seems to be the Executive Branch in each Colony, subject to the Provincial Congress." At that time Mr. Cowper was apparently in full sympathy with the party opposed to British interference with the rights of American freemen. He was one of the first appointees on the Council, but the records of that body show that he did not meet with his colleagues before the 16th of December, and that he attended thirteen meetings between that date and January 19, 1776, the time of his last appearance. In addition to the record already given of his services in the Provincial Congress, he was on the committee appointed to thank the Rev. Dr. John Joachim Zubly for "the excellent sermon he preached that day (July 12, 1775) to the members." Dr. Zubly, like Mr. Cowper, afterwards, as we shall see, deserted the American cause.

No positive information can be gathered from the records which have been handed down to us as to the exact time when Mr. Cowper came to the conclusion that he was on the wrong side in that momentous period of American history. We have no knowledge of any activity on either side from the time he last appeared at the meetings of the Council of Safety until just after the disastrous conclusion of the siege of Savannah by the combined American and French forces in October, 1779. It seems likely that the failure of the Americans at that time caused him to conclude that all hope of independence of the colonies was lost, and that he would do well to desert what he considered to be a sinking ship. He went over to the enemy of the liberty seeking people, and so, as we shall see, like the dog in the

fable, lost what he actually possessed in the attempt to take hold of a shadow. He joined the loyalists, and the first reward for his services was the appointment by the Governor (Wright) and Council of Justice of the Peace for Christ Church Parish, November 15, 1779.

He was evidently a man well thought of by the party to which he now gave his allegiance; for we find him, the next year, 1780, elected member of the Loyalist Commons House of Assembly. The manuscript Journal of that body, is in a mutilated condition, and the first four pages are missing. The session began on the 9th of May, but the loss of that portion of the record leaves us without knowledge of what happened before the 11th. Whether Mr. Cowper answered to the roll-call on the first day we know not. The first time he is found to be present is on the day last mentioned, when he was appointed on several committees. On the 14th he applied for leave of absence for two weeks, but never returned, as the minutes state of the 29th of June "George Baillie took his seat, having been elected to represent the Parish of St. Matthew in Mr. Basil Cowper's place."

On the 20th of May, 1780, Sir James Wright wrote a letter to Lord George Germaine, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for America, in which he enclosed a paper whose title is "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty The Humble Address of the Judges, Grand Jury, and several other Inhabitants of the Province of Georgia," signed by all the loyalist officers and grand jurors and men of prominence in Georgia adhering to the British cause, calling themselves "most dutiful and loyal subjects," thanking the king "for declaring this Province to be at your peace and for re-establishing a civil government here, by which means we enjoy the blessings of law and liberty, whilst the colonies in rebellion against your Majesty groan under tyranny and oppression," exulting over "the deliverance afforded this Province by the interposition of Almighty God when it was invaded by a force of French and Rebels much superior to that which this garrison consisted of," citing "the bloody menaces that were uttered by the enemy, as well as French rebels, when they thought themselves sure of taking the Town of Savannah," and ending with the assurance "that we shall always use our utmost endeavors to promote an attachment to your person and government and the welfare of the British Empire; and that we shall not fail to put up our prayers to Almighty God that He will pour down His blessings upon your Majesty, your royal Consort, and your numerous offspring that He will give you a long and happy reign, and

that your posterity may sway the sceptre of the British Empire till time is no more." Among the signers to this most loyal address was the subject of this paper, Basil Cowper.

The Legislature of Georgia, represented by the republican, or colonial, party, assured of the final issue of the war in their favor, on the 1st of March, 1778, passed an act attainting of high treason a large number of persons who at that time were known as adherents to the British government, and Mr. Cowper's name was on that list. The property of those men, both real and personal, was confiscated. Another act of the same sort was passed on the 4th of May, 1782, in which appeared many additional names of parties who in the meanwhile had deserted the American cause, believing it to be hopeless. For various reasons, some of these were afterwards relieved from the penalties imposed by such laws, but Basil Cowper never was so relieved.

Of the three members of the firm of Cowper & Telfairs, Edward Telfair, the youngest, was the only one to espouse and loyally support to the end the cause of independence of the Colonies, and when the success of that cause was established he had trouble with both of the others, one of whom being his elder brother.

It is a matter of regret that we have no particulars concerning the claims set up by Cowper and William Telfair against their former partner. The only light on the subject that we have is contained in two documents which have been preserved without a thought of the possibility of their ever being put to use in this manner; but they will serve to show the feeling that existed between the losers in the bitter contest which had just ended, between brother and brother and partner and partner, as well as to add some interest to the matter under review.

Some ten or twelve years before the death of the late Mr. William Neyle Habersham, he placed in the hands of this writer a packet of old papers, with the statement that he had selected them from a mass of stuff found in the basement of the counting house of the late firm of Robert Habersham & Son, of which he was the junior member, and which stuff he was about to destroy. He added that he willingly surrendered them, thinking that they might at some time prove of interest to this writer. The time has come to make use of two of those papers, and all of them are now deposited in the collection of the Georgia Historical Society.

The first paper bearing on our subject is enclosed in a wrapper which alone tells what is its subject matter, the

inscription being in these words: "A letter to J. Y. Noel relative to William Telfair's Claim." Mr. Noel was a prominent lawyer of Savannah, and was her Mayor for four periods, beginning in 1796, and ending in 1807. He was an alderman two terms, first from 1798-1799, and again from 1801-1802. The paper is a statement from Edward Telfair, and is in his writing, though without signature. Why it was written to Mr. Noel we do not know. Perhaps Mr. Noel was his attorney, and represented him in fighting the claim. Efforts have been made to find other documents relating to this matter, without success. The reason for giving this paper in connection with a sketch of Mr. Cowper will appear in the reading of it. It is without date, and is as follows:

Sir;

In obedience to the letter you did me the honor to write me of the 14th of Febr'y last, I make known to you a true statement of the late commercial connection that did exist between Basil Cowper, William Telfair and myself, in doing which I shall first take into view the memorial transmitted on the part of four of the Trustees, viz: David Milligan, John Whitlock, Thomas Littler, & David Weldred, to the Commissioners, &c. In this instance it is readily admitted that the late copartners aforesaid did carry on Trade and intercourse under the firms set forth, and also under the firm B. C. & Co., and under the firms of Cowper & Telfairs in Savannah and a branch under the firm of William & Edward Telfair & Co., at Savannah aforesaid. Of the latter House Mr. Cowper was not a copartner. The change of firms did not operate to the prejudice or exclusion of any of the parties from the benefits that might have resulted therefrom. In support of this the evidence of Books will clearly evince, for where changes in copartnerships take place it is pretty evident that there must be statements to the day with balance sheets and due entries made together with assignments the needful forms, and the copartner so thus circumstanced withdraw and thereafter not known to the House. Far from this being the case that the conducting of the business under the two firms at Savannah in a great measure devolved on the underwritten, and his exertions were continued, as the memorial sets forth, "until the late revolution put a stop to all intercourse between Great Britain and America," which I find by Letter Book of the late C. & Trs. to T. C. & T. So this mode of procedure on my part will have continued until the 28th Decem'r, 1775, evidently demonstrates that that

part of the memorial that sets forth my having assigned copartnership stock "sometime in the year 1774" is without foundation, and must contemplate objects not readily understood by me. So far from this being surmised the case, the Trustees hold me up as a Partner & late Partner and deeply engaged in the greater part of what is owing, and all this, too, after having discharged the other copartners, which they likewise communicate. Again I am to recur to the first clause of the said memorial where I find words equally exceptionable. It there states that the discharge of two of the copartners were under the bankrupt Laws of Great Britain. To refute this part of the memorial it will be best to recur to the discharge dated the 13th of May, 1784; in it there is not a single act of Great Britain—marked No.....—or the Treaty with that Nation, drawn forth. It was the act of the creditors without any procedure at Law or even a plea to that effect until the memorial was exhibited. It never did admit of a doubt in my mind but that the liberality the late creditors exercised on the part of my late copartners had for its object a contrary tendency towards myself. If the design had been mutual, why not, in a case of such importance, have given me notice of their designs and to have held out just and honorable propositions so as to have enabled me to come forward. Could they presume that at that period, where revolution men in this state were deprived of their all that was within the reach of their enemies that payments were attainable?

I shall now comment on what respects myself. First, the burning of houses, negroes, books, and papers, with merchandise and other property to the amount of many thousands. It may be here remarked at one and for a small time only their power extended over the State. Second, attachments under the usurped authority. And thirdly, to secure the remaining property, an Act of Confiscation, in which my name was inserted, did pass under the said pretended authority, and for all of which depredations I have not received one farthing, or any acknowledgment for the said depredations.

It must be admitted that in the year 1774 the underwritten and his late copartners, together with the people of America, were all subjects of the King of Great Britain, and under National principles might have been considered as such until the 4th of July, 1776, when every political compact was dissolved. Under this impression it will be difficult to draw any conclusion whereby individuals taking opposite sides in a revolution, and after some of them becom-

ing turbulent & disaffected citizens, and where creditors of their own free motion discharge two of the copartners of mercy and protection from that nation can or ought thereafter to come forward and claim of the American citizen or of the Government payment of copartnership debts with principle and interest. And while the 6th Article of the Treaty is drawn into view, the 2d and.....Articles must also obtain in my humble opinion on the part of the American Gover't & her citizens. To draw a few conclusions, even admitting that the parties were all subjects or citizens of the same Nation, and where the common law of England forms a part of the American Constitution, it may be necessary to make a few quotations touching the discharge of one or more copartners and what its operation on any one or more after such discharge. So far as respects the several balances stated in the said memorial, I cannot decide upon or give any true information respecting any of them saving the claim against Sam'l Stiles & Co. The claim did originate under a copartnership adventure with Sam'l Stiles and the late Cowper & Telfairs, by the purchase of slaves which were sold every short period prior to the Revolution, and what trifling payments were made on the sale were chiefly to the late house of Cowper & Telfairs, and upon a settlement of the said adventure the said late house were indebted to the said Sam'l Stiles in the sum of I conceive it necessary to state this transaction specially in order that justice be had in the premises.

Notwithstanding the recited cases, some time in the year 1792 Mr. Wm. Telfair arrived in Georgia and presented a power of att'y from the Trustees, and requesting of me to consider on the mode of liquidation and payment.

I observed that my case was a singular one; that by means of Mr. Cowper and himself withdrawing themselves and their negro property, together with great efforts that must have become necessary on the part of all, and other legal impediments resulting from their conduct during the Revolutionary War, together with the removal of books and papers of the house of the late C. & Trs. & Wm. & E. T & Co., and only sending a part of the said books and papers again to this country, and from the nature of our laws, no recovery could be effected under either the one or the other of the late firms. It was not presumable that I was by any means adequate to undertake the payment of copartnership debts, or did I consider myself as any ways bound for them. I requested of him a sight of the discharge, which was not granted. I replied that it was not material, as it was well

understood by letters from the Trustees now of record in this country, marked C. & D. Notwithstanding that it requires little penetration to discover that the discharge of one copartner, or joint obligor, is the discharge of all. The books & papers, or evidences of debts, of the late firms are ready for a general assignment. To this I will add one-half of my property real and personal; to this proposition I received for answer that I must surrender the whole of my property—my answer was quick and, perhaps, a little abrupt: "Now, Sir, all negotiations from this day hence shall ever cease. I now avail of every benefit the laws of America and the common law of England afford me. Let it not be said that I shrink from justice. I am ready to enter appearance at Westminster before your Lord Chancellor, and if he decides against me I do pledge myself that every shilling of property shall be subject to it and surrender to you—or do you bring your action in the Courts of the United States." Neither the one or the other he would undertake or agree to. It appeared to me that the Trustees had ended every pursuit, as it was the 3rd July, 1798, before the discharge was proven and recorded before Brook Watson, Mayor of the City of London, and thereafter recorded in Georgia on the 20th of August, 1800. It was only a few days previous to the last record that I had the reading of it. It was on the letter of 16th Septem'r, 1784, from John Rogers, John Whitelock, & David Mildred, Trustees, that afforded me a knowledge of the steps taken by the late creditors, which clearly indicated a design to draw some matter from me that in its operation might tend to re-establish me as a debtor; from this consideration I made no reply, viewing the transaction as designed to militate against me only.

From the foregoing we can reach the conclusion that both of the partners of Edward Telfair made strong efforts to make him pay to them a large sum of money claimed to have been their share in the profits of the firm before they abandoned the cause of the patriots of Georgia to take part with the British. Mr. Cowper, under the law by which his property was confiscated, was also banished from the state, and it would seem from various references as to his affairs that he never returned to Georgia. This may not be true, but we have no record of his having lived here after the war of the Revolution. He did, however, make a claim to property of Edward Telfair separate from that of William Telfair. In what court the claim was sued does not appear.

Probably it was in the United States Court. All the information we have at present is the second paper given to this writer by Mr. Habersham, already mentioned. This paper is the remarkable verdict of the jury before whom the case was tried, and is as follows :

Basil Cowper		Debt.
vs.		
Edward Telfair.		

Verdict.

We, the jury, find that Basil Cowper, the plaintiff, was born in Scotland, in the Kingdom of Great Britain. That he came to America about the year seventeen hundred and sixty, from which time he resided generally in Georgia, except two years in the City of London, and that some years prior to the commencement of the revolution of the United States. That on the fourth day of July, seventeen hundred and seventy-six, and for some time antecedent thereto, the said Basil Cowper resided at Savannah, in Georgia, & in its vicinity, & was active in the opposition of the United States to the British government. That from and after the said fourth day of July, seventeen hundred and seventy-six the said Basil Cowper continued to be attached to the American revolution, and took up and bore arms on the side and defense of the United States, in opposition to the armies of the British government; was considered to be a citizen of the State of Georgia and of the United States and remained under the protection of the government of the State of Georgia and the United States until some time in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, when he left the army of the United States and joined the British army who were then in possession of Savannah aforesaid; and he, the said Basil Cowper, after leaving the army of the United States as aforesaid, took up and bore arms on the side of the British government in opposition to the American people and armies, and to the government of the State of Georgia, and of the United States, and continued in arms against the United States until the month of July, seventeen hundred and eighty-two, when he left the United States and went into the dominions of his Britannick Majesty where he has ever since continued to reside. We further find that the said Basil Cowper is the same person who is named in the act of banishment and confiscation set forth in the plea of the said Edward Telfair, and that his estate and all debts due to him are confiscated as therein mentioned.

That if, upon the whole matter, the court is of opinion that the plaintiff ought to recover the debt declared on, then we find for the plaintiff; if not, then we find for the defendant.

24th April, 1800.

R. MITCHELL, Foreman.

The so-called verdict was really no verdict at all, but simply left the decision to the court where the matter could have been settled without the intervention of a jury.

It is clearly seen by the paper just quoted that Mr. Cowper had not returned to the United States before April 24, 1800, and, as he died in 1802, it is almost certain that he never came back to Georgia after his banishment under the act of confiscation, &c.

We learn of the time and place of his death from a notice in the Georgia Gazette of Thursday, August 12, 1802, in these words:

"Died on the 28th of June last, in the island of Jamaica, Basil Cowper, Esq., formerly a respectable merchant of this place, and a worthy man."

A daughter of the Cowpers married a McQueen, and their descendants are among us at this present age.

Edward Telfair, of the firm of Cowper and Telfairs, was an earnest supporter of Georgia's stand in the Revolutionary period. As one writer has it, "When the storm of the American Revolution began to lower, Mr. Telfair was found among the Sons of Liberty." He was a member of the Continental Congress, and was Governor of Georgia two terms. When General Washington visited Georgia in 1791, he was entertained by Governor Telfair at his home near Augusta. He died at the age of seventy-one, at Savannah, September 17, 1807.

THE LATE DOCTOR FRANCIS SORREL.

A Picturesque Character.

To the Editor of the Georgia Historical Quarterly :

Some eight or nine months ago there died in the city of Washington, in the 87th year of his age, Dr. Francis Sorrel, a native of Savannah, who, though almost unknown to Savannahians of the present day, was perhaps one of the most picturesque characters in private life ever born on Savannah soil.

Dr. Sorrel was the son of the late Mr. Francis Sorrel of this city, a prominent and highly esteemed citizen descended from an old French family. He was also an elder brother of that dashing soldier, General G. Moxley Sorrel, who illustrated the manhood of Savannah on many blooded battlefields during the war between the states.

Dr. Sorrel's early education was acquired at one of the private schools of his native town. After completing his High School course, he entered the University of Princeton and graduated in the academic department, and at the time of his death was one of the oldest graduates of that venerable institution of learning.

From Princeton he went to the University of Pennsylvania, where he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine. His education completed, he made a tour of Europe to improve himself by travel and observation. Owing to his family connections he had exceptional opportunities for meeting with the aristocracy of the countries he visited, and the stories of his experiences in Paris and Vienna would make an entertaining and instructive booklet.

Returning to America he located in Savannah for the purpose of practicing his profession, and occupied as his office rooms in the basement of the old Sorrel (now Weed) mansion on the corner of Bull and Harris Streets, the entrance to which was by a gateway in the brick wall on Bull street, which encloses the premises, since bricked up, but the outlines of which are still discernible.

It was during this period of his career that Doctor Sorrel served as second to Stuart Elliott, half uncle of Theodore Roosevelt, who fought the famous duel with Captain Daniels—resulting in the death of the latter. The Doctor's dramatic

account of this unfortunate affair, of which he never spoke until the actors themselves and their friends had long since crossed the "bourn from which no traveler returns," was intensely interesting; particularly his graphic description of the home-coming of Elliott and himself from the scene of the fatal encounter. How at Screven's Ferry they boarded a large canoe propelled by negro oarsmen and proceeded up the river to a landing; and how the city docks were thronged with excited people, many of them society ladies and gentlemen with whom Elliott was very popular, and having heard rumors of the duel were anxious to learn the fate of their favorite; and what cheers rent the air, and how hats and handkerchiefs were waved when the crowd recognized Elliott and realized that he was safe—a stirring scene it must have been.

Being of a roving disposition, the routine of the practice of his profession in a small city did not appeal to him, and after a few years he gave up his practice and residence in Savannah and accepted a commission as surgeon in the United States Army, serving with distinction in the Indian disturbances which were then agitating Florida. It was about this time that the country was stirred by the marvellous tales of the wealth and wonders of the State of California, and adventurous spirits from all sections of the East were rushing to the new El Dorado. Inoculated with the virus of wonderlust and by nature bold and venturesome and well fitted for frontier life, Dr. Sorrel resigned his commission in the army and joining with the hosts of kindred spirits sailed for San Francisco by way of Panama. Arriving there, he located immediately at one of the largest mining camps and resumed the practice of his profession and soon established a lucrative practice—his fees ranging in those days from \$10 and upwards for a visit, payable in gold dust.

Owing to his skill as a surgeon and the urbanity of his manners he soon became very popular with the miners and in 1860-1861 was elected a member of the Legislature of California, and was one of the minority members of that body who voted for secession. Convinced that the Southern cause on the Pacific Slope was irretrievably lost, he resigned from the Legislature and determined to cast his fortunes with his own people. Fearing arrest if he attempted to return by sea, he started on the long and then perilous journey by

pony express back across the western half of the American continent. After weeks of travel replete with dangers, privations and thrilling experiences, equalling almost the tribulations of St. Paul himself, he succeeded in reaching Kentucky and entering the Confederate lines. He proceeded at once to Richmond and offered his services to the Confederate Government and was commissioned a surgeon in the Southern Army. His ability was speedily recognized and his promotion rapid and at the close of the war he was one of the medical Directors and in line of promotion to the position of Surgeon General.

After the war closed he married an estimable and intellectual lady, Mrs. Rives, nee Watts, and settled on her estate near Roanoke, Virginia—and the “Barrens” (the name by which their country home was designated), became the hospitable meeting ground for the gentry of the neighborhood. Later he united with the Episcopal Church, of which denomination he was a consistent member up to the time of his death. His married life was exceptionally happy and lasted for some twenty years, when his wife died—a blow from which he never fully recovered.

A few years after the death of Mrs. Sorrel, the Doctor disposed of his Virginia estate and moved to Washington City where he had a number of relatives and old friends.

Springing from a noble family, Dr. Sorrel showed his descent in his personal appearance, his little mannerisms and kindly wit. Of medium height, but strongly knit, with black hair and eyes and finely chiseled features, he was an unusually handsome man. His charming manners and graceful gestures were fitting companions of his softly modulated voice, making captives of all who came in contact with him. He was chivalrous and deferential in his treatment of women and brave but considerate in his intercourse with men. In the drawing room “a squire of dames,” in the field “a splendid spur.” With all his accomplishments, he was modest to a fault—the surest test of gentle birth.

The writer will always cherish with delight the memory of the several occasions during the latter years of the old Doctor’s life, on which he enjoyed the privilege of sitting down with him in his commodious apartment at The Brighton in Washington City, and, over a good cigar or a glass of old wine, listening to his charming reminiscences of the days of long ago.

It may be that the modern doctrines of total abstinence, of the dethronement of woman from her high state to the level of man, and of intolerance towards all weaknesses which flesh is heir to, but which are indulged in, in one way or another, by those who profess to despise them, will make more efficient men than the gentlemen of the Old School, but I seriously doubt if they will make more lovable men.

For my part, give me as my companion in life a man of the type of Dr. Francis Sorrel, rather than one after the order of the Apostles and Disciples of the new Faith.

W. W. MACKALL.

NOTE: As the information on which the above narrative was based was almost entirely derived from the writer's recollections of conversations with Dr. Sorrel, his old friends and members of his family, it may contain some inaccuracies, particularly in the sequence of events, but in the main it is correct.

THE BEGINNING OF COTTON CULTIVATION IN GEORGIA.

In the year 1828 the Savannah Georgian published a communication written by Mr. Thomas Spalding, of Sapelo Island, giving an account of the introduction of cotton into Georgia and Carolina. Some of the facts stated by him have been since then reprinted in various publications, all of them quoting the following passage substantially:

"The winter of '86 brought several parcels of cotton seed from the Bahamas to Georgia. Among them, (in distinct remembrance in my mind,) was a parcel to the late Governor Tattnall, of Georgia, from a near relation of his, then Surveyor General of the Bahamas, and another parcel at the same time was transmitted to Col. Roger Kelsall of Exuma, (who was among the first, if not the very first, successful grower of cotton) to my father, Mr. James Spalding, then residing on St. Simon's Island, Georgia, who had been connected in business with Col. Kelsall before the Revolution. I have heard that Gov. Tattnall, then a young man, gave his seed to Mr. Nicholas Turnbull, lately deceased, who cultivated it from that period successfully."

From the foregoing it will be seen that credit was given to Mr. Nichol (not Nicholas) Turnbull for his part in the growing of cotton at an early period. It is highly probable that Mr. Spalding was not acquainted with the discussion

of this important matter as early as the year 1799, in two of the Savannah newspapers, in which Mr. Turnbull gave his side of the story, in a severe criticism of an anonymous writer who had shortly before written his account of the subject. This correspondence has never, we believe, been given in full anywhere since it was first printed in the newspapers referred to, and we deem it to be of so much interest that we gladly give it space in this first issue of the *Quarterly*.

From the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*,
Tuesday, October 15, 1799:

Messrs. Printers,

By publishing the following you will oblige an Inhabitant of Chatham county.

COTTON planting in this country is of early date; the same kind of cotton as is now cultivated on the Sea Islands, called the black seed cotton, was, in the year 1767, planted as a crop by Mr. John Earle, on the Island of Skidaway. That plantation is owned and now under cotton by Col. Wylly. The old inhabitants on the island always raised it to perfection, and there was hardly a family but what planted it for domestic use. The late Col. Deveaux, during the Revolution, on the same island, made more than he had occasion for in that way, which was afterwards sold by his son, Major Deveaux, about the year 1783, to Mr. Cecil, merchant in Savannah, at 15d per lb., who sent it to England, which yielded him a handsome profit. Old Mr. Patrick M'Kay, on the Island of Sapelo, planted cotton as a crop. These are facts well known. It is seen in the recollection of some that previous to 1767 cotton was an article at market, and purchased by the ancient mercantile house of Smith and Gordon, and remitted to England. But it may be asked, why was it not more generally cultivated? The answer is easy; because rice and indigo commanded a better price. Cotton was not in such demand. The manufacture of that article in Britain had not advanced to the perfection it now is at. Lawns were then in use, and not muslins. Another reason may be assigned: the principal planters at that time were from South Carolina. They were in the habit of cultivating rice and indigo, and opening fresh grounds. Their industry was well rewarded by the cultivation of those articles, without resorting to others. Further, the great example set by the provincial Gov. Wright in the cultivation of rice stimulated the planters' exertions in that article. On the higher grounds indigo was

cultivated until the Revolution. After the restoration of peace, it was still continued; but the merchant, as well as planter, having suffered by remitting from the immense quantities introduced from India (for immediately after the British government acknowledged our independence, knowing that indigo was an article and its immense value could be comprised in a small bulk, and that it suited well the East India trade), gave the cultivation of it in their dominions in that quarter every encouragement, the East India Company went so far as to employ a gentleman by the name of Gray, who owned before the war a plantation on Skidaway, now belonging to John Bowman, Esq., and on that place he cultivated weed, and was reported an excellent make of indigo. The public have had information as to that person's errand, and the views of those who sent him had the desired effect. It gave them at once a supply of that article from their own territory, and completely foiled the making of indigo in the United States; but thanks to our climate, tho' the planters were compelled to turn their attention to something else, they recollected that cotton could be cultivated on lands that produced indigo, and inclined their thoughts to that article, and to this most were encouraged by a crop of black seed cotton from seed procured from Major Barnard on Wilmington Island which was raised on the Island of Skidaway, 10,000 lbs. of which crop was shipped to England in the spring of 1791 by Messrs. Johnston and Robertson on account of Francis Levett, Esq., which established the character of Georgia sea island cotton; being the first shipment of any consequence; and to him the state stands indebted for having it entered as an article of commerce in the British prices current; the whole of the crop being ginned out by the common bridle gin, and neatly packed for market added to the sale, hence the propriety of fairly preserving the staple by the roller gin—cotton having now become so important an article of export from the state, independent of its excellent quality aided by the fortuitous circumstances of the wretched state of things in the West Indies, as the interruption of commerce in the Mediterranean that whatever hints may be thrown out, either as to the culture of the plant, or bringing the cotton wool of different staples to market without injury or deceiving the manufactures, ought to be well received and generally beneficial.

From the *Georgia Gazette*—Thursday, November 28, 1799.

Messrs. Nicholas Johnson and Co.

I observe a publication in Messrs. Seymour & Woolhopter's paper of the 15th October last, by an inhabitant of Chatham county, respecting the origin of cotton planting in this state, without attempting to give the public any useful information at this late period either with respect to any improvement on the culture, ginning, or packing, which seems to me to be perfectly ridiculous. I cannot conceive the intention of such a publication unless it was to immortalize a family connexion, or give credit to those who are not to this day in the least entitled to any, in regard to the introduction of cotton as a staple commodity, either before or after the Revolution. My attention in general is too much engaged in business to be fond of troubling the public with the observations I shall make, and which I should have made sooner, had I not been ill at the time the publication of the inhabitant of Chatham county appeared, and continued so, it is well known for two or three weeks after, by which unfortunate circumstances, added to other calamities which have occurred since, my mind and affairs have been embarrassed, however, at this late period, my friends have advised me to reply, as it may appear to those who do not know me that I have acted ever since 1787 as an imposter, by declaring myself the first founder and introducer of cotton planting since the Revolution; I think it therefore a duty I owe myself and to a few of my friends who were encouraged by my experiments, and followed my example, to show where I conceive the merit is justly due.

Two years after I removed into this state, making the necessary observations on the climate, added to an estimate then in my possession on the culture of cotton, made by the John Earle mentioned from his five years experiments on the Island of Skidaway, which was given by him to my father in Florida, when the same John Earle was in his employ, first induced me in being anxious to make the attempt. Being at the time a stranger in the country, and little known, I consequently requested my friend Josiah Tattall, Junr., to procure me some cotton seed which with difficulty he got from Mr. John Smith of So. Carolina, but only one quart. In the spring of 1789 I planted a small patch on Whitemarsh Island, and made my observations; finding it produced beyond my expectation, and those who examined at the time, encouraged me to plant it as a part of my

crop the year following, sparing part of the seed I had raised to Josiah Tattnall, John Milledge, and James Seagrove, also to some others I do not at present recollect, but none to Mr. Levett, as not being then I believe in the state. These three gentlemen were most strenuous to follow my example, it being then generally observed by most that my crop could never be gathered in or prepared for market; such was the general opinion till some of these gentlemen and myself convinced our neighboring planters to the contrary. Finding my second year's experiment amply rewarded my industry, I planted the following year 40 acres, and the year after nearly a hundred acres, by which time the staple was fully established, and became an object of attention and general culture. I do not mean by this production to reflect on the author who gave rise to the present publication, as probably I may be mistaken with respect to the person; but still I must confess he must know me, and further he is a cotton planter, and knew at the time I was entitled to the greatest merit; if so, I say he has acted with the utmost ingratitude, done me an injury without provocation, and exposed me, I conceive, as an imposter to the whole community. Such illegal and ungenerous behavior I despise, and shall ever resent, as I have been taught never to take merit unjustly from any one, or injure my fellows in community, but at the same time not to permit to be wrested from myself, or those gentlemen who are jointly entitled to it.

To be my own trumpeter I considered fulsome, cannot reflect honor, but discovers a despicable weakness, and such as must retort on the author of the production, I now answer provided he is acquainted with me, and my conjectures are well founded; but as I have been brought to the test, I now declare myself to be the first producer of cotton planting since the Revolution, and the three gentlemen before mentioned deserve attention for aiding and assisting the introduction of so valuable an article of commerce which without our exertions I question whether the offspring of those who planted before and during the Revolution would have obtained to themselves by their industry the same credit even to this day.

Having gone thus far, I shall further add by observing, that I admit John Earle planted in 1767, and it is probable Col. Deveaux did the same during the Revolution; but the former is more deserving of public attention than the latter; the former probably planted of his own accord, or under the direction of his employer, and persevered for five

years, but the latter was unfortunately compelled, like many others, to fall on some method to clothe his family of negroes, as was customary at the time in all the Southern States, but if his son Major Deveaux, found cotton so productive, why did he not, or some of the family, follow the culture; they then possessed lands suitable for the purpose, and would have saved me the trouble of this reply.

As for the other parts of the author's piece I cannot take upon me to contradict them, being a stranger to the circumstances, excepting what relates to Mr. Frazer Levett. The author after taking, as he supposed, to himself a family entailment of cotton planting, gives the dregs to Mr. Levett, by telling you "that this gentleman shipped 10,000 lbs. of cotton to England in 1791, which established the character of Georgia Sea Island Cotton, being the first shipment of any consequence, and to him the state stands indebted for having it entered as an article of commerce in the British prices current." In answer I assert, that I conceive Mr. Levett is not entitled to any merit, as previous to that time five times the quantity was made in this state and shipped by the Savannah merchants, and the character firmly established; besides I do not suppose the trouble was great to Mr. Levett, or cost him anything, and which any one could have done as well as himself. As early as June, 1789, I sold of the growth of 1788 to the house of May & Hills, also to Abraham Legget; I likewise shipped part of my crop to England, the same I believe was done by the house of Speirs, McLeod & Co., part of which was sold by Josiah Tattnall and myself. In November, 1790, I purchased in Charleston 15,673 lbs. gross weight of sea island cotton of Isaac Peace, said to have been raised that year on Col. Gairdner's plantation in Carolina. The same year the culture was general in the upper and lower parts of this state and Carolina. I mention these circumstances to prove that this state is not in the least indebted to Mr. Levett for the author's supposed extraordinary shipments or establishment of the staple; I believe the work was completed before Mr. Levett came to the state. I could relate many other circumstances too tedious to mention; therefore to whom the merit ought to be given, I trust, from what I have already written, is sufficient for the present to determine the public mind. At an early period, also lately, I wrote instructions for the culture of cotton; should I in future make any useful discoveries I shall

think it a duty I owe to my fellow citizens to give them every information, till then I shall remain silent, and leave the inhabitant of Chatham county to his own reflections.

NICHOL TURNBULL.

Deptford Hill, 19th Nov., 1799.

THE MINIS FAMILY.

BY THE GENEALOGICAL EDITOR.

When the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America made known their willingness to receive pecuniary assistance in the effort to accomplish their design, subscription lists were opened at a number of places in England, and the people of all classes opened their purses in behalf of the worthy cause. Among them, the Hebrews established a commission of their own class to receive money from such as sympathized with the object. Notwithstanding this, the Trustees had let it be known that people of that religion would not be accepted as settlers in the new Colony. Some of them, however, seriously thought of joining the expedition, but none offered themselves.

The first party of the Georgia settlers, headed by General Oglethorpe, arrived at Savannah, February 12, (new style), 1733; and soon after, that is to say, on the 11th of July, a vessel arrived with a party of about forty Hebrew colonists. In it was Mr. Abraham Minis, with his wife Abigail and two daughters, Esther and Leah. Oglethorpe made known to them the fact that their presence on the soil reserved for his colonists was contrary to the wishes and order of the Trustees; but, considering the difficulties in the case, he permitted them to remain, subject to any requirements of the governing body after he had set before them the facts in the premises. Suffice it to say that, while no definite conclusion was ever reached, and no consent ever given, those people were not disturbed, and they became active participants in all the affairs of the Colony.

From that time the Minis and other families have become so closely identified with the history and development of Georgia that they are rightfully leaders in all matters of public importance. We are now concerned only with the one family and will leave the consideration of others to another time.

Shortly after their arrival a son was born to Abraham and Abigail, to whom the name of Philip was given, and he was the first male white child born in Georgia. His career was a notable one, and much could be said of him which would be worthy of the careful attention of the reader. He was an ardent supporter of the cause of independence, and, through the ample means at his command, rendered most material aid towards the maintenance of the Continental Armies. His boldness in supporting the enemies of Great Britain and assisting with his fortune the troops engaged in resisting the oppression of his people, brought upon him the extreme hatred of the Royalist General Assembly under Sir James Wright, and he was named in the notorious act passed by that body, known as "The Disqualifying Act," declaring all persons named in it ever afterwards incapable of holding or exercising any office of trust, honor, or profit within the limits of Georgia. In that list of one hundred and fifty-one names Philip Minis stands as number eighty-four.

Time and space forbid the recording of all the facts known as to his providing for the keeping up of the military forces within the territory occupied by American soldiers in the Southern Department, but it is eminently proper to insert at this point the following document, recently recovered from a mass of old papers in which it had for many years been hidden, and its existence unsuspected. It is now, therefore, for the first time, given publicity:

Indorsed

A notarial copy of the certificate signed by Col. Wm. Kennon, Commissary Gen'l and Brig'r Gen'l Robert Howe to Mr. Philip Minis of the monies due him from the Continental chest. Dated 17th May, 1777.

17th Feb'y, 1777, Chs Town, So. Carolina.

Whereas in November last there was neither Commissary Gen'l or pay master Gen'l in the State of Georgia, and I acted as such, by order of Gen'l Howe, and having no fund established for such purposes, was obliged to take up such money as was necessary on the credit of the publick, and accordingly Mr. Philip Minis advanced for the pay of the third North Carolina Regiment the sum of Two Hundred and Twenty two pounds fifteen shillings and six pence; for White's Volunteers Sixty two pounds Six shillings and six pence; and for the Virginia 8th Regiment Six Hundred and fifty three pounds two shillings and two pence; and Seven

Hundred and Ninety one pounds twelve shillings and Six pence for the purchase of provisions for the whole of the Continental Troops then in the said State—The whole amounting to Seventeen Hundred and Twenty Nine pounds Eighteen Shillings Georgia Currency, or Ten Thousand Nine hundred and Nineteen and a half dollars, which said sum is now due to the said Minis from the Continent of America.

(Signed) WILL KENNON.

The above sums were advanced by Mr. Minis as set forth in this Certificate.

(Signed) ROBERT HOWE.

I, John Troup, Notary Public, duly admitted and sworn, dwelling in Broad Street in Charles Town, in the State of South Carolina, do hereby certify to all whom these presents concern that the before written Certificate signed by Will Kennon with the thereunder written Certificate signed by Robert Howe are true and full copies of the original Certificates produced and shewn to me by Mr. Jacob Read, Attorney for Mr. Philip Minis, on this Seventeenth day of May, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Seven, with which said original Certificates I have carefully compared the same. Thus done and certified by me the said Notary at Charles Town this Seventeenth day of May in the presence of Thomas Radcliffe, Jun'r, and Jacob Read—witnesses. In Faith and Testimony whereof I have hereunto affixed my seal and subscribed my name,

JOHN TROUP, Not. (Seal)

Oct. 31st, 1778, give a receipt to Michael Helligar, Esq., Treasurer, for Six Thousand Nine Hundred & Nineteen & a Half Dollars.

Memorandum that this 24th Decem'r, 1778, Edw'd Telfair settled the sum of Six Thousand Nine Hundred & Nineteen Dollars & One Half, being the sum he received of the Treasury of the United States on my account.
6919 Dollars.

PHILIP MINIS.

Mr. Philip Minis died on Friday, the 6th of March, 1789, and six days after the Gazette published this obituary of him:

“On Friday, March 6th, 1789, departed this life Mr. Philip Minis, merchant, aged 55 years. He was the first

white male child born in this state. His remains were buried in the Jews' burial ground on Sunday morning, attended by a large number of respectable citizens who, by their solemn attention, evinced how sensibly they felt the loss the community has sustained in so valuable a man. He has left a disconsolate widow and five children, together with an aged and venerable mother, and five sisters, to deplore their loss. He was an affectionate husband, a dutiful son, tender father and kind brother; in short, he was in every sense of the word a truly honest man."

The father of the man of whom we have just written, Abraham Minis, soon after his landing in Georgia, entered into mercantile life, and associated with him after a while a Mr. Salomons, using the firm name of Minis & Salomons. The copartnership existed, as shown by the Colonial records, as early as 1737, and transacted a large business. Their dealings with the Trustees of the Colony in relation to the issuing of what were known as "Sola Bills." &c., are mentioned even as far back as April 27, of that year, and in 1738 we find that they did a considerable amount of business in the shipping line, having a number of vessels consigned to them. It is hardly worth while to quote the items which show the various business transactions of the firm; but it is well to make note of the fact that such items prove that the house of Minis & Salomons was well established in business some time before the date of the founding of the firm of Harris & Habersham, heretofore considered the first merchants to do business in Georgia. The year of the founding of the latter is universally conceded to be 1749.

Philip Minis and his wife Judith (Pollock) had a son Isaac who married Dinah Cohen. A son was born to the latter couple named Philip, and he studied to be a physican, and was commissioned as an assistant surgeon in the United States Army April 12, 1826, and promoted with the rank of major in the year 1836. He resigned in 1837.

The Hon. Wilson Lumpkin, twice governor of Georgia, and United States Senator, was, on the 17th of July, 1836, appointed Commissioner to execute the Cherokee Treaty of 1835, and at that time Dr. Minis was the Disbursing Agent of the Indian Department U. S. A. Mr. Lumpkin entertained a high regard for the doctor, and in his correspondence mentioned him for the first time in a letter to C. A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated November 22, 1836, in these words: "I had the good fortune to meet with Doctor Minis on the 8th inst., at Gainesville, in Georgia, on his way to New Echota, when and where I communicated to him

verbally my views in connection with his official duties;" and his name occurs frequently in the correspondence on the subject of the Cherokee Indians until July, 1837, the date of his resignation from the army.

A younger son of Isaac and Dinah Minis was Abram, born in 1820, and he married Miss Lavinia Florance. He was one of Savannah's leading merchants and a citizen of the highest integrity and social influence. He was an alderman of the city in 1859-1860. He continued in active business life as long as he lived. In his latest years he took into partnership two of his sons, J. Florance and Isaac, the name of the firm being A. Minis and Sons. Another son, Abram, studied law, was admitted to the Savannah Bar, and is one of our best known lawyers, with considerable practice. The business of A. Minis & Sons was continued after the death of the father until the youngest member followed him to the tomb, and then Mr. J. F. Minis retired and closed out the business.

The last named married Miss Louisa Porter Gilmer, daughter of General J. F. Gilmer. Isaac married Miss Eugenia P. Myers and died leaving two sons. Abram married first Miss Anna M. Cohen, of Baltimore, who died a few months after marriage, and his second wife's name was Mabel A. Henry. A daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Abram Minis, Miss Lavinia Florance Minis, married Charles I. Henry, of New York. Another daughter is Miss Maria Minis.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST GEORGIA NEWSPAPER—THE GAZETTE.

The first newspaper printed in Georgia was issued from Savannah and the first number was dated Thursday, April 7th, 1763. The publisher, Mr. James Johnston, had nothing to say by way of prospectus or announcement of the course he proposed to take in the management of the paper. All he had to say was in the following brief sentence:

Savannah: Printed by James Johnston, at the Printing Office, on Broughton Street where Advertisements, Letters of Intelligence, and Subscriptions for this Paper are taken in.

The paper was called the Georgia Gazette.

The foreign news was not of great importance. Of American news the most important was from Philadelphia dated January 27, to this effect:

Yesterday his Honour the Governor proclaimed at the Court House the cessation of hostilities (ending with the

treaty of Paris, whereby England gained possession of Canada) in the presence of a vast concourse of people who showed great joy on the happy occasion.

On the page devoted to local affairs this same event is thus noticed:

On Tuesday, the 15th of March, his Majesty's proclamation for a cessation of arms was proclaimed here with the usual formalities.

More purely local is the item that Monday the 28th ult. John Mullryne, Esq., was chosen member of the Assembly, for the district of Goshen, in St. Matthew's parish, in the room of William Francis, Esq., deceased.

We also have the information:

We hear from good authority that by the last accounts from the Creek nation, that every thing remains quiet amongst those Indians.

Sir James Wright made his first appearance in Georgia at a meeting of the Governor and Council in Savannah, Oct. 31st, 1760, when he took the oath of office. It is singular that the journals of the upper and lower houses of the assembly do not contain in full these proceedings. After a lengthy session, on the 7th April, 1763, Sir James prorogued the Assembly to the 5th of July, but only the prefatory words of his speech are given in those records, while the speech in full is printed in the Gazette of April 14, as follows:

Thursday last his Excellency, after delivering the following speech was pleased to prorogue the General Assembly of this province to the 5th day of July next.

Gentlemen of the Council,
Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Commons House of Assembly:

I return you thanks for preserving that degree of unanimity and temper which has subsisted during this very long session; such conduct, Gentlemen, you will generally find to answer the best purposes for the good of the community. But I hope, at our next meeting, that business will have quicker dispatch, and the tax act will be passed earlier. I am certain the one will be more convenient to yourselves, and think the other would be so to your constituents in general.

JAMES WRIGHT.

Savannah, Council Chamber
April 7th, 1763.

The Union Society which, for many years, has had the management of the Bethesda Orphan House, is supposed to have been founded about the year 1750. It was not chartered until Aug. 14, 1786; but the first printed notice of its existence is found in the 2d number of the Gazette, April 14, 1763. Here it is:

The members of the Union Society are desired to meet at the house of Mrs. Smith in Savannah, on Monday next, being the 18th instant, at six o'clock in the evening, on particular business; and also at the same place on Saturday, the 23d instant, at eight o'clock in the morning, being the anniversary feast of the said society.

By order of the stewards,

PETER GAUDY, Clk.

The culture of silk was an industry which received great attention on the part of the trustees of Georgia, and others, from the beginning of the Colony until after the year 1774, when it was finally abandoned. It has ever since been a matter of wonder that the business was not more closely attended to, but all that question has been largely and frequently written up. The following, taken from the Gazette of April 21, 1763, shows that at that time the people still considered it possible to make it a paying investment.

To Be Sold.

A tract of Land, pleasantly situated and healthy, in Newington village, Christ Church parish, containing five hundred and fifty acres inferior to none in the province, suitable for rice, corn, or indico, with a great reserve of back water, has a good dwelling house, barn and out houses, with many other conveniences; and a large quantity of mulberry trees sufficient to raise four or five hundred weight of cocoons; fifty acres of land already cleared and under good fence fit for planting, and a good pasture; likewise good sawing timber, plenty of cypress, white oak, etc., etc., a very convenient carriage to town being upon the broad road, and only five miles distance; said land joins Messrs. Joseph and William Gibbons. For further particulars apply to

JOHN FRANCIS TRIBOUDETT,
or ADRIAN LOYER.

EVAN P. HOWELL.

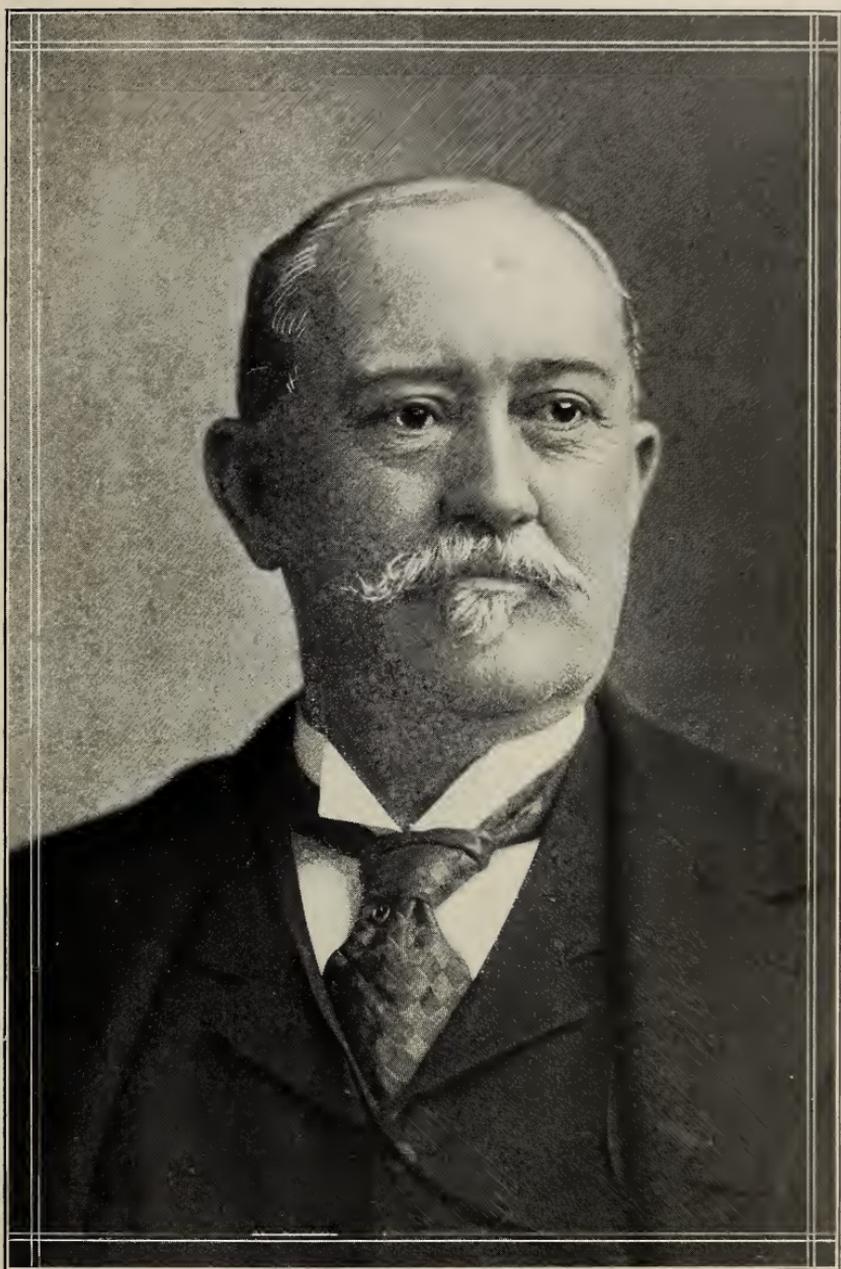
BY A GEORGIAN.

Of those rendering conspicuous service to the state during the Civil War, in the stormy reconstruction days, and in the development period following, the late Evan P. Howell, of Atlanta, occupies a notable position in Georgia history.

He was born December 10, 1839, at Warsaw in that part of Forsyth county which has since become Milton, being the son of Clark Howell, who as a boy of ten years was brought by his father, Evan Howell, from their North Carolina home to settle on what was then—1821—the Chattahoochee River frontier marking the line between the white civilization of Georgia and the Indian settlement beyond. The pioneer, Evan Howell, with many other North Carolinians, settled in Georgia to take advantage of the opportunities then offered in the opening of the lands in that part of the state. The first few years of Evan P. Howell were spent in the mountain surroundings of his father's home with the family of several younger brothers and one sister.

When young Howell was about nine years of age his father wishing to secure better educational advantages, for his family of young children was attracted by the activity of the thriving young town of Marthasville about twenty miles away. He accordingly purchased a lot adjoining what is now the site of the Piedmont Hotel in Atlanta, removing his family to their new home, the name of which was changed from Marthasville to Atlanta the year of their coming. "The call of the country," however, to the father of the family proved irresistible after a year or two in the village of Atlanta. The father, Clark Howell, purchased a large tract of land on the Chattahoochee river near Atlanta, built a handsome home there and sold his Atlanta home to the famous Dr. Crawford W. Long, the discoverer of anaesthesia, and who at that time lived in Athens.

Evan P. Howell after attending one of the few private schools in the young Atlanta, was large enough shortly after the removal of his father to their country home to enter the Georgia Military Institute at Marietta; after a course in which he entered the Lumpkin Law School in Athens—now the law school of the University of Georgia. He graduated at law in 1859 and went at once to Sandersville, Ga., Judge James S. Hook a prominent member of the bar of that circuit, having offered the young graduate a position in his office.



EVAN P. HOWELL.

The storm of the Civil War was then gathering and he had not long been practicing law in Sandersville before the Confederacy made its call for volunteers. He enlisted in the First Georgia Regiment as orderly sergeant, becoming lieutenant within a month. At the end of a year he joined Captain Robert Martin in the organization of a battery of artillery. Most of the enlistments were from among his comrades who, as citizens of Washington county of which Sandersville is the county seat, had entered the First Georgia Regiment with him. Within a few months after the organization of this battery Captain Martin obtained his majority and his first lieutenant, Evan P. Howell, became captain. This battery served with distinction through the Civil War being known as Howell's Battery of Artillery. It served under Jackson in Virginia after which it was transferred to the Western Army being engaged in some of its most notable battles, and at the historic three day fight at Chickamauga this battery rendered particularly brilliant service.

After Chickamauga, Howell's Battery fell back to Atlanta with General Joseph E. Johnston participating in the several engagements between Johnston and Sherman in the famous march from Chickamauga to Atlanta.

Howell's Battery was entrenched on one of the hills overlooking the battlefield of Peachtree Creek which marked the first assault on Atlanta, and two days later it was in the very center of the storm of the Battle of Atlanta in which Captain Howell under orders to take his battery across the field under full fire to silence the guns of a particular Federal battery which was doing great damage to the Confederate line, had his horse shot from under him and lost almost half of his company. The Federal battery, however, was silenced and captured.

Captain Howell remained in the war until its close and then became as active a factor in the work of rebuilding the city and state as he had been in war.

Immediately after the war Atlanta, having been burned by General Sherman, offered rare opportunity for those in search of business activity. The town had to be practically rebuilt. Captain Howell, who during the war had married Miss Julia A. Erwin of South Carolina, located with his wife and infant sons Clark and Albert upon a tract of land near the Chattahoochee river belonging to his father, and for nearly two years engaged in cutting and sawing timbers from the virgin forest for use as material in the upbuilding of Atlanta. He cut and sawed with his own hands sending the product of his sawmill to Atlanta where there was in-

sistent demand at high prices for all such material. Returning from the war in his ragged uniform, the first pair of trousers Captain Howell obtained to replenish his exhausted supply was made by his wife from one of her old calico dresses. At the end of two years, desiring to re-enter the practice of law in Atlanta, he located in the city accepting a position as reporter with the *Atlanta Intelligencer* with the idea of establishing himself before returning to his profession. Serving a year as city editor of the *Intelligencer*, he resumed in 1869 the practice of his profession. He was exceedingly active for several years in supporting and strengthening the municipal government as a member of the city council. He then became solicitor general of the Atlanta circuit, serving under the eminent John L. Hopkins as judge, and the administration of this court with Judge Hopkins and Captain Howell as solicitor general, became notable throughout the state for its work of suppression of the reign of lawlessness and murder which had characterized the period immediately following the days of reconstruction.

In 1873 Captain Howell was elected to the state senate and then re-elected for the second term. He was a delegate-at-large from the state to the St. Louis, Cincinnati and Chicago Democratic National Conventions, serving in each on the committee on Platform and Resolutions.

The General Assembly of the State of Georgia having appropriated one million dollars for the purpose of erecting a new capitol building in Atlanta, Governor McDaniel appointed Captain Howell in 1888 as a member of the Capitol Commission of five charged with plenary power in the construction of this building. The commission accomplished the unique feat of completing the building within the appropriation and turning back into the state treasury the unused part of the fund.

Prior to the erection of the new capitol building the City of Atlanta had undergone a heated campaign against the old capital, the City of Milledgeville, for the honor of becoming the permanent capital of the state, subject only to change by a vote of the people authorized by a two-third vote of both houses of the General Assembly.

Captain Howell was one of Atlanta's executive committee of three which had charge of the direction of this notable campaign, the contest resulting in Atlanta's overwhelming victory.

In 1876 Captain Howell, having retired from official service as solicitor general to devote himself to the active

practice of his profession in which he engaged with pronounced success, took advantage of an opportunity to buy a half interest in the Atlanta Constitution. He was then the attorney of the paper and through that connection received an offer of sale from the ownership of half of the stock. Captain Howell purchased this and became associated with William A. Hemphill who owned the other half. Captain Howell became editor of the Constitution, Mr. Hemphill, also a gallant Confederate veteran, business manager, and soon afterwards Henry W. Grady became associated with the Constitution through an offer of Captain Howell who recognized his marked ability. These three men formed a historic triumvirate participating in every development of the city.

Captain Howell who, upon his return to Atlanta after the war as a member of the city council, joined in laying the foundation of the city's new public schools system and the construction of the municipal water works, had been prominently identified with every movement looking to the development of the city, was at the head of the citizens organization formed to rebuild the Kimball House upon the burning of the famous hotel of that name which, at that time, was the most notable hotel structure in the South. As president of the company he led the movement which constructed the new Kimball House.

Long before and then while a member of council, impressed with the idea that Atlanta's growth must come through its railroad development, he took an active interest in the movement to have the city subscribe \$300,000 to the building of the Atlanta & Charlotte Air Line railroad giving the city this direct connection with New York and the East with which all railroad connection prior to that time was by way of Augusta on the one side and Chattanooga and Knoxville on the other. Captain Howell was named as one of Atlanta's two directors in the new company and rendered active service in pushing the road as far northward as Gainesville where it connected with the extension from Charlotte completing the through direct route from New York to Atlanta. Later on, he was active in the building of the Georgia Western from Atlanta to Birmingham, now a part of the Southern system.

For a period of nearly a quarter of a century Captain Howell was prominently identified with the politics of the State of Georgia, recognized everywhere as a political "Warwick" whose force in the shaping of any public question perhaps exceeded that of any other individual in the state. He was a man of remarkable personality, his name

being synonymous for good humor, for sound wisdom, probity and progress. He had a remarkable faculty for going straight to the meat of any proposition and of impressing his views upon any audience.

Captain Howell remained at the head of the Atlanta Constitution until he voluntarily retired in 1897, being succeeded by his son, Clark Howell. He had intended to retire to the quiet of a well earned rest, but President William McKinley requested him to serve on a special commission to investigate the conduct of certain phases of the Spanish-American War, and in pursuance of this duty he spent several months in Washington shortly after the close of that war. While absent from Atlanta in this service something of special interest to the city made it desirable to secure a specially strong representation in the General Assembly and he was nominated and elected for service in the house. Whenever a city emergency arose his services were always drafted, and so after his legislative service the citizens of his ward insisted on his entering council to obtain some special recognition to which the ward thought it was entitled, and which it had been unable to get.

Captain Howell rendered the service and took such an active interest in city affairs that a general call went up from all parts of the city for him to permit the use of his name as mayor, to which position he was elected in 1902.

After retiring from the mayoralty Captain Howell took life easily at his suburban home in West End, Atlanta, where he died August 6, 1905, survived by his wife and seven children, Clark Howell, Albert Howell, Mrs. Robert L. Foreman, Mrs. Ida Howell Cramer, Mrs. Byron Bower, Miss Rosalie Howell and Evan P. Howell, Jr.

No Atlantan ever wrought the impress of his personality more deeply upon the city than he did for almost half a century. He was closely identified with every civic development in Atlanta and was particularly active in the affairs of the first Cotton Exposition held in Atlanta in 1881, of which he was a director and which contributed wonderfully to the development of the textile industries of the South.

Captain Howell was closely identified for many years with the broad field of American Journalism, having been president of the Southern Associated Press from its organization until it was merged into the national association. He numbered his friends by the thousands among newspaper and public men the country over, and the news of his death was received everywhere with expression of universal regret.

He was a man of remarkable force of character, vigorous, determined and strong, and one of his essential characteristics was his unswerving loyalty to his friends and his tireless fidelity to any cause that he espoused. He never undertook to do a thing by half way methods and whenever he got into a contest he pushed his leadership with boundless energy. If a loser, he accepted defeat most gracefully and always without a scar—if a victor, as he generally was, he was more than generous to the vanquished.

At the close of the Civil War during which he had fought for nearly five years to dismember the Union, he became intensely interested in the effort to bring about National reconciliation, and perhaps the greatest work of his newspaper, *The Constitution*, was the service it rendered under Captain Howell and Henry W. Grady in the broad influence it exerted in strengthening the bonds of fraternity between the North and the South and in wiping out the last vestige of sectional animosity.

MUSTER ROLL OF A COMPANY OF CONFEDERATE STATES TROOPS.

We present herewith a list of soldiers serving in an independent artillery company in the Confederate States Army. We have a large number of these rolls of Confederate soldiers in the Library of the Georgia Historical Society, and it is our purpose to print one of them in each number of the *Quarterly*, believing that they will prove of sufficient interest to warrant this action.

**Muster Roll of Capt. R. Martin's Company, Light Artillery,
Army of The Confederate States of America, From
the 28th Day of Feb. 1863, When Last Mustered,
to the 30th Day of April, 1863.**

R. Martin, Captain, on detached duty.
Evan P. Howell, 1st Lieut., commanding the company.
W. G. Robson, Lieut., on twenty days leave.
R. H. Bland, 2nd Lieut. W. H. Dudley, 7th Sergt.
W. A. Martin, Ord. Sergt. W. K. Hall, 1st Corpl.
H. B. Ainsworth, Q. M. Sergt. W. M. Cox, 2nd Corpl.
E. W. Ervin, 1st Sergt. W. B. Oquin, 3rd Corpl.
H. K. Newsome, 2nd Sergt. W. F. Webster, 4th Corpl.
R. T. Gibson, 3rd Sergt. J. E. Cullens, 5th Corpl.
S. D. Fulford, 4th Sergt. J. H. L. Cox, Bugle.
J. B. Warthen, 5th Sergt. I. Hermann, Bugle.
W. H. Hines, 6th Sergt.

PRIVATES.

J. H. Allen.	S. M. Gilmore.
J. F. Bailey.	E. T. Gilmore.
J. M. Barnwell.	J. A. Goodown.
W. T. C. Barnwell.	S. A. Goodown.
W. B. Barwick.	W. A. Grimes.
W. J. Bell.	J. J. Haddon.
J. N. Bentley.	J. F. Haddon.
F. S. Bland.	R. H. Hall.
C. Blizzard.	J. D. Hardedge.
D. W. Bodiford.	W. N. Harman.
W. H. Bodiford.	A. P. Heath.
L. S. Braswell.	A. C. Hines.
J. J. Braswell.	W. H. Horton.
J. F. Brooks.	V. A. S. Horton.
W. J. Brooks.	J. W. Horton.
T. J. Brooks.	W. C. Howard.
U. A. Brown.	J. T. Howard.
B. L. Bynum.	A. Hulsey.
R. L. Campbell.	J. Jackson.
A. E. Candell.	R. E. Jackson.
D. F. Chambers.	J. E. Johnson.
J. H. Coleman.	K. Jones.
H. A. Cord.	B. Jones.
M. B. Cox.	G. Kittrell.
S. B. Cox.	J. S. Langmade.
R. W. Cullins.	I. N. Lockman.
E. W. Cullins.	F. M. Loden.
I. D. Cullens.	E. K. Lord.
J. Curry.	F. M. Lord.
I. A. Curry.	N. A. Lord.
A. Dixon.	H. C. Lord.
R. Dixon.	D. G. McCoy.
W. E. Doolittle.	J. P. McCoy.
T. C. Doolittle.	F. A. McCoy.
J. E. Q. Dudley.	W. J. Massey.
T. C. Durham.	J. W. Mathews.
J. Ellis.	J. E. Mulling.
H. Field.	J. J. Oquin.
H. Ford.	J. R. Oxford.
E. T. Ford.	J. H. Pittman.
G. T. Franklin.	B. F. Pool.
B. O. Franklin.	F. Posey.
B. Garner.	J. B. Ragan.
T. J. Gilmore.	N. Rayfield.
W. Gilmore.	J. F. Rogers.

J. T. Salter.	R. Tompkins.
J. F. Sheppard.	J. F. Tompkins.
W. F. Sheppard.	W. H. Toulson.
W. D. Sheppard.	J. H. Veal.
H. Skelly.	J. W. Veal.
W. A. Smith.	J. M. Walden.
J. P. Smith.	W. Waller.
A. L. Stevens.	J. A. Waller.
D. B. Tanner.	J. J. Waller.
L. Taylor.	R. T. Waller.
J. B. Thomas.	G. W. Webster.
W. C. Thomas.	J. W. Webster.
H. S. Thompson.	J. Wood.
S. F. Tompkins.	

The company was afterwards known as Howell's Battery of Artillery. At this time it was stationed at Stave Landing, in Bryan county.

WILKES COUNTY, ITS PLACE IN GEORGIA HISTORY.

BY OTIS ASHMORE.

No county in the state of Georgia is richer in natural resources and in the achievements of her citizens than Wilkes. Her contributions of material wealth and of distinguished men and women in the upbuilding of the state is remarkable. She has furnished eleven Governors of Georgia, who were either born in Wilkes, or who were at some times residents of that county, and seventeen counties in the state have been named in honor of her eminent sons.

Wilkes county originally embraced a very large territory, including Lincoln, Elbert, Oglethorpe, and in part Hart, Warren, McDuffie, Talliaferro, Madison and Greene counties. This territory was acquired from the Indians in payment of debts due the early traders, and in 1773 it was opened to settlement. In 1777 it was created into a county by the State Constitution of that year. It was named in honor of John Wilkes, a distinguished member of the British Parliament, who strenuously opposed those harsh and unjust measures towards America which finally led to the Revolution.

EARLY SETTLERS.

The earliest settlers of Wilkes county were from North Carolina, but these were soon followed by a large number of Virginia families of greater wealth, education and influence. The differences of feeling and social status between these two groups gave rise to political antagonisms which were at times state-wide. The political strife between Crawford and Clark is an instance. William H. Crawford was a Virginian, while John Clark was a North Carolinian, and for many years Georgia politics was divided into two great factions, whose members espoused the cause of one or the other of these two great leaders.

It is worthy of note that the early settlers of Wilkes county were a totally different group from that which was planted in Savannah by Oglethorpe in 1733. The Wilkes county settlers came in a steady migratory stream from Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland, and they were of the best English and Scotch-Irish stock. Behind these people in ancestral lines lay habits of thrift and industry, hardihood and courage, and honor and high purpose. It is therefore not strange that from such ancestral stock so many men of mark should be produced. Among these early settlers were the following:

Gen. Elijah Clarke and his son John Clark, who afterwards became Governor, Colonel John Dooly, Colonel Thomas Dooly, Stephen Heard, Barnard Heard, Jesse Heard, George Mathews (Governor), Colonel Benjamin Taliaferro, Francis Meriwether, Thomas Meriwether, David Meriwether, John Heard, Benjamin Wilkinson, John Talbot and his son Matthew Talbot (Governor), Colonel Micah Williamson, William Barnett, John Gilmer, Thomas M. Gilmer, the father of Governor George R. Gilmer, John Marks, John Callaway, Nathaniel Edge, Wiley Hill, John Myrick, Colonel John Freeman, Colonel Holman Freeman, Dr. W. W. Bibb, General Samuel Blackburn, Nathaniel Barnett, Micajah McGehee, Daniel Harvie, Reuben Jordan, John Davenport, John Bradley, James Bradley, George Lumpkin, John Rutherford, John Hill, Thomas Ansley, Nathaniel Howell, Thomas Wooten, Burwell Pope, John Lindsey, Frederick Sims, William Pollard, Benjamin Jackson, Walter Jackson, William Morgan, Thomas Branham, John Wingfield, John Nall, Nathaniel Christmas, Job Callaway, Jacob Early, Henry Mounger, William Glenn, Walker Richardson, Benjamin Joyney, Reuben Saffold, James Findley, Curtace Wellborn, Samuel Cresswell, James Anthony, William Terrell, Joel Terrell, Daniel Grant, Thomas Grant,

William Bowen, John Armstrong, Sanders Walker, Colonel Nicholas Long, Thomas Wellborn, Thomas Carter, Spencer Crane, Mr. Pharr, James Jack, Garland Wingfield, Mr. Cuthbert, Thomas Napier, William Moss, Captain Lipham, Horatio Marbury, John Barksdale, Henry Pope, Charles Tate, Henry Gibson, John Pope, David Lowery, Thomas Wingfield, William Stokes, William Gilbert, Daniel Mills, Edward Butler, David Hillhouse, Micajah Anthony, John Candler, John Cain, Elijah Darden, Gabriel Toombs, William Toombs, John Stephens, Williamson Bird, George Willis, Humphrey Burdett, Joel Hurt, Pressly Rucker, William Sanson, James Sanson, William Head, Alexander Cummins, John Collier, Joseph Wilson, Sampson Harris, Anthony Poullain, John Colley, Philip Combs, Jacob Shorter, William Ogletree, Joseph Callaway, William Rabun, Henry Colquitt, James Shepard, Colonel John Graves, Captain Abram Simons, Rev. Silas Mercer, Rev. T. J. Beck, Henry Jossey, and Matthew Sikes.

In 1773 Stephen Heard of Virginia planted a colony upon the present site of the town of Washington, and there he built a stockade fort. His two brothers, Barnard and Jesse, and probably his father John Heard, came with him. During the Revolution Heard's Fort became the temporary seat of the state government after Augusta fell into the hands of the British, and Stephen Heard acted as Governor. The traditional site of the old fort is that upon which the new court house now stands, where also stood the old Heard House in which the last meeting of the Confederate Cabinet was held.

The first court held north of Augusta was at Heard's Fort on April 25, 1779, where Absalom Bedell, Benjamin Catchings, and William Down were the Justices. Zachariah Lamar and James Gorman were added later. Colonel John Dooly was the attorney for the state. At this court nine persons were sentenced to be hanged, principally for treason, "under indictments," says Judge Andrews in the Bench and Bar of Georgia, "about as long as your finger."

The name of Heard's Fort was changed in 1780 to Washington in honor of "The Father of his Country," it being the first town in the United States so named.

BATTLE OF KETTLE CREEK.

During the Revolution, Wilkes county, which then included Lincoln and the other parts cut off since, was called by the Tories "the Hornet's Nest," on account of the patriotic activity and bravery of her people. About eight

miles west of Washington was fought on February 14, 1779, the battle of Kettle Creek, where the American forces under Pickens, Clarke and Dooly almost annihilated the British troops under Colonel Boyd. The British leader with about eight hundred men had crossed the Savannah near its junction with Broad River, and was shaping his course westward to a point on Little River, where he had agreed upon a union with the notorious McGirth. The Americans with about four hundred men closely followed them, and on the morning of the 14th of February they came upon the enemy who had halted for breakfast upon the north side of Kettle Creek. The British had taken no precaution against a surprise attack, and the Americans suddenly fell upon them in a desperate battle which lasted one hour and forty-five minutes. The result was a complete victory for the patriots. The British loss was seventy killed, and seventy-five wounded and captured. The American loss was nine killed and twenty-three wounded. The brave Colonel Boyd fell mortally wounded, three musket balls having pierced his body. Colonel Pickens waited upon him and tendered him every relief in his power. The British leader fully realized his hopeless condition, and he gave Colonel Pickens certain articles of value to be forwarded to his wife with a letter explaining the manner of his death. This request was faithfully complied with. Two men were detailed to wait upon him and to bury his body after death. He died the following night.

Those of the enemy who escaped scattered in every direction. This battle was a decisive one, for it completely foiled the British plans of invasion, and it greatly heartened the patriots throughout the state. A partial list of names of the American patriots who took part in this memorable struggle has been recently prepared after much investigation and research by Mrs. T. M. Green of Washington. This list, taken from Knight's Landmarks, Memorials, and Legends of Georgia is as follows:

Elijah Clarke	Holman Freeman
John Dooly	James Freeman
Thomas Dooly	William Freeman
Micajah Williamson	Stephen Heard
Hugh McCall	Barnard Heard
George Dooly	John Heard
John Freeman	Jesse Heard
Daniel Freeman	Austin Dabney
Coldrop Freeman	James Williams

Samuel Whatley	Absalom Bedell
Benjamin Wilkinson	Benjamin Catchings
Benjamin Hart	William Downs
Morgan Hart	Henry Manadne
Nancy Hart	Scott Redden
Nancy Darker	Joseph Scott Redden
Elisha Wilkinson	George Redden
John Nelson	Jacob McLendon
——Staples	George Walton
Joe Phillips	Jesse Walton
Zachariah Phillips	John Walton
James Little	Nathaniel Walton
Andrew Pickens	Robert Walton
Dionysius Oliver	Daniel Burnett
Daniel Coleman	Ichabod Burnett
John Coleman	John Burnett
Thomas Stroud	Richard Aycock
James McLean	Robert Day
Jacob Ferrington	Joseph Day
William Bailey	John Gorham
John Glass	Zachariah Lamar
Thomas Glass	Basil Lamar
Charles Beddingfield	L. Williamson
William Harper	——Saffold
Robert Harper	——Finley
John Crutchfield	——John Hill
Francis Triplett	John Lindsey
James Alexander	William Morgan
John Candler	William Terrell
——Cade	John Colley
——Bridges	Nathan Smith
Captain Anderson	——Marbury
Ambrose Beasley	——Walker
Jeter Stubblefield	——Combs
John Lamar	Stephen Evans
James Lamar	William Evans
Joseph Pickens	John Evans
John Clark	——Cosby
Owen Fluker	——Foster
Will Fluker	——Montgomery
R. Sutton	James White
Wiley Pope	——Arnold
William Pope	——Truitt
Henry Pope	——Snow
Burwell Pope	John Candler
Richard Tyner	

WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN.

It is an interesting fact that one of the first, if not the very first, cotton gins ever operated in Georgia, or in the world, was the one operated by Eli Whitney, the famous inventor, in Wilkes county near Smyrna church. The original building, though removed a short distance from the site upon which it was erected, is still standing on the Burdett place near Smyrna. One of the first cotton gins constructed by Whitney was for many years in the possession of Judge Garnett Andrews of Washington, to whom it was given by Governor Matthew Talbot, on whose plantation the first gin house was located. This old relic was lost many years ago at an agricultural fair in Augusta. Much credit is due to Miss Fannie Andrews, a daughter of Judge Garnett Andrews, and one of Georgia's most accomplished women, for preserving the history of the first cotton gin and its operations.

DISTINGUISHED MEN AND WOMEN.

Wilkes county has produced a large number of distinguished men and women who have greatly strengthened and adorned the life of the state. Eleven Governors of Georgia were either born in Wilkes, or were for some time residents of this county. These were Heard, Mathews, Clark, Talbot, Early, Lumpkin, Rabun, Towns, Gilmer, Forsyth, and Stephens. Seventeen counties of Georgia have been named in honor of her distinguished sons.

STEPHEN HEARD moved from Westmoreland county, Virginia, in 1773, and built a stockade fort upon the present site of the town of Washington. He was a prominent figure in the councils of the state, and for a time during the Revolution he acted as governor with his capital at his fort.

GEORGE MATHEWS was twice governor of the state, and a member of the first United States Congress. He was born in Virginia in 1739, and in 1785 he removed to Georgia and settled at Goose Pond, now in Oglethorpe county, together with the Meriwethers, the Freemans, the Gilmers, the Talliaferros, Bernetts and others. While Governor he signed the notorious Yazoo Act, but he himself was free from any guilt in this great state scandal. He died in Augusta August 12, 1812, while on his way to Washington City to inflict punishment on the President of the United States for a fancied wrong, and was buried in old St. Paul's churchyard.

JOHN CLARK, the son of General Elijah Clarke, was a forceful figure in Georgia politics in the stormy period succeeding the Revolution. He was born in North Carolina February 28, 1766, and at the age of sixteen he entered the Continental army as lieutenant. He was elected Governor in 1819, and again two years later. He challenged William H. Crawford to a duel, and a shot from Clark's pistol broke Crawford's wrist. His home was situated eleven miles from Washington on the south side of the road to Danielsville. It was here that the American troops encamped the night before the battle of Kettle Creek. General Clark died of yellow fever at St. Andrew's Bay, Florida, October 12, 1832.

MATTHEW TALBOT was born in Virginia July 24, 1795. He became ex-officio Governor after the death of Governor Rabun in 1819. He died March 14, 1855, and was buried at Smyrna church near his home.

PETER EARLY was also born in Virginia. After being graduated from Princeton he moved to Wilkes county and began the practice of law. His marked ability and forceful character successfully advanced him to the positions of Congressman, Superior Court Judge, and, in 1813, to Governor. He died in Greene county August 15, 1817, and his remains still lie there in an unmarked grave.

WILSON LUMPKIN was born in Virginia January 14, 1783, and while very young he moved with his father to that part of Wilkes county which is now included in Oglethorpe. He served in the State Legislature and in Congress, and in 1823 he was one of the Commission to fix the line between Georgia and Florida. In 1831 he was elected Governor. He died in Athens December 28, 1870.

WILLIAM RABUN was born in North Carolina April 8, 1771. He moved to Wilkes county at the age of fourteen, and later to Hancock county where he died October 24, 1819, while Governor of the State.

GEORGE W. TOWNS, Governor, Legislator, and Congressman, was born in Wilkes county May 4, 1802. He died in Macon July 15, 1854. Miller, in the Bench and Bar of Georgia, pays him high tribute for his skill and address, to his polished manners, and to his power to move the human feelings by his persuasive eloquence.

GEORGE R. GILMER was born April 11, 1790, in that part of Wilkes county which is now Oglethorpe. His father moved to Wilkes from Virginia in 1784. He served in the

War with the Creeks, and in the War of 1812. He was Legislator, Congressman, and twice Governor. In 1855 he published *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and the Author*. The publication, while sensational at the time, was a valuable contribution to the history of the state, and especially of Wilkes county. He died at Lexington November 15, 1859.

JOHN FORSYTH and ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, both Governors of the state, while not born in Wilkes, received much of their education and their inspiration in this county, and they owed much of their success in life to this circumstance.

Among the other prominent men of Wilkes was Colonel Micajah Williamson, one of the most prominent patriots of the Revolution. He and General Elijah Clarke were great friends. He had five sons and six daughters. All of the daughters married prominent men, as follows: Nancy married John Clark, afterwards Governor of Georgia. Sarah married, first Judge Griffin, and afterwards Judge Tait, who served for ten years in the United States Senate. Susan married Dr. Thomas Bird, and her daughter Sarah became the wife of L. Q. C. Lamar, Sr., and the mother of the great jurist and statesman of the same name, who served on the Supreme Bench of the United States, in the national Senate, and in the Cabinet of President Cleveland. Mary married Duncan G. Campbell, for whom Campbell county was named, and who signed the famous treaty at Indian Springs. He was the champion of female education in Georgia. His son, John A. Campbell, was a judge of the United States Supreme Court, and a commissioner in the celebrated conference at Hampton Roads. Martha married a Fitch, and Elizabeth a Thweat, both men of prominence. It would be difficult in one family to match this remarkable record.

Another prominent family of Wilkes is the Alexander family.

Adam L. Alexander was born in Sunbury, Ga., in 1803, and was graduated at Yale in 1819. He met at New Haven, Sarah Hillhouse Gilbert, daughter of William Gilbert and granddaughter of David R. Hillhouse and Sarah Porter Hillhouse, who was a remarkable woman. They were married in the celebrated old Hillhouse mansion at New Haven, and settled upon the wife's plantation on the edge of Washington. There were ten children of this marriage. The most distinguished of the sons was Gen. Edward Porter Alexander, Brigadier General of the Confederate Army, President

of the Georgia Railroad and Banking Company, President of the Central Railroad and Banking Company, etc. The six daughters, all women of remarkable force and intellect, married men of mark. Louisa married J. F. Gilmer, Chief of Engineers and Major General of the Confederate States Army; Sarah married Alexander R. Lawton, Brigadier General, commanding a division in Stonewall Jackson's corps, Quartermaster General of the Confederacy, United States Minister to Austria, legislator and lawyer; Harriet married Wallace Cumming, a leading citizen and a successful banker of Savannah; Mary Clifford married George Gilmer Hull, a pioneer in railroad operation and construction in Georgia; Marion married Rev. William E. Boggs, D. D., a distinguished Presbyterian Clergyman and Chancellor of the University of Georgia; Alice married Col. Alexander C. Haskell, leader of the Democrats in the political revolution which restored South Carolina to its own people in 1876-77, and judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina.

Adam L. Alexander was one of the citizens of Wilkes county who gave to Alexander H. Stephens his education, and Mr. Stephens lived some time in the Alexander home. Mr. Stephens' dedication of his Reviewers Reviewed to Mr. Alexander is the best index of his character and attainments.

Out on the Mallorysville road four miles from Washington at Walnut Hill was located the famous school of Rev. John Springer. He was a gigantic man, weighing over four hundred pounds. He was the first Presbyterian minister ordained in Georgia. The ceremony took place in Washington out of doors under a large poplar tree which is still standing in the rear of the home of Mr. C. A. Alexander. To this school many boys and young men were sent from Augusta and the surrounding country. Among those who attended this famous school were Jesse Mercer, John Forsyth, and Nicholas Ware. Alexander Stephens was prepared for college at the High School in Washington, and for some years lived here. Maj. General W. H. T. Walker, who lost his life in the battle of Atlanta, and Madam Octavia Walton LeVert, one of the South's most brilliant women, were descendants of Thomas Talbot of Wilkes county.

Rev. Hope Hull, the founder of the first Methodist school in Georgia, lived, taught, and preached in Wilkes. His school was known as Succoth Academy, and was located near Coke's Chapel. The first Methodist Church in Georgia was built in Wilkes county by Daniel Grant.

Rev. Jesse Mercer, for whom Mercer University was named, lived in Wilkes. He has done more for the Baptist church than any other man in the state. He was, indeed a remarkable man. He was baptized in a barrel of water, and as a minister he had a remarkable career. He organized the first Baptist church in Washington, and became the editor of the Christian Index. His second wife was Nancy Simons, the widow of Captain Abram Simons, a wealthy Jew and a Revolutionary soldier, who lived about seven miles from Washington on the Augusta road. It is a curious circumstance that much of the money contributed by Jesse Mercer to establish Mercer University, a Baptist institution, should have been derived from the estate of this broad minded Jewish financier. Jesse Mercer had set his heart on Washington as the seat of this University, but the gift of \$2,500 from Josiah Penfield of Savannah, together with other influences, carried it to Penfield on Greene county, where it remained till 1871 when it was removed to Macon.

It would be impossible in the limitations of this sketch to mention all of the distinguished men and women of Wilkes who have honored the state in their lives. Here lived the lordly Toombs, the leonine leader of the Confederacy, about whose brilliant career a volume could be written. Here, too, lived Judge William M. Reese and Judge Garnett Andrews, both distinguished jurists in their day. The genial General Dudley M. DuBose, the son-in-law of Robert Toombs, was a resident of Washington. Here also should be mentioned Miss Eliza A. Bowen, and Miss E. F. Andrews, two of Georgia's most gifted women educators. Miss Bowen wrote a text-book on "Astronomy by Observation" and an incomplete History of Wilkes county. Miss Andrews has written several popular works on fiction, a work on botany, and an interesting book entitled "The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl," besides numerous magazine articles of great value.

It is not generally known that the father of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, was a native of Wilkes County, and that the remains of his grandfather sleep in an unmarked grave near the present town of Washington.

In this county also lived that "tall, muscular, fearless, red-headed, cross-eyed, and cross-grained" heroine of the Revolution, Nancy Hart, for whom Hart county was named. Her home was in what is now Elbert county near Beaverdam Ford on Broad River. Her maiden name was Morgan, and both she and her husband, Benjamin Hart,

were from Kentucky. Benjamin Hart was a brother of Colonel Thomas Hart, and an uncle of Thomas Hart Benton.

Here also lived the Hills, Popes, Wootens, Callaways, McGehees, Barnetts, Colleys, Simpsons, Lanes, Bookers, Wynns, and many others.

It will be seen from this limited sketch that Wilkes county is unusually rich in historic material. Her people have great reason to be proud of their past, and it is worthy of preservation. Miss Bowen, Miss Andrews, Miss Lane, Mrs. Green and others have done much to rescue the fading records, but her citizens should encourage every effort to preserve in imperishable form the splendid history of their county before Time's effacing fingers have swept into oblivion the unrecorded deeds of men.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

A. I.—Can you give me the actual date of the death of Button Gwinnett, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia?

Sanderson, in the *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, says: "The wound of Mr. Gwinnett proved mortal, and he expired on the twenty-seventh of May, 1777, in the forty-fifth year of his age." This mistake has been repeated by other writers. In his *History of Georgia*, vol. 2, p. 270, Chas. C. Jones says that the challenge to the duel passed from Gwinnett to McIntosh on the 15th of May, that the duel was fought next day, and that Gwinnett, "after lingering for twelve days, died of his hurt," which would make the date of death the 28th. Both of these statements are incorrect. Joseph Clay, in a letter to the Hon. Henry Laurens, from Savannah, dated May 19, 1777, (*Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. VIII, p. 32) wrote: "You have doubtless heard of Gen'l McIntosh & Gwinnett's dispute w'ch has ended w'th the loss of the latter; a mortification took place w'ch brought him to his end this morning." So the discovery of Mr. Clay's letter definitely fixes the time of Gwinnett's death as May 19, 1777. But it is proper to add that Jones, in a later work, "*Biographical Sketches of the Delegates from Georgia to the Continental Congress*," printed Lyman Hall's account of the duel and Gwinnett's death, thus: "He languished from that morning, (Friday, 16th) till Monday morning following & expired," and in his sketch of Gwinnett said he died four days after the duel.

S. A. T.—Is it true that Charles Dickens mentions the siege of Savannah in the American Revolution in one of his novels? If so, kindly give me the name of the book.

In the 72d chapter of *Barnaby Rudge*, John Willet (who never could be reconciled to the fact that his son Joe had grown to manhood, thus causing the latter to leave home and join the army) questions his son, on his return, concerning the loss of an arm, and receives this reply: "At the defense of Savannah, father." "At the defense of the Salwanners," repeated Mr. Willet, softly, again looking round the table. "In America, where the war is," said Joe.

Philip.—In a newspaper published recently I saw the account of a horse-race in Georgia which was run some time in the early years of the last century, and the suggestion was made by the editor that it would be interesting to have some account of earlier horse races, and if possible to learn when the first race was run in Georgia. Can you give me any information on this point?

We are in possession of the first printed notice of the sport in Georgia, but cannot say whether races were run here before that time. In the *Gazette* of Thursday, June 2, 1763, this interesting item appeared: "On Thursday last (May 26) a subscription purse of 20 guineas was run for at Sunbury, over a two mile course, when four horses started. Mr. Maxwell's little Chickesaw afforded excellent sport through every heat, but especially the last, which entitled him to the prize, there being three to one again him."

The Mr. Maxwell mentioned in the foregoing, was the owner of Belfast, now in Bryan county, and the great grandfather of the editor of the *Quarterly*.

Anxious Inquirer.—I have looked into all the works on Georgia history at my command for the names of the officers of Oglethorpe's Regiment, but can find only a few. Has a full list ever been printed?

Many years ago the following list was sent to the editor of the *Quarterly* by a gentleman living in Maidstone, England, with the statement that he had copied it from a manuscript volume in the Public Records Office in London, called "A Book of Army Commissions," containing the names of officers to whom commissions were issued from 1728 to 1741:

From "A Book of Army Commissions" from 1728 to 1741 in the Record Office in London, as follows:

James Oglethorpe, Colonel of a regiment of foot.
 James Cochran, Lieutenant Colonel.
 Wm. Cook, Major.
 Hugh Mackay, Captain.
 Richard Norbury, Captain.
 Alex. Heron, Captain.
 Albert Desbrisay, Captain.
 Philip Delegall, Senior, Lieutenant.
 Philip Delegall, Junior, Lieutenant.
 Raymond Demere, Lieutenant.
 George Morgan. The rank not stated.
 George Dunbar. The rank not stated.
 Will Horton, Ensign.
 James Mackay, Ensign.
 Wm. Tolson, Ensign.
 John Tanner, Ensign.
 John Leman, Ensign.
 Sandford Mace, Ensign.
 Hugh Mackay, Adjutant.
 Edward Dyson, Clerk and Chaplain.
 Thomas Hawkins, Surgeon.
 Edward Wansall, Quartermaster.

There were also Lieuts. Maxwell and Sutherland who are not named in this list; but they were trusted officers and appear in Oglethorpe's account of the troubles with the Spaniards.

Historian.—Can you tell me whether Oglethorpe's Regiment was uniformed? If the officers wore a uniform, where can a description of same be found?

It is certain that no description of the uniform worn by members of Oglethorpe's Regiment has been given in any of the histories of Georgia, but a letter written to Bishop Wm. B. Stevens by Prof. Wm. MacKenzie of the University of Edinburgh, dated 15th of September, 1845, gives the following: "Description of the Uniform of Oglethorpe's Regiment in a MS. volume, in the library of the deceased Duke of York; Hat, old style three cornered, low roofed; Coat, red and of ample dimensions, wide in the skirts, facings green, with a narrow stripe of white between the body and the dress."

This is neither full nor definite, but is the only description to be found anywhere.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

With this number we begin to carry out the design of the Georgia Historical Society in deciding to publish a periodical devoted to the dissemination of information relating to the history of the State of Georgia, as one of the purposes for which the Society was founded. It is, we believe, a fair sample of what was contemplated by the action calling it into existence, and we confidently look for the hearty approval by our readers of the varied contents of this issue.

We contemplate, as far as possible, the publication in each succeeding number of a genealogy of some Georgia family, and call upon such of our members as have the material to prepare for publication articles of that nature. Help us on this line.

Articles on matters connected with the history of our state are called for, and it should be a matter of duty with those who are proud of our achievements to aid us in placing on record in our Quarterly the things which we wish to be held in lasting remembrance.

The seventy-eighth annual meeting of the Georgia Historical Society was held at the regular time, February 12th, but only a portion of the business on the docket was transacted, and the meeting was adjourned to the 21st of March. At that time the annual address will be delivered by Mr. Alexander C. King, of Atlanta. We need not say anything here as to the fitness of the selection of Mr. King as the orator of the occasion. No better man could have been invited, and we bespeak for him a large audience which we are sure he will have. We will have more to say on this subject in the June number.

To encourage historical research and the cultivation of portraying the art of history in fiction the Georgia Historical Quarterly offers a prize of twenty-five dollars to be awarded to the writer of the best short story for publication in the Quarterly upon the following conditions:

1. The author or authoress must be a Georgian residing within the state.
2. The plot of the story must be laid in Georgia and the chief incidents and characters taken from Georgia History.
3. The story must contain not less than 5000 or more than 8000 words.
4. Rejected manuscripts will be returned.
5. The winning story will appear in either the June or September number of the Quarterly of the present year.
6. The award will be made by the Committee on Publication of the Georgia Historical Society.

THE
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QUARTERLY



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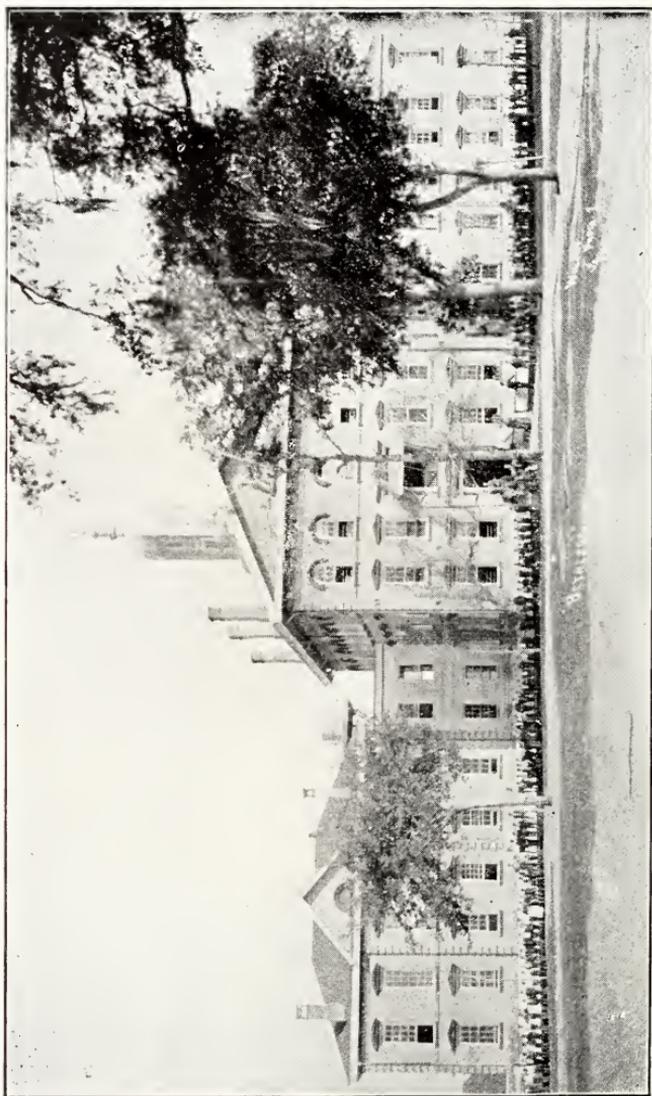
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BETHESDA ORPHAN HOME.

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*Died May 9, 1917.



LIVE OAK TREE AT STRATHY HALL.
29 Feet in Circumference.



TREES AT STRATHY HALL.
Fronting Site of Old Mansion.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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No. 2

JAMES MACKAY, OF STRATHY HALL, COMRADE IN ARMS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

BY WILLIAM HARDEN.

The purpose of this biographical sketch is to acquaint the reader with the truth in the history of one who, in his lifetime, acted a part of useful service to his fellow men; to the colony of Georgia when he took up arms under the leadership of the founder of this commonwealth; to Great Britain in her conflict with her enemy in what was known as the French and Indian War, where he came in close touch with "The Father of his Country;" to the same great English government later on when the colonies sought and gained their independence from that government; and who, notwithstanding all this, is almost unknown to the people of Georgia at the present time. Before taking up an account of his life, let us inquire into the history of his antecedents and learn something of the clan from which he descended.

From a book on "The Scottish Clans and Their Tartans," we glean this account of the Clan Mackay:

"This Clan is known to the 'seanachies' as 'Clan Mhorguinn,' or Clan Morgan. In the Book of Deer (eleventh century) the Clan Morgan and their 'toiseach,' or chief, granted lands to the Abby of Deer, Aberdeenshire, in the eleventh century. The Clan are also called 'Clan Aoidh,' the Lowland form is Mackie, and the Irish Magee. In Manx they are simply Kay. There are at least two clans Mackay, an Argyllshire and Sutherlandshire clan. The Argyllshire Mackays are to be found at an early date in Islay and Kintyre.

"The genealogy of the Mackays of Kintyre will be found in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 54. It differs totally from that of the Mackays of the North. The latter are always called Clan Morgan by the Gaelic 'seanachies,' and claim to be descended from the common ancestor of the Forbeses and Urquharts, and about 1608 they adopted Lord Forbes' arms with cadet differences (by permission of Lord Forbes, whom Hugh Mackay of Farr calls 'his Dear Chief').

"The first historic Chief of the Clan was Angus Du, who flourished 1380-1429. He was called 'Angus the Absolute' from the fact of his having 4000 men at his command. Angus was an old man when the fierce battle of Drumnacoub was fought in 1429, and the Clan was led by Iain Abereigh, who gained a great victory. Angus Du fell by the hand of a skulking assassin, a follower of the Earl of Sutherland, who shot him with an arrow, on the Historic Drumnacoub. The assassin was killed some years later by a grandson of Angus Du.

"In the enforced absence of his brother Neil, who was confined on the Bass Rock, Iain Abereigh, who had so distinguished himself as a leader, acted as chief in his brother's stead till 1437.

"On his liberation Neil assumed his rightful position, which he held till his death in 1450. He was succeeded by his son Angus, who sided with the Keiths against the Gunns, and took part in the cruel fight of Bar Tannic, Caithness.

"The Chief of the Clan from 1614 to 1650 was Donald, whom Charles 1st raised to the Peerage in 1628, with the title of Lord Reay. Hugh Mackay of Farr, father of Donald Lord Reay, is said to have been the first of his family who turned Protestant. Lord Reay carried over a regiment of 3000 men to Germany to the assistance of the King and Queen of Bohemia. He afterwards engaged in the service of the King of Denmark against Germany, and upon the King making peace with the conqueror, he entered with his forces into the service of Gustavus Adolphus, bringing new recruits and supplies of men. (See *An Old Scot's Brigade*, Mackay Regiments page 251.) On hearing of the execution of Charles 1st, he felt it so much that he took to his bed, and died, abroad, about ten days after the execution—10th February, 1649. He was buried at Tongue Sutherlandshire.

"In 1642 Lord Reay sold Strathnaver, to the Earl of Sutherland, to redeem loans of money which he received to discharge debts incurred in transporting and maintaining 12,000 men which he recruited for foreign service to assist the Protestant cause in the great 30 years' war. During the

chiefship of Eric, seventh Lord Reay, in the early part of last century the remaining portions of the estate had to be sold, so that the Mackays of the North, as a Clan, have been for the best part of a century virtually landless.

"During the Irish Rebellion of 1798, the Mackays raised the celebrated Reay Fencible Regiment, 800 strong, which fought the battle of Tara Hill, routing an overwhelming body of the rebels.

"The Mackays of the South were powerful in Islay and Kintyre, and fought under the banner of the Lords of the Isles, sharing their misfortunes and exile. It is recorded that there were at one time eighteen landed proprietors in Kintyre bearing the name of Mackay. They were for centuries hereditary Crowners of North Kintyre. The earliest Gaelic charter extant was granted by Donald, Lord of the Isles, to Brian Vicar Mackay in 1408. The Vicar was known in Islay as 'macAoid na Ranna'—'Mackay of Rhinns.'"

"The Mackies, Mackeys, Macgies, Bains, Polsons and McPhails are regarded as Mackays and are eligible for membership in the Clan Society. The Clan Mackay Society was founded in 1806, a copy of the original rules being still preserved and resuscitated in 1888. Its headquarters are in Glasgow. The membership is over 500, and the finances amount to 1500 pounds.

"The present Chief of the Clan is the Right Honourable Sir Donald James Mackay, eleventh Baron Reay of Reay in the peerage of Scotland, Baron Reay of Durness in that of the United Kingdom, and Baron Mackay of Ophemert in Holland. He is descended from Brigadier-General the Honourable Aeneas Mackay, second son of John, second Lord Reay, and was born in Holland 22nd December, 1839."

Following this we come to an account of the branch of the Mackay family, from which our hero descended. These extracts are from the "Life of Lieut.-Gen. Hugh Mackay, of Scoury," etc., by John Mackay, London, 1842.

"Lieutenant-General Hugh Mackay of Scoury was descended from Mackay of Strathnaver, chief of the Clan Mackay, in the county of Sutherland. From what country the Mackays originally migrated, and at what precise period they settled on the west and north-west coasts of Sutherland, are questions on which we need not enlarge; it may be sufficient to state that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, they had attained to such a degree of power and importance that Donald Mackay of Strathnaver is mentioned among the chiefs who, at the head of their respective clans, fought under the banners of Robert Bruce, at Ban-

nockburn, A. D. 1314. Angus Mackay of Strathnaver sometimes denominated Angus Dow, or Dhu, from his dark complexion), supposed to have been the great-grandson of Donald, is the same who is described by the continuator of Fordun as the leader of four thousand Strathnavermen. He fought a bloody battle near Dingwall, with Donald, Lord of the Isles, A. D. 1411, and soon after married Elizabeth of the Isles, eldest sister of Donald, and daughter of John, Lord of the Isles, by Margaret, daughter of King Robert 2nd. The fifth in descent from Angus was Hugh, or Iye Dow Mackay of Strathnaver, who succeeded his father, Donald, A. D. 1572, in quiet possession of his family estate.

"He was twice married, first to his cousin Eupheme, daughter of Hugh Macleod, laird of Assynt in Sutherland, and by her had Donald of Scoury. His second wife was a daughter of Sinclair, laird of Dun in Caithness, by whom he had two sons, Hugh of Strathnaver, father of the first Lord Reay, and William of Bighouse, from whom are descended the present Bighouse family. Hugh, though the younger brother, was preferred to Donald in the division of the paternal property, for reasons which the curious reader will find detailed in Robert Mackay's 'History of the Clan Mackay.' Donald the first, of Scoury, married a daughter of Munro, of Assynt in Ross-shire, brother of Sir Hector Munro, the first baronet of Foulis, and by her had three sons, Hugh, Donald, and William. First, Hugh Mackay carried on the line of the family; second, Donald of Borley, so designed from having the lands of Borley in Wadset; and third, William, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of Gustavus-Adolphus, who was killed at Lutzen, 1632, at the same time with that renowned Protestant hero.

"Hugh of Scoury, Donald's eldest son, was, in 1643, appointed by parliament a commissioner for raising supplies, and in 1648 a member of the committee of war for the sheriffdom of Sutherland. In 1649, being with the royal army at Balveny castle, he was surprised and taken prisoner, together with his son-in-law, John Lord Reay; but, owing to some unexplained cause, was permitted to return home peaceably, with the Strathnavermen, while his lordship was sent, in custody, to Edinburgh castle. By the act of 1650, for calling out all fencible men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, he was appointed a colonel of foot, which rank Charles 2nd confirmed to him at the Restoration. In 1661, he was reappointed a commissioner for raising supplies, and died, in 1662, universally lamented as a man of great probity and worth. He married Ann, a daughter of John Corbet of Arkboll, or Arboll, in the county of

Ross, and had issue four sons and several daughters; of whom Barbara the eldest married her cousin, John, second Lord Reay; and from this marriage all the subsequent lords of Reay have descended. William and Hector, the elder sons, were waylaid and murdered in Caithness, at the instigation, it was supposed, of persons of distinction in that county, against whom criminal letters were in consequence issued; yet so wretched was the administration of justice, and so impotent the arm of the law, that, though all the preliminary forms were gone through, the criminals were never brought to trial."

From the foregoing we have a very complete account of the Mackays of Scoury, and of their receiving the title of Lords of Reay. It is not necessary to quote further from the full accounts at hand of this illustrious family; but this short extract from a sketch giving the pedigree of the senior branch of the Scoury family is of special interest in an account of James Mackay's life:

"Captain Hugh's eldest son, Patrick, after selling Siderra to the Earl of Sutherland, in 1732, accompanied General Oglethorpe, on his colonizing expedition to Georgia, together with three of his brothers."

The fact that four brothers, sons of Captain Hugh Mackay, came to Georgia and were closely in touch with Oglethorpe, is corroborated by the records in existence giving information on the subject of the formation of the famous regiment which rendered such excellent service in the troubles between the Georgia colonists and the Spaniards in Florida. The names are Hugh, Patrick, James and Charles. Hugh was Captain of one of the companies, and another of the same name was Adjutant, and probably the son of the Captain.

The first time we find any of these gentlemen mentioned by Oglethorpe is in a letter to the Georgia Trustees, written on board the ship Symonds, in Tybee Road, Feb. 13, 1735-6, in which he said:

"The servants that are on account of Patrick Mackay and John Cuthbert are to be paid for to the Trust by them in Provision & labour & will help to supply the wants of those hands we mist of in Germany. With respect to Hugh Mackay it is he that contracted with us and commands the party at Altamaha," &c.

This sketch is not the place for a lengthy account of the services rendered by the regiment organized and commanded by General Oglethorpe, but, as these four brothers, including our hero, formed such an important part of that military body, I trust that some incidents connected with their ser-

vices may not be considered out of order here. The story of their conflicts with the soldiers of Spain in Florida has been so often told that it is not necessary to say anything more in their praise; but no excuse is offered for the reproduction at this point of the following letter, in the nature of a report from Ensign Hugh Mackay to his brother in Scotland, dated at Fort St. Andrews, on Cumberland Island, August 10th, 1740. It is printed in "Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe," by Harris, pp. 232-235.

"On the 9th of June the General sent out a flying party of militia, Indians, and thirteen soldiers, in all making one hundred and thirty-seven men, under the command of Colonel Palmer, a Carolina gentleman, an old Indian warrior, of great personal resolution, but little conduct. Under him I commanded the party, and had orders to march from St. Diego, the headquarters, to Moosa, three miles from St. Augustine, a small fort which the Spaniards had held, but was demolished a few days before, there to show ourselves to the Spaniards, and thereafter to keep moving from one place to another to divert their attention, while the General took another route, and intended to come to Moosa in five days. The orders were just, and might with safety be executed, had a regular officer commanded; but poor Colonel Palmer, whose misfortune it was to have a very mean opinion of his enemies, would by no means be prevailed upon to leave the old fort, but staid there, thinking the Spaniards durst not attack him. He was mistaken, as will appear presently.

"Upon the 15th day of June, about four in the morning, we were attacked by a detachment of five hundred, from the garrison of St. Augustine, composed of Spaniards, negroes, and Indians, besides a party of horse to line the paths, that none of us might escape. Apprehending that this would happen, I obtained leave of Colonel Palmer, and therefore ordered our drum to beat to arms at three o'clock every morning and to have our men in readiness till it was clear day. Thus it was upon the fatal 15th of June, as I have said, when the Spaniards attacked us with a very smart fire from their small arms, in which Colonel Palmer fell the first. We returned the fire with the greatest briskness that can be imagined; and so the firing continued for some time; but, unluckily, we were penned up in a demolished fort; there was no room to extend. The Spaniards endeavored to get at the ruinous gate; and our party defended the same with the utmost bravery. Here was a terrible slaughter on both sides; but the Spaniards, who were five times our number, got at last, by dint of strength, the better; which, when I saw,

and that some prisoners were made, I ordered as many of my party then as were alive to draw off. We had great difficulty to get clear, for the Spaniards surrounded the fort on all sides. However, by the assistance of God, we got our way made good; drew up in sight of the enemy, and retired, without being pursued, till we were in safety. I had no more than twenty-five men, and some of them very ill wounded, of which number I was for I received three wounds at the fort gate, but they were slight ones. Several of the poor Highlanders who were in the engagement, and fought like lions, lost their lives—some of them your acquaintances.”

Oglethorpe's regiment, after an honorable and successful career, but, like all organizations, having its periods of trouble and dissensions, disbanded under circumstances very distressing to its commander. That matter is thus graphically related by Mr. Thomas Spalding, in a Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe, in the 1st volume of the Collections of the Georgia Historical Society:

“There still remained one blow which was to afflict him sorely. He had recruited his own regiment, selected his own officers; and they had followed him undismayed by the enemies that surrounded him, or the treachery of apparent friends. He had no children, and he had learned to feel for these companions in arms a father's love. These were now to be torn from his command. His regiment, by the will of the court and the Duke of Cumberland, was to be disbanded and scattered through the wilds of America.”

A little farther on in his account Mr. Spalding states that Captain Mackay was sent to Virginia with two companies to fight the Western tribes. No other inference can be drawn therefrom than that the companies were of those composing the recently disbanded regiment. We do not know whether, after reaching their field of action, they were consolidated under one commander; but we do know that an independent company from Georgia, unquestionably made up of soldiers of that regiment and commanded by Captain James Mackay, was sent to Virginia for service in the French and Indian War; and here we become better acquainted with that officer, and the information concerning his life as a soldier becomes more minute and more interesting.

The fact that Captain James Mackay, an officer of merit and experience in Oglethorpe's regiment, took an active part in the French and Indian War, and so became intimately associated with George Washington in actual warfare years before the American Revolution, is not generally known. True, the fact that a man named Mackay was in command of a company in that War and was with Wash-

ington at Great Meadows has been mentioned by certain writers, but the idea was formed and has been generally received as true that the company was a South Carolina organization, and very little credit has been given either to the little band or to its leader.

Considerable light has been thrown on this subject through the "Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia," published by the Virginia Historical Society, from which quotations will now be freely made.

On the 1st of March, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie, in a letter to Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland, mentioned that he had received information that the Governor of New York desired two of the independent companies there sent to the Ohio, and that six companies were then being raised, to be under Col. Joshua Fry, and almost immediately the question arose as to the difference in standing of the officers of the militia of the Colony of Virginia and the Captains of the King's Independent Companies from Carolina and Georgia. Without positive knowledge on the subject, it seems, from a letter of Dinwiddie to Gov. Glen, of South Carolina, that the two companies were sent out by the latter, though one was from Georgia—that of Capt. Mackay. At any rate, we know, from what has gone before, that Mackay was a Georgian, and his company, though usually said to be from South Carolina, is also sometimes referred to in such a way as to make it appear to be a Georgia corps. The difference in the accounts probably arose from the fact that the two independent companies, one from each of the colonies, were under orders to march from Governor Glen.

The fact that the combination of troops raised by a colony and a corps known as an independent King's company was a questionable one, is hinted at in the following letter of introduction of Capt. Mackay to Col. Fry by Gov. Dinwiddie:

"May 4th, 1754.

"The Bearer hereof, Capt. Jas. McKay, Com'ds an Independ't Compa. in His M'y's Service, and is order'd to the Aid and Assistance of the present Expedition to the Ohio. You are by me appointed Com'd'r in Chief on the Expedition, but as it is not usual to have the regular forces under His M'y's imediate Com'o. to be under the Com'd of an Officer in America appointed by any of the Gov'rs, yet, that there may be no Misunderstanding or Delay in the Expedit'n, I recommend You to shew a due regard to these Troops of His M'y, and shew this Officer and the others in

that Station as much Indulgence as is in Your Power. I wish Success to all Y'r proceedings," &c.

Apparently on the same day the Governor addressed another letter to Col. Fry, in which he announced that "The Independ't Compa. from So. Car. is arrived at Hampton, is compleat of 100 Private Men, will re-embark on Monday for Alex'a," &c. At the same time he wrote to Col. George Washington, repeating the above announcement, and added that the company would, after reaching Alexandria, "thence proceed imediately and join Colo. Fry and You." Further on in that letter he made this important statement, showing that Capt. Mackay had the reputation of a thoroughly capable officer, and again expressing his anxiety concerning the mingling of colonial troops with an independent King's company: "I hope Capt. McKay, who Com'ds the Independ't Compa., will soon be with You. And as he appears to be an Officer of some Experience and Importance, You will, with Colo. Fry and Colo. Innes, so well agree as not to let some Punctillios ab't Com'd render the Service You are all engag'd in be obstructed."

Governor Dinwiddie certainly omitted nothing that could be done to place before the officers who were to take part in the proposed expedition all the particulars as to the duties required of them. On the same day he gave instructions to Capt. Mackay as follows:

"May 4th, 1754.

"Sir:

"An Expedit'n being commenc'd and now carrying on to the river Ohio, agreeably to His M'y's Orders to me, Six Compa's from This Dom'n and five Compa's from No. Car. being now on their March, I tho't it proper to give the Com'd of the Expedit'n to the direct'n of Colo. Joshua Fry. His M'y having tho't it proper and necessary that His Indep'nd't Compa. under Y'r Com'd sh'd be employ'd in the Expedit'n, and to be under my direction, I therefore order you to Embark Y'r Compa. now at Hampton on board of a Sloop (I engag'd) to proceed to Alex'a the Head of Potom'k river; W'n You arrive there, apply to Maj'r J. Carlyle, who has my Orders to supply Y'r Compa. with such Necessaries suitable for Y'r March to join the other Forces. On Y'r arrival with them, You are to join Colo. J. Fry, who is appointed Com'dr in Chief on this Expedit'n, And as Unanimity are proper rules for Success, I doubt not You will promote the same to the utmost of Your Power. As to the other Parts of Y'r duty in conducting and managing Y'r Compa., I have not

the least doubt of, as I esteem You a very good officer. May you retain Y'r Health, and Success attend our just designs, is the sincere wish of Y'r most hble. serv't."

The next two letters, bearing date the same day, show how anxious Gov. Dinwiddie was to provide for the comfort of the company.

Governor Dinwiddie to Major Carlyle:

"May 4th (1754).

"S'r:

"The Independ't Compa. of 100 Private Men from So. Car. being arriv'd at Hampton, w'ch I expect will re-embark in a hir'd Sloop for Alex'a on Monday next, and as they will want Tents, Provisions and other Necessaries, I must desire You to furnish them and give them all proper Assistance, taking Capt. McKay's receipt, for w'ch Y'r Acc't shall be fully p'd. Pray get 25 tents for the So. Car. Compa.; if not possible to be done in Time, You must let them have Blankets, and be sure provide Wagons for their Provisions, and those of No. Carolina.

I am, with kind respects S'r."

Governor Dinwiddie to Colonel Hunter:

"Sir:

"This will be delivered You by Capt. McKay, Com'dr of the Compa. of Soldiers now arrived from So. Carolina. I desire You will Supply him with necessary Provisions to carry the Compa. to Alex'a. I hope You have put on board the Sloop 20lbs. Gun Powder, the shot and Flints I sent from this Yesterday, And, as I daily look for two Compa's from N. York, I must still desire the Favo. of You to have Some Vessell in Y'r Eye to transport them to Alex'a. Capt. McKay will give You a Bill of Excha for 100lbs., which please send me up as soon as You can. An Express this day from the Ohio brings Acc't that the French have landed a Number of Men there and taken Possess'n of the Fort, but I hope w'n our Forces are collected in a Body, we shall be able to dislodge them. My Wife and Girls join me in kind respects to good Mrs. Hunter,

And I am Sincerely."

It is remarkable how many times this company was mentioned in the correspondence of the Governor of Virginia. We next hear of it in a letter written by him to a Mr. Capel Hanbury, of the firm of John & Capel Hanbury,

six days after the date of the five just mentioned, namely, May 10, 1754. It appears to be just a personal letter from one friend to another, but relates in a gossipy way the news of the times. It says:

"His M'y order'd two Independ't Compa's from N. Y. and one from So. Carolina; them from N. York are not yet arriv'd, tho' I sent the Order to the Gov'r of that Colony the 2d of Mar.; their Delay is unaccountable. The Compa. from So. Caro. arriv'd here only last Week, but as my View was to build a Fort as a Mark of Possession, I sent out a Compa. to one Trent to begin the Fort."

To the Earl of Holderness he wrote at the same time a letter in which he mentioned that there was trouble apprehended from the Indians at a place called Red Stone Creek where he had sent some troops from North Carolina, and added:

"The Independ't Compa. from So. Carolina arriv'd here a few days since, and they have my Orders to march to the above Place."

Information of the like nature is given in letters of the 10th of May to the Lords for Trade, the Earl of Halifax, the Lords of the Treasury, the Earl of Granville, and Gov. Glen, of South Carolina. To the last named he said:

"Y'r Compa. is arriv'd after a very tedious Passage, and this Day are embarking on two Sloops to carry them to Alex'a, from thence to march to the above Place."—Red Stone Creek.

He notified Col. Fry, on the 25th of May, that "Next Week the Independ't Compa. from So. Carolina will march from hence (Winchester) to join you, and I hope they will soon be follow'd by two Compa's of regulars from N. York."

We now reach that point where the friendship between Washington and Captain James Mackay began. They are about to meet, and the Governor wrote to Col. Washington on the 25th of May that "The Capt. of the Independ't Compa. from Car. is now here, and his Corps consisting of 100 fine men expected on Sunday;" then he added that other troops were expected, and advises him that "I shall hasten them all to you as they arrive." Four days after, Gov. Dinwiddie informed Col. Fry that "Capt. McKay, with his Independ't Compa. sets off To-morrow, and as they have made quicker Marches from Alexa. Hither than the Corps of Your regim't has done, and promise to hold on with their Vigour, I am in hopes they will soon join you," and on the first of June he congratulated Col. Washington on his success in the matter of an encounter with La Force and his party, hoped he would not make any hazardous attempts against a too numerous

enemy, and added: "When Colo. Fry's Corps and Capt. McKay's Compa. join You, You will be enabled to act with better Vigour." The next day he wrote to Capt. Mackay from Winchester these words: "Tho' I am well persuaded of Y'r diligence, yet as Colo. (Washington) is in a very dangerous Situation, I can't help bespeaking Y'r most expeditious Endeavours to join him. I have order'd Maj'r Muse to leave the Convoy and proceed immediately to the Camp, and as I expect You will overtake it at or near Will's Creek, I desire when You do that You will leave it with a proper Escort, and join the Camp with all possible dispatch. Our vigorous Efforts now may probably defeat our Enemies' Designs, and You may be assur'd, Sir, I shall do all imaginable Justice to Y'r Merit in my recommendation."

So much has been said about Col. Joshua Fry up to this point that it may be well to turn aside now and have a few words concerning this man of some military experience whose name suddenly drops out of this story. On the 2nd of June, 1754, Gov. Dinwiddie wrote a letter to Col. George Washington, in which he gave information that medals had been forwarded for Washington, Col. Fry and others (certain Indian Chiefs) "to wear as tokens of His Majesty's Fav'r;" but at that very time Col. Fry was dead. His death occurred two days before, May 31st, and all that we know of it is contained in a note by Mr. R. A. Brock, editor of the volumes of the Dinwiddie correspondence, and then Librarian and Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, from which these words are taken:

"Commissioned as Colonel and entrusted with the command of the Virginia forces in the expedition against the French in 1754, he died May 31st, while conducting it to the Ohio, and was buried near Will's Creek, now Cumberland Creek."

The only thing said in relation to the death of Col. Fry by Gov. Dinwiddie was this statement in a letter from him to Washington, dated at Winchester, June 4th: "On the death of Colo. Fry, I have tho't it proper to send You the enclos'd Com'o. to Com'd the Virg'a regiment, and another for Maj'r Muse, to be Lieut. Colo."

As the meeting of Washington and Mackay rapidly approaches, our intense interest becomes centered in the dispute which seemed to be inevitable between these two officers as to their relative standing as to rank in the service which they were about to enter upon. The first intimation we have of any trouble on this point is in the letter from which we have just quoted, in which the Governor continued as follows:

"The Capt. and Officers of the Independ't Compa's having their Com'o's signed by His M'y, imagine they claim a distinguish'd rank, and being long trained in Arms expect suitable regards. You will therefore consult and agree with Y'r Officers to shew them particular marks of esteem, w'ch will avoid such Causes of Uneasiness as otherwise might obstruct His M'y's Service, wherein all are alike engag'd, and must answer for any ill Consequences of an unhappy Disagreement. You cannot believe the Uneasiness and Anxiety I have had for the Tardiness of the Detachm't under Col'o Fry's Com'd in not joining You some time since," &c.

Col. Fry was succeeded by Col. James Innes, to whom the Governor gave special instructions, including the following:

"You are, before You enter on any Action of Attack or extraordinary Enterprize, to annoy or circumvent the Enemy, to call a Council of War, to consist of the Field Officers and Capt's of the Independ't Compa's; in which Council You are to form a Plan of Operations and issue Your Orders accordingly," and repeated the words used to Washington about the question concerning commissions of officers.

He issued additional instructions to Col. Innes in which he stated positively that the independent companies were under his command, but were to be received "in a particular manner."

Washington and Mackay met; but the circumstances attending the meeting are not in our possession. That it was pleasant we have no reason to doubt. That the former was apprehensive that trouble might come upon the slightest provocation is certainly and clearly shown in the letter he wrote the Governor of Virginia after the meeting took place; but the reader can draw his own conclusion after a perusal of the document itself which, with the exception of the first paragraph, is now given. The short postscript is most significant:

Colonel Washington to Governor Dinwiddie:

"10th June, 1754.

"Hon'ble Sir:

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 "Your Honour may depend I shall myself, and will endeavor to make my officers shew Capt. McKay all the respect due to his Rank and merit, but should have been particularly oblig'd if your Honour had declar'd whether

he was under my Command or Independent of it; however, I shall be studious to avoid all disputes that may tend to publick prejudice, but as far as I am able, I will inculcate harmony and unanimity. I hope Capt. McKay will have more sense than to insist upon any unreasonable distinction, tho' he and His have Com'ns from his Majesty; let him consider tho' we are greatly inferior in respect to profitable advantages, yet we have the same Spirit to serve our Gracious King as they have, and are as ready and willing to sacrifice our lives for our Country's as them; and here once more and for the last time, I must say this Will be a cancer that will grate some Officers of this Regiment beyond all measure, to serve upon such different terms, when their Lives, their Fortunes, and their Characters are equally, and I dare say as effectually expos'd as those who are happy enough to have King's Commissions. I have been solicitous on this head, have earnestly endeavor'd to reconcile the Officers to their appointment, and flatter myself I have succeeded, having heard no mention thereof latterly. I consider'd the pernicious consequences that would have attended a disunion, therefore, was too much attached to my Country's Interest to suffer it to ripen after I rec'd your advising Letters, (and have been) particularly careful of discovering no foolish desire of com(mandin)g him, neither have I inter-medled with his C(ompany) in the least, or given any directions concerning it, only those General. The Word, Counter- Sign- and place to repair to in case of an Alarm, none of which he thinks he sh'd receive. I have testified to him in the most serious manner the pleasure I sh'd take in consulting and advising with him upon all occasions, and I am very sensible, with him we shall never differ when your Honour decides this, which I am convinc'd your own discernment and consideration will make appear, the impossibility of a Med'm, the Nature of the things will not allow of it.

"It must be known who is to Command before Orders will be observ'd, and I am very confident your Honour will see the absurdity and consider the Effects of Capt. McKay's having the direction of the regiment, for it would certainly be the hardest thing in Life if we are to do double and trible duty, and neither be entitled to the Pay or Rank of Soldiers. That the first column of the Virginia Regiment has done more for the Interest of the Expedition than any Company or corps that will hereafter arrive, will be obvious to them all. This Hon'ble Sir, Capt. McKay did not hesitate one moment to allow since he has seen ye work we have done upon the Roads, &c. We shall part tomorrow. I shall con-

tinue My March to Red Stone, while the Company remains here, but this Sir I found absolutely necessary for the Publick Interest. Capt. McKay says that it is not in his power to oblige his Men to work upon the Road unless he will engage them a Shilling Sterling a Day, which I w'd not choose to do, and to suffer them to March at their ease, whilst our faithful Soldiers are laboriously employ'd, carry's an Air of such distinction that it is not to be wonder'd at if the poor fellows were to declare the hardship of it. He also declares to me that this is not particular to his Company only, but that no Soldiers subject to martial law can be oblig'd to do it for less. I, therefore, shall continue to endeavour to compleat the work we have begun, with my poor fellows; we shall have the whole credit, as none others have assisted. I hope from what has been said your honour will see the necessity of giving your speedy orders on this head, and I am sensible you will consider the Evil tendency that will accompany Capt'n McKay's com'g, for I am sorry to observe this is what we always hop'd to enjoy—the Rank of Officers, which to me sir, is much dearer than the Pay.

“Capt'n McKay brought none of the Cannon, very little Ammunition, ab't 5 Days allowance of Flower, and 60 Beeves. Since I have spun a Letter to this enormous size, I must go a little further and beg your Honour's patience to peruse it. I am much griev'd to find our Stores so slow advancing. God knows when we shall (be) able to do anything for to deserve better of our Country. I am, Hon'ble Sir, with the most sincere and unfeign'd Regard,

Y'r Honour's most Ob't and most H'ble Serv't.
G. WASHINGTON.”

“The contents of this Letter is a profound secret.”

The matter of which the foregoing letter treats became so embarrassing that Governor Dinwiddie had to adjust it in the manner indicated in the two letters immediately following:

Governor Dinwiddie to Governor Sharpe:

“June 20th, 1754.

“Sir:

“To quell the great Feud subsisting between the Independ't Compa's and our Forces in regard to rank, I have formed the following regulation: Colo. Innes to Com'd in Chief, Colo. Washington to have the second Com'd, Capt. Clark, of the N. Y. Compa's, to have my Com'o., a Lieut. Colo. to be third in Com'd; Capt. McKay, of the So. Caro.

Compa., to have a Lieut. Colo's Com'oo., and be fourth in Com'd on the Expedition. This Expedient was agreed to by Capt. Clark, and was the only Method I c'd think of to keep up Harmony amongst them. Pray give me your Opinion thereon. A distraction or Confusion among our Forces w'd be ruining to the Expedition, and give the Enemy Advantages on our Divisions. (I) therefore hope the above will thorowly reconcile all Disputes. I shall be glad to hear frequently from you. With my Complim'ts to Messrs. Tasker and Calvert, I am most sincerely, and with great Truth,

Y'r Exc's most Obed't, h'ble Serv't."

Governor Dinwiddie to Colonel Washington :

June 25th, 1754.

"Sir :

"This will, I hope, be deliver'd you by Colo. James Innes, who has my Com'oo. to Com'd in Chief on the expedition, w'ch I dare say will be very agreeable to You, and (I) am in hopes w'n all the Forces are collected together in a Body You will be able to turn the Tables on the French and Dislodge them from the Fort, and in Time to take full possession of the Ohio river. As I am afraid of Disputes from the Officers of the Independ't Companies, to prevent that, I have order'd Colo. Innes to Com'd in Chief, and You are to be second in Com'd; have sent a Brivate Com'oo of Lieut. Colo., to Capt Clark to be third in Com'd and the same to Capt. McKay to be fourth in Com'd on this Expedit'n, and have desir'd Colo. Innes to allow their Lieut's to rank with our Capt's; this is only Feathers in their Caps to prevent any ill Blood in regard to rank, as Unanimity is the only Step towards Success in Y'r Exped'n, and I doubt not all the officers will perceive my meaning in this regulat'n. I have directed His M'y's Present to be sent out to be given among the Ind's, as Colo. Innes may think proper, with Y'r Advice. I have given orders to keep You duely supplied with Provisions, and I am in great Hopes w'n joined in a Body You will be a proper Match for the French, as I am in Hopes you will have a good number of our friendly Ind's to Y'r Assistance. I have no more to add, but recommending you to the Protect'n of God and wishing Success to attend all Your Undertakings, I rem'n in Truth,

S'r, Y'r most h'ble serv't."

So frequent are the references to Capt. Mackay and his company in the correspondence of Governor Dinwiddie

from the 18th of June to the 15th of August, 1754, that no further extracts will be made except that it is considered best to give the following in full, on account of its importance in relation to the same matter of priority in rank. It will be seen that the first is given as to Capt. Mackay, but, from the facts that Mackay is referred to in it, and the only letter that we find written to the Governor on the 10th was one from Washington, it does not seem clear that it was intended for Mackay.

Governor Dinwiddie to Captain Mackay:

“June 27th, (1754).

“Sir:

“I rec'd Y'r Lett'r of the 10th June, from Will's Creek. I am sorry You were detain'd there for want of Flower, but hope this will find you joined with Colo. Washington's Forces, and I doubt not before this reaches you, Colo. Innes is with You, who has my full Instruct's for conducting the Expedition, and I doubt not You and the other Officers will lay aside any little Punctilios in rank. I have done all in my Power to reconcile these Things, therefore, hope You will be unanimous in doing Every Thing for the Service, and as Y'r Corps are maintained by this Colony, I think that they will assist in clearing the roads and building the Forts, as occasion may require. The Conduct of each Corps will be represented (at) Home, and I have not the least doubt of Capt. Mackay's exerting himself on this occasion. W't you heard from Hands about the Cherokees is without Foundation. Capt. Legg has been here, and does not mention one Sylable thereof. They had taken a Canoe, with four French Men, going up the Ohio; They killed one and took two Prisoners. As this Expedit'n is (by) the immediate Order from His M'y, and the Conduct thereof left with me, I have nothing more at Heart than that it may meet with Success, w'ch greatly depends on the resolution and unanimity of the Forces. I wish You Health, and am Sincerely,
S'r Y'r F'd and humble serv't.”

Postscript to a letter from Governor Dinwiddie to Col. Innes, dated 27th June, 1754:

“Ask Capt. MacKay if he thinks on this Expedition My Powers from the King does not enable me to give a Com'o superior to (his and) which he must obey, and (say that) he and his Compa. is immediately recommended to be under my Com'd, and in Course, whoever I may appoint.”

As there is not in existence a single line to show that Colonel Washington and Capt. Mackay ever had a word of dispute over the question of the relative positions of the two comrades in the ranks during their term of service, we may rightly draw the conclusion which has always held true as to the former that they were both men of good judgment and as a general rule of even temper.

Both Col. Washington and Capt. Mackay were captured at Great Meadows in 1754, and the latter remained in the service another year, when he retired and returned to Georgia. That he did not re-enter the service we are sure. Sir James Wright, the Royal Governor of Georgia, in a report to the Earl of Dartmouth on the condition of the Province of Georgia, dated September 20th, 1773, said of the old fort at Frederica: "There is still some remains of good tabby walls, &c., but there has been no men there since the Independent Company were broke in the year 1767, and is now going to decay very fast." The Independent Company commanded by Capt. Mackay returned to Georgia in September, 1757, though he had retired in 1755, and the source from which this information is derived proves the statement already made that, notwithstanding the fact that it went to Virginia under the direction of the Governor of South Carolina, it was truly a Georgia organization.*

That Captain Mackay left the army in Virginia to take part in the political affairs of the Province of Georgia cannot be doubted. We know that he gave up his commission in 1755. On the 30th of September of that year, John Reynolds being Governor, James Mackay was sworn in as one of his Council, appointed by the King; and that office he held under successive administrations, until the conclusion of the War of the Revolution, at all times remaining loyal to the government of Great Britain.

In 1748 he obtained possession of five hundred acres of land in the Parish of St. Philip, to which he gave the name of "Strathy Hall," and later he acquired another tract which he called "Pinkey House"—both being names of places held by the Mackays in Scotland. Afterwards he acquired lands adjoining Strathy Hall increasing that possession to 1,000 acres. St. Philip's Parish became Bryan County in the year 1793, and Strathy Hall has since then passed through the hands of several possessors, the owner at this time being Mr. R. Habersham Clay. Documents written in connection with the life of Capt. Mackay bear testimony to the fact that he was held in the highest esteem by his

*Gov. Dinwiddie to Col. Bouquet, Va. Hist'l Collections, N. S., vol iv, Dinwiddie Papers, vol. ii, p. 703.

contemporaries, and that he was a man of the strictest integrity, faithful to the trusts committed to him, honorable in all his dealings with his fellow men, and that he was intellectually inferior to none of the leaders in Georgia's political affairs of his day, among whom were many whose names have been preserved and are held up to our view as objects of esteem and veneration, while his name has almost passed into oblivion.

That he was looked upon as a person of distinction and of noble bearing, it is well to note here that he was, in some of the written statements coming down to us, called "The honourable Captain James Mackay, Esquire, of Strathy Hall."

Among the very important matters intrusted to his care and management was the marking of the boundary lines separating the Indians from the white people. The story of his service in this matter is told in this notice of the business by the only newspaper then printed in Georgia:

From the Georgia Gazette, Wednesday, December 14th, 1768:

"Last Monday evening the Hon. James MACKAY, and William MCGILLIVRAY, Esqrs., returned from marking the Indian Line, which is now finished for *William's Creek*, fifty miles above *Augusta*, to the flowing of the tides on *Saint Mary's River*, and here we must not omit to do justice to the uncommon address shown by Mr. McGillivray in treating with the Indians Deputies; nor was he unassisted by Capt. Mackay, who on all occasions displayed the most solid judgment, and joined his opinion with the greatest harmony. In short, the ardour, unwearied diligence, and unanimity with which these gentlemen have conducted this interesting and important business, calls in the strongest manner for the public thanks, and must do them lasting honour in the opinion of all well-wishers of their country."

We will not attempt to enumerate the incidents in the life of this good man from the time of his retirement from active military employment until the end of his earthly existence which came in his absence from home with none of his family or friends around his couch to receive his last words of love, injunction and advice. The official records tell us of the faithfulness with which he attended the meetings of the Board of Governor and Council, and his active and careful performance of the duties required of him as a member of important committees.

His service as one of the Royal Council ended probably about the spring of 1779. On the 6th of January of that year the Governor, Sir James Wright, sent a memorial, in

behalf of himself and other loyalists, to Lord George Germain, Principal Secretary of State for America, the preamble of which showed:

"That several of your memorialists who were officers of the Crown in the Province (Georgia) aforesaid on account of their zeal for the support of His Majesty's authority and government there, and for the active part they took in opposition to the rebellion, when it first broke out, rendered themselves obnoxious to the rebels, and have since at different times been under the necessity of quitting that Province and leaving their property which is very considerable behind them at the mercy of the rebels."

The next month there was filed in the Public Record Office in London "A List of Officers of His Majesty's Province of Georgia and Their Present Places of Residence." At that time, as well as at the date of the memorial just referred to, Sir James Wright was himself in London, as was also John Graham, Lieutenant-Governor. Out of the eight members of the Council only one was in Georgia, and James Mackay, the first on the list, was in South Carolina. The name of Mackay does not again appear in the records of the Loyalist Government, and his activities in that body must have ended about that time.

We now come to the final scene in the life of the subject of this sketch; and for the description of his last moments we are indebted to the greatest of Americans, even the "Father of his Country" himself.

Towards the last of the year 1785 the health of Capt. Mackay began to fail, and he left his home, by sailing vessel, on a sea voyage, intending to go to some point in Rhode Island. Reaching the place marked out as the end of the journey, and finding his health not improved, he abandoned the idea of a return trip by water, and took the land route for home. Arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, a very ill man, he thought of his former comrade in arms and fellow prisoner, General Washington, and sent a messenger to request him to come to his bedside. Washington did not receive the message until the end had come, and the story of that end as told by him is all that ever has been recorded, except that this very brief notice appeared in the Georgia Gazette of Thursday, December 29, 1785:

"Died lately, at Alexandria in Virginia, James Mackay, Esq., of this State."

The account given by Washington is contained in a letter to a Scottish gentleman, and is, with the exception of the last paragraph, reproduced here from *The Writings of Washington*, edited by Sparks, vol. xii, p. 303.

General George Washington to Robert Sinclair, Scotland:

“Philadelphia, 6 May, 1792.

“Sir:

“I have received your letter of the 12th of December, in which you request information respecting Captain James Mackay, and likewise respecting the part of this country, which would be the most eligible for forming an establishment as a farmer or planter. The only information in my power to give you on the first head is, that my acquaintance with Captain Mackay commenced in the army, in the year 1754, when I Commanded the troops, which were sent to prevent the encroachments of the French upon the western boundaries of the then colonies. Captain Mackay then commanded an Independent Company, either from Georgia or South Carolina, and was captured with me by an army of French and Indians, at a place called the Great Meadows. In 1755, he left the service, sold out, and went to Georgia.

“I heard nothing of him from that time till about five or six years ago, when he went by water from Georgia to Rhode Island on account of his health. On his return to Georgia by land, he was seized either by the complaint for which he had gone to Rhode Island, or by some other disorder, and died at Alexandria; not at my house as your letter mentions. I was not informed of his being at Alexandria until after his death, which was a circumstance that I regretted much, not only on account of the regard which I had for him, from our former acquaintance, but because I understood that he was then on his way to pay me a visit, and had expressed an anxious desire to see me before he died. I do not know whether Captain Mackay left any family or not; for, from the time of his quitting the service until his death, as I observed before, I knew nothing of him. I have, however, been informed, that he was possessed of a handsome property in Georgia.”

Robert Sinclair, to whom the letter was addressed, must have been a relation of Capt. Mackay, as in the history of the family at the beginning of this article reference is made to such a connection.

Captain James Mackay had three daughters, Mary, who married Hugh Clark and died before her father; Ann, who married James Maxwell, and Barbara who married Roger Kelsall. Many descendants of these are living in Georgia and elsewhere. Among them are the Arnolds and Talbots of Rhode Island and at one time of Bryan County in this State; Miss Townes, of Greenwood, S. C.; the wife and

children of Mr. Wm. N. Nichols, of Savannah, and others too numerous to mention.

The Mackay mansion at Strathy Hall was destroyed long ago. The only traces remaining of the home are some ancient live oaks which were probably there during the lifetime of Capt. James Mackay, and two pictures of them are given as illustrations of this article.

FORT PULASKI

BY CHARLES H. OLMSTEAD.

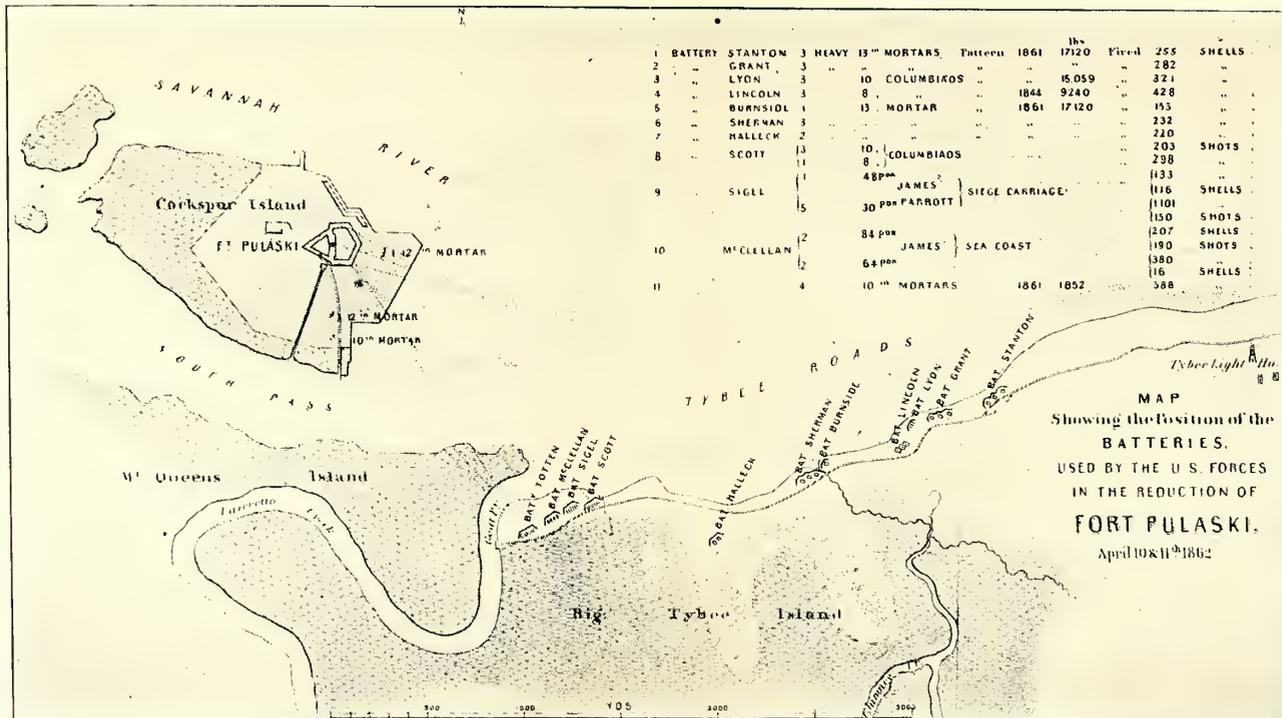
The autumn and early winter of 1860 were crowded with startling events as day by day and step by step the country moved toward the great convulsion that awaited it.

Perhaps nothing more profoundly stirred the people of South Carolina and Georgia than the action of Major Robt. Anderson, when on the night of Dec. 26th, 1860, he abandoned his position in Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island and threw his command into Fort Sumter, a fortress dominating the very doorway to Charleston Harbor. The holding of this work by the United States government was absolutely incompatible with the separate independence of South Carolina. It was felt that much as the State might desire a peaceable withdrawal from the Union it would be committed to war by the fact that the entrance to her chief port and commercial metropolis was in possession of another power from which it could be taken only by force of arms. Whatever other events may have assisted in bringing about the war, this one alone would have rendered it certain.

The feeling was intense all over the State, and it was scarcely less so in Georgia whose chief seaport would be blocked in like manner should a garrison be thrown by the United States government into Fort Pulaski, near the mouth of the Savannah River.

The Fort at that time was in charge of a single non-commissioned Ordnance officer, but it was evident that, with free access from the sea, any morning might bring about its occupancy by government troops, and much uneasiness prevailed.

Hon. Joseph E. Brown was then Governor of Georgia, a man of resolute will, fine intellectual powers and intense Southern feeling, a living embodiment, indeed, of the doctrine of States Rights. Colonel Alexander R. Lawton, (so well known throughout the Confederacy afterwards as a Brigadier General under "Stonewall Jackson," and as Quar-



BATTERY	STANTON	3	HEAVY 13" MORTARS	Totten	1861	lbs	17120	Field	255	SHELLS
2	GRANT	3	"	"	"	"	"	"	282	"
3	LYON	3	10 COLUMBIADS	"	"	15,059	"	"	321	"
4	LINCOLN	3	8 "	"	"	1844	9240	"	428	"
5	BURNSIDE	1	13 MORTAR	"	"	1861	17120	"	153	"
6	SHERMAN	3	"	"	"	"	"	"	232	"
7	HALLECK	2	"	"	"	"	"	"	220	"
8	SCOTT	13	10 COLUMBIADS	"	"	"	"	"	298	"
		11	48 ^{POW} JAMES	} SIEGE CARRIAGE					1133	SHELLS
9	SIGELL	5	30 ^{POW} FARROTT						1166	SHELLS
		2	84 ^{POW} JAMES	} SEA COAST					1101	SHELLS
10	MCCLELLAN	12	64 ^{POW}						150	SHOTS
		2	64 ^{POW}						207	SHELLS
		4	10" MORTARS		1861	1852			190	SHOTS
11									380	SHELLS
									116	SHELLS
									388	SHELLS

MAP
 Showing the Position of the
 BATTERIES,
 USED BY THE U. S. FORCES
 IN THE REDUCTION OF
 FORT PULASKI.
 April 18th 1862

termaster General at Richmond) commanded the 1st Volunteer Regiment of Georgia which consisted of all the infantry companies in Savannah and the Chatham Artillery.

The writer of this paper was Adjutant of the Regiment, and in the forenoon of January 2d, 1861, was summoned to attend the Colonel at his office on Bay street. On reaching the room he found Governor Brown in conference with Col. Lawton; several of the Regimental Captains were present, also Mr. S. Prioleau Hamilton, General Henry R. Jackson, and some other gentlemen whose names have passed from memory. It was an earnest, grave assembly, every one there apparently deeply impressed by the weight and importance of the business in hand. For some of us, probably for the first time, there had come a realizing sense of the possibilities of the immediate future.

The Governor was on the point of leaving the room, and as he reached the door he turned and said in effect, as in repetition of instructions already given, "Colonel, you will take possession of the Fort tomorrow."

Col. Lawton then drew up a rough memorandum of the order he desired to give, and charged the Adjutant with its prompt promulgation. The three companies chosen for the expedition were the Chatham Artillery, Captain Joseph S. Claghorn; Savannah Volunteer Guards, Captain John Screven; and Oglethorpe Light Infantry, Captain Francis S. Bartow, and it may be said in passing that no more representative selection could have been made of the manhood and military spirit of the State.

The remainder of the day was spent in preparation and early on the following morning, January 3rd, 1861, the troops embarked on the little government steamer *Ida*, at the foot of West Broad street, Col. Lawton taking charge of the expedition in person. Great enthusiasm prevailed all over the city, especially in the splendid body of young men who made up this small force, and their brother soldiers in the regiment who were impatiently waiting their turn for similar duty.

How many of these, alas, were to lay down their lives in the titanic struggle that was before the country.

Fifty-six years have passed since that eventful morning and but few of that little band are left, yet to those who are still here it is doubtful whether any memory of those troublous times is more vivid than that of the march over the draw bridge, through the portcullis, to the interior of the Fort. To all of us it was the actual dividing line that separated from peaceful ante-bellum days, the beginning of a new and unknown era in life. There was in every heart a

keen consciousness of this combined with uncertainty for the future and pride for the present at being permitted to take part in the making of history.

Fort Pulaski is situated on Cockspur Island between the north and south channels of the Savannah River, commanding them both. The Fort is an irregular pentagon surrounded by a broad moat. The gorge faces the west and is covered by an earthwork also protected by a moat. Two faces guard the north channel and two the south—these last having also a bearing on Tybee Island from whence the attack was to come later. There was one tier of casemates opening on to the parade by large double doors, and platforms had been arranged for another tier of guns on the ramparts. In the casemates were 20 long naval 32 pdrs. mounted on iron carriages, but there was no other armament. Officers quarters, kitchens, storerooms and magazines are located in the gorge.

It is specially worthy of note that this action of Governor Brown was in reality an act of war against the United States government, for at that time Georgia was yet a State in the Union, the ordinance of Secession not having been adopted by the State convention until January 19th, 1861, sixteen days after the Governor had taken possession of United States property "*Vi et armis.*"

From that time on until the establishment of the Confederacy, the Fort was garrisoned by details from the First Regiment under orders from the State.

After the government at Montgomery was in the saddle and a Confederate army in actual existence the 1st Georgia Regulars, Col. Charles J. Williams, furnished a garrison until that regiment was ordered to Virginia, when the 1st Vol. Regiment which was now also in Confederate service, resumed its old post and held it until the bombardment and fall of the Fort in April, 1862.

Meanwhile considerable addition had been made to the armament both in the casemates and on the ramparts; several 10-inch and 8-inch Columbiads, a 42 pdr. and two 24 pdr. Blakely rifled guns and two 10-inch mortars.

Tybee Island, just below Cockspur, between it and the sea, was held as an outpost until the latter part of 1861; a small earth-work was thrown up there and garrisoned by various bodies of Confederate troops though the position was felt to be much exposed and incapable of a stout defense.

On Nov. 7th, 1861, the attack and capture of the forts at Port Royal by a strong United States fleet, with supporting land forces, convinced the authorities of the unwisdom of attempting to hold all the outlying islands of the coast

with the limited forces at command. Accordingly it was decided to dismantle the battery at Tybee Point and to withdraw the garrison which then consisted of the 25th Georgia Regiment, Colonel C. C. Wilson.

Shortly after this withdrawal a fleet of United States vessels anchored in the roads and a force was landed upon the island thus taking the first step toward the investment of Pulaski; a final one was put into execution on February 13th, when a Federal force unexpectedly opened fire, from a battery that had been secretly erected at Venus Point on the Savannah river, upon the little steamer *Ida* as she was making her daily trip down to the Fort. This battery had been put up by a force from Port Royal coming through Wright and Mud rivers on the Carolina side, it was entirely beyond the guns of Pulaski and, indeed, its existence was unknown until it began firing.

The *Ida* escaped injury, and, aided by an unusually high tide, succeeded in returning to Savannah the next morning by way of Lazaretto Creek and Wilmington River; but communication between the Fort and city was permanently cut off excepting for an occasional messenger with mails slipping through the marshes at night.

The garrison of the Fort at that time consisted of four companies of the First Regiment, the Oglethorpe Light Infantry, Co. B, Captain F. W. Sims; Washington Volunteers, Captain John McMahan; Montgomery Guards, Captain L. J. Guilmartin; German Volunteers, Captain John H. Stegin; to which should be added the Wise Guards, Captain M. J. McMullan; a company from middle Georgia, near Oglethorpe, that had gallantly offered itself as a reinforcement when an attack upon the Fort seemed inevitable.

The entire garrison, officers and men, summed up only 385 under Colonel C. H. Olmstead, with Major John Foley of the First Regiment, second in command. The staff was as follows:

Lieut. Matthew H. Hopkins,	Adjutant.
Capt. R. D. Walker,	Commissary.
Captain Robert Erwin,	Quarter Master.
Dr. John T. McFarland,	Surgeon.
Rob't H. Lewis,	Sergt. Major.
W. C. Crawford,	Qr. Master Sergt.
Ed. W. Drummond,	Commissary Sergt.
Edward Hopkins,	Qr. Master's Clerk.
Harvey Lewis,	Ordnance Sergt.

Rev. Peter Whelan served as Volunteer Chaplain to the Montgomery Guards, but he will be remembered as a faithful

comrade and friend to the entire garrison—a man who lived up to the teachings of the Master whom he followed.

Prior to the closing of the river, General Robt. E. Lee, who was then in command of the Military District of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, visited the Fort and gave instructions for further defensive work to be done—traverses to be built on the ramparts between the guns, ditches dug in the parade to catch shells, the light colonnade in front of the officers quarters to be torn down, blindages of heavy timber to be erected before the casemate doors around the entire inner circuit of the Fort, and these to be covered by several feet of earth.

[It is interesting to quote a remark of Gen'l Lee's at this time. Pointing to the nearest part of Tybee Island, 1700 yards away, he said, "Colonel, they will make it very warm for you with shells from that point but they cannot breach at that distance." From 800 to 900 yards was then laid down in the books as the extreme range at which a wall of good masonry could be attacked with any prospect of success, but up to the Siege of Pulaski, so far as the writer knows, no fortification had ever been subjected to the fire of rifled guns. Their power against masonry was yet an unknown quantity. In the following year some of us saw Fort Sumter reduced to ruins at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles.]

Immediately after General Lee's return to the city steps were taken to supply the timber required for the work he had laid out. Rafts were brought down the South Channel and from thence by a small canal on the South side of the island into the moat. The whole garrison was put to work and to such good purpose, with such hearty good will, that everything contemplated was practically completed when the bombardment actually began.

During the month of March signs of activity on the part of the enemy were heard though not seen. Our pickets at the water's edge on the South Channel reported hearing movements during the night over at King's Point, but the morning light revealed nothing to the closest scrutiny. The sand ridge there remained unchanged in its profile, the shrubbery that covered it appeared untouched, save by the breezes from the ocean, while not a living thing was visible at the point from daylight until dark excepting upon one occasion when three men appeared making insulting gestures toward us. They were fired upon by a 32 pdr. and one of them killed.

On the morning of April 10th, just after reveille, Lieut. Frank Blair of the Washington Volunteers reported to the commanding officer that he had observed a change in the

configuration of the ground at the Point. The Summit of the ridge had been leveled, the bushes cut away, and, he thought, guns were visible; moreover he stated that a boat had started to come across to the Fort bearing a flag of truce. Captain F. W. Sims was sent to the South Wharf to meet the officer who carried the flag and who presented a demand for the surrender of the Fort. This was refused, the officer returned to Tybee and shortly after, at a quarter past eight o'clock, the first gun was fired. It was replied to immediately by the Fort and from that time until night-fall the firing continued steadily, without intermission, from either side. Very early in the day however it was seen that the effect upon the fortification was becoming disastrous.

The guns of the enemy were located in eleven different batteries stretching along Tybee beach for a distance of two and a half miles from Lazaretto Creek. Four of these batteries were at King's Point armed with 10-inch rifled guns firing Parrott and James projectiles, three 10-inch and one 8-inch Columbiads, and four 10-inch mortars. Farther along the beach were twelve 13-inch mortars and a few more Columbiads, but the rifled guns and Columbiads at the Point inflicted more damage to the Fort than all the others combined. A shot from one of these struck the wall beneath an embrasure while it was still intact and bulged the bricks on the inside, a significant fact that left little doubt of what the ultimate result would be. That the power of rifled artillery was unknown to the enemy themselves, is shown by the following extract from the report of General Gillmore to his Government. Speaking of the Parrott and James guns he says:

"Had we possessed our present knowledge of their power, previous to the bombardment of Fort Pulaski, the eight weeks of laborious preparation for its reduction, could have been curtailed to one week, as heavy Mortars and Columbiads would have been omitted from the armament of the batteries as unsuitable for breaching at long range."

The greater part of our own guns were on the two sea faces, and of those upon the faces fronting the fire that was breaching our walls nearly all were dismantled before the close of the day.

Just before dark the commander walked around on the edge of the moat to inspect the state of affairs from the outside. It was worse than disheartening, the pan-coupé at the south-east angle was entirely breached while above, on

the rampart, the parapet had been shot away and an 8-inch gun, the muzzle of which was gone, hung tremblingly over the verge. The two adjoining casemates were rapidly approaching the same ruined condition; the moat was nearly filled with masses of broken masonry, as was the interior of the three casemates where the dismantled guns lay like logs among the bricks.

All through the night the firing was kept up by a few guns from Tybee, more, however, with a view to prevent the garrison from sleeping, but with the morning it began with renewed vigor all along the line while, because of the number of guns out of commission, the Confederate fire materially slackened.

During the morning, the breach rapidly became wider and the enemy's shot and shell played freely through it across the parade upon the opposite interior angle where the principal service magazine was located. The entrance to this was protected by a large traverse sufficiently heavy, it was thought, for the purpose designed. Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, however, a shell passed through the top of this and exploded in the passage way, filling the magazine with smoke and lighting it up with flame.

What prevented a general explosion, who can say? But it was too evident that a second similar escape could not be counted upon. Entirely cut off from any possible chance of reinforcement; the means of replying to the batteries at King's Point reduced almost to nil; and exposed momentarily to the danger of having the entire Fort blown up beneath us—the commander felt that the end had come and most reluctantly the order to display the signal of surrender was given.*

The firing from Tybee ceased at once and a boat brought General Q. A. Gillmore over to the Fort in response to the

*In connection with this account of the danger to the north magazine it will be of interest to note that the magazine at the south-west angle also ran rather a remarkable risk. In addition to the batteries on Tybee Island the enemy had planted a mortar on Long Island some distance above Cockspur, and had likewise placed a rifled Parrott gun upon an old hulk near a small hammock called Decent Island off in the south-west. It was noticed that one of the vacant embrasures in that part of the Fort lay in the direct line from the hulk to an air hole of the magazine and, as an excess of precaution, this embrasure was solidly bricked up. After the fight it was found that a shell had struck squarely in the middle of the new brick work.

signal. He was the Engineer Officer in charge of the attack, a man of great professional ability and destined to be very widely known by his work in Charleston Harbor in the following year.

The terms of surrender were soon arrived at for unhappily the Confederates were not in position to demand much; the Fort and its armament were given up and the garrison, *with this exception*, made prisoners of war—it was explicitly agreed that our sick and wounded should be sent up to Savannah and not treated as prisoners. Gen'l Gillmore assented to this in a pleasant manner that left a friendly impression upon the Confederates. He affixed his signature to the terms of capitulation and the matter was considered closed. The Fort Pulaski garrison was sent on to Governor's Island, New York, the officers being confined in Fort Columbus, the men in Castle Williams.

Some weeks after our arrival such of the sick and wounded as had not died, and whom we supposed were safely at home in Savannah, were brought North, as prisoners. Col. Olmstead at once wrote to Secretary Stanton claiming the carrying out of the written terms. The Secretary responded that the matter was referred to General Gillmore who also wrote saying that he had been sent elsewhere after the fall of Pulaski and had supposed that what he agreed to had been done. To this Col. Olmstead replied that the men certainly had not been released as they were then prisoners on Governor's Island—he also said that he considered it a point of personal honor with General Gillmore that he should use every endeavor to right the wrong. Whether he did so or not the writer does not know—the men were retained and exchanged with the rest of the garrison in the autumn of 1861.

The attack and fall of Fort Pulaski seems a very small event when contrasted with the tremendous struggle now shaking the whole civilized world, but it marked the beginning of a great advance in modern artillery and deserves to be remembered.

**Muster Roll of Captain M. J. McMullan's Company of the
Wise Guards From the 31st Day of August, to the
31st of October, 1862, Stationed at Camp
Jasper, Near Savannah.**

On the following Muster Roll is entered a statement that the company enlisted Sept. 1st, 1861, for one year, and after the expiration of their time of service were re-enlisted for three years, or duration of the war, and, in another place this statement:

"Volunteered and went to Fort Pulaski on 11th February, 1862, and remained there and took part in the defense of that post on the 10th & 11th April, 1862, at which time the Fort was surrendered. Left for Hilton Head on the 12th April, 1862. Left for Governor's Island, New York, April 17th, 1862. Left for Fort Delaware, Delaware, July 10th, 1862. Left for Aikens Landing, Aug. 1st, 1862, and arrived in Richmond, Aug. 5th, 1862, at which time we were exchanged."

1—M. J. McMullan, Captain.
2—D. H. Smith, 1st Lieut.
3—John H. Blow, 1st Lieut.
4—J. W. Holt, 2nd Lieut.

1—T. B. Asbury, 1st Sergeant.
2—A. J. Gaines, Sergeant.
3—W. J. Bridges, Sergeant.
4—H. F. Tarrer, Sergeant.
5—H. C. Gatlin, Sergeant.

1—C. W. Taylor, Corporal.
2—M. L. Shealy, Corporal.
3—J. S. Sowter, Corporal.
4—John Melton, Corporal.

PRIVATES

1—J. S. Adams.	8—Will Henry Cox.
2—Elias Barnes.	9—A. A. Danforth.
3—Jas. Bridges.	10—J. W. Duffy.
4—P. Barfield.	11—J. W. Duncan.
5—D. G. Barfield.	12—A. B. Edge.
6—J. D. Bowles.	13—W. J. Grantham.
7—C. H. Cox.	14—M. B. Gilmon.

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|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 15—S. J. Gatlin. | 27—J. H. Martin. |
| 16—Wiley Hall. | 28—A. W. Norris. |
| 17—Z. W. Hall. | 29—S. J. Norris. |
| 18—J. L. Hilton. | 30—S. A. Pearce. |
| 19—W. D. Hangabook. | 31—S. B. Smith. |
| 20—Thos. Holhan. | 32—W. W. Ricks. |
| 21—D. H. Klickly. | 33—J. W. Thompson. |
| 22—C. B. H. King. | 34—Julius Turner. |
| 23—A. A. Lowe. | 35—W. J. Taylor. |
| 24—F. M. Moulton. | 36—H. Williams. |
| 25—E. Y. Moore. | 37—W. S. Williams. |
| 26—Rufus McGlamery. | 38—G. W. Whittington. |
| 1—R. Banfield. | 1—Elijah Cloud, Private. |
| 2—R. M. Brooks. | 2—J. M. Dinkins, " |
| 3—W. J. Brantly. | 3—S. R. Holland, " |
| 4—J. R. Glover. | 4—R. H. Hankinson, " |
| 5—T. J. Moulton. | 5—Dan'l Klickly, " |
| 6—Pat Waddill, Corp. | 6—J. H. Miller, " |
| 7—T. W. Montford, Lieut. | 7—Jas. Murphy, " |
| | 8—E. W. Stubbs, " |
| | 9—James Wicker, " |

BETHESDA'S CRISIS IN 1791.

DISASTER TO WHITEFIELD'S HOUSE OF MERCY
AVERTED.

The story of Bethesda, the charitable institution founded by the Rev. George Whitefield more than a century and a half ago shortly after his arrival in Georgia, is generally well known; but there is one event in its history concerning which little has been said by any writer, and the reason for the omission is the lack of material necessary for a thorough understanding of the subject. The incident to which we refer is the management of the establishment by a certain Rev. John Johnson, and the trouble growing out of his connection with the Orphan Home and his control of the property through which it was supported.

Whitefield died on the 30th of September, 1770, and by his will he left Bethesda with all of its possessions "to that elect Lady, that Mother in Israel, that Mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honorable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon," &c.; but soon afterwards all of the buildings were consumed by fire. Lady Huntingdon accepted the trust, and the work went on under her direction through persons placed in charge with her approval, but the property was again badly damaged by fire in 1773, and again rebuilt through her generosity and that of her friends. From time to time changes were made, for various causes, in the office of manager or superintendent until the period when the circumstances unfolded in the following documentary history arrived.

Just when Mr. Johnson appeared on the scene we do not know; but he was sent out from England in January, 1791, it seems as manager of the estate, and had full control of the property. As the Countess was an alien, an act of the legislature had to be passed in order that she could hold legal title, and by it the said estate was "vested in the said Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, any laws to the contrary notwithstanding," and trustees were appointed, in whose hands the sheriff was instructed to place one thousand pounds, the proceeds of the sale of confiscated property in Chatham County.

Lady Huntingdon died June 17, 1791, at which time the Rev. John Johnson was managing the Bethesda Home and plantation. The death of that good lady of course concluded the trust created as already shown, and a new act was passed, making the same trustees a corporate body with power to do all things "necessary and beneficial for carrying the original intention of the institution into full effect."

The original trustees who were therein reappointed were George Houstoun, William Stevens, William Gibbons, Sr., Joseph Habersham, Joseph Clay, Jr., William Gibbons, Jr., John Morel, Josiah Tattnall, Jr., John Milledge, James Whitefield, J. George Jones, Jacob Waldburger, and James Jackson.

After the death of the Countess, Johnson had instructions from England to continue his management of the property.

Johnson in his anger against the legally constituted trustees, wrote and published a poem called "The Rape of Bethesda; or The Georgia Orphan House Destroyed." The book is now very rare, and only a few copies can be located.

Comparative freedom from misfortune came to Bethesda when the management of her affairs passed into the Union Society; but the institution has had periodical seasons of adversity which we trust are now ended.

The originals from which the following record is made were offered for sale by a London bookseller, more than twenty years ago, and were bought by the Georgia Historical Society for a comparatively small sum. In concluding these prefatory remarks, we reproduce this short account of Mr. Johnson from the English Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Sidney Lee:

"JOHNSON, JOHN (d. 1804), dissenting minister, born near Norwich, was one of the first students of the Countess of Huntingdon's college at Trevecca, and a minister in her chapels. He settled at Wigan, Lancashire, and preached there and in neighboring towns. On one occasion his preaching caused a riotous disturbance. He moved to Tyldesley in the same county, and then, at Lady Huntingdon's desire, went to America to superintend an orphan asylum-founded by Whitefield. The state authorities refused to recognize him, and he and his wife were imprisoned for resisting the sheriff's officers. On returning to England he was imprisoned for debts incurred in the erection of his chapel at Tyldesley. He subsequently settled at Manchester as pastor of St. George's Rochdale Road, where he gathered an appreciative congregation. He was a good Hebrew scholar, and on three occasions he preached to the Jews in that language. He published "The Levite's Journal," and a prospectus of a universal language. Other works were left in manuscript. He died at Manchester on 22d Sept. 1804."

COPIED FROM THE LETTER BOOK OF THE REVEREND
JOHN JOHNSON.

Copy of a letter from Thomas Gibbons to Roger Smith,
Esq., of Charleston.

Savannah, January, 1791.

Sir:

Lady Huntingdon has been pleased to send out a letter of Attorney to me favor'd per the Rev. Mr. Johnson including that Gentleman with me to act in all matters respecting the Orphan House—was herewith furnished with a copy of a receipt of Mr. Glen's for the valuable papers which it mentions—upon application to Mr. Glen he informs me that he left the papers with you. I will be much obliged to you to forward me them as soon as convenient and a statement of such circumstances as comes within your recollection, as I am wholly unacquainted with the Business at present.

I forward a Letter to you which I presume is from her Ladyship.

I am Sir, Yours,

THOS. GIBBONS.

Extract of an act of Assembly respecting the Orphan House Estate.

..... "AND WHEREAS THERE is in this State a very considerable property, as well real as personal, known and distinguished by the name of Bethesda College or Orphan House Estate, originally intended for an Academy and devised in trust by the Late Rev. George Whitefield for literary and benevolent purposes to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon.....

Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid that the said Estate be vested in the said Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Georgia, February 1st, 1788.

OFFICIAL JOURNAL

1791.

Sept. 11th.

Was told of the Death of the Honorable Countess Dowager of Huntingdon by Mr. Thing after the forenoon service—found it confirmed by a Charleston paper the same evening.

Sept. 15th.

Thursday after it was in the Savannah Gazette with some little alteration in consequence of my observation on certain mistakes in the Charleston paper.

Sept. 17th.

Received a letter from Mr. Thomas Cahusac of London, with a brief account of L. H's. last moment by the Rev. Mr. Haweis.

Oct. 1st.

Was informed of General Jackson's determination to bring forward a motion in the next Gen'l Assembly for taking away the Orphan House Estate & of applying it to the purpose of an Academy for the County of Chatham—also of his preparations to enforce the same by showing an advertisement in some one of the northward papers exposing the Orphan House Estate for sale as private property—but knowing there was no real ground for the one; nor authority for the other I prepared to oppose, but having no official papers it was out of my power.

Oct. 2nd.

Found the clamor against Jackson & Clay, because the people were aware of their intention against the Orphan House; But in consequence of their declaration against any such intentions, Gen'l Jackson was elected one of the members of the House the next day.

Nov. 1st.

Tuesday—Preached at the Lutheran Church of Goshen, about 15 miles from Savannah; spent the evening and slept at the house of William Gibbons, Esq., one of the members of the House of Assembly for this County, who was to set off for Augusta the Thursday following in order to be ready for the meeting of the House the Monday after. Proposed a plan to counteract General Jackson's intention, but could not execute anything for want of a fresh power from Lord Dartmo', Sir Rich. Hill and others in time.

Nov. 21st.

Monday—Received an Official Letter giving a full and particular account of the Death of Lady Huntingdon with Power to assert the Trust in the Hands of Lord Dartmo', Sir Richard Hill & Clement Tudway, John Way & Oliver Cromwell, Esq.

Dec. 20th.

Tuesday—Rec'd a Letter from the Speaker of the House dated 10th of same inst.

(See Official Letters.)

True copy of a letter from the Speaker of the House of Assembly.

Augusta, 10th December, 1791.

Dear Sir:

A Bill has past the house of representatives, declaring the property vested in the Countess of Huntingdon to be a life Estate and vests the same in certain trustees by that act.

I shall not make any comment on the Bill but thought it my duty to inform you thus far.

My best wishes attend you and Mrs. Johnson, and

I remain Dear Sir;

Your hbl. Servant,

WILLIAM GIBBONS.

Dec. 26th.

Monday—Saw several of the Members return'd from Augusta—called upon Lawyer Gibbons, signified my determination of refusing possession and of making it a Question of Congress—promised him 50 guineas (in the presence of Mr. Owen) to assist me with his Counsel & to act as Attorney thro' the whole business.

Dec. 27th.

Tuesday—Went to inspect proceedings of the plantation. Went from there to the Orphan Home in the evening.

Dec. 28th.

Wednesday—Came to the plantation—determined to keep close possession by residing day & night Sunday & working day upon the premises to defend the negroes and ye remaining part of the evening—had reason to believe one black man came as a spy.

Dec. 29th.

Thursday—Found the negroes alarmed and determined to arm themselves—took a cutlass from one of the negroes telling him it was contrary to law.

Dec. 30th.

Friday—Kept a strict look out all day—but no attempt to take possession visible—Mrs. J. seeing one of the negroes return from breakfast with his hoe upon his shoulders—asked him why he carried his hoe, and received for answer “Don me no Misse War Time.”*

Dec. 31st.

Saturday—No attempts to take possession visible this day.

Jan. 1st, 1792.

Sunday—Had the pleasure of the company of Mr. Lewden, Capt. Hamilton, Mr. Keeves & Mr. Miller—about half past ten in the forenoon, Arthur Thewes & Michael Green came riding very hastily up to the back door, the former of which dismounted very suddenly turning his horse loose & on being asked what he wanted, showed great confusion—having my suspicions awake, I held out my positive determination to keep possession and that the negroes were also arming themselves & saying no Buckro (that is white man) should take them, this said he answered he was not afraid of any man upon God’s earth—feigned an inquiry after employment & that he had seen Mr. Thomas Gibbons, adding this, he expected I w’d have been in town—in short his whole conduct confirmed my suspicion of his being employed to take possession (contrary to law) on the Sabbath Day—however I gave him some rum & water but a day or two after (I am told) this same man went and made a false affidavit against me.

About one o’clock Mr. Blogg (with whom I had been in habit of friendship some time) accompanied with Mr. Nethercliff, Jr., came riding up to the front door—a friendly conversation took place upon the business in hand & after Mr. Nethercliff was introduced to me by my quondam friend. I ask if all the family was well and sent my compliments to them, but they also a day or two after in order to make themselves necessary to the Trustees (I am told) went & made false affidavits against me.

See extract in official letter &c., for the subject matter impressed into an affidavit against me by Messrs. Keeves, Blogg and Nethercliff.

Jan. 2nd.

Monday—Took away a musket from one of the negroes loaded with four ball,—received advice from Lawyer Gibbons to persevere in keeping possession.

*Don’t I know, Mistress, it is war time!

January 3rd.

Tuesday—Captain Hamilton dined with me this day & informed of Mr. Blogg's declaring in Savannah he w'd make affidavit I said on Sunday last I had put all the negroes under arms & that I had a design against the life of Mr. John Morell.

January 4th.

Wednesday—Kept a strict look out but no attempt to take possession visible.

January 5th.

Thursday—Sent to Lawyer Gibbons—received fresh matter of encouragement to persevere in keeping possession.

January 6th.

Friday—About 4 o'clock this afternoon, the sheriff's officer brought me a letter from Sir George Houstoun (enclosing a copy of the Act of Assembly) declaring the commissioners's intention of coming in a body to take possession on Tuesday next.

January 7th.

Saturday—Had my suspicions that a Day was appointed in order to draw me off the premises; and put me off my guard.

January 8th.

Sunday—Had reason to believe an attempt was made to take possession, but my not going to Savannah, as usual, rendered it Abortive.

True copy of a letter from Sir George Houstoun, President of the Commissioners to J. Johnson.

Savannah, January 9th, 1792.

Sir:

We do ourselves the honor to inclose a copy of an act of the General Assembly respecting the Orphan House Estate and Bethesda College. The trustees will be at the Orphan House and plantation on Tuesday next to take possession of the Estate.....

It will be necessary that an Inventory of the whole property, should be delivered to them on that day.

It will naturally strike you that no property ought to be removed from the plantation without instructions from the Trustees.

We are Sir,

Your very humble servant on behalf of the Board,

GEORGE HOUSTOUN, Pres.

January 9th.

Monday—Wrote a letter in answer to Sir George's dated 7th, tho' it came to hand the evening of the 6th.

(See Official Letter.)

..... Lawyer Gibbons' advice superficial and discouraging.

True copy of my first letter to Sir George Houstoun, President of the body corporates.

January 9th, 1792.

Sir George:

To avoid a tedious circumlocution, I proceed to answer your letter to me in a style altogether pointed, nevertheless I hope you will do me the justice to believe I speak under the limitation of modesty and a suitable deference to an Honorable Gentleman, whom I'm sorry to find made president to execute an unworthy commission under the sanction of a public Act. And now if my feelings should betray me into a severity of Language I pre-engage your pardon, and can only say by way of apology, I am too independent in spirit to stand in awe of dust. The rectitude of your design in taking possession of the Orphan House Estate without a due course of law and before we reap that which we sowed, I question; as I do the ground upon which your pretensions claim foundation.

Is it your zeal for the object of a County Academy which urged you to attempt a fraud upon the public on both sides of the Atlantic? Or have you entirely forgot your obligations to the worthy founder of Bethesda that you would commit an act of such violence on his favorite design without the least compunction?

This is best known to God and your own conscience. However, it is well understood that in a representation, made from Georgia to the House of Commons in or about the year 1740. It was therein declared that the very existence of the then colony was in a great measure, if not wholly owing to the building and supporting of the Orphan House. I am well aware of your wish to call in the approbation of the public by saying the object of your design is the establishing of the Rev. George Whitefield's *will*; what an insult upon the common sense of that great and good divine. Tell it not in a land of equity! But they who attempt to give co-existence to contrarieties, and fail, may thank themselves for the little ceremony they deserve. Can it be supposed the Rev. George Whitefield would be so improvident as to devise property (worth so many thousands) in trust to the Countess

of Huntingdon, (who he had all the reason in the world to believe could not survive him but a very little time) and intend after her decease to make an orphan of the Orphan House itself and abandon so great a property, collected in charitable donations from different parts of the world, to the mercy of party rage; or the public of this State? Equity I trust will soon say no, to the confusion of your claim and if she should say no at your expense, you and the rest of the commissioners (as a body corporate) must say what then.

But We'll suppose for a moment I lose the man in the minister, and basely admit you, possession the object of your interest (whatever it be) stands insulted and dishonored by its own officious advocates while the scripture demands, in terms of the most severe rebuke, who hath required this at your hand. It is a vain oblation.

Now the well known act of 1788 relieves Bethesda from the sentence of confiscation and pursuing the intention of Whitefield vests the whole Estate in the Countess (not limiting her trust for life) who devised the same in trust (according to official papers now before me) to the Right Honbl. William Earl of Dartmouth, Sir Richard Hill, Bar't, and Clement Tudway, John Way and Oliver Cromwell, Esquires; and sorry I am Sir George, the Honorable House could not find some other way of quieting the worthy heirs of Zouberbuhler and of building a County Academy but at their expense. Had the Orphan House Estate ever interested the Countess' private purse, the explanation of the General Assembly would appear more plausible to the public, but it is well known by the thousands of pounds she has expended in the services of Bethesda that she was a slave to the trust confided in her. Yea, I may say in a certain sense she robbed churches to do the State of Georgia service, moreover the current of Bethesda's benevolence was never yet confined to a single county—may the thought awaken the sensibilities of every other county in Georgia, the Northern States and all the world! It is the voice of bleeding innocence!

How far the exhortation of Scriptures "be not forgetful to entertain Strangers," may politically apply to the infancy of this State I leave to the Judgment of the truly patriotic, but sure I am it is both unrighteous and impolitic to the last degree, to proscribe without mercy by an arbitrary explanation the vigorous intentions of the above Honorable trust. Be on your guard Sir George, the whole world will soon sit in Judgment upon your character in particular as president of such a Commission.

Did a certain person (with whom I would scorn to contend) think your Worthiness and honor necessary to varnish

over his party design, but I forbear; yet cannot help adding who are there in this state, but will commence wayfaring men, if their property must be left to the mercy of such interested explainers? O heavens! If this be the state of subordinate possessors what defence do they enjoy against the abuse of superior power? But to conclude.

As the general assembly of this state has thought proper to explain away from the charitable public at large; and the private purses of the Rev. George Whitefield and Countess of Huntingdon, so many thousands; we shall not ask leave of thirteen commissioners to promote our appeal to Congress for an explanation of your explanation itself. 'Till then despair of possession Sir George, but if you attempt it tomorrow, I wish you to understand, I would much rather open my breast to your fatal steel than act unworthy of my present trust.

I am, Sir George, your most obedient Humble Servant,

J. JOHNSON.

N. B. If in consequence of my sober determination to keep possession, or of false reports, any unlawful advantages be taken by the inferior commissioners, or any person or persons employed by them; I shall imitate the conduct of one of old, who punished the Master for the disobedience of his scholars.

J. JOHNSON.

January 10th. Tuesday.

** (See extract in the Charleston Gazette and official letters, etc.)*

Before the commissioners left the premises I told them all I had full possession still. The sheriff's officer called the driver to hold his horse. I countermanded it and ordered another of the negroes to do it. About an hour after dinner I called all the negroes to work. The sheriff's officer immediately contradicted the order, but all the negroes obeyed me except the driver who I had reason to fear was either bribed, flattered or else very much intimidated by the Commissioners.

I also understand that the driver w'd unlock the barn door when the Commissioners came up to it, altho' it was quite contrary to my orders and that most of the negroes attempted to diswade and withhold him from it.

* Copied above.

About 8 o'clock this night two constables well armed were sent from Savannah by Joseph Clay, Jun'r to assist the sheriff's officer—one of them (quite drunk) when I opened the door & asked who was there, put the muzzle of his gun toward my breast and made answer "a friend to the State." I told them they might come in and stay a day or two with the sheriff's officer, but that I had possession there and was determined to keep it.

About half past eight the sheriff's officer went out in order to give the driver orders for the next day. I followed him immediately and gave contrary orders, we returned to the plantation house and the sheriffs and the sheriff's officer committed me to the custody of the two constables and went out again to enforce his orders, but the negroes declared they would die before they would serve him. On going to bed, found the lower part of my arm quite bloody, in consequences of a slight wound which I received in the upper part of my hand while scuffling with the sheriff's officer or with Mr. John Morell who presented his sword to my breast.

From the State Gazette of South Carolina, Thursday, Feb. 9th, 1792. Charleston, February 9th.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Savannah to his friend in this city, dated January 20, 1792.

"We are all confusion here, in consequence of a late act of the general assembly of this state, explaining away the transmarine trust of the Georgia Orphan House to thirteen commissioners of which Sir George Houstoun is president.

"On Tuesday the 10th of this inst., Sir George Houstoun, William Stevens, Jacob Waldburger, Joseph Habersham, Joseph Clay, Jr., John Morell, Josiah Tattnall, Jr., John Milledge, James Whitefield, Jr., Dr. John Brickell, Dr. Parker and a sheriff's officer, went to the house of the President, (the Rev. John Johnson) demanding possession without a due course of law. The president, out one of the windows remonstrated against their premature proceedings, alledging his three-fold claim to possession. First as agent for trust, and not for the heirs of Lady Huntingdon, which the act only excludes. Secondly, as not having beat out the crop he had sowed, in which case equity continues peaceable possession. Thirdly, as superintendent, not paid, besides having advanced near fifty pounds of his own money in different sums, at different times, without interest, still unpaid; and declared his intention on these three bottoms; or either of them, to refuse them possession, until they should gain it by an equitable decision of a jury. This said, the president was about to make his defence against the false affidavits of

Messrs. Keeves, Blogg and Nethercliff, who swore the president had put all the negroes under arms, and also, that he had a design against the life of one of the commissioners, (Mr. John Morell) in order to which, the president had a cutlass under his hand, and a musket by his side. The former he intended to make appear, was taken from one of the negroes four days before he saw Messrs. Keeves, Blogg and Nethercliff; and that out of the latter (which he took from another of the negroes the day after) were taken four balls—this he thought would sufficiently justify him from the charge of putting the negroes under arms, though they were determined to arm themselves, which was all the president said, adding, he could not help it. He also intended to shew, what he said respecting Mr. Morell was only in the mere pleasantry of these words, "There is no missing him." But before the president could make this latter part of his address, the sheriff's officer was ordered to force his way into the window; but was strongly resisted by the president, and failed in the attempt. Immediately upon this, some one or more of the commissioners broke open the door, and entering the house, insulted, assaulted, wounded and threatened the life of the president with a drawn sword presented to his breast. This done, they left the sheriff's officer in the house—went and turned all the negroes out of the barn, threatening them with the most inhuman severity if they obeyed the orders of the president any longer, which was enforced by Jacob Waldburger, who threatened also to bring the White Bluff company of militia against them if they did not obey the orders of the sheriff's officer. But the president still persisting in countermanding the orders of the sheriff's officer with effect, the latter attempted to drag he former out of the house, assaulting him and seizing him by the throat; but not being able, two constables ordered from Savannah came to his assistance about eight o'clock at night, and next day Mr. and Mrs. Johnson were violently dragged off the premises, and the former sent in the custody of an armed constable, was brought to Savannah, where he still remains a prisoner of honor in the house of Mr. Charles Scrimger. But what is very strange—all this violence has been done without any writ of ejectment, decision of jury, or shewing any authority from a magistrate.

The above letter* being much misrepresented, a copy of it was immediately taken, by a friend, to the Printers of the Georgia Gazette for publication.

*Referring to letter just preceding the extract from the South Carolina Gazette.

Inclosed is the following :

To the Printer of the Georgia Gazette :

Sir :

The Inclosed is a Copy of a Letter from the Rev. John Johnson to Sir George Houstoun, upon the latter's declared intention of taking possession of the Orphan House Estate.

The inserting of which in your next will much oblige,

Your Hbl. Servant,

A Correspondent.

Refused.

Contrary to the Constitution of this State.

Parson Johnson's compliments to the printer of the Georgia Gazette, requesting his acceptance of the following motto for his next public paper.

"Open to all parties—influenced by none."

Should be glad Mr. Johnson would call upon him about twelve o'clock this day, opposite the burying ground.

Monday, January 16th, 1792.

Refused.

True Copy of a note to the Public Printer.

January 11th.

Wednesday—This morning countermanding the orders of the sheriff's officer but the negroes were so horrified by his abuse & shreaking that they all except a few ran away into the woods without obeying either of us.

And about 2 o'clock this afternoon Mrs. J. and myself were violently dragged off the premises by the sheriff's officer and the two constables and I was sent to Savannah in the custody of one of them to a Commissioner of Justice.

January 12th.

Thursday—Still in custody in the home of Justice Lewden. Understand Boyd has been with the Commissioners this forenoon, and has obtained employment from them (as overseer) and paid to take possession of the plantation and negroes.

About half past three this afternoon Whitefield called upon me feigned great disgust at the conduct of Boyd, after having promised me so often before witnesses "he would not act against me".....gave Whitefield keys and power to take possession in my name before proposed witnesses and hastened him off to take possession on the premises before Boyd laying a strict charge upon him to be faithful

to me and the negroes which he promised to observe with the greatest solemnity; but about an hour after I was informed Whitefield had obtained a joint power with Boyd from the Commissioners a little time before I saw him. (I nevertheless hoped he would act for me.)

Was made to understand (thro' a certain medium) that the Commissioners proposed to make me President of their intended College—to give me 200Lbs. sterling a year and to pay my demand against Bethesda in case of my compliance with their proceedings.

.....This evening wrote a note to Way & Hills requesting a statement of his account with Bethesda..... about 9 o'clock was removed by leave of Justice Lewden to the house of Mr. Charles Scrimger and committed to his care as a prisoner of honor—but no charges are yet brought against me.

January 13th.

Friday—Wrote another letter to Sir George H. James and Nicholas Johnston, public printers have refused to print my first letter to him which has been much misrepresented, and I am denied the liberty of the Press—contrary to the Constitution of this State.

January 14th.

Saturday—Understand Boyd has collected some of the negroes in my name, tho' in reality acting for the Trustees appointed in the Act. Wrote a letter to William Stevens, Esq., (see Official Letter).....still in custody but no charges are yet brought against me.

January 15th.

Sunday—Was told the negroes are indeed collected together, but will not obey Boyd's command and that not anything has been done, but that which I ordered them to do, before I was dragged off the premises—also that Whitefield has betrayed my confidence by joining Boyd in the name of the Commissioners the evening of the same day he engaged to act for me.

And also that some written hand bills were posted in different parts of this city to the following effect.

“O Citizens of Georgia, let the Constitution reign and not men. The right of Jury and the Liberty of the Press are both denied a Reverend Stranger.”

January 16th.

Monday—I am informed several of the Commissioners went out to the Orphan House Plantation this forenoon.still in custody, but no charges are yet brought against me.

True copy of a letter to Sir George Houstoun, President of the thirteen Commissioners.

Sir George:

Our subject of contention naturally supposes two different claims and it is well known that in the constitution of this state the right of a jury is to be held inviolate. Now sir, being your opposite claimant, I demand the legal and equitable decision of the same and assure you thro' this medium that no other can dispossess me, for tho' myself and Mrs. Johnson were violently dragged off the premises by the sheriff's officer and two constables, armed by the authority of the Commissioners—and myself sent in the custody of a civil officer to a commissioner of justice and tho' now held as his prisoners of honor in the house of Mr. Charles Scrimger, I do not consider myself as dispossessed. I have a person on the Estate (now in possession which I have never relinquished) acting for me with the best advantage he has.* But I wish you to know Sir George as I am officially sent here in the capacity of a prisoner, in that situation I am determined to remain, till I am committed more fully in consequence of charges Mr. Coxe said he had to bring against me by your order, or till I am officially discharged by that power which has deprived me of my liberty unjustly, and know also I shall certainly sue the body corporate hereafter for false imprisonment (tho' now for two years I am an outlaw and treated as such) in consequence of a certain clause in an Act of Assembly passed (horrid to think) in a free country. I thank you for your proposals made to me, and although you have no power, yet to make them, I treat your politeness with the respect it deserves—as politeness; but will not admit a temptation to betray my trust. However, Sir George I will meet your condescension as far as I can consistently putting on that cloth, which I am sorry my situation made it necessary for me to throw off for a while, I speak and act with decision; but am superior to malice. I admit an apology for the violence exercised by the Commissioners and others thro' the provocation too hastily assumed, on the misrepresentation of Messrs. Blogg and Nethercliff which I would much rather impute to the unfaithfulness of their memories, than the malice of their hearts.

The subject in hand is I am certain a question of Congress seeing I can prove from authority indisputable that the object of Bethesda's charity so far from being confin'd to a single state always looked with an Eye of Mercy to the

*Whitefield, [James], who went to London from this place with Mr. Phillips. See my journal, Jan. 15th.

first sources of her generosity—South Carolina, and the Northern States. Yea, the declared intention of Bethesda's worthy founder looked with compassion to the Indian—Orphans of the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, &c. The Act of Assembly excluding the heirs of Lady Huntingdon does not apply to the exclusion of my present claim as agent for trust, but beside that I have two more founded upon equity, law & precedent, they who sow shall reap. No common overseer can be legally dispossessed unpaid, but I promised to meet you, not as a suppliant, but rather as one who demands your obligations of honor as a body corporate—for quiet possession—till a legal decision of a jury puts the question beyond your or my dispute, and I will immediately do my endeavor to collect the negroes in mercy to their present distress, and I will give a regular account of all—to *those* who shall legally demand it. The face of the overseer you have appointed (tho' in his duty an honest man) unless he goes in my name, will drive away the negroes sooner than an army of soldiers. The motives of my objection are strong against your *conduct* as a system of the greatest violence and most dangerous in its consequences, you know Sir George my advantages; but, consider my demand upon your honor, in tenderness to yourself; and mercy to the poor negroes, who I am afraid will almost all fall a sacrifice to your contention with me.

Don't mention my demand against Bethesda, nor must you assume the privilege of paying me, till you first gain legal possession.

I am, Sir George,
Your most obed't servant,

J. JOHNSON.

Savannah, Jan. 13th, 1792.

P. S. The expense of procrastination will be very great. I must charge for the absence of all the negroes thro' your violence—for my own expenses as a prisoner and for every article consum'd by any officer or others you may put on the premises.

True copy of a letter to William Stephens, Esquire, one of the thirteen commissioners.

Savannah, Jan. 14th, 1792.

Sir:

The inclosed comes to your hand in mercy to Sir George's feelings who yesterday experienced a bereaving providence for which I am very sorry. God avert the im-

pending judgments which hang over the head of all who dare to take to themselves the houses of God in possession with such inhuman violence as you have shown to me. I am this moment inform'd Boyd is on the plantation, and has collected some of the negroes in my name; tho' acting in reality for the Commissioners, (horrid unfaithfulness); after pledging his word and honor to me so often before witnesses that he never would act till the business was legally settled—esteem such a man worthy of *trust* if you can.

Bring forward your charges against me, immediately—commit me to the common jail; or honorably acquit me. If you do the former, I shall soon prefer an indictment against you and others, for breaking open my house, insulting, assaulting, wounding me and threatening my life with a drawn sword presented to my breast—if the latter Boyd shall soon know who has possession still. But if you agree to the demand of the inclosed, my honor shall be your privilege, and I will subscribe myself ever your hbl. serv't.

J. JOHNSON.

P. S. I hope you will consider—I am detained from my ministerial duties, in consequence of custody at the expense of 10/6 per day.

January 17th.

Tuesday—Was called upon by a planter who had made proposals to the Commissioners to rent the Orphan House Estate at 200 lbs. sterling a year; but after knowing the situation of my claims declined having anything to do to it.

Justice Lewden called and spent the evening with me; promised to call a Counsel of Justices as soon as possible and demand the Commissioners charges against me.

January 18th.

Wednesday—I'm informed Boyd has quitted his employ under the Commissioners and that another overseer is there in his room—but the negroes still refused to work for any but me.

January 19.

Thursday—Understand some of the negroes are got to work this morning in consequence of the driver's declaring for the Commissioners, being either bribed by money, or overawed by fear. Also that the Commissioners who went out last Monday broke open the right wing of the Orphan House—forced open the lock of the store room and another of the closet and that the house has been plundered in consequence of their leaving the doors quite open.

Still in custody—no charges yet brought.

January 20th.

Friday—Have reason to believe the Commissioners intend to throw all the blame of my custody upon the Deputy Sheriff, who was this day sought for to explain his reason for putting me in custody, but was nowhere to be found.

January 21st.

Saturday—Wrote a letter to Lawyer Gibbons, received his answer—had a very short interview with him this afternoon, but no encouragement to expect any assistance from him.

(See Official Letter.)

.....find 2 hand bills were posted last night at the Vendue House to following effect:

- (1st) "Great encouragement will be given to a public printer who is not influenced by any party.
 (2nd.) "High Church, Lindsay and Fury.
 Low Church, Johnson and Jury."

The Rev. Mr. Holbrook informed me this day that to his certain knowledge, a sheriff's officer was fined 90lbs. in Boston (about 3 years ago) for only lifting up the latch of a door—and that the plaintiff appealed to a superior court for further satisfaction notwithstanding the debt the officer seized for, was a just one.

True copy of a letter to the Mayor .

Savannah, Jan. 21st, 1792.

Sir:

Tho' but an inexperienced politician, I will readily pledge myself to meet the terrors of an arbitrary explanation with courage and composure. But it is possible one so independent as yourself, will deny me his counsel, because time has not yet disrobed my conduct of its formidable aspect. If it be as I am told, you have pledged your honor to the contrary party, I will remember my obligations to you still and admit the best apology I can. But if you come forward and prove the falsity of such a report my obligation of honor for fifty guineas, given before in the presence of Mr. Owens will perhaps be found as strong in your favor as any bond you have in your possession.

My present custody makes it impossible for me to come to you. Call upon me at the house of Mr. Charles Scrimger, opposite the burying ground, and I will soon show you some of your best advantages, against your worst enemies, but if

you refuse me this my humble request—my official journal which I must publish in my own defense, will be no compliment to your perseverance.

I am Sir, your most obed't hbl. serv't,

J. JOHNSON.

The Mayor's answer.

January 21st, 1792.

Sir:

Your letter of this date was this moment handed to me. I will call on you as soon as I can make it convenient.

I am not prompted to an interview from any motive of gain (or fear of any future publication.)

I am sir,

Your most humble serv't,

THOMAS GIBBONS.

January 22nd.

Sunday—Still in custody—find it rumored amongst my enemies, that my own counsellor is turned against me.

January 23rd.

Monday—Am informed the new overseer appointed by the Commissioners came to town this morning to inform them—none of the working negroes were to be found and that the driver himself was gone from the plantation.

This evening had an interview with the speaker of the house—am happy in finding him still my friend; altho' a false report was aimed to separate our friendship.

January 24th.

Tuesday—Was this day formally discharged from custody by Justice Lewden in the presence of John Beck and Charles Scrimger.

(See official letter for copy of my discharge.)

Received a subscription of 50 Dol. from a very worthy friend, towards carrying on a prosecution against the Commissioners.

Copy of J. Johnson's discharge from custody.

Savannah, Jan. 24th, 1792.

"I, William Lewden, Esquire, commissioner of justice for the City of Savannah, have held in custody from the 11th of this instant to the present time—pursuant to the order of John Coxe, Deputy Sheriff of this County, the Rev'd John Johnson officially delivered to me as a prisoner of honor

from the hand of one of the constables of this city. But having no charges brought against him, nor any reason to expect any will be laid before me, I do hereby acquit him from the above custody.

WILLIAM LEWDEN,
J. P.

Witnesses: CHARLES SCRIMGER
JOHN BECK

January 25th.

Wednesday—Offered a considerable fee to Matthew McAllister, Esq., Attorney at Law (& attorney Gen'l for the federal court) this day to take up the cause of Bethesda against the Commissioners, but did not agree.

January 26th.

Thursday—Ordered one of the negroes to fetch some small things of value out of one of the closets in the Orphan House—bought & paid for with my own money as per receipt now in my possession; but the things were seized as soon as brought to town and the negro put in prison by order of Sir George Houstoun.

January 27th.

Friday—Agreed with Lawyer McAllister to take up the cause of Bethesda and retained him with a fee of fifty dollars.

He informs me he finds six indictments against my opponents. Four criminal & two civil.

Copy of a power to Matthew McAllister, Esquire, Attorney at Law and Attorney General for the Federal Court.

I do hereby authorize and empower Matthew McAllister, Attorney at Law, to appear for me and take such measures, institute such process and proceedings in any of the Courts of Law, or equity in this state, relative to the Orphan House Estate, or Bethesda College, as to the said Matthew McAllister may appear legal and proper & tend to the benefit of the Trust reposed in me by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon & others.

Witness my hand this 27th day of January, 1792.

J. JOHNSON.

January 28th.

Saturday—Understand eight negroes broke out of prison last night, one of which was the negro belonging to the Orphan House put there on Thursday last.

Embarked on board the Eagle, Capt. Ross (bound for Charleston) in consequence of an alarm respecting the situation of Mr. R. S's affairs in whose hands the bonds belonging to L. H. are.

January 29th.

Sunday—Wind bound in the mouth of the Savannah near Tybee Island. A rough wind and boisterous sea threatened our advance into the ocean. Wrote a letter to Gen'l Wayne (at Philadelphia), one of the members of Congress for the State of Georgia.

(See official letter.)

Copy of a letter to the Hon'ble Anthony Wayne, member of Congress for the State of Georgia.

On Board the Eagle bound for Charleston, January 29th, 1792.

Honorable Sir:

The unexpected disappointment of General Jackson in losing that seat in Congress which you now have the honor to fill has been wreaked upon us with all the thunder of party rage. His conduct indeed puts me in mind of that of Antiochus Epiphanes who, disappointed in his ambitious designs against Egypt, let his vengeance fall without mercy upon the poor Jews. But this I enjoy (seeing I am made an outlaw for two years—denied the right of Jury and the Liberty of the Press) in consequence of his violence our antagonist has forged his thunderbolts at the expense of the constitution itself, so that Justice and Equity cannot but turn them all against the man who aimed them at us with so much scorn. A motion has been brought forward in the late House of Assembly here by the above gentleman (after pledging his honor to many that he had no such intention) explaining away the transmarine trust of the Georgia Orphan House Estate and applying it to a Chatham Academy. This wonderful piece of party chicanery is entitled "*An Act to Explain an Act*" and what is very remarkable after the House had decidedly exploded the idea of the property being given to the Countess of Huntingdon as *fee simple* directly turned the edge of their act against the heirs of Lady Huntingdon, as British subjects & non residents therefore aliens incapable of receiving and executing the same.

O! tell it not in the Northward States! An act was made in the General Assembly of Georgia in '88 and the meaning of it explained in '91, when perhaps not three persons who

were in the former house made a part of the General Assembly of the latter. How arbitrary and interested, such procedures! But how heavily the consequences are fallen upon me the enclosed will fully inform you, and (if you think proper) the public at large.

I am honored Sir,

Your most obed't humb. serv't,

J. JOHNSON.

January 30th.

Monday—Weighed anchor this afternoon. Sailed out to sea with a fair wind.

January 31st.

Tuesday—Encountered the disadvantage of a dead calm all last night, accompanied with a thick fog, but arrived at Charleston with a fair wind about 8 o'clock this night.

February 1st.

Wednesday—Feel myself a good deal recovered from the consequence of a horrible sea sickness. Took a view of the town, was introduced to & spent the evening with the Rev. Mr. Firman.

February 2nd.

Thursday—Called upon Roger Smith, Esq., took certain papers out of his hands belonging to the Countess of Huntingdon. Find he has negotiated *one bond*, all the Continental certificates, together with seven Carolina indents committed to his care for certain bonds, two of which I am afraid are not safe, and find the amount of the whole with interest to be considerably under eleven hundred pounds English sterling. To try their real worth I offered them for sale, but could not by any means get fifty per cent. for the bonds one with another.

Was offered 300 lbs. for your bonds by Mr. O'gear merch't in Charleston, who declared it was their full worth. In the evening called upon Colonel Laurens but he was out of town.

February 3rd.

Friday—Called upon Gen'l Pinckney this morning wishing him to take the bonds into his possession, and collect the payment of them as soon as convenient; but he refused to take them because he was afraid only two of them were good.

February 4th.

Saturday—Waited on Dr. Smith to know if he had a mortgage in his possession to secure *Eveleigh's bond* (as I had some reason to hope he had) but he was out of town and not expected to return for some days. Called again upon Colonel Laurens but he is still in the country.

Understand the Carolina indents sell at this time, at the rate of 50 per cent. and that they sold 5 months ago at the rate of 17/6 per pound sterling. What a pity Mr. R. S. negotiated them to such a disadvantage.

February 6th.

Monday—Embarked this forenoon for Savannah with a fair wind. Sailed close past the wreck of a fine vessel—one of the two lost on Saturday last passing Charleston Bar.

February 7th.

Tuesday—Arrived safe at Savannah after a very dangerous passage (in consequence of a thick fog at sea) about half past nine this night.

Found the city under arms occasioned by a riot among the sailors, determined to revenge the inhuman murder of three of their profession last Sunday night.

February 8th.

Wednesday—Understand the negroes would do no work during my absence and that all things are quite in confusion at the plantation.

February 9th.

Thursday—I am told the overseer which the Commissioners sent to manage the plantation furnished one of the negroes with a boat and sent him a fishing a few days ago, but he has never since been heard of. Called upon Lawyer McAllister this forenoon, find him encouraged to expect he shall bring the Commissioners to terms of accommodation on the principle of those in my second letter to Sir George Houstoun.

Find false reports circulating against me—"that the Sunday but one before last I held seditious correspondence with the Orphan House negroes in the road, and that I carried off several of the Orphan House negroes with me to Charleston."

February 10th.

Friday—Mr. Polhil informed me this day that he spent the evening of the 10th ult. with Gen'l Jackson and that he ran out vehemently against my first letter to Sir George, adding with an air of scorn (before a certain time) Johnson would be taken off the premises of the Orphan House Estate neck & heels; or words to the same effect, importing violence—and this was said in the audience of about five more, one whom was Lawyer Stirk—so it appears the violence of the Commissioners was premeditated. This will also justify the sheriff's officer from the charge of exceeding his order.

Called upon the Public Printer of this city & requested him in the audience of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Polhil to print some of my papers that the public might know thro' this medium the real situation of my claims; but received nothing but bad language and abuse.

February 11th.

Saturday—Received a hint from a certain friend that my life is in danger, requesting my not venturing myself abroad after dark—also intelligence from another that the case of my opponents is rendered so desperate in consequence of my standing out against them that they are trying to forge out an accusation against me tending to treason.

I am informed Mr. Milledge, one of the Commissioners, has ordered some of the moveables belonging to the O. H. Estate into his possession & that Boyd is cutting down some of the best trees on the Habersham tract.

February 13th.

Monday—The superior State Court beginning to-day I called upon Lawyer McAllister who informed me the Commissioners were then about to meet to consider of the terms above mentioned—amplified into a regular statement, in a letter he had laid before them.

February 14th.

Tuesday—Understand the Commissioners did not comply with my terms of accommodation yesterday. Ordered Mr. McA. to proceed in bringing forward the several.*

February 16th.

Thursday—Understand another of the O. H. negroes was brought to prison, prisoned this morning by Whitefield and Denceller.

*Here something is omitted.

February 18th.

Saturday—Saw the driver this afternoon. Says he was sent to take Sam out of prison, and that the jailor ordered him to flog him first which he refused to do, and came away without.

.....removed yesterday from Mr. Charles Scrimger's to a house in Johnson's Square but am obliged to borrow our furniture.

February 20th.

Monday—The business of the State Court is nearly ended and nothing has been done by Mr. McAllister against the Commissioners & I have neither seen, nor heard from him since I ordered him to proceed. This morning the negro who was brought to prison, last Thursday, came to me in a very miserable condition requesting my protection—says he received 100 lashes this morning by order of some one or more of the unmerciful usurpers.

February 27th.

Monday—Lawyer McAllister has never yet called upon me since I gave him positive orders to proceed against the Commissioners in the Superior Court of this State.

No accommodation on the plan I proposed is acceded to by them. The negroes are almost all off; and if something be not done in a few days we must inevitably lose the next year's crop.

February 28th.

Tuesday—Denceller (who holds as overseer, what the Commissioners wish to call possession) with another white man with him called upon me this morning & in the name of some of the Commissioners demanded the negroes which I had in my possession here in my house in town. I asked him by what authority. He said he had none but what he received by verbal order of the Trustees. I told him I desired their claim to the Estate and would only relinquish in consequence of a due course of law in their favor. That it was required of a steward that a man should be found faithful. That it was true I fed, harbored and protected the negroes which came to me, sometimes hungry and greatly distressed and would continue to do so, until I was legally dispossessed by an equitable decision of a jury. I then repeated my demand upon their honor for quiet possession till right & not force should determine the contest.

I'm informed the sheriff's officer made an attempt to take all the negroes out of our kitchen but was prevented by our precautions.

March 1st.

Thursday—This morning Betty a valuable negro wench belonging to the Orphan House Plantation came to me with breast *very very* much swollen & in smart fever—says she was taken from her sucking child & was brought to prison some time ago.

About 12 o'clock to-day a person came to inform me, the Commissioners were met and were about to issue out a warrant against me. I told him I was ready to meet it not only without fear, but with pleasure as I had a material objection to being plaintiff in the business.

March 2nd.

Friday—An advertisement appeared in yesterday's paper holding out certain intimidations against me and others who shall dare to oppose the unjust claims of the Commissioners—but I am determined to contradict it in the most public manner I can.

(See official letters & extract.)

March 6th.

Tuesday—Received two letters from London, one from the Rev. Mr. Haweis dated Oct. 29th—the other from Lady Ann Erskine dated Nov. 1st, 1791. But I am very sorry indeed no power of attorney accompanies them as I am afraid my opponents will by this time be able to produce legal proof of the death of Lady Huntingdon. Throw all the expenses of a lawsuit upon me & laugh all my expectations to scorn at the expense of not only dear Mr. Whitefield's original design; but of the gospel itself.

March 7th.

Wednesday—Have prepared an advertisement in opposition to that published on Thursday last by the Commissioners & putting it into the hands of one of the principal Mechanics to take it to the public printers for publication he was obliged to accept it for fear of offending the whole body of them.

March 8th.

Thursday—The Commissioners made a board this day & had the mortification to see their premature & unlawful proceedings contradicted in a public advertisement before they assembled.

(See official extract.)

March 9th.

Friday—Find a small poem called the *Rape of Bethesda*, is just published and announced for sale at Charleston—but have not received them yet.

March 10th.

Saturday—As the greatest part of the Commissioners are ungodly men and strangers to the blessed gospel, the more serious part of my friends begin to consider their conduct towards me, and the O. H. a system of persecution—heightened into violence so much the more as my plan of managing the negroes has differed from theirs with success.

Savannah, March 10th, 1792

P. S. Perhaps Lord Dartmouth or Sir Richard Hill will think it proper to lay these papers before the American Consul now in London & if so I should be very happy to meet his documents to Congress at Philadelphia.

J. JOHNSON.

N. B. The code of laws in Georgia are except in two or three local respects the same as those of Great Britain.

Apoligie. (*Sic*)

Excuse whatever is incorrect in the above Journal, which I designed to be official; and not evengelical as my time is so much *limited*.

Should have wrote sooner but wished my account of the business to be as full as it was possible.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN SUMMERVILLE.

BY LAWTON B. EVANS.

The Village of Summerville, which is now the Sixth Ward of the City of Augusta, has acquired considerable celebrity of late on account of the presence of two large winter hotels and its popularity with the Northern tourists. It lies well above Augusta on the west. During the day the smoke of the city's industries hovers like mist over a valley. At night the lights of the city look like harbor lights upon darkened waters.

The Village now boasts of a Country Club, golf links and fine houses, and during the winter season is a scene of pleasure by day and revelry by night. But it has not always been so. Its history dates back before the times of the Revolution, when it was merely a quiet and obscure residence place for a few people of Augusta, who approached it by old time methods, from their places of business on the low levels.

Summerville as a place of residence has a record for more than one hundred years, when Augusta was a very small town of a few thousand people and the Village of Summerville itself, instead of being a part of Augusta as it is now, was then removed by several miles from the activity of the town.

Tradition does not say who first came to Summerville, or, as it is more popularly known in Augusta, "The Hill," but it is well understood that from Revolutionary times on there has been a decided preference for it as a place of residence. Only of late years has it come into its fame, but for many generations has it been a pleasant place for those who are weary of the struggle and the temperature of the lower portions of the city.

As far back as 1790 Thomas Cumming established his home on the Hill and owned a considerable portion of its present area. He built a small home, which since has increased in size and changed in appearance, but it has been held in its original family, who for three or four generations have kept the Cumming estate.

About the same time John Milledge, who was Governor of Georgia, likewise moved to the Hill and established himself in what was known for many generations as the "Milledge Place." It also was a small house, and being on the eastern brow of the Hill, overlooked the Savannah Valley, in which, in all probability, John Milledge had his own farm lands. There John Milledge lived for many years in his

old age, and it was at this place he died and from this place was carried to the little cemetery, which then was far back on the Hill, but which now is practically the center of its population.

John Milledge was one of the notable men of the Revolution. He was Governor of Georgia in 1802. For him Milledgeville is named, and with him is closely associated the early history of our State. Near him located about 1810 James Gardner, and, later on, Thomas Gardner, John Howard and Hugh Nesbit—all of them not far from the Cumming home. These families seem to have made the original unit of which Summerville was composed, clustering together on the eastern slope of the Hill; and back of them, through the woods, trails, paths and sandy roads led into the interior. In all probability this group of men first called the village by its name of Summerville, since it afforded unusual advantages for summer residence. The approach to this group of residences was through what is known now as "Battle Row."

The original name of Battle Row may have been Battle Road, and it is certain that on this road occurred some of the battles of the Revolutionary War, since on it is the famous White House, at which certain atrocities of the Tories during the siege of Augusta were committed. At any rate the name of Battle Row has adhered to this particular road for so many years, and its origin is so obscure, that no one now seems to know why it was so named. There is an intimation on the part of some of the old citizens that it was the scene of many turbulent conflicts between the original settlers on the outskirts of the city, who were workers in small mills and industries of various sorts and who would waylay travelers passing in that direction from time to time and hand-to-hand conflicts would occur which in themselves were sufficient to give the name to the road. At any rate Battle Row was the only approach to the Hill for many years.

Near the Cumming estate there stood an old house which was not much more than a barn but which grew into a small store and also into a school. It seems that a certain Mr. Sandwich, who called himself Lord Sandwich (though nobody knows why), opened up a store and began a school at this place. He called it Mount Salubrity Academy. He had a few pupils coming from the farms nearby, as well as the children of the residents of the Hill, and he put up a rather conspicuous sign at the crossroads, which sign can be remembered at the present day by the older inhabitants of the Hill.

The Hill is now approached by a much larger and more pretentious highway, and trolley cars and automobiles find their way to the thickly populated portions. In the early history of Summerville this road was not more than a path lying through swamps, and was by no means passable for vehicles. Later on, when the United States Arsenal was located on the Hill, about 1832, this pathway through the swamps was widened and covered with planks, and for many years was known as the "Plank Road" to the Hill. A toll gate at both ends of the Plank Road demanded passage fees of all travelers. It was only in late years that this plank road was abandoned and a graded road was made that was suitable for the passage of more pretentious ways of transportation. At the site of what is now the Bon Air Hotel there was merely a bluff that was inaccessible to vehicles but which could be scaled by adventurous riders, and there are several old residents of the Hill to-day who speak of the perils of approaching town from the top of the Hill by the old Plank Road.

Early in the century John Forsyth came and joined the group of residents, and built a small house near the Cumming estate, which even at this date is known as the "John Forsyth House." John Forsyth was one of the great orators and statesmen of Georgia. He was an eminent lawyer, one time Governor of the State, and was the representative of the United States at the court of Spain in 1819, where his persuasive eloquence succeeded in securing from the Spanish Government the cession of the territory of Florida. As many others of these houses, the Forsyth house has since been changed and added to, but there is a tradition among the present owners of the house that at least one room of it still remains as originally built, in which room Lafayette was entertained upon his visit to Augusta in 1825.

Next to the old John Forsyth house is the Terrett home, that once in its history was the winter residence of Mr. Taft, who occupied it during the season preceding his inauguration as President of the United States. The only other Governor of Georgia who had a home on the Hill was Charles J. Jenkins, who lived there for many years after he became Governor, and who died and was buried from his residence there. He was Governor during the reconstruction period, and administered the affairs of the state during the most trying times. It will be remembered that when he was deposed from office he took the seal of the Executive Department of the State and the State's funds with him when he retired to Halifax. When the State was reconstructed and Gov. Jenkins returned to Geor-

gia, he restored the seal and the State money to the proper authorities, saying that he was glad that the seal of State had never been desecrated by a usurper's hand. He was granted a medal by the State of Georgia, on which was inscribed "*In arduis fidelis.*" These words are inscribed upon his tombstone in the little cemetery on the Hill where he was buried. His home has passed into the hands of a winter resident, and is now one of the most beautiful places in the village.

Richard Henry Wilde also lived on the Hill in the early part of the last century in a very small cottage which has been preserved almost entirely, but which was moved from its original location to an adjoining lot. Here Richard Henry Wilde lived and wrote some of his sweetest verses. He will be long remembered as the author of that sad but beautiful lament known as "My life is like the summer rose." He practiced law, but was ever more fond of literature than he was of the legal profession. He spent many years in Italy, studying the life of Tasso, and became an eminent authority on that Italian poet. There is a tradition that in his studies in Florence he became interested in the frescoes of the Bargello, and that his studies led him to believe that a portrait of Dante was concealed behind certain frescoes. Obtaining authority to remove the frescoes, he uncovered a portrait of Dante which is now accepted as the authoritative likeness of that great poet. In the rear of the Wilde home was his own little cemetery, in which his family were buried. On the tombstone of one of his children, I find the following epitaph:

"Love, hope and pride lament thee—lost too soon—
Yet even our very grief with every breath
Confesses length of days is misery and the boon
Heaven sends its favorites, an early death."

Wilde himself was buried in the rear of his cottage and his grave remained there for many years. Subsequently his remains were removed to the larger cemetery in Augusta and are buried near that other great poet, Paul Hamilton Hayne.

The United States Arsenal was located on the Hill in 1832. It is quite a large though not a very pretentious arsenal, and for many years it has been the headquarters of the Ordnance Department of the South Atlantic States. It came into public notice in 1861, when Governor Brown came to Augusta to demand its surrender by the United States Government, when Georgia seceded from the Union. The

ceremony of this surrender was very simple. There was no parade and no opposition. The demand for its surrender was made, and after a few preliminary exchanges of courteous notes, and without any violence whatsoever, a committee of citizens accompanied the Governor in the formal ceremony of lowering the United States flag and raising the flag of Georgia. The post, of course, was untenable by the United States Government at that time, and its taking over was a simple matter for the State authorities.

Back of the arsenal is what is known as the "Madame LeVert House." Mme. LeVert was a granddaughter of George Walton, signer of the Declaration of Independence. She married Dr. LeVert, of Mobile, Alabama, and after his death moved to the Hill to live. She was a famous woman in her time—a traveler and author, who wrote the "Souvenirs of Travel," a book that is charming in its recital of everyday affairs in Europe.

Another one of the old historic spots on the Hill is what is known as the home of Alfred Cumming, another distinguished member of the Cumming family who, as a soldier in the War of 1812, came to the attention of the United States authorities. When Utah was organized as a territory, Alfred Cumming was appointed Governor, thereby acquiring a title which has always attached to his name. After his term of office expired, he moved to the Hill, where he lived at the time of his death. The Governor was quite a large man, weighing something near 400 pounds. In front of his home there was a bench of very ample proportions and of considerable strength, on which the Governor would sit waiting for his carriage to convey him to the city. This bench became known as "The Governor's Seat," and remained so for many years after his death.

Further up on the Hill was an old house known as the "Smyser Home." Mr. Smyser came to Augusta from Charleston, and bought a tract of land upon which he built a small but comfortable home. It was then on the outskirts of the village but now it has been completely surrounded by the growth of the population. Upon the death of Mr. Smyser the place was purchased by the late Joseph R. Lamar, who was then a lawyer in Augusta, and who subsequently became one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Judge Lamar improved the place considerably and it has become one of the notable places in the village.

A few miles back of the Hill is an old farm-house where once lived the father of General Joseph Wheeler, of fame in the Confederate War and in the Spanish War. Here Gen-

eral Wheeler was born and spent his boyhood as a farmer's son. The road leading into the village from the west is still known as "The Wheeler Road," because it led out to the Wheeler farm.

The cemetery of the Hill was first intended to be beyond the range of the ordinary resident, and was far back in the woods at the time it was located. Since its location, however, the village has grown up to it. It includes among the list of those buried there, a number who are notable in the history of the State. George W. Crawford was buried there in the family burying-ground, being brought from his home at Bel Air, about ten miles from Augusta; Charles J. Jenkins and John Milledge are also buried in the small cemetery; Charles C. Jones, Jr., who was a noted historian of the State, and whose residence was on the Hill, is likewise buried there. Among the others are C. Shaler Smith, who during the Civil War was the engineer in charge of construction of the powder works, and who has passed into history as the designer of the cantilever bridge; also Prosper J. Berckmans, who was the leading horticulturist of America at the time of his death; Joseph R. Lamar; Judge Ebenezer Starnes, and others who have played important parts in the history of the nation and the community.

The Village of Summerville is already one of the winter residence beauty spots of the South, but it has buried in it these historic reminiscences that make it most attractive to those who care to preserve the traditions of the old times. All of the old homes have changed, new roads have been opened, and the pleasure seeker at the Country Club and on the golf links are passing spots that have been noted in the history of Georgia for more than a hundred years.

There are very few places in Georgia that have a longer history or a more notable one than this little village. It is indeed well in these times of progress and expense and extravagance to remember that the soil upon which we tread is saturated with the traditions of all these years and that the flavor of by-gone times lingers around the places where we live and have our pleasures. The influence of these traditions is plainly felt by those who live permanently in the village, and there are those of us who like to point out the places where things happened many years ago, and still love to show the homes where the notable men of our state lived and reared their families.

In these hurrying times, when streets are changed and large hotels are built, gardens are opened, and fortunes are spent in making beautiful homes, we still cry back to the past times when these spots were made notable and sacred by

the tradition of men who labored in the interest of the public cause rather than spent their time in seeking extravagant pleasures.

**SOME OFFICIAL LETTERS OF GOVERNOR
EDWARD TELFAIR.**

The letters herewith presented are only a small portion of the correspondence of Governor Telfair, and are taken from a manuscript volume in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society which contains also some letters of Governor Samuel Elbert, whom Mr. Telfair succeeded.

Reference is made to the important subject of the boundary between Georgia and South Carolina—a subject upon which much has been written, and which has not by any means been clearly understood. The most intelligent and reasonable discussion of the question that we have seen is contained in an opinion given by the Hon. George Hillyer, in the year 1915, in the case of the State of Georgia *versus* the Georgia Railway and Power Company. Mr. Hillyer has very kindly consented to the request of the editor to let it be reproduced in the *Quarterly*, to follow the letters of Governor Telfair, and we are sure our readers will be glad to be so highly favored.

Copy of Letters in the year 1786:

To the Honorable the Board of Treasury:

Augusta, 14th January, 1786.

Gentlemen:

The Legislature have received and acknowledged Job Sumner, Esquire, as Commissioner of Accounts for this State, and have required that I notify the same to your Honorable Board. I am Gentlemen,

Your most Hble. serv't,

E. T.

In Council, 16th February, 1786.

Joseph Clay, Esq.,
Savannah.

Sir:

Pursuant to the Order of the Executive hereunto annexed you will please to deliver in charge of Mr. James Pearre

a certain Box or case with Books and other Papers said to be in your care; the said Box or case having been forwarded to the State by Noble Wimberly Jones, Esquire.

I am sir,
Yours,
E. T.

To His Excellency William Moultrie, Esq.,
Governor of South Carolina,

Augusta, 30th March, 1786.

Sir:

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 24th instant regarding the boundaries between the States of South Carolina and Georgia and observe with peculiar pleasure the amicable and friendly disposition in your State towards the adjustment thereof.

In support of an equality of disposition towards the important event in the State, in which I now have the honor to preside, I beg leave to call your excellency's attention to a communication made by the Executive in the year 1784 to his excellency the Governor Guerard.

In Consequence of the delay on the part of the State of South Carolina by their Commissioners, to appoint the time and place to meet the agents of this State to proceed on the objects contained in your Communication, The Legislature at their last meeting passed an act and therein appointed agents to proceed according to the form pointed out by the Confederation and perpetual Union of the United States; upon taking a view of this Act, I find the Executive have no power to enter into any negotiations or to proceed in any other way except the one pointed out as aforesaid.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's obt. serv't.
E. T.

His Excellency John Hancock, Esquire,
President of Congress.

State of Georgia, Augusta, April 4th, 1786.

Sir:

I had a communication made by the Secretary of Congress dated the 23rd November last passed announcing your Excellency being elected President.

On this event permit me, Sir, to congratulate you and the United States in Congress assembled. The Legislature

of this State during the last session passed Acts touching the federal Requisitions of that extent and magnitude that will doubtless give energy to the federal Union. They will be presented to your Excellency by the State Delegates and I have caused the necessary form of office to be annexed to them.

The requisitions of Congress of the 30th April, 1784, respecting the situation of Commerce I have reason to conclude will be an object of the General Assembly of this State in July next and I flatter myself with the expectations of the Legislature pursuing such measures and vesting such powers in the United States in Congress Assembled as may be competent to the protection of Commerce, and Ultimately to the Establishment of a Navy, greatest Bulwark of National safety.

I have the honor to be,

Your excellency's serv't,

E. T.

To Charles Thomson, Esquire,
Secretary of Congress.

State of Georgia, Augusta, April 4th, 1786.

Sir:

On the 9th day of February I received dispatches from your Office of the 23rd November & 3rd of December which were laid before the General Assembly by way of information. And since their recess on the 30th, ulto., I also received dispatches of the 3rd & 12th of January—1st, 15th, & 28th of February & the 1st & 4th of March all last passed, which said Communications shall also be laid before the Legislature when met.

I am Sir, your most obt. serv't,

E. T.

Honorable Samuel Osgood & Walter Livingston, Esquires,
Board of Treasury.

State of Georgia, Augusta, April 4th, 1786.

Gentlemen:

I received on the 30th, ultimo, dispatches from your Board, dated the 16th, 26th & 31st October, the 3rd & 17th December last passed the receipt of which I now have the honor to acknowledge, & shall in due course, cause the same to be laid before the Legislature when met. It affords me pleasure to observe that the Acts passed by the General Assembly of this State, during their last Session will give great

stability to the federal funds & in addition to this, certain funds are appropriated toward the payment of arrears which will in course be notified to you by the proper Officer as soon as they can be fully ascertained.

I believe this State is not singular in the derangement of her finances, at the same time I flatter myself they will soon be in a better train.

I find there are some part of the expenditure and advances made by the Citizens of this state in the Quarter Master, Clothier, & Medical Departments, that the Commissioner of Accounts for this State do not conceive himself fully authorized to take up & liquidate. Upon this Subject I beg leave to remark that the State & United States have at various times made advances to the late Officers acting in these departments in this State, in as much as having nearly closed the same, & from what I can understand their vouchers & Accounts are chiefly ready for a final settlement.

I can point out no mode except the heads of the aforesaid departments are, or may be vested with power to transmit the respective advances to the State Commissioners with the regulations in such cases. At which time he will be furnished with the respective State advances. By this mode of procedure matters would be brought to a speedy issue.

Any assistance or information the Executive can afford the State Commissioners will at all times be had. Without some similar regulations to what I have now pointed out be adopted, I see no prospect of drawing this busines to a conclusion.

I have the honor to be your most obt.

E. T.

The Honorable John Jay, Esquire,
Secretary of Foreign Affairs,
New York.

State of Georgia, Augusta, April 4th, 1786.

Sir:

Your dispatches of the 14th Oct., & 10th Jan. last passed came to hand the 30th, ult. The information contained in the former Communication is of that consequence that appears to have engaged the attention of Congress and may lead to some speedy adoption of federal & ultimately respective States operations. Upon this subject & its progress I make no doubt of being fully informed.

I have the honor to be your most obt. serv't,

E. T.

His Excellency The Governor of Virginia.

Augusta, Georgia, 27th May 1786.

Sir:

The Commonwealth in which your Excellency presides, having on all occasions displayed every ratiocination to any of her sister States when required, have induced the Executive of this State to enter into the inclosed order upon which the present communication is founded.

The savage depredations that have of late taken place on our Western Frontier and the want of a sufficient supply of Arms, etc., to give full energy to defensive measures, I hope will plead a forcible excuse for the liberty taken on the present occasion.

I have the honor to be your most obt. serv't,

E. T.

Mr. Robert Dixon,
Augusta.

May 27th, 1786.

Sir:

You'll proceed with all convenient speed to the County of Charlotte in the Commonwealth of Virginia & there take into your care and possession the arms, etc., belonging to this State in the hands of any person or persons in whose care the same may be, and procure such transportation as may be necessary for the safe conveyance of the said arms, etc., to this place & immediately thereafter to the City of Richmond with the Dispatches for his Excellency Governor Henry, and in case of a supply of Arms, etc., by way of Loan from that State you are to take immediate order for transportation of the same to the place aforesaid.

Your most obt. serv't,

E. T.

To His Excellency William Moultrie, Esquire,
Governor of the State of South Carolina.

Augusta, May 30th, 1786.

Sir:

I do myself the honor to transmit to your Excellency the application of the Executive of this day for the loan of Arms, etc. The savage depredations that have of late taken place on the Western frontiers of this State, and the want of a Sufficient number of Arms for defensive measures will I trust, plead a sufficient excuse for the requisition now made.

It will afford me pleasure to be favored with a speedy reply on the premises.

I have the honor to be, etc.,
E. T.

Honorable William Houstoun & Wm. Few, Esquires,
Agents at N. Y.

Augusta, Georgia, 18th August, 1786.

Gentlemen:

The Legislature of this State during the late Session appointed General Lachlan McIntosh, John Houstoun, and Joseph Clay, Esquires, Commissioners to treat with the Commissioners appointed by the State of South Carolina in order to endeavour at an amicable Settlement of dispute with this State and the State of South Carolina respecting boundary, and to this end have required that you co-operate with the agents of the State of South Carolina to adjourn the Federal Court until some time in the Spring to give time for an accommodation if such can be procured.

I am Gentlemen,

Your most obt. Serv't,
E. T.

His Excellency Wm. Moultrie, Esq.,

Augusta, Ga., 18th August, 1786.

Sir:

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that the Legislature of this State at their late meeting entered into certain resolutions to endeavor at an amicable settlement and adjustment of the dispute respecting Boundary between this State and the State of South Carolina, and to that end have appointed General Lachlan McIntosh, John Houstoun and Joseph Clay, Esquires, Commissioners to treat with Commissioners appointed by the State in which you preside. In order to facilitate this measure I have wrote to the Agents of this State to co-operate with the Agents of South Carolina to adjourn the Federal Court until some time in the Spring to give time for an accommodation if such can be procured.

I make no doubt of your Excellency's making the necessary communication to the agents of South Carolina on this subject and also giving me early information of the result.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your Excellency's most obt. serv't,
E. T.

Messrs. William Houstoun & William Few, Esquires.

Augusta, Ga., 20th August, 1786.

Gentlemen:

The pacifick disposition of this State towards the numerous Tribes of Indians residing to the West, has at all times been fully evinced by the peculiar attention paid by the Legislature towards them, in the appointment of Commissioners at various times to treat on principles of amity, and by opening a free trade and otherwise maintaining intercourse and good understanding with them. Which measures have proved effectual with the respective Tribes and nations until some time in May last, when several parties of Creek Indians marched to the frontier Settlement, and committed murders and Depredations on the persons and property of Citizens of this State which caused much alarm and distress to the frontier's Settlers. This conduct on their part caused every exertion to take place on the part of the State towards defence.

The Legislature during the late session appointed Commissioners to treat with the Creek Nation, and they have sent a Talk tending to the re-establishment of peace, and have also made conditional provision in case they decline a meeting with the Commissioners, and should evince they intend an hostile invasion or meditate a War against the white people of this State.

After having reference to the different Communications and other documents herewith transmitted, I flatter myself the conduct of this State will meet the approbation of Congress and through you Gentlemen I have now to solicit the immediate aid and attention of that Honorable Body towards this State.

I have the honor to be Your most obt. serv't,

E. T.

Messrs. Robert Dixon & Stephen Jett, Esqs.

Augusta, Ga., Feb. 27th, 1786.

Gentlemen:

The Commission with which you are now furnished is founded on a Resolution of the General Assembly of the 8th inst. By having reference to it, the duties required of you will more fully appear. I have to require that you at all times and on all occasions use every means in your power to cultivate the good and friendly disposition of the Choc-taw and Chickesaw Indians and to make them otherwise

useful to this State in the event of war with the Creek Indians and that you also explain to the people residing on the Holstien Notechuckey, and Wataga Settlements the Views and designs of this State in demanding Satisfaction of the Creek Nation and the great probability there is of Vigorous operations being carried on against the said Indians.

On this subject I have wrote to the Honorable Mr. Sevier and notified that about the first of November in case of need the movements on the part of this State will take place.

I must now require of you Gentlemen full information and correspondence on the premises committed to your care.

I am, Gentlemen,

E. T.

Note—Commissioner to the Choctaw and Chickesaw nations and to explain to the Settlements of Holstien, Notechuckey, and Wataga, the motives of this State with regard to the Creek Indians.

Honorable John Sevier, Esq.

Augusta, Ga., 27th August, 1786.

Sir:

I received your letter of the 14th of May last, and would have made reply to it sooner if the circumstances of the case would have admitted thereof. The Legislature were near their time of meeting on the receipt of it, and their deliberations were necessary in order to form some criterion whereby I might reduce my communication to some certain standard.

The General Assembly of this state among other things took under their consideration that district of Territory on the Tennessee and after deliberating some time thereon postponed the Consideration of it until January, by which you will readily perceive that no immediate order can be given or taken on that head.

The Creek Indians have committed murders and depredations on the persons and property of Citizens of this State, which have caused the Legislature to adopt measures for the better security thereof. It has been the policy and peculiar object of this State to cultivate amity with the respective Nations and Tribes of Indians residing to the Westward and moreover to evince a pacifick disposition on her part. The General Assembly have appointed Commissioners to meet the 15th of October next, for the purpose of

negotiating a peace with the Creek Nation, on failure of which this State will carry on immediate and vigorous operation against the said Indians.

It being suggested that you intend to march a body of men against the Creek Indians, I flatter myself it will tend greatly to the success of both armies to begin their movements at one and the same time, should it become necessary; which said movements will take effect in this State about the first day of November next. On this subject I have to solicit your immediate answer and determination. I have also to inform you that Robert Dixon, and Stephen Jett, Esq's, are appointed Commissioners on the part of this State to communicate the result of any conference that may come within their department and are competent to give you additional information.

I am sir,
E. T.

Benjamin James, Esq.,
Agent Choctaw Nation.

Augusta, Ga., 27th August, 1786.

Sir:

I have the pleasure to transmit your commission as agent of the Choctaw Nation, and at the same time to inform you that the Legislature have revoked and made null and void the powers granted to John Wood to act in that office.

It affords me pleasure to be informed of your abilities and great influence in the aforesaid Nation, by which means I am hopeful your well directed exertions may terminate favorable to the present views and designs of this State.

The Legislature in consequence of murders and depredations committed by the Creek Indians have directed fifteen hundred men to be embodied immediately to attend Commissioners appointed to treat with the Creek nation, and to demand satisfaction, and assurance of peace, and thereafter should it become necessary the aforesaid men are to be joined by another body to carry immediate and vigorous operations against the said Indians.

The intended bodies of men in case of need will be in readiness to march about the first week in November next. I have desisted from entering into a minute detail of this business in the talk herewith sent. On a presumption it will be more expedient that you in conjunction with Robert Dixon and Stephen Jett, Esquires, make such communication to the head men and warriors of that nation on this

subject, as you may deem best calculated to cultivate the good and friendly disposition of that nation, and to make them otherwise useful to this State. In the event of War with the Creek Nation I shall look forward to making a supply of ammunition for the service of Choctaws; in case you give me full assurance, that the force of such supply will be directed to the proper object.

I am sir,
E. T.

Joseph Martin, Esq.,
Agent of the Cherokee and Chickesaw Nation.

Augusta, Ga., August 27th, 1786.

Sir:

I received your letter of the 14th of May and have herewith transmitted a talk you are without delay to give the Chickesaw Nation and also such part of it as may be applicable to the Cherokee Indians, and you are at this conjuncture to use every means in your power, to cultivate the good and friendly disposition of the aforesaid Tribes and nations of Indians and also to keep two or three spies continually in the Creek Nation with proper runners, taking special care to transmit every information you may receive touching their movement or hostile preparation. You will also use every address in your power to engage the Tribes of Indians in your department to render services to this State in case of war with the Creek Nation. Fifteen hundred men are embodying & to take post at Shoulder Bone near the Oconee about the 15th of October and Commissioners are appointed to attend at that time and place to demand satisfaction of the Creek Nation and in case of non-compliance the aforesaid men are to be joined with another body of men to carry on immediate and vigorous operations against the said Indians.

I am Sir, Your most obt. Serv't,
E. T.

William Davenport, Esq.,
Commissary Choctaw Nation.

Augusta, Ga., 27th August, 1786.

Sir:

The General Assembly during their late session appointed you Commissary of the Choctaw Nation with a salary of twenty-five pounds Sterling, in pursuance of which you'll receive your commission.

I have now to give you in special charge to cultivate the good and friendly disposition of the said nation in behalf of this State and to use every prudent measure to render them beneficial in case of open hostilities with the Creek Nation.

I shall on this subject refer you to Robert Dixon, and Stephen Jett, Esquires, Commissioners of this State in that department, and also to Benjamin James, Esq., Agent in the aforesaid Nation.

I am sir,

E. T.

John Habersham, Esq.,

Chairman of the Board of Commissioners for Treating
with the Creek Indians.

Sir: Augusta, 4th Sept., 1786.

You have herewith transmitted copies of two letters I have just received from Mr. Barnard by which you will observe a moment is not to be lost in making the necessary opposition to repel the hostile attacks of the Creeks which we have every reason to conclude will take place before many weeks, in short if they are determined on war which I see no reason to doubt, the event of a renewal of hostilities may be every day expected. In the present situation of affairs I must call your immediate attendance with the Gentlemen of your board that council and deliberation at this important period may take place in order that one uniform system may prevail. The Executive have appropriated the sum of two thousand pounds, Sterling, towards the purchase of Arms, Ammunition, etc. The net proceeds of this sum will prove inadequate to the present emergency. I must therefore lay before your Honorable board the necessity of recommending me to draw on the Treasury for a sum adequate to the purchase of one thousand Swords, four field pieces and five hundred Stand of arms in addition to the quantity already ordered. The Executive lament at this critical conjuncture, the restraint laid on the executive powers, in which the common safety of the people are so immediately interested, and at a period when the pointed exertions of a few days being delayed may endanger the public safety.

I am sir,

E. T.

Brigadier General John Twiggs.

Augusta, 11th Oct., 1786.

Sir:

The detachment of fifteen hundred men ordered by the Executive to attend the Commissioners appointed to treat

with the Creek Indians you are (in conformity to the express order of the Executive) to take under your Command, and in all cases touching the disposition or arrangement of the aforesaid force to be subject to the orders and Commands of the said Commissioners or a Majority of them, so far as shall relate to the said Indians. You are in addition thereto to cause such other restrictions and give such orders to such officers and men as may be in actual service as in your opinion will tend to good order, and as shall have a tendency to carry into execution the views and designs of the Commissioners so far as shall be conformable to the will and decree of the Legislature, all of which you are to consider as standing Orders until otherwise directed by me or some other Superior Officer.

I am Sir,

E. T.

Brigadier General Elijah Clarke.

Augusta, 12th October, 1786.

Sir:

I received your letters of the 7th & 8th inst. A small Quantity of Arms and Ammunition is arrived and more daily expected which will be deposited in the hands of the Quarter Master General, subject to the Warrant of the Commanding Officers. The arrangements are fully completed by the appointment of a Commandant of Horse Commission General of Issues, Pay Master General and Inspector General.

I am Sir, your most obt. serv't.,

E. T.

The Hon'ble Wm. Few, Esq.

Augusta, 19th Oct., 1786.

Sir:

I received a letter from the delegation which was laid before the Legislature and an order issued on Mr. Berrien to take up the draft on him. I must observe that the Collector's office at Sav., has been the only productive fund for specie, which now expires by Virtue of an Act for the Emission of a paper currency. This circumstance with partial drafts for supplies of Ammunition, etc., in times of extreme

danger and also by means of drafts made thereon by the late assembly will effectually preclude every hope of aid from that channel.

Mr. Houstoun's term will soon expire, from which I conclude the provision made by the Executive will prove adequate to his time of Service.

In order to give support to the Delegation Federal Court, and to aid the requisitions of Congress the Legislature have appropriated the sum of 12,000 Lbs., Sterling, out of the non emission towards the purchase of produce in order more fully to enable the Agents appointed to remit to New York—a part of this sum will be in their hands in a few days out of which the Executive have directed the sum of 233.6.8 Lbs. to be remitted you.

The Creeks have not as yet renewed hostilities and it is said are now about to treat. The Commissioners appointed to negotiate this business have repaired to Oconee River where a detachment of 1500 men are ordered to attend. The progress and event of this meeting will be determined in a few weeks, after which you shall be furnished with a detail of the proceedings. This unfortunate outrage on their part have been the cause of a very considerable expenditure, which can only be obviated in future by the peace having such coercive checks as will compel them to abide by it. In support of your opinion on the subject of the Post coming directly to this place, I inclose an Order of the Executive founded on the detention of Government dispatches at Savannah for many Months. I think your proposition in this head cannot fail of success, when taking into View the propriety of all communications on the part of the federal Government going directly to the place of residence and Seat of Government within the respective States, while System must give way to partial accommodations our Government can never be placed on the true basis of public Utility. I am perfectly Satisfied with the mode pursued by the Agents on the part of the State that respects the Federal Court, the period of decision being distant will afford sufficient time for the Commissioners to confer on the part of the States, and also for the Legislature to accommodate if they see fit. Even in that case the necessary forms of the Federal Court will be requisite to make the measure conclusive.

I am, Sir, Yours,

E. T.

Honorable John Habersham,
 Chairman of the Board of Commissioners appointed to
 Treat with the Creek Nation.

October 20th, 1786.

Sir:

The Executive since your departure have received sundry dispatches relating to the Creek Indians, extracts of which have been directed to be made out and are herewith transmitted for the information of your honorable Board.

E. T.

The Honorable Duplissis,
 Brigadier General of His Most Christian Majesty's
 Armies and late Governor of Saint Vincent, Effing-
 ham County.

Augusta, 19th October, 1786.

Sir:

I have been favored with your letter of the 8th inst., informing of your arrival and your intention of making this State your seat of residence. It affords me peculiar pleasure to congratulate you on the occasion in full expectations that the system You have adopted will prove beneficial. It is my wish your example may be followed by Gentlemen of rank and distinction from the Nation that went hand in hand with us in the arduous struggles of a long complicated war and fixed an early standard as the friend and Ally of the American republics.

The Executive have taken under consideration that part of your letter that respects the duties paid in Savannah on stores and provisions for your own use and have entered into an Order thereon that affords me pleasure to transmit you.

I have at the same time to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Major General Elbert and also one from Mons. Sibly, Consul of France at Charleston, by which Sir, together with your polite address to me, I have full evidence of your Rank, Merit and abilities, and during the period, I am in Office, it will afford me pleasure to make any communication of a public nature that may contribute to your ease and Satisfaction.

I have the honor to be, yours, Sir,

E. T.

BOUNDARY BETWEEN GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE STATE	TAX ASSESSMENT, GREGG SHOALS
VS.	PROPERTY.
GEORGIA RAILWAY & POWER CO.	1913-1914. AWARD September 17, 1915.

Opinion by George Hillyer, Arbitrator.

The controversy in this case turns mainly on the proper location of the boundary between the States of Georgia and South Carolina. There is no doubt that in the ordinary reaches of the river where no island or islands exist, the current or main thread of the channel of the Savannah River is the boundary between the two States. This was so held in the case of *Simpson vs. the State*, 92 Georgia 41; and in the case of *James vs. the State*, 10th Appeals Reports, page 13. Both of these were criminal cases where a fight had occurred at or near or crossing the boundary; one of them occurred on a bridge connecting the two States. But in both these cases the question was uncomplicated by the presence or existence of any island or islands at the localities in question.

According to both these decisions and very obviously the question is to be determined by reference to the treaty of Beaufort, dated April 28, 1787, afterwards ratified by the Legislature of the State of Georgia, and presumably South Carolina also. The Code of 1861, Section 18, provides that the line between Georgia and South Carolina shall conform "as much as possible to the line agreed on by the Commissioners of said States at Beaufort on the 28th day of April, 1787." This language is repeated in every revision of the Code down to and including the Code of 1911, Section 17.

In order to construe the convention or treaty of Beaufort properly, we look, of course, to the law, as it stood prior to that time and the conditions with which that Convention dealt. The Legislature of Georgia passed an act in 1783,—see *Watkins Digest*, page 749, which was five years before the treaty of Beaufort, in which it was recited that the "limits, boundaries, jurisdictions and authority of the State of Georgia had and did and of right ought to extend from the mouth of the river Savannah along the North side thereof and up the most Northern stream or fork of said river to its head source."

The Treaty of Beaufort,—Watkins Digest, page 754,—dealt with two phases of the controversy between Georgia and South Carolina. One was the boundary between the two States; the other was the navigation of the river Savannah from its mouth clear up to the head of the Tugalo, so as to make such navigation advantageous and absolutely free of tolls, duty, or interference of any kind by one State with the inhabitants of the other. Article first of the treaty of Beaufort deals with the boundary, and this section provides,—leaving out surplus words relating to other matters,—“that the most Northern branch or stream of the river Savannah from the sea or mouth of such stream to the fork or confluence of the rivers now called Tugalo and Keowee,—reserving all the islands in the said rivers Savannah and Tugalo to Georgia * * * * * shall forever hereafter form the separation limit and boundary between the States of South Carolina and Georgia.” Article second of said treaty of Beaufort, which relates to the other subject, provides as follows:

“The NAVIGATION (capitals mine) of the river Savannah at and from the bar and mouth along the North-east side of Cockspur Island and up the direct course of the main Northern channel along the Northern side of Hutchinson’s Island and from thence up the bed or principal stream of the said river to the confluence of the rivers Tugalo and Keowee, and from the confluence up the channel of the most Northern stream of the Tugalo River to its source and back again by the same channel to the Atlantic Ocean, is declared to be henceforth equally free to the citizens of both States, and free from duties, tolls, hindrances, interruptions, etc., attempted to be enforced by one State on the citizens of the other; and all the rest of the river Savannah to the Southward of the foregoing description is acknowledged to be the exclusive right of the State of Georgia.”

So we observe that the boundary line is the most Northern branch or stream of said river; but so run as that it shall reserve all of the islands in the river to Georgia; *but the line of navigation is the principal stream of said river.* Obviously, if the intention had been that the right of navigation shall follow the boundary of the State there would have been no necessity for this second paragraph treating the boundary line as one thing and the channel of navigation as another thing. It would have been easy to say, if such had been the intention, that the right of navigation along said boundary shall be open and free. But the framers of the treaty of Beaufort knew that the channel would run sometimes on one side of the boundary line and sometimes on the other;

and therefore it was necessary to draw two sections, one defining the route or channel of navigation and the other defining the boundary, which would sometimes run along a stream of the river too small or shallow for navigation; and so the framers of that treaty met the difficulty by inserting the two separate articles in the treaty to cover the problem in each of these respects separately. In the one case when dealing with the question of navigation the language is "along the bed or principal stream" of the river "and back again by the same channel." But when dealing with the boundary, the language is "the most Northern branch or stream of said river." In the present instance there are islands at the locality in controversy. The concrete or masonry dam about 14 ft. high stretches across the river from the Georgia side with its Northern or Eastern end actually touching or almost touching the upper end or point of an island, which island is about 35 or 40 feet from the South Carolina shore. There was always a current or stream of the river running down between said island and the South Carolina shore, just as called for in the boundary description contained in the treaty of Beaufort. There are several islands in the river immediately above and below the dam. The principal stream of the river as it formerly existed before any dam was built threaded its way among these islands sometimes on the Georgia side and sometimes on the Carolina side as to them. It is a matter of proof that pole boat navigation up and down the river was in old times a matter of very great practical importance. It is not strange that the right of such navigation should be carefully considered by the Commissioners in 1787; in this case the proof is by some witnesses living in that locality that the boat landings and channel formerly used by the boats conformed to the principles here recognized by following the main channel, no matter on which side of the island the main channel might happen to be.

To my mind it is entirely clear that the Comptroller General is correct in having treated the *stream* of the river which separates the island here in question from South Carolina at the Eastern end of the dam as marking the true boundary between the two States at that particular locality; and from thence bending or curving to the like stream of the next island or islands so as to take in the islands on the Georgia side, is absolutely correct.

The Savannah is a noble river nearly 300 miles long; fed by pure mountain springs; averaging 1000 feet wide from the locality here in question, down to the sea. There are very many islands in the Savannah River,—hundreds of them,

and every island is involved in this question. Many of them, —possibly most of them, are located in shoaly parts and falls adapted for water power development; and constantly growing in importance and value. It is very greatly to the public interest that the rights of the State and all concerned should be carefully preserved and the correct conclusion as to this particular phase of the question of boundary where an island or islands exist in the river, should be finally and authoritatively adjudicated.

The convention or treaty of Beaufort in 1787 was framed by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Andrew Pickens, Pierce Butler, Jno. Habersham and Lachlan McIntosh. They were very able men. When they took hold of the problem they had to deal with the line or boundary as already set forth by Georgia in the Act of 1783 above mentioned. That Act dealt with two elements of description;—One to run “along the North side thereof” (the Savannah), and the other “up the most Northern stream or fork of the said river Savannah.” The first gave the whole bed of the river; islands and all, to Georgia, clear across to the South Carolina side. The other element of description in the Act of 1783 related to “forks” of the river; such for instance as the Broad in Georgia or the Seneca in South Carolina. The “fork” of a river is the same as the “branch” of a river. And accordingly the Beaufort Commission in 1787 used the word branch instead of fork; but use the word stream in the same sense as it was used in the Act of 1783; just so as to run the boundary up every “stream” of the river Savannah that separates any island from South Carolina, and thereby aptly “reserving all the islands to Georgia.”

Any one in doubt as to the meaning or shades of meaning of the words or phrases in question by consulting the dictionary will see that the flowing body of water on either side of an island is very properly called a “stream;” but that a “branch” of the river is a fork that flows into it. The only change made by the Beaufort Commission was that by plain meaning and construction they made the boundary run not along the north side as theretofore but along the current or main thread of the channel of the river where there are no islands or island: and extending or bending up or along the middle thread of every *stream* of the river which separates any island or islands from the South Carolina side.

It is conceded by those holding the contrary view, that the island here specially in question (at the eastern end of the dam) as also every other island, belongs to Georgia. If this be so, then as to every other island similarly situated it is entirely surrounded by territory of the other State: and

even though inhabited or very large, hundreds of acres perhaps; or worth thousands for water power purposes, Georgia officers would have to go through South Carolina to serve process or enforce her laws. I submit with all due respect that the Beaufort Commissioners never perpetrated an absurdity like that; and that the conclusion here submitted is not only the "possible" but the obvious and reasonable conclusion.

Code, Section 17.

There was no very serious dispute as to values and amounts. The arbitrators readily came together in agreeing on the figures set forth in the assessment; and comment on that feature in the award is not needed for understanding of the real dispute in the case as above set forth.

Having made a careful investigation and study of the subject, I think it is my duty to place the reasons and conclusions touching same on the record, as here set forth.

(Signed)

GEORGE HILLYER,
Arbitrator.

BOUNDARY BETWEEN GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE STATE	TAX ASSESSMENT, GREGG SHOALS
VS.	PROPERTY.
GEORGIA RAILWAY & POWER CO.	1913-1914. AWARD September 17, 1915.

Supplemental Opinion by George Hillyer, Arbitrator.

Since writing out the former opinion as to this controversy my attention has been called to a letter covering the subject of boundary between the States of Georgia and South Carolina, written by Governor Howell Cobb to the Governor of South Carolina in 1852, and which letter, though probably never printed, upon further inquiry I have ascertained is duly recorded in the volume of executive minutes for the year 1852, at page 389. I am having a copy of said letter prepared for the filing along with this supplemental opinion. This letter, like everything else coming from the brain and hand of Governor Cobb, is singularly logical and clear. I am led to take note of the fact that probably this letter was not before the Supreme Court nor the Court of Appeals at the time of rendering the two decisions mentioned and set forth in the above mentioned opinion as already written out

by me, and that if said letter with the very pregnant facts related therein had been before the above courts for review, the decision might have been different. It naturally follows that if at any time hereafter those decisions should be questioned and reviewed, as provided by law, they may be reversed.

It occurs to me to add that the deeds and mesne conveyances which would make the Carolina shore the true boundary as so provided in the Act of 1783, relating to the several tracts of land with which this controversy is concerned, seem to describe the entire bed of the river, which would include not only the dam but the power house, as lying and being in Georgia; and it is quite probable that the contesting company in this case derives title either in the later deeds or the older ones, possibly both, not describing the bed of the river or any part of it as being in South Carolina, but recognizing its locus or situs as entirely in Georgia.

The decisions of the Supreme Court of Georgia and Court of Appeals naming the central or main current of the river as the boundary, where no islands exist, are of course binding on all concerned, as long as they stand; and the assessment in this case has been made in accordance therewith. But all doubt should be removed and the question of boundary finally settled and adjudicated, to save endless and vexatious controversy hereafter. Probably an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, as suggested by Governor Cobb, in Annual Message 1852, is the best and wisest method.

I am filing this supplemental opinion so as in no degree to prejudice the rights of the State, but so far as my own action is concerned, to leave the matter open for final adjudication as to the law and to justice shall appertain.
Atlanta, Ga., October 1st, 1915.

(Signed)

GEORGE HILLYER,
Arbitrator.

REV. J. J. ZUBLY'S APPEAL TO THE GRAND JURY.
OCT. 8, 1777.

In reproducing this extraordinary document which we believe has never been given in full since it was first published as a broadside, we deem it advisable to state some preliminary facts.

Dr. Zubly came to America about 1758, after a short residence in South Carolina made his way to Savannah, and in 1760 became the pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church. When the troubles preceding the American Revolution began he was an ardent patriot and espoused the cause of the American Colonies. He was a member of the Provincial Congress and took an active part in its proceedings. He was elected one of the members of the Continental Congress, and was placed on four important committees.

He addressed the inhabitants of Georgia on the State of the Country and we make the following extracts from that document. "It is with great sorrow we are to acquaint you that what our fears suggested, but our reason thought impossible, is actually come to pass. A civil war in America is begun".....

"You will permit us most earnestly to recommend to you a steady perseverance in the cause of Liberty, and that you will use all possible caution not to say or do anything unworthy of so glorious a cause; to promote frugality, peace, and order; and, in the practice of every social and religious duty, patiently to wait the return of that happy day when we may quietly sit under our vine and fig tree, and no man make us afraid."

Like the Rev. Jacob Duche, chaplain of the Continental Congress, he abandoned the cause of the Colonies and became an out and out espouser of the British cause. He made himself so obnoxious to the Colonists that he gave up his seat in Congress when his defection was revealed through his correspondence with Sir James Wright, and he returned to Savannah where he became active on the British side, and in 1777 he was banished from Georgia, and half of his estate was confiscated.

He then went to South Carolina where he remained until the Royal Government was re-established in South Georgia in 1779. He died in Savannah on the 23rd of July, 1781.

The paper which follows was written immediately after the act of confiscation was passed.

TO THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF CHATHAM,
STATE OF GEORGIA.

Gentlemen :

On the point of being (unjustly as I conceive) banished from this Country, I think it a debt due to those whom I shall leave behind, to point out the very fatal precipice towards which this State is, I think, now verging, and which, in my opinion must soon complete the Ruin of the State, and of every individual. I cannot address myself to any one more properly than to you, who are of the Grand Inquest, and if things take their present natural course, will probably be the last Grand Jury that will have an opportunity to enquire into grievances, present them for redress and judge whether a man shall be put to the painful solemnity of a trial.

You must be convinced, gentlemen, that no grievance can more properly demand the attention of a Grand Jury, than that which strikes at the very root of its existence. That nothing can be more injurious to Freemen in a popular Government than to be declared SUBJECTS. That nothing can be more alarming, than the establishment of a power to take away liberty and property out of the usual and due course of law, by a power distinct from and in opposition to the only legal and constitutional judiciary department.

You must be convinced, gentlemen, that if the Constitutions, by which a people are to be governed, may be altered, infringed, or taken away, or acted contrary against, at the pleasure of those who may chuse to do so, Constitutional Government is at an end.

If we must swear an Oath of Allegiance to other States, who are not by oath bound to support, nor claim any right to rule over us, the independency of this State is at an end.

If a man may be taken up without any previous accusation upon oath, all liberty is at an end.

If a man may be condemned without any public trial, or pretense of violation of a law, all law is at an end.

If he may be determined against by his known and professed enemies, whom he is not allowed to except against, all appearance of justice is at an end.

If a man cannot preserve liberty and property, without taking an oath, which cannot be known whether it be true, and in part is known to be false, all decency is at an end.

And in a word, where the Constitution is not a law to rulers, when judges and powers are set up in manifest opposition to it—where natural justice, which condemns no man without a crime proved, is disregarded—where a set of men, not sworn to act according to law, and to do justice

are vested with discretionary powers, to harass or spare whom they please, I ask what constitution, what law, what liberty or property can the people possibly hope for, what motive can they have to swear, or what benefit can they expect from an oath of allegiance! What great blessing can those, who may be ruled without, or contrary to law and the constitution, expect from their rulers, and what can those who rule contrary to a constitution, from which they derive all their authority, and which they have sworn to support, expect from the people?

I submit it, gentlemen, whether the treatment I have received comes within any of these cases, but as the gentlemen who were called upon before me, were prisoners on parole (which it seems is not to be held sacred).

I look upon myself as the very first victim singled out to feel the effects of a power which will greatly affect every man in this State. If any government in its proper channel may require an oath of the people, I must yet look upon it as a great stretch of power, that no man shall be permitted to swear, unless he produces two vouchers, this I conceive equally dishonorable to government, the vouchers that are to be presented, and the person that is to take the oath.

If a government can not acquiesce in the highest assurance they can receive an oath, it marks very strong diffidence, which is usually the effect of fear, as that is of something else.

If two persons vouch for one, and he is to swear notwithstanding, it is plainly treating the vouchers like men that cannot be credited. If no man is to be admitted to swear without vouchers, it plainly implies a supposition that he would forswear himself. This I apprehend a most ungenerous illiberal presumption, (unworthy of a wise government and intolerable to a virtuous people).

In free government no person can be compelled to appear before any but the lawful judge, and in case of refusal and contempt, may be proceeded against and outlawed. I have been ordered to appear before judges who have no existence in our Constitution, under the moderate penalty, not of being proceeded against and outlawed, but of an immediate forfeiture of my effects, and of being sent to any gaol without bail or mainprize.

When I appeared I was not indeed required to take an oath, but had the alternative set before me, either to take it, or be banished in forty days—that I had some scruple—and had heard that the Committee themselves had altered the oath, availed me nothing. The chairman told me that if they acted wrong, they were liable to be called to an ac-

count, by the Assembly, I suppose, who will not meet till after I am banished, and so shall have it out of my power to prefer a complaint.

A power to tender an oath to deprive a man of half his estate, and banish him from every endearing connection, is lodged in seven men, without appeal, without check, without challenge. I verily believe this State is the only one which hath trusted so few men with so much power—a power which annihilates Grand Juries altogether, and effectually renders Petty Juries useless. Formerly in a trial, the issue of which might not be above ten pounds, we had a jury of twelve men, any of whom might be challenged, who must be freeholders, and unanimous in their verdict. As the matter is now mended, every man's person and half his property lies at the mercy of seven men, who need not have any qualifications, need not receive or produce any accusation, or hear any evidence, nor judge of the breach of any law, but only swear that they will judge and determine to the best of *their* knowledge, without favour or affection.

Besides the civility of hearing a short defense without interruption I must do the committee the justice to acknowledge that they have proceeded against me more formally than against the two gentlemen heard before, or as far as I know, against any that were heard after me. They exhibited some charge, a very enormous one indeed, a parallel to which I doubt whether the most experienced lawyer will find in any law books new or old. The Chairman, by desire most gravely and solemnly asked me "Whether before I went to the Continental Congress as a delegate, I had ever signed the Association," and must it not be evident that a person, who may but be asked so important a question, must be a suspected person of course, and deserve to be banished as an internal enemy of the State? You may be informed by numbers who were present that this great and mighty charge was the sum total of all that was offered to be alledged against me. I offered to swear, that while I enjoyed the protection of the State I would in all things do my duty as a good and faithful freeman.

Would give no intelligence to, nor take up arms in aid to the troops of the King of Great Britain. And that I had received no letters of protection since the war.

But all this would not answer the purpose.

I have begged to be excused from swearing myself a subject, till the Assembly had reconsidered whether we ought to be subjects or freemen. I have hesitated to take an Oath of Allegiance to other States, who are bound by no oath to us.

I have refused to swear that I have received no protection from the King of Great Britain, because every one who knows me, must know it to be false.

And for this I am now to be banished, and have half my estate taken from me. By the act no provision is made to transport any that may be thought enemies, but have no estate or means to transport themselves, probably because it is found by experience, that those who have the least to lose, are always the best friends to their country.

I will not take up more of your time, but embrace this seasonable opportunity, Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, before I am driven out of this country, to leave with you upon record, that in my opinion no people can be more miserable than those who may have laws made for them without any regard to a Constitution, who may be judged without evidence or the trial by a jury of their peers, deprived of liberty and property without any accusation made or proved against them, who must submit to their enemies as their judges, and to men, who without any disguise, alter the Constitution from which they derive their authority, and which they have sworn to support, as their rulers.

To be punished for no crime, even pretended to be committed, always carries a strong appearance of injustice, but there may be cases in which banishment may be a greater injustice than hardship.

J. J. ZUBLY.

Savannah, Oct. 8th, 1777.

P. S. I should be glad to know upon what principle, natural, humane, divine, moral, legal, equitable or conscientious, any jury upon oath, or any impartial Barbarian, could possibly condemn a man as an internal enemy, against whom no crime has been alledged, whose veracity is not disputed, and who offers solemnly to swear not to give any intelligence to, nor take up arms to assist an enemy, and in all things to do his duty as a good and faithful freeman of the State.

THE SCREVEN FAMILY.

BY THE EDITOR.

The record of this family contains the names of several representatives who fought nobly under the banner of the Cross as well as a goodly number who served patriotically under the banner of their country.

The first of the name who holds a place in history on this side of the Atlantic was the Reverend William Screven, a resident of Kittery, Maine, whence he removed to South Carolina near the end of the seventeenth century with his wife and children. She was before marriage Bridget Cutts. With the family came also a part of the Baptist congregation over which he was the overseer. He organized and was the pastor of the first Baptist Church in Charleston, and later went to Georgetown where he purchased a home, and it is said he was the original proprietor of the land on which that town is built. He wrote "An Ornament for Church Members," a work published after his death.

William and Bridget Screven had a son, Samuel, of whom we have very little knowledge; and this Samuel was the father of James, who married Mary Smith, daughter of the second Landgrave Thomas Smith, of South Carolina, who was a son of Thomas Smith, of Exeter, England, and his wife Barbara.

James and Mary (Smith) Screven had two sons, John, who was a Lieutenant in the American Revolution, and James, the General, whose record of glorious service in the Revolution when he lost his life most gallantly striving for the liberty of the Colonies at a short distance from Midway Church, Georgia, has been fitly, though tardily, recognized by the erection of a monument near the scene of his death, and by the naming of a fort on Tybee Island and a county in this State for him.

John, the son of the first James and a brother of General James, married Elizabeth (Pendarvis) Bryan, widow of Josiah Bryan who was the son of the Jonathan Bryan whose name is known through his service to Georgia throughout a long period of her history both Colonial and Revolutionary. The John of whom we are now writing and his wife Elizabeth had a son, known as Major John Screven, who married Hannah Proctor, daughter of Richard Proctor, son of Stephen and Hannah (Simons) Proctor.

The last mentioned couple (Maj. John and Hannah) were the parents of Dr. James Proctor Screven, of Savannah, Mayor of the City, December 8, 1856, to October 19, 1857,

and alderman from 1836 to 1839, and again from 1849 to 1854, and President of the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad which, after several changes in name, is a part of the Atlantic Coast Line Railway system. He was for many years the beloved commander of the Savannah Volunteer Guards, and on his death his son John succeeded him. Another son, Thomas F., became captain of one of the Companies of that corps when it was enlarged into a battalion.

John Screven was Mayor of the City of Savannah three times, and was President of the Georgia Historical Society and of the Georgia Society of Sons of the Revolution when he died. He had also been a Vice-President of the General Society of the Sons of the Revolution.

James Proctor Screven married Hannah Georgia Bryan, daughter of Joseph and Delia (Forman) Bryan. Joseph was the son of Josiah Bryan who in turn was the son of the Jonathan Bryan of whom we have written above. Delia Forman, wife of Joseph Bryan, was the daughter of General Thomas Marsh Forman, of Rose Hill, Cecil County, Maryland.

James Proctor and Hannah Georgia (Bryan) Screven were the parents of Colonel John and Captain Thomas Forman Screven who have only recently passed away, and of whom nothing need be said, as their lives were beyond censure, and are known to so many now living. They were both soldiers in the War of Secession with a record of which their relations may well be proud. Their lives, from a business and social standpoint, are all that could be desired.

The other children of James P. and Hannah Screven married, and their descendants are a numerous race, their offspring being well known people of this day bearing, besides the original family name, the names of other prominent families with which they intermarried.

A son of General James Screven, Charles Odingsell Screven, entered the ministry and became a preacher of note in the Baptist Church, and married a widow Jones by whom he had a son, Rev. James O. Screven, also a Baptist minister.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

Through the courtesy of the author, Mr. Alexander R. Lawton, of Savannah, there lies on our table a copy of his address on "The Influence of Religious Persecution on Huguenot Colonization," delivered before the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, April 14th, 1916.

We have read every word of it, and put it down with a feeling that the subject is treated in a manner entirely original, refreshing and edifying. It is a gem in its way, and deserves wide circulation. We have not space in which to specify its merits; but must make room to remark on the concluding words of the writer. He pertinently asks the question: "What if Coligny had succeeded?" then suggests some startling changes in history in the event of his success, which could only have presented themselves to the mind of a thinker.

We feel also compelled, in bringing this short notice to a close, to quote the author's eloquent peroration which, at this time when our country has allied itself with England and France against Germany in the great world war is peculiarly appropriate:

"Speculate as we may on what might have been, revere as we may the virile Huguenots whose blood runs in our veins, we are content with our British traditions and our British institutions; but we are not sorry to reflect that if fate had decreed for our country a parentage that was not British, the affection and the sympathy which we zealously accord to those whose blood—the blood that is thicker than water—courses through our own veins, would be given to France, to beautiful, glorious France, where beauty is enthroned as one of the cardinal virtues, where patriotism is a passion. And how proud we should be of her today!"

Since our March number was distributed we have received the following publications:

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, April, 1917.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, January, 1917.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, April, 1917.

The Minnesota History Bulletin, November, 1916.

The Bulletin of the University of Georgia, March, 1917.

Our readers will, we are sure, be delighted to have in so agreeable language the account given in this number of the

taking by the State authorities of Fort Pulaski, at the beginning of the War of Secession, and the capture of that stronghold by the Federal troops at a later period. We are fortunate in having this valuable contribution to the history of those occurrences by one who took so active a part in both. Colonel Olmstead is still with us, and has the faculty of imparting, in a delightful manner, information on events in his active life.

We wish him a long continuance of life and good health, and hope to be favored with other contributions by him to the pages of our periodical.

The adjourned annual meeting of the Georgia Historical Society was held, as announced in our March number, on the 21st of that month, when, in addition to the reports of the President and the Managing Committee of the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Mr. Alexander C. King, of Atlanta, delivered the annual address. His subject was "Georgia's Influence on the Secession Movement," and it was treated in a scholarly manner. It was a foregone conclusion that his audience would be charmed, and his production was matchless in its historic, literary and intellectual features. The address has been printed in the proceedings of the Society's seventy-eighth annual meeting.

The exact limits of the boundary between our State and South Carolina, though defined by the Commissioners who marked them and by our Code, serve to keep some people in a quandary, and legal advice is sought whenever a doubt arises in the mind of interested parties. So many times the subject has been mentioned and ignorance shown by the replies given by laymen, that request was made for permission to use in our columns the strong legal document prepared by the Hon. George Hillyer in a case where the matter was ably argued, and with his kind consent it appears in this number. It is worthy of careful reading, and will amply repay the reader.

There are many places in Georgia which are little known outside of their immediate vicinity, but in which much history has been made. Summerville, recently taken into the corporate limits of Augusta, has a record worthy of preservation. Something of it has been told before, but in the article by Professor Lawton B. Evans many facts are given that prove the importance of the part she has played as well as the usefulness of the lives of some of her historic characters. The account is interesting and the story well told.

On the twenty-sixth of April, Memorial Day, Mr. Otis Ashmore and the editor of the *Quarterly* visited Sylvania, in Screven County, by invitation. In compliance with previous announcement Mr. Ashmore addressed the people on the importance of preserving history, and asked for the cooperation of the citizens with the Georgia Historical Society in the work of collecting and preserving material relating to the history of the whole State. The editor made a short talk, chiefly to the Confederate Veterans.

They were cordially received, and found the people much interested, many of them expressing a desire to assist in the work and to become members of the Society, several making application for membership.

After dinner, which consisted of all sorts of good things to eat, a trip was made, by automobile, over the points named in connection with the battle of Brier Creek, fought during the Revolution, and which Mr. Ashmore discussed in his address.

The names of all the good people who were especially kind to the visitors are too many to be listed; but Judge Overstreet, Mrs. E. K. Overstreet, Dr. G. M. Overstreet, and Messrs. W. M. Hobby, W. J. Walker and J. E. Twitty deserve a place here. The last named has made and published a splendid map of Screven County, and presented a copy to the Historical Society. In a letter to the editor he pledges his support in these words: "I hope ere long to report to the Society something that will be of material advantage to it. Mr. Hobby, editor of our paper here, who accompanied us on our trip to the old battle grounds. has agreed to collaborate with me in the work."

ART NOTES.

The recently organized "Telfair Art Association of Savannah" has for its chief object the establishment and maintenance of an art school, under the auspices of The Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The proposed school is to be called "The Telfair School of Applied and Fine Arts," a name which indicates the wide scope of the school and expresses its obligation to Miss Telfair and to those who are carrying out the wishes of the donor in so liberal a spirit.

The Association is composed of people interested in the movement from many different points of view, including artists and art lovers; public spirited citizens who feel that

Savannah offers unusual opportunities to the student of art; and those who wish to see the city advance along educational and cultural lines.

The fact that the South, in spite of her great industrial awakening, has no well established Art School between Baltimore and New Orleans, seems to make Savannah the logical place and this an opportune time for the creation of one.

The recent visit of Mr. Henry Turner Bailey of Boston, gave a great impetus to local interest in matters of art, and added enthusiasm to the plans for the Art School, by three separate lectures which he delivered at the Academy to large and delighted audiences. Mr. Bailey's subjects were "The Enjoyment of Pictures," "The Enjoyment of Colour," and "The Enjoyment of Common Things," making us understand more fully the relation of art to daily life.

The Telfair Academy has subscribed generously to the school and gives the use of its Studios for classes. It affords still further encouragement and inspiration by the offer of its fine old building with its splendid collection of pictures and sculpture as the home of the new movement.

While the Association has been obliged to abandon all hope of opening the Art School immediately on account of present war conditions, the interest in it is being kept alive and the preliminary arrangements are all completed; the school could be opened at any time that the Board of Managers consider advisable.

In the meantime a small but enthusiastic sketch class meets at the Academy twice a week to draw and paint from the model; the interest is thus stimulated and much good work is being accomplished.

ANNA BELLE KAROW.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

In the March number we answered "Anxious Inquirer" concerning the officers of Oglethorpe's regiment, and, in addition to the names of those who were first commissioned, gave two more not mentioned in the list taken from the "Book of Army Commissions." Of course changes were made from time to time. We now add to those who should have a place on the roll of honor Lieutenants Charles MacKay and Cadogan, Ensign Gibbon, and Ensign Stuart who was first a Sergeant but was promoted to the rank of Second Ensign for distinguished service. Patrick MacKay is mentioned in such terms as to make it appear that he was probably an officer.

E. W.—I have seen it stated that Fort McAllister was built on a spot in Bryan County called "Genesis Point." This name seems an odd one for a settlement. Is there any story connected with its bestowal upon the place?

The answer to this query is interesting. Soon after the settlement of Georgia two men in Charleston transacted considerable business here, and their name occurs on the records as "Jennys," "Jenys," and "Jennis." One of them acquired land in the Parish of Saint Philip, now Bryan County, and the property was named for him. In the Georgia Gazette for March 9, 1774, Thos. Stone offered a reward for the return of two horses to him at his place on the Great Ogeechee called "Jennis' Point."

M. P.—I am told that Nathan Brownson, a Governor of this State, made a deathbed speech which was remarkable for its eloquence. Can you give me his words?

Nathan Brownson died in Liberty County in the month of November, 1796, and his last words were "The scene is now closing; the business of life is nearly over. I have, like the rest of my fellow-creatures, been guilty of foibles, but I trust to the mercy of God to pardon them, and to His justice to reward my good deeds."

States Rights.—Kindly tell me where Governor George M. Troup is buried and whether there is a monument over his grave.

Governor Troup died April 26, 1856, while on a visit to his Mitchell place, in Montgomery County, and was buried at Rose Mount, in the same county, next to the grave of his brother, Robert L. Troup. We have a photograph of his monument which is of granite, and has on it a suitable inscription. It is enclosed by a wall of native sand-stone.

Antiquary.—Tell me, please, something about the alphabet invented by an Indian for use among his people.

George Guess, whose Indian name was Sequoyah, was a half-breed, and his alphabet was intended for use by the Cherokees. It consists of eighty-five characters, each representing a single sound. The inventor was born in 1770, and died in 1845.

PROCEEDINGS.

At the regular quarterly meeting of the Society held in Hodgson Hall on May 7, in addition to the routine business, consisting of the reading and confirmation of minutes of previous meetings, and the submission and approval of the financial reports of the Treasurer, the Chairman reported that the proceedings of the Seventy-eighth Annual Meeting, including the address of Mr. Alexander C. King, had been printed and distributed to members. The Corresponding Secretary made a verbal report of the result of recent visits made by him to Augusta, Atlanta, Athens, Macon, Columbus, Montgomery and Sylvania in the interests of the Society.

At a special meeting of the Board of Curators held on April 13, 1917, the President appointed a committee composed of the Corresponding Secretary and the Librarian for the purpose of investigating the needs of a State Department of Archives and History and the best means by which such a Department could be established and maintained, and to report the results of their investigation to the Society as early as practicable. The Corresponding Secretary read the report of the Committee, a copy of which follows:

"Your committee appointed to investigate what steps should be taken by this Society for the purpose of having established by the Legislature a Department of Archives and History for Georgia, begs leave to make the following report:

"There is unquestionably a great need for a Department of Archives and History for Georgia to preserve the perishing records of our State, and to make available the historic data now scattered and practically unknown.

"The scope, organization, and cost of such a department will require careful investigation, and sufficient time should be taken to avail ourselves of all the valuable experiences of other states in the establishment of similar departments in order that economy and efficiency may be secured.

"We therefore recommend that the representatives of Chatham County in the General Assembly be requested to secure the passage of a bill at the next session of the Legislature, directing the appointment of a Committee to investigate fully the needs of a Department of Archives and History for Georgia, and to recommend to the Legislature an Act covering the scope, organization and cost of such a Department for our State."

The report was received and the meeting unanimously voted that the Committee take the matter up with Repre-

sentative A. A. Lawrence and enlist his aid in securing the passage of an appropriate bill at the forthcoming session of the Legislature

The Librarian submitted some correspondence that had passed between himself and the postoffice authorities in respect to the classification of and the postage rates to be paid for handling the Quarterly through the mails. It was unanimously voted that Senator Hoke Smith's advice be sought, with a view to having the Quarterly admitted to the mails as second-class matter.

Mr. W. W. Gordon gave notice, in accordance with Article 15 of the Constitution, of his intention to move the amendment of Article 9 of the Constitution so as to provide for meeting the requirements of the Postoffice Department in respect to the desired classification of the Quarterly as second-class mail matter.

The following gifts were presented and ordered acknowledged:

A photographic reproduction of "The Rape of Bethesda," a rare book of much curious interest, presented by Mr. Leonard L. Mackall; "Thomas Jefferson, Architect," presented by Mrs. T. J. Coolidge, Jr., of Boston; a Map of Screven County, presented by Mr. J. E. Twitty, of Sylvania, Georgia.

It was reported to the meeting that the Curators had, at their regular meeting held May 4, elected the following new members:

Dr. G. M. Overstreet,	Sylvania, Ga.
Mrs. E. K. Overstreet,	Sylvania, Ga.
Mr. W. J. Walker,	Sylvania, Ga.
Mr. W. M. Hobby,	Sylvania, Ga.
Mr. J. E. Twitty	Sylvania, Ga.
Mr. Andrew J. Cobb,	Athens, Ga.
Mrs. Mabel Gordon Leigh,	London, England.

The following names were proposed for membership and they were unanimously elected:

Mr. Hunt Chipley,	Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Shepard Bryan,	Atlanta, Ga.
Rt. Rev. Warren A. Candler,	Atlanta, Ga.
Miss Mary Elvira Cook,	Columbus, Ga.
Rt. Rev. Frederick F. Reese,	Savannah, Ga.
Mr. A. W. Van Hoose,	Rome, Ga.
Mr. M. M. Parks,	Milledgeville, Ga.
Mr. Jos. H. Napier,	Macon, Ga.

Mr. M. Felton Hatcher,	Macon, Ga.
Mr. Jos. H. Hall,	Macon, Ga.
Malcolm D. Jones,	Macon, Ga.
Judge W. H. Felton,	Macon, Ga.
Mr. Eugene Anderson,	Macon, Ga.
Judge Dupont Guerry,	Macon, Ga.
W. T. Anderson,	Macon, Ga.

A meeting of the Board of Curators was held May 24th, when the following members were elected:

C. V. Stanton,	Waycross, Ga.
Harry D. Reed,	Waycross, Ga.
John W. Bennett,	Waycross, Ga.
J. L. Crawley,	Waycross, Ga.
J. I. Summerall,	Waycross, Ga.
Thos. A. Parker,	Waycross, Ga.
A. M. Knight, Sr.,	Waycross, Ga.
Hugh J. Benton.	Waycross, Ga.
A. G. Miller,	Waycross, Ga.
J. L. Sweat,	Waycross, Ga.
L. J. Cooper,	Waycross, Ga.
Archibald Smith,	Atlanta, Ga.
Mrs. T. M. Green,	Washington, Ga.

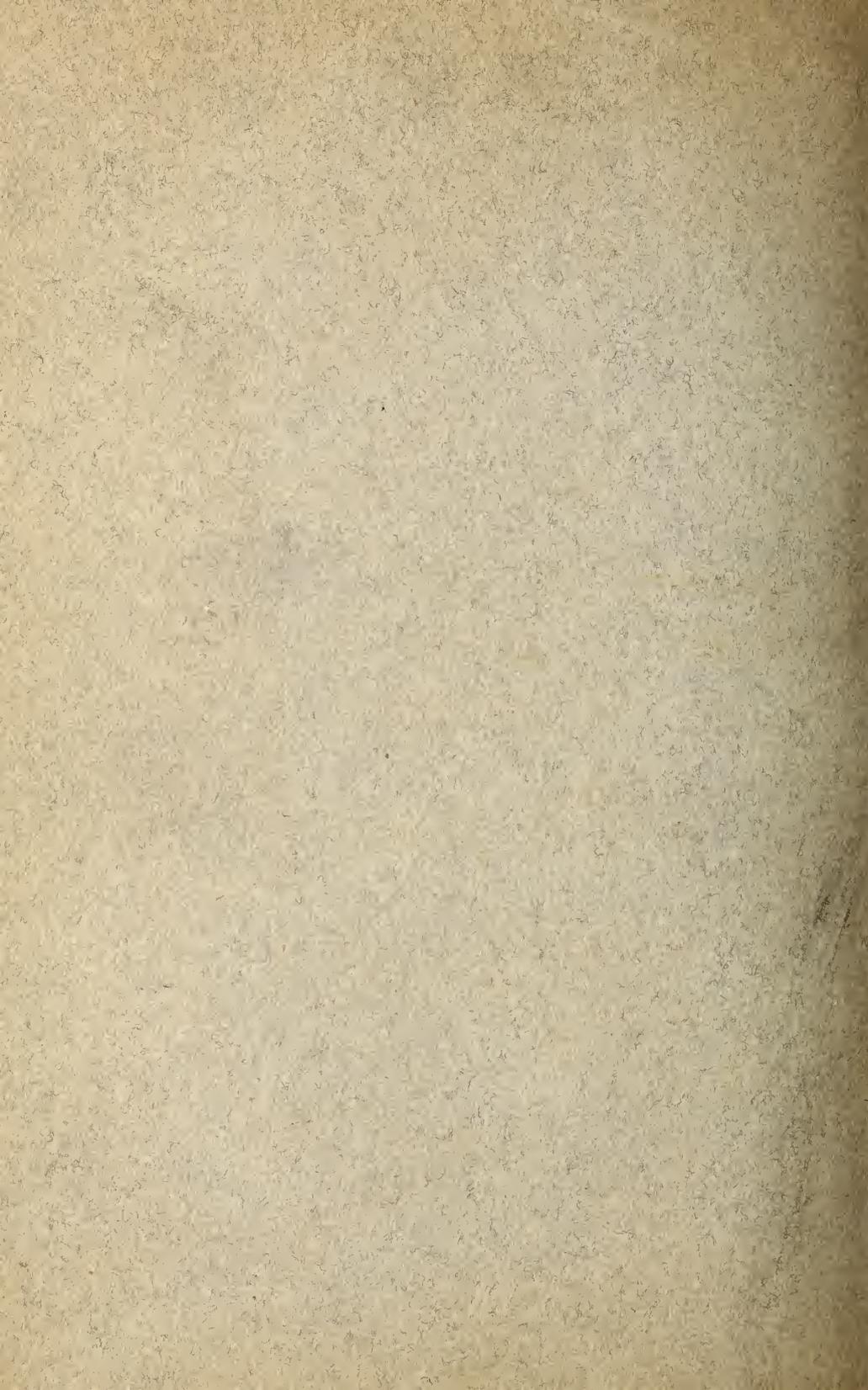
NECROLOGY.

HENRY C. CUNNINGHAM.

Early in the morning of May 9th, Mr. Henry C. Cunningham, who held continuous membership in the Georgia Historical Society since the 3rd of September, 1866, departed this life. From the day of his election until within a few weeks of his demise he was an active participant in all of the Society's affairs. He was for many years a member of the Board of Curators. He took unflinching interest in the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences of which the Society is the trustee. He will be greatly missed. It will be hard to fill the vacancy caused by his death. Truly it may be said that in him there was

"A combination and a form indeed
Where every god did seem to set his seal
To give the world assurance of a man."





THE
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QUARTERLY



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1917

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MRS. NELLIE KINZIE GORDON.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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TELFAIR ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

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*Died May 9, 1917.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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No. 3

ELEANOR KINZIE GORDON.

A Sketch.

BY GEORGE ARTHUR GORDON.

Historians tell us that time is required to assign a true value to the meaning of events and the influence of individuals; that contemporary comment is worthless, because the narrator is too close to the scenes he describes; that a proper perspective is lacking until, after the lapse of years, incidents may be grouped in their relation to each other, and the importance of the various actors justly estimated. But this rule has its exceptions. The mellow touch of time may mar and blur outlines which should be preserved sharp and clear. When a Woman possesses, as did the Subject of this Sketch, a personality so vivid that it thrills, an originality so striking that it startles, the impression made should be recorded while the spell of her charm is still fully upon those who knew and loved her.

By heredity and environment she was a typical American, a child of the great North-west. She possessed in a marked degree the characteristics of her pioneer ancestors, and a brief account of their lives and adventures is essential to an understanding of her own active, tireless spirit.

Her grandfather, John Kinzie, was of an adventurous disposition, and lived much on the frontier. He entered the Indian trade, and, in 1804, established a post at the mouth of the Chicago River. The original Fort Dearborn was built the same year. Mr. Kinzie erected the first house on the site of the present City of Chicago, on the north side of the river, just opposite Fort Dearborn. He won and held the confidence, respect and affection of the various Indian tribes and became an authority on all matters pertaining to them. In his journeys amongst them he frequently adopted their costume and passed for an Indian.

When, in 1812, the garrison of the United States troops at Fort Dearborn marched out, and were all either massacred or made prisoners by their Indian escort, Mr. Kinzie's family was spared. He, himself, was not molested, though he accompanied the troops, hoping that his presence might prevent an attack by the Indians. His step-daughter, Mrs. Helm, wife of one of the two lieutenants at Fort Dearborn, who was then a girl of seventeen, was saved by one Indian when another was about to tomahawk her; and this incident is commemorated in a bronze group, erected by George M. Pullman, which stands at the foot of 18th street in Chicago today.

In 1816, John Kinzie returned to Chicago, which was his main trading post, with agencies all through the North-west. During the Indian disturbances, he and his family had many hair-breadth escapes. He was a man of energy, resourcefulness and courage. His counsel was sought by the soldiers and administrators, sent by the United States government to civilize that vast wilderness. He died in 1828, mourned alike by the Savages and the Settlers.

His wife (Eleanor K. Gordon's grandmother) was, in many respects, as remarkable as her husband, and had an equally adventurous career. Her name was Eleanor Lytle, and, at the age of nine, the Seneca Indians made a raid on her father's home, which was at that time near Pittsburg, in western Pennsylvania. During the absence of Mr. Lytle the Indians captured Mrs. Lytle, little Eleanor, aged nine; a brother, aged seven, and an infant three months old. The infant was killed before Mrs. Lytle's eyes, but the chief of the band, an Indian named "The Big White Man," (whom some identify as the well known chief "Cornplanter,") protected the other prisoners, and returned Mrs. Lytle and the boy, upon payment of a ransom. "Cornplanter's" small brother having been killed the previous year, he refused to surrender Eleanor Lytle, saying that he had adopted her as his little sister, to take the place of his lost brother. She was kindly treated, but remained a captive of the Indians for four years, during which time her father made repeated efforts to ransom her. Through the good offices of Colonel Johnson, a British sympathizer, who was very influential with the Indians in western New York, "Cornplanter" was persuaded to attend a council near Niagara, and to bring Eleanor with him. When he saw the greeting between the child and her mother, he refused to remain for the council, and returned the little girl, without ransom,

saying that if her affection for her parents could survive those years of absence she should remain with those for whom she cared the most.

One year later, at the age of fourteen, this same little Eleanor Lytle married a British officer, Major McKillip, and six years after his death, at the age of thirty, she married John Kinzie. She accompanied him to Chicago and endured all the perils and hardships of a frontier life. She was noted for her calm courage in time of danger, for cheerful endurance of discomforts, and for her foresight and sagacity. She realized the future in store for Chicago and urged her sons to take up grants of land on the north side of the Chicago River, to which they were entitled. They could not appreciate the importance of doing so, and sold, for small sums, many pieces of property, which are now the center of that great city.

The oldest son of John and Eleanor Lytle Kinzie, was John Harris Kinzie, the father of Eleanor Kinzie Gordon. His life, from his earliest years, was intimately connected with the history of the North-west. He was born in 1803, and while an infant was carried in an Indian cradle. He was nine years old at the time of the massacre, and all its particulars came under his observation. The discipline of those striking events doubtless helped to form in him that fearlessness and self-control for which he was noted in after years. He learned to speak Winnebago (which no white man before him had succeeded in doing), and he wrote a grammar of the language. He received the appointment of Government Agent for the upper bands of the Winnebago Indians in 1829, and the same year married Juliette Magill, of Middletown, Conn. His influence with the Indians, like that of his father, was great and far-reaching, and enabled him to render effective service to the Government in many ways, more especially in holding back the Winnebagoes from joining in the Black Hawk war. They had unbounded faith in his integrity and just dealing, while his success in all their athletic games commanded their admiration. He was especially noted for his skill at "La Crosse," and had beaten the swiftest runners of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes at foot-races. He spoke no less than thirteen different Indian languages. Until the day of his death it was to him that the various deputations came on their way to interview their "Great Father" in Washington, in order that "The Silver Man," as they called Mr. Kinzie, might give them the benefit of his advice. It was no uncommon thing for a dozen or more Indians to be camped out on the

grass in Mr. Kinzie's garden, smoking their pipes, or playing their favorite gambling game of "moccasin."

In 1835, the Illinois legislature appointed a Board of Trustees for the "Village of Chicago," of which Mr. Kinzie was President.

In 1861, he was appointed a Paymaster, with the rank of Major, in the United States Army. In the summer of 1865, he obtained a leave of absence, and started for an Eastern health resort. A blind fiddler came into the car, asking alms. Mr. Kinzie put his hand in his pocket to get his purse. Before he could draw it out again, his head fell forward, and he died, with a smile on his lips. His last act was an epitome of his whole life.

Juliette Magill (Mrs. Gordon's mother) doubtless owed many of the characteristics which combined to make her a remarkable woman, to those New England ancestors, who were prominent in its early history. From such men as Timothy Dwight and Roger Wolcott, she inherited the courage, the perseverance, the brilliant wit, the strong good sense and personal attractiveness for which she became so noted, and which made her a social power in Chicago for nearly forty years.

Mrs. Kinzie's first literary work was the account of the Massacre of 1812. She wrote this at the dictation of Mr. Kinzie's mother, and of his sister, Mrs. Helm, both of whom were eye-witnesses of all the facts they narrated. Her next book was "WAU-BUN, The Early Day in the North-west," followed by her first novel, "Walter Ogleby." At the time of her death Mrs. Kinzie was engaged in correcting the proofs of a novel called "Mark Logan," founded on the tragic fate of the handsome and ill-fated Winnebago Chief, Red Bird. It was published in 1887, seventeen years after Mrs. Kinzie's death.

In 1870, Mrs. Kinzie joined her daughter and grandchildren, who were spending the summer at Amagansett, on Long Island. On the evening of September 14th, she sent to the local physician for some two-grain quinine pills. He sent morphine pills, instead of quinine, in a paper without a label. Mrs. Kinzie took one, and by the time the fatal mistake was discovered it was too late for the most powerful remedies to take effect.

As soon as Mrs. Kinzie complained that the effect of the medicine was curious, Mrs. Gordon impulsively swallowed a similar dose. It was her way of finding out whether any harm threatened her precious mother. In her memoirs she writes:

"I don't remember much about myself. I can recall how I would apply ice to my mother's head, or try some new way to rouse her. My cousin says I beat my hands together, and cried out, 'I will not go to sleep. I will keep awake,' and stamped up and down the room like a caged animal. I did not go to sleep, but my mother did, in spite of all we could do."

It is difficult to realize how stirring and exciting were the times in which Mrs. Gordon's parents lived. Danger of Indian raids was constant, and narrow escapes were numerous. Referring to one of these Mrs. Kinzie writes: "Of all forms of death, that by the hands of savages is the most difficult to face calmly; and I fully believed that our hour was come." Fortunately, the Indians did not attack them.

A scalp dance, witnessed by Mrs. Kinzie, is thus described in "Wau-bun:" "While they had been in our neighborhood, they had more than once asked permission to dance the scalp-dance before our door. This is the most frightful, heart-curdling exhibition that can possibly be imagined. The scalps are stretched on little hoops, or frames, and carried on the end of slender poles. These are brandished about in the course of the dance, with cries, shouts, and furious gestures. The women, who commence as spectators, becoming excited with the scene and the music which their own discordant notes help to make more deafening, rush in, seize the scalps from the hands of the owners, and toss them frantically about, with the screams and yells of demons. I have seen as many as forty or fifty scalps figuring in one dance. Upon one occasion one was borne by an Indian who approached quite near me, and I shuddered as I observed the long, fair hair, evidently that of a woman. Another Indian had the skin of a human hand, stretched and prepared with as much care as if it had been some costly jewel. When these dances occurred, as they sometimes did, by moonlight, they were peculiarly horrid and revolting."

And this was the country to which Mrs. Kinzie brought her piano, when she came in a boat, rowed by Canadian voyageurs, to Fort Winnebago, in 1830!

From the year 1800, until the birth of Mrs. Gordon in 1835, the history of the Kinzie family might almost be described as the history of Chicago. Early in the year 1833, it had become so much of a town (it contained perhaps fifty inhabitants) that it was necessary for the proprietors

of "Kinzie's Addition" to lay out lots and open streets through their property.

Eleanor Lytle Kinzie (Gordon) was born, June 18, 1835. The surroundings of her childhood, and the training given her by her parents, may be imagined from the descriptions in the foregoing pages. Her Mother, Mrs. Kinzie, owing to the death of three of her boys while mere children, was most indulgent with the surviving sons, but on Nellie (as Eleanor was called) she expended all the energy of a New England parent. Believing that her only daughter was destined to marry some enterprising American, who would move still further west, and realizing the qualifications required by a pioneer's wife, she gave Nellie a course of intensive training in the practical side of life, which was to stand her in good stead during the trying days of the Confederacy. Cooking, sewing, housekeeping, nursing, gardening, clothes-making, shoe-making,—in fact everything which might be required of a woman separated from the conveniences of civilization, were taught her with great thoroughness. Being very quick to learn, deft with her fingers, and ambitious to succeed, she soon excelled in occupations rarely undertaken by those in more settled communities. But Mrs. Kinzie was not satisfied with a foundation of useful accomplishments. She wished her daughter to finish off her education with a polish, which, even if not essential to the frontier, would enable her to cultivate her mind, and enjoy her leisure moments. Accordingly, Nellie Kinzie was sent to Madame Canda's school in New York. There she became an expert pianist, an artist of some merit, and a linguist who spoke French and Italian fluently. She also wrote with facility, and won the principal prizes awarded for English composition, receiving the highest marks ever given. She found time to ride, dance and skate well, and, as she was extremely graceful, pretty, clever and vivacious, it is needless to say that she was a great favorite wherever she went.

It seems hard to realize that Mrs. Gordon's girlhood stretched back to a period when she conversed with persons who had known and talked to Washington. One of these, Dolly Madison, she met on her first trip to the White House. The incident is thus described in her *Reminiscences*:

"On our journey to Washington, we sat in front of two gentlemen, who were very civil to us, and took much notice of me. One was tall, with huge dark cavernous eyes. He asked me many questions about my school and my studies.

When I said I liked music better than anything else he asked me whether I could play and sing. I said, 'Oh, yes; I could do both.' He laughed, and said, 'Suppose you give me a song.' 'Of course,' I replied. Both the gentlemen were highly entertained, and the big-eyed man pulled me down onto his knee, and called me his 'Little canary bird.' Before we reached Washington we learned that my special admirer was Daniel Webster, and the other gentleman was Mr. Preston, the Secretary of the Navy. What I chiefly remember about my Washington visit was being taken to a reception at the White House. There I was introduced not only to the President, General Zachary Taylor, and to his daughter, Miss Betty Taylor, but I also had a most interesting talk with Mrs. Dolly Madison. She was seated in state, as it were, on a small sofa. She was quaintly dressed in a black brocaded silk, with elbow sleeves and black lace mitts. She had three little sausage-like curls on each side of her face, surmounted by a white lace turban with a spray of diamonds on one side. She was treated with great deference, and seemed to be enjoying herself hugely. President Taylor had a long chat with me. The President asked me what I most wanted to see in Washington. I told him I wanted most to see him, which amused him very much. I added that I should like very much to have a lock of his hair. He said he would certainly send me one, and sure enough it came next day. I kept it for many years, and it was finally destroyed in the Chicago fire, in 1871, as well as a charming personal letter from Gen. Robert E. Lee, and one from Gen. W. T. Sherman."

It was just after her debut in society that Healy, the American painter, was visiting Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie in Chicago, and painted the portrait of Eleanor Kinzie which now hangs in the Gordon residence in Savannah. It shows a lovely oval face, with masses of chestnut colored hair, sparkling brown eyes, and an animation which even a painting cannot suppress.

Her intimates at Madame Canda's were Eliza Gordon, of Savannah, Ga., and Ellen and Florence Sheffield. The father of the Sheffields was the famous merchant of New Haven, Conn., who founded the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University. Eliza Gordon's mother had moved to New Haven for the purpose of educating her two sons at Yale. As Chicago was too far distant for Miss Kinzie to return home during school holidays, she was accustomed to visit the Sheffields. And in the old Sheffield home, on Hillhouse Avenue, Nellie Kinzie met her future husband, Wil-

liam W. Gordon, then a Yale student in the class of 1854. Tradition has it that she was unaware of his presence in the drawing room, and that he first saw her sliding down the banisters. She much preferred this method to the slower, and more conventional, way of walking downstairs. On December 21, 1857, they were married at St. James Church, in Chicago.

Mrs. Gordon promptly made an impression in her new home. She rode Capt. Chas. A. L. Lamar's horse "Black Cloud," when few men would attempt the feat, and in many other ways showed her spirit and fearlessness.

In 1860, the great storm broke. The threatened Civil War became a certainty, and Mrs. Gordon was confronted with the necessity of making a momentous decision. Not only had she been born and educated at the North, but many of her relatives were in the United States Army. Gen. David Hunter had married her aunt, and her father was appointed first a Major, and later a Colonel in the United States service. One of her brothers held a commission in the U. S. Navy; the other in the Army. Mr. Gordon offered to send her and their two infant daughters back to her parents, but she made her choice for her Husband and the Confederacy without hesitation, and suffered all the agonies of four long and harrowing years. The War brought sorrow enough to those whose sympathies were undivided: it was doubly bitter for the Confederates, who gradually came to realize that theirs was a Lost Cause; but the anguish of a woman, alone in a comparatively strange land, with her husband fighting on one side, and her father, brothers and uncle on the other, may be better imagined than described. During this period of poverty, privation, suspense and loneliness, one of her brothers was killed, two of them were captured, her husband was wounded, and her uncle, Gen. Hunter, was desperately wounded at the first battle of Manassas. To the honor of her Georgia neighbors, be it said that only one attempted to taunt her about her Northern connections, and swift retribution followed. This lady met Mrs. Gordon just at the beginning of the war, and the following conversation took place:

"I hear, Mrs. Gordon, that your brother is an officer in the Union Army, and all I have to say is, that I hope the first shot fired will kill him dead." To which Mrs. Gordon replied, "Thank you."

A few weeks later this lady's brother, a gallant Confederate officer, had the misfortune to be wounded by a bursting shell, a piece of which struck him in the back.

Mrs. Gordon, meeting her at a dinner, where those present had heard the previous conversation, remarked loudly and pleasantly, "By the way, Mrs. ———; I hear that your brother has been shot in the back; mine is very well, thank you!"

Some of her war experience Mrs. Gordon was persuaded to write, but of that time she disliked to talk. Her friends of those days always contended that her cheerful spritely demeanor never deserted her, but she must have had some moments of desperate gloom, when making shoes and clothes for her little half-starved daughters, and wondering whether she would ever see her husband again.

The following extracts from her war reminiscences, written for her grand-children, may prove of interest:

"Fred Waring and my husband went to work together to equip and carry on to Virginia a cavalry company—the 'Georgia Hussars,' to which they had both belonged for years. My husband's grandfather, Ambrose Gordon, and his father, W. W. Gordon, had each been in command of this troop, so there was a good deal of sentiment involved. There is no use expatiating on the sufferings of those left behind. Fortunately, no one realized what lay in the future, but thought two or three months soldiering would settle the matter, and that our boys would come marching home, like conquering heroes. The Hussars made a fine showing. Fred Waring was Captain, Willie was one of his Lieutenants. The Hussars' cook, William Fisher, was not only an excellent cook, but a wonderful forager. If there were chickens, or turkeys, or eggs, or butter within a radius of ten miles William Fisher was sure to find them, and forthwith they duly appeared upon the mess table. Luxury reigned in the Hussar camp for many months, till one sad day, when William announced with deep regret that he was ill and homesick, and that nothing short of Richmond and his Polly's care could save his life. I was at once notified that I must take immediate steps to provide these pampered officers with a cook in William's place. If there had been any other wife to whom I could have turned over this onerous duty I would have rebelled, but they were a miserable set of unmarried men, and I was their only dependence, so I flew around, interviewed dozens of cooks, and at last sent one up to the front who came with superlative recommendations as to his honesty and ability. Matters progressed in a fairly satisfactory manner at first, for the blessed William stayed an extra week (in spite of his dying condition) to show Tom, the new man, his ways

and methods. Two weeks went by. The officers began to grow restive. Murmurs of discontent were heard. At last, my husband ventured to remonstrate. 'Tom,' he said, 'why in the world don't you give us any hot rolls for breakfast?' 'Lord! Mass Lieutenant,' said Tom, 'Ain't you know its too cold dis time a year for de bread to rise?' 'Why,' retorted my husband, 'William Fisher always gave us hot rolls up to the very day he left us.' 'Yas-sah, yas-sah,' replied Tom, 'dat's so, and ef yo wants me to do lak William do I can have hot rolls ebery day, too!' 'Well,' inquired my husband, little dreaming what a shocking revelation was coming, 'what DID William Fisher do?' 'He always take de bread to bed wid him to make it rise,' replied Tom, with perfect gravity. 'Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise.' No one again asked for hot rolls in cold weather."

* * * * *

In spite of her ardent championship of the South, Mrs. Gordon was, at times, suspected (because she was a Northern woman) of secretly sympathizing with the North. On one occasion "Mercer's brigade was up in Atlanta (with Willie still on that Staff). The 63rd Georgia was also there—brother George's regiment (Col. George A. Gordon). He was sent for one day by Gen. Gilmer, of Savannah (who was in command in Atlanta). He said a lady who was on her way through our lines to her home in Nashville had come to headquarters to say she 'had been given a parcel to carry through the lines by Mrs. Willie Gordon of Savannah, and not knowing the contents, which might be important information to the Yankees, or even plans of fortifications, etc., etc., she had thought it safer to hand them in at headquarters.' Gen. Gilmer handed the parcel to Col. George Gordon, and asked him to turn it over to Capt. Gordon, and assure him that he was satisfied it was all right. Col. George Gordon declined to receive the parcel, and said he would inform Capt. Gordon of the circumstance, and let him interview Gen. Gilmer himself. Willie hurried to Gen. Gilmer, who tried to return the parcel to him. But Willie refused positively to accept it. He insisted that it must be opened and read. In vain the General declared that he could not open and read a lady's correspondence. Willie said he could appoint some officer to do so, but that 'he felt it due to both himself and to me, that the parcel should be inspected by the military authorities.' Gen. Gilmer conceded the point finally, and made Col. Field, his Inspector, open the parcel

and read its contents. My tirades against the United States and the Yankees generally, and my violent Southern sentiments, must have rather amused him. The parcel was returned, marked 'This parcel can be forwarded by any flag of truce.' It reached its destination."

* * * * *

"Early on the morning of the 21st of December, 1864, (the anniversary of my wedding), Sherman's troops entered Savannah. The city was wrapped in gloomy silence. No one was to be seen on the streets. Everything was so quiet, I ventured next day to walk down Bull street to mother's (her husband's mother), and it makes me laugh now to remember that I put a little pistol into my belt under my coat, intending to use it if anyone gave me any 'sass.' It was quite unnecessary. The soldiers most politely stepped out of my way as I passed, and I reached mother's house in safety."

* * * * *

Frequently, during the War, Mrs. Gordon tried to help her Southern neighbors, and lighten their burdens. This was particularly the case during Gen. Sherman's occupation of Savannah. As was inevitable, some of her efforts were misunderstood. On this subject, her memoirs have the following:

"After the War, brother George (Col. George A. Gordon) was one day commenting on these various experiences of mine, and said 'I really think it would have been better if you had refused to take any steps in those matters.' 'I don't agree with you,' I replied. 'If I had refused they would only have said 'damned little Yankee, she will get everything she wants for herself, and won't do a thing to help anybody else,' whereas, now I have the satisfaction of having been of use to people, and I don't care a fig what any of them said or thought about me.' 'That is very true,' he replied. 'That is probably just what they would have said.'"

* * * * *

Reconstruction followed the War. Mrs. Gordon's husband, having lost everything, a fresh start had to be made, accompanied by poverty, hardship and struggle.

Having endured the horror of war, and the sadness of bereavement, Mrs. Gordon was next called upon to face the terrors of pestilence, namely, the yellow fever epidemic,

which visited Savannah during 1876. Her husband remained in the city, nursing the sick. The children were sent away to a place of safety, but Mrs. Gordon went to Guyton, only thirty miles from Savannah, where many of the refugees from the plague-stricken city were taken ill, and a number died. There were no trained nurses in those days, and she nursed the ill and the dying, and comforted the bereaved, without thought of herself. One morning, as she was setting forth on her round of visits to the sick, a friend said, "I am going to tell Willie Gordon that you won't last much longer if you don't stop this nursing." "Add my epitaph," she replied, "killed by the accidental discharge of her duty." While this was not original, it made everyone laugh, and a laugh counted for much in those trying days.

In December, 1880, Mrs. Gordon's daughter, Alice, aged seventeen, died in New York, while attending school. Mrs. Gordon was more deeply affected by this than any other previous event in her life. The collection of poems and essays which she published under the title of "Rosemary and Rue," was in memory of this, the only child she lost.

When war was declared against Spain, in 1898, Mrs. Gordon's husband was appointed a Brigadier General by President McKinley. His brigade was stationed first at Mobile, Ala., then at Miami, Fla., then at Jacksonville, Fla., and, finally, he was appointed a Commissioner, together with Admiral Schley, and General Brooke, to supervise the evacuation of Porto Rico by the Spanish troops. Mrs. Gordon accompanied her husband to his various stations in the United States, and joined him at Porto Rico. The troops suffered severely from illness at Miami. Hospital facilities were totally inadequate, and the men were returned to their tents and camp fare while still half sick. To meet this situation, Mrs. Gordon organized, and, with the assistance of her daughter, conducted a large convalescent hospital.

When Gen. Gordon was ordered to Porto Rico, Mrs. Gordon returned to Savannah to complete arrangements for the trip. As the train was about to pull out of the station, at Jacksonville, a number of sick soldiers were suddenly brought into the Pullman car. Some were so ill that they were passed through the windows on stretchers. Mrs. Gordon finally located the man in charge—not a medical officer, and was told that the men were being invalided home from Fernandina to Indiana. "Why," she said, "that is criminal. Some of these men are dying. How dare they do such a

thing?" Before she could prevent it, the train left for Savannah. The passengers on the Pullman, fearing contagion, adjourned to the day coach. Mrs. Gordon had berths made up, secured a civilian physician from an adjoining car, got ice and brandy, and, together with the physician, did what she could to relieve the sufferings of these desperately ill youths. Two of the party were brothers. One was only slightly ill, but the other died in Mrs. Gordon's arms before the train reached Savannah. She had the remains brought to her own house, and made the brother come there also. The next day, funeral services were held at the house, and then the survivor, with his brother's body, was sent on to Indiana. The letter written by the lad's mother to the Stranger who had cared for her boys, when ill and dying, in a far away land, was one of the most beautiful tributes that Mrs. Gordon ever received. Fourteen years later, when Mrs. Gordon was traveling, in great sorrow, from the White Sulphur Springs to Savannah, it became necessary to ask some favor of the train conductor. To her surprise, he replied, "I would do anything on earth for Mrs. Gordon." "Why, how do you know me?" she asked. "I was conductor," he said, "on the train from Jacksonville that night when you nursed the young soldier who died, and you wrote to the Pullman Company and told them how helpful I had been to you. It brought me promotion, and I have never forgotten it."

In matters of public importance Mrs. Gordon took a deep and practical interest. She was one of the organizers of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Georgia, in 1894, and was the President of that society for six years, declining re-election. She also served two terms as Second Vice-President of the National Society of Colonial Dames, in that instance also declining re-election. She served one term as Honorary State Regent for Georgia, of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

She organized the Society of the Red Cross for the State of Georgia, in Savannah, in 1906.

She edited her mother's book, "Wau-Bun," and also wrote a short life of her grandfather, entitled "John Kinzie, Pioneer," and a sketch of the Chicago Massacre, called "Helm's Narrative."

She was much interested in genealogy, and her friends were fond of telling her that an operation on her brain would disclose it to consist of a "Black Forest" of family trees.

The writing and receiving of letters was a great satisfaction to her, and she carried on an extensive and interesting correspondence throughout a long and eventful life.

In art, music and literature she took a deep interest, and lent her aid and counsel whenever schools or clubs to encourage these were formed.

Having traveled extensively, both in America and abroad, General and Mrs. Gordon enjoyed a wide acquaintance, and visitors to Savannah frequently brought letters of introduction, which resulted in their entertainment as guests at the Gordon Home on the corner of Oglethorpe Avenue and Bull street. Mrs. Gordon thus continued in her Southern life the traditions of the Kinzie home in Chicago.

But Mrs. Gordon's sympathies carried her not alone into social and civic and artistic circles. As a staunch Episcopalian, and a loyal churchwoman, she was equally energetic and efficient in charitable work. Good deeds, performed many years previously, were continually being brought to light in the strangest way, as the following letter indicates:

"Savannah, Ga., March 3rd, 1916.

Mrs. W. W. Gordon,
Dear Madam:

I know that you will be greatly surprised when you have read this letter. On March 3, 1884, you did a great good in your charity work. There was a family living in Savannah. They did not have any money. The mother had to do washing to support her 18 months old baby, and through your help they were kept from starving. The father died March 4, 1884, and was buried the next day. The city was going to bury him, but you, with your noble heart, did not let the city bury him. You arranged matters so that his funeral was a decent and respectable one. It has just been today 32 years, and I know that you have forgotten all about it, but there is still one living that will never forget your kindness. The writer of this letter is that 18 months old baby, who wants to thank you for your kindness. If there is any way that I can show my gratitude to you, it will be a pleasure to serve you."

She was intolerant of oppression, and quick to resent an injustice to the defenseless. When rowdy boys attempted to disturb the services at a negro church, she personally saw to it that the preacher and congregation received police protection.

Her humor was proverbial. Those who met her always carried away a vivid recollection of her wit and brilliancy. She was the centre of every group, and there was never a dull moment when she was present. Her amusing speeches carried no malice. They never hurt, or caused resentment, and she was totally incapable of petty spite. She was particularly clever at repartee, and her children were fond of "chaffing" her, knowing in advance that they would draw forth some apt retort, for example:

Mrs. Gordon attended in Rochester, N. Y., a reunion of her school friends at Madame Canda's. This was some forty years after their school days, and in describing the scene to her children, she said, "You know, it was perfectly awful. All had aged so much that no one knew anyone else, until I entered the room, when everyone exclaimed, 'that is Nellie Kinzie!'" Her son remarked, "Mamma, that is an awful give-away on you." "Why?" she asked. "Because," he said, "you have always told us that, in your youth, you were radiantly beautiful." "I'm not so d——d ugly now," was the instant response.

When her husband was stationed at Macon during the Spanish-American War, Mrs. Gordon called on a certain lady, who, after looking out of the second story window, sent word by the maid that she had gone down town shopping. On receiving this message, Mrs. Gordon said to the servant, "Well, you tell your mistress from me, that the next time she goes out shopping she better not leave her head behind."

When she was invited to attend the moving picture representation of "The Birth of a Nation," she replied, "No, thank you. I went through it all, and it was no 'twilight sleep.'"

She declined an invitation to a suffrage meeting, saying, "I have always obtained what I wanted from the men without the vote, and it doesn't interest me to hear hens try to crow."

Her letters to the newspapers during her later years she always signed "Moiré Antique."

On one occasion, just as guests were arriving for dinner, the dumb-waiter, which a certain carpenter had repeatedly fixed, refused to work. She sent for him and upbraided him. He defended himself, saying, "Well, Mrs. Gordon, dumb-waiters are things as go by fits and starts." "But," she replied, "the trouble is, mine is all fits, and no starts." She also had occasion to reprove a plumber, who protested, saying, "Mrs. Gordon, don't you know your language is

such that I could sue you for damages?" "If that's the case," came the instant reply, "I can at least damn you for sewages."

Her energy and recklessness and impetuosity were just as pronounced as her sense of humor. Fear and fatigue were foreign to her. Once in New York she tried to stop a pickpocket, who was running towards her, and nearly succeeded, while other pedestrians were giving the thief a wide berth. Finding a large rat in her room one day, she secured her husband's cavalry sabre, closed all the doors, chased the rat under a bureau, and killed it. On another occasion, while reading at night in her cottage at The Old Sweet Springs, she saw a large snake gliding across the floor. The snake reached the door, and was escaping, when she caught it by the tail, jerked it back into the room, slammed a rocking chair on top of it, sat in the chair, and rocked until the snake was dead. During the European War, she crossed the ocean several times to see her daughters, who lived in England, the last trips being made in the summer and autumn of 1916. Someone tried to dissuade her, pointing out the dangers of submarines, but her reply, though eighty-one years of age, was, "I am not afraid of any Germans in the heavens above, or the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth."

She took a deep interest in religious matters, and was a diligent student of the Bible, which she knew better than most church-goers. She also read regularly her Episcopal prayer book. It cannot be said that she was altogether reverent, for she found several amusing incidents in the Bible, and she wrote comments freely on the margin of both books. A characteristic notation, was her insertion of the word **competent** in the prayer, "Send forth laborers into thy harvest."

Spiritualism fascinated her, and she was much disappointed at her inability to communicate with the departed. She said, "These spiritualistic books claim that it is the subconscious self that gets in touch with spirits. I suppose that is what's the matter with me. All of me is right here, living on the surface as hard as I can, all the time."

A correspondent, who had never seen her, wrote a description of what she supposed Mrs. Gordon was like, which was so far from correct that Mrs. Gordon was moved to reply as follows:

"November 16, 1916.

"I was greatly amused by the account you gave me in your last letter as to what you fancied me to be like, and I

shall have to give you a correct sketch of myself, though it will be far from complimentary.

"In the first place, I am only five feet, one inch in height, and weigh but 114 pounds, thus being far from the large, dignified person of your imagination. In fact, if I ever attempted to stand on my dignity I should surely fall off and break my neck.

"Rudyard Kipling put me into one of his magazine stories, describing me as 'a little old lady with snapping black eyes, who used very bad language.' I wrote and thanked him, having recognized myself at once.

"I have strong likes and dislikes. I love music and reading and sewing, embroidery and crochet. I hate exercise and fresh air. I dislike being out of doors, either walking or driving, especially in an 'auto.' I always give as my prescription for retaining my youth, 'a strict avoidance of exercise and fresh air.' I love everything witty and clever. My strict observance of the Fifth Commandment, which tells us to 'honor our father and mother,' has resulted in my 'living long in the land,' according to the promise—unless it is because the Lord don't want me and the Devil won't have me. At any rate here I remain, very much against my will, for there is nothing I so sincerely desire in this world as to get out of it."

"NELLIE KINZIE GORDON,
Aged 81 years, 5 months."

Such a many-sided personality is difficult to describe. Perhaps the words "Like a flash," best summarize her traits. In thought, word, and act, she was rapid and vivid as the lightning. She loved to shock conventional people, to startle the dull, and dazzle the brilliant. Nothing daunted her. She learned to bicycle when she was sixty, to typewrite when she was seventy, and she practiced scales on the piano when she was eighty, for fear her fingers would get stiff. When she was learning to ride a wheel, a hack suddenly stopped in front of her, with the result that her skirts became tangled and she fell, cutting her forehead on the asphalt. This happened in front of the De Soto Hotel, and several people ran to her assistance. She waved them aside, walked, with the blood streaming from her face, to a near-by drug store, had the cut sewed up, and bicycled home.

Last year, she went to England to visit her daughter, because, as she explained afterwards, she thought it was not safe for the latter to cross the Atlantic on account of submarines.

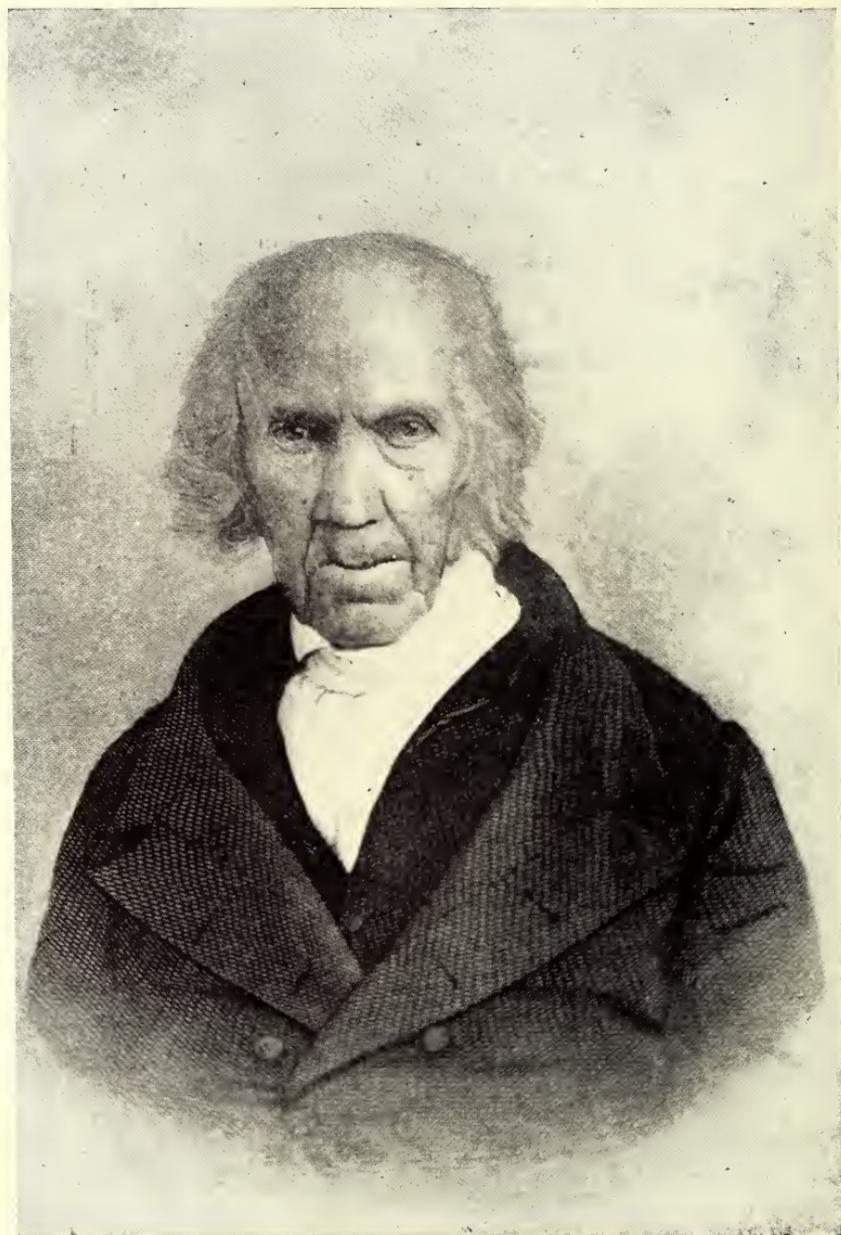
With her, action followed thought at once, and inevitably. Obstacles and difficulties merely stimulated her. A visitor described a poor family, without wood or coal or milk for the children, and bemoaned the fact that nothing could be procured because it was a legal holiday. At once, Mrs. Gordon flew out of the room, without excuse, and presently returned, saying, "It's all right. I told the butler to stop the first wagon he saw, and have sent coal and wood from our own yard, and the oldest child is to come here for milk every day." Three years later, the child was still coming for the milk daily.

She cordially detested anyone who was pretentious, or affected, or a bore. She did not "suffer fools gladly," or in any other way, if she could help it. She was untouched by modern theories, and yet always in sympathy with youth. All young people, especially young men, sought her society, and she loved being with them. She loved new things, new ideas, new inventions, and, as her memory was wonderful, she seldom forgot anything. She never allowed any fear of consequences to influence her. To any warning her invariable answer was "I don't care," and she didn't.

Perhaps her most salient characteristics were her originality and freedom from self-consciousness. She never "posed," or tried to be brave or amusing, and this was one of her greatest charms. She simply, and spontaneously, sparkled with wit, which was as ready when talking to her servants as when entertaining a President. In time of adversity, as well as prosperity, the flame of her personality warmed all who came near her, but burnt and scarred none in spite of its vividness and intensity. One of her truest friends wrote of her:

"She is the spice of life to me, the salad course at dinner, a glass of red wine held to the light, a warm wide hearth, and so many other things besides. I love her full blooded ferocity; her never failing kindness; the big heart of her, and the quick tongue of her. I love her unswerving loyalty, the gallant spirit that has always taken the lofty paths, leaving the safe track to grovellers and cowards. She has always made me think of Wordsworth's 'Happy Warrior:'

"The generous spirit, whose high endeavors are an upward
light
That makes the path before him always bright.
Who comprehends his trust, and, to the same,
Keeps faithful, with a singleness of aim.'"



REV. WM. Mc WHIR, D.D.

She lived through a most eventful period of history. She remembered the Mexican War, and every incident of this present war was of absorbing interest to her, yet age touched her lightly, and in talking with her one often recalled the quotation—

“Time cannot wither, nor custom stale, her infinite variety.”

No mere description can fully reveal her charm, but no one who knew her, ever forgot her, for

“Nature made her what she was,
And ne’er made sic another.”

Such a career is an inspiration.

Valiant and useful, hopeful and radiant, her unquenchable Spirit lives on immortal.

WILLIAM Mc WHIR,

An Irish Friend of Washington.

BY WILLIAM HARDEN.

Senator George F. Hoar, in his “Autobiography of Seventy-Five Years,” says: “In my younger days there were among my kindred and near friends persons who knew the great actors of the Revolutionary times and the time which followed till I came to manhood myself.” Though born at a much later date than Mr. Hoar, this writer has had experience of a like kind. He knew and talked with one man whose intimate association with General Washington was a cherished recollection during the remaining years of his life. That man was the subject of this sketch, and it is hoped that a recital of his diversified experiences may prove of interest to some who turn over these pages.

In the year 1759 there lived in the parish of Moneyrea, in Ireland, a prosperous farmer named James Mc Whir, who had married a young woman named Jean Gibson. Of the several children born to them William first saw the light of day on the 9th of September of that year, and the parents being persons of deep piety decided that one son should be brought up and educated with the settled purpose of entering the ministry in the church of their ancestors, that is the Presbyterian, and the decision pointed to William as the one to be so honored. As a child he had the misfortune to

be attacked by the smallpox through which he lost an eye, and nearly lost his life. Always unattractive in appearance, this loathsome disease made him more homely during the remainder of his long life than he otherwise would have been. He told this story in corroboration of the statement just made, and the pleasant manner in which he told it was evidence of the fact that he realized its truthfulness. He said he was stopped on the road somewhere in Ireland by a woman who, after scrutinizing his countenance, addressed him thus: "Sir, you are the ugliest man I ever saw! Your face looks as if the D——I had been thrashing peas on it!"

The boy's early education was received at a private school near his home, from which he went to one of a higher order in Belfast. He had as a close companion at the latter an unruly lad, with results not calculated to develop the traits of character looked for in one set apart for preaching of the Gospel. At the age of nineteen he was sent to the University of Glasgow, where, as required by the Synod of Ulster of candidates for the ministry, he spent three sessions, but it is certain that even then he did not fully realize the importance of the promise he had made to his parents as to the way in which his future life was to be spent. Notwithstanding this, after his university course he was received under the care of the Presbytery of Killileah, in the County of Down, passing successfully through his trials and examinations, and receiving his license to preach the Gospel on Christmas Eve, 1782; but his ordination by the same Presbytery took place on the 25th of September, 1783.

Having mentioned the fact of Mr. Mc Whir's apparently thoughtless action in becoming a clergyman without the realizing sense of the sacredness of the calling, we will just here, rather out of place, mention another rather important matter occurring nearly thirty years after his ordination. The statement following is made on the authority, and in the words of, his step-grandson, the Hon. Edward J. Harden:

"An event now occurred in the life of Mr. Mc Whir, which, to those who have followed his history to this point, will be a matter of no little surprise. Notwithstanding he had always been a minister, in regular standing, of the Presbyterian Church, he had been, even from the time that he commenced his education, **privately** a Unitarian. Having occasion to re-examine the Scriptures, about the year 1812, with a view to prove their Divine authority, he was led to take a new view of the doctrines which they contain, and, at no distant period, became thoroughly satisfied that the

creed which he had before only **professed** to receive, really embodied the true sense of the Word of God. This change of religious opinion led of course to a corresponding change in his preaching, which did not escape the observation of those to whom he ministered."

At the early age of about twelve years his attention was called to Jonathan Carver's "Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America," which he read with avidity. That book had a wonderful effect on the mind of the youthful reader, and the impression received of the character of the people of the country and the opportunity for there doing good and bettering his condition decided him to cross the ocean and make a home there. Having received the equipment for a professional career, and his mother having died, he sailed from Belfast for Philadelphia, with the consent of his father, shortly after his ordination. Possessed of letters of introduction to some distinguished people, he met with a cordial reception and received promises of aid in his search for a place where he could pursue his calling.

In the case of Mr. Mc Whir, as in many others, his life work was to be of a different line from that which he set out to follow. Although always ready to preach, and really doing much in that way, he was, from the time of his landing in America until his death, pre-eminently a teacher of youth, and, as such, he had few who were his equals, fewer still were his superiors.

He was no laggard. He wanted to do something, and the sooner the opportunity to get down to business came the better pleased he would be. He had, before leaving Ireland, had some assurance that there might be an opening for him at Alexandria in Virginia and a few weeks after his arrival at Philadelphia he received notice of his appointment as the head of an established and prosperous academy in the Virginia town. The institute was honored with the patronage of General Washington whose two nephews were among its pupils, and then began the friendship between the young clergyman and the great soldier and statesman of which the former was justly proud and of which he boasted during the whole of his long life. Mr. Mc Whir's connection with the academy at Alexandria lasted about nine years, during which time he saw much of Washington, visited him frequently at Mount Vernon, and corresponded with him to a considerable degree. The reverend gentleman's account of his first visit to the General described in his diary and more than once before made public, deserves a place in this sketch, and is as follows:

"A few days after General Washington's return to Mount Vernon, I visited him in company with a countryman of mine, Col. Fitzgerald, one of Washington's Aides. At the dinner table, Mrs. Washington sat at the head, and Major Washington at the foot—the General sat next, Mrs. Washington on her left. He called upon me to ask a blessing before meat. When the cloth was about to be removed, he returned thanks himself. Mrs. Washington, with a smile, said, 'My dear, you forget that you had a clergyman dining with you today.' With equal pleasantness he replied, 'My dear, I wish clergymen and all men to know that I am not a graceless man. He goes on to say, 'I was frequently at Mount Vernon and saw him frequently at Alexandria, nor did I ever see any person, whatever might be his character or standing, who was not sensibly awed in his presence, and by the impression of his greatness. The vivacity and grace of Mrs. Washington relieved visitors of some of that feeling of awe and restraint which possessed them. He was uniformly grave, and smiled but seldom, but always agreeable. His favorite subject of conversation was agriculture; and he scrupulously avoided, in general society, topics connected with politics, or the war, or his own personal actions.'"

The letters passing between Washington and Mr. Mc Whir were many. The latter, by his will left to his step-grandson, Edward J. Harden, as a specific legacy his writing-desk, book-case, trunks, all of his papers, and one-half of his library. Among the papers were all the letters written to him by General Washington. It is unfortunate that, among the disasters caused by the War of Secession they were destroyed when Sherman's army took possession of Savannah. Let it not be understood, however, that this was the work of the enemy. It is supposed that the letters were among papers considered as family documents, and therefore strictly private and confidential, left behind by the owner, with instructions that they be committed to the flames whenever the city should be entered by the Federal army. One of Washington's letters, relating to the education of his nephews while at Alexandria Academy, appeared in the Sparks edition of "The Writings of Washington," vol. 10, page 37, but will bear repetition here:

"Sir:

"New York, 12 October, 1789

"I have received your letter of the 18th ultimo, and am glad to learn from it that my nephews apply with diligence

to arithmetic and English composition. These are two branches in which I have always thought them deficient and have ever been pressingly desirous that they should be made well acquainted with them. George may be instructed in the French language, but Lawrence had better apply himself for the present to his arithmetic, writing, and composition.

"As you have failed in your endeavor to obtain a mathematical instructor, it is not probable that any success would attend an advertisement in a paper here. However, I shall have one inserted. I can give no particular opinion respecting the boy whom you represent to be an uncommon genius. But I would cheerfully give any reasonable encouragement towards the cultivation of talents which bid fair to be useful.

"I am, Sir, etc."

At the time the foregoing letter was written the recipient had been in charge of the Alexandria school about six years. He remained there three years longer, and that proves the fact of his long and intimate association with the man who had led the American armies to victory in the seven years struggle for independence. It was then not six months since Washington had been inaugurated as President of the United States for the first term. Who was the boy represented as "an uncommon genius?" That we may never know; but we may indulge in the belief that both of the gentlemen did not let the matter drop, but that they saw to it that the talented youth was substantially assisted in having his talents cultivated.

In the absence of proof to the contrary, we may suppose that Mr. Mc Whir's leaving Alexandria was caused by the desire to do better in a financial way. Indeed, we have the statement from one who doubtless heard him say it, that "his expenses of living in Alexandria were too great to justify the expectation of being able to lay up any part of his income" and that accordingly he "was inclined to listen to an application" to go elsewhere.

While at Alexandria he probably had little opportunity to preach, as we have no record of such service at that period of his life. It would seem that he had a desire to make some use of the education and preparation for the work of a pastor through which he had gone, for, upon invitation from a warm friend to visit Augusta, in Georgia, in 1792, with a view of taking charge of a church and school there, he determined to look the field over, and made the journey on

horseback. He was not satisfied with the life at Alexandria, but was not pleased with the prospect that confronted him on his arrival in Augusta. He returned to Alexandria, but only for a short time. Convinced that a change was desirable, he went to Savannah, and thence to Bryan County, to visit some friends, and while there received a call from the citizens of Sunbury, then a place of some importance, to take charge of both the Church and Academy, then vacant. He accepted the call, and then began the long life of honor and usefulness in a field for which he was peculiarly fitted and which he filled admirably for many years.

He was a man of remarkable energy, so much so that he almost broke down through the combined efforts in teaching and preaching, and after five years of constant labors and exercising of the brain he was forced to retire to his plantation nearby, which he had been enabled to purchase through the success he met with and to which he gave the name of Springfield. He was not, however, allowed to enjoy the pleasure of retirement for any length of time. At the urgent request of neighbors and friends, he opened a select school at Springfield which increased beyond his expectation. Here also he preached the Gospel on Sundays, and again, after a few years, he had to give himself a rest. Shortly after his removal to his plantation he married the widow of Colonel John Baker of Revolutionary fame. He never had children of his own, but treated those of his wife with all the love and kindness that he could have shown had they been his offspring.

His ability to teach lay particularly in his knowledge of the Classics. He was a thorough Greek and Latin scholar, and he had a remarkable talent for imparting to his pupils the principles upon which those languages are founded, so that a large percentage of them left him at the close of their schooling well grounded in those branches which were his specialties.

He was very careful in the selection of his assistants. In order to secure the best that could be had, it was his custom to examine all applicants so strictly that many who would have been glad to secure a position were unwilling to be put to the test through fear of being rejected. It is said that he related to a friend the following incident:

One of the objects of his visit to the old country in 1820 was to secure an assistant for his school at Springfield, and he inserted advertisements in several newspapers, but he was about to sail for America without having succeeded in finding one who met with his requirements in all particulars.

The day before the date of the sailing of the vessel from Liverpool, while the schoolmaster was engaged in packing his trunk, a young man presented himself as an applicant, but Mr. Mc Whir told him he was too late; that he did not have time to examine him; and that he would choose the assistant in the United States on his return there. The young man was very much disappointed saying he was anxious to go to America and had set his heart on obtaining the chance offered in the advertisements he had seen, and asked to be examined then and there. Seeing anxiety stamped upon the countenance of the youth, Mr. Mc Whir stopped the work upon which he was engaged, put the applicant to the test in all branches except Latin, thinking that then the strain would tell on him, and that the trial would result in his break-down; but, greatly to his surprise, after picking up a book lying among the articles to be placed in the trunk and handing it, opened at a certain page, to him, and directing the gentleman to put into Latin the English words indicated, the task was promptly and accurately done, and then and there the assistant was secured and sailed the next day with the head-master for his new home beyond the sea.

As a sample of the way in which Mr. Mc Whir set to work to get the help he needed, an advertisement of that sort, taken from a newspaper of 1799, is here given:

“ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS.

“I will give one hundred guineas a year to a gentleman of Character and abilities, who is disposed to remove to the flourishing and fertile State of Georgia, and engage as an Assistant in my Academy.

“He must write an elegant hand, be a complete accountant, and well acquainted with the practical branches of the mathematics.

“The situation is as healthy as any in this, or perhaps, any other State in the Union, an undisputable proof of which is, that my family consists of nearly fifty white persons, and almost twelve months have elapsed since any Physician has been called to visit it.

“Letters, post paid, directed to me, Sunbury, Georgia, will receive a decisive answer in less than forty days from their date, if they contain satisfactory proof as to the character and abilities of the applicant.

Sunbury, Georgia, April, 1799.

WM. Mc WHIR.”

He was always ready, notwithstanding the fact that he never had a regular charge as pastor, except for a short while at Sunbury, to be used in pastoral work and in the pulpit. He frequently preached to the congregation in the old Midway Church and in Savannah and elsewhere. His services in performing the marriage ceremony were often in demand, as the newspapers of the time testify. By holding meetings in the McIntosh County Court House, nearly twelve miles from Darien, about the year 1809, he was instrumental in organizing a church. That church was finally moved to Darien where Mr. Mc Whir had preached some time before the transfer was made. In both places he supported himself almost entirely, as his teaching paid him well, wherever he had a school.

After relinquishing the charge of the Sunbury Academy for some years, and having met with the loss of some four-teen thousand dollars, through the great storm of 1804, at the urgent solicitation of the people of Liberty County, he again became the principal of that institution, and succeeded in bringing it up to the standard it maintained during his former incumbency. His health becoming impaired, he again gave it up in a few years, but for a third time retired, with the intention to abandon teaching as a profession, though long afterwards receiving pupils whom he taught privately.

In his life in Liberty County he was closely associated with a fellow countryman from Ireland, the Reverend Dr. Murdock Murphy, the regular pastor of Midway Church, and the friendship of these two men was sincere, affectionate, genuine, and of lasting duration. In the year 1815 Dr. Murphy presented his friend with a drinking cup which is now owned by this writer. It is in shape just like an old-fashioned tumbler, and, besides the date of presentation, 1815, bears on the outside these three significant inscriptions:

“Charity
in
Thought”

“Liberality
in
Word”

“Generosity
in
Action”

and on the bottom: “Peace and Plenty.”

The writer has also the walking cane of Mr. Mc Whir. It is not known where or how the original owner obtained it; but it is a curiosity in its way, and was probably carried by him wherever he went for many years, perhaps including his visits to General Washington, at Mount Vernon. The gold head has engraved on it, in monogram, “W. Mc W.” and



DR. WM. Mc WHIR'S SILVER CUP
AND WALKING CANE.

it has three silver bands, on which appear respectively the words "Faith," "Hope," "Charity."

About the year 1819, he went to New York, to test the merits of the Lancasterian system of instruction, at that time the subject of much interest, in which cause he was aided by the distinguished Judge Ambrose Spencer and by the more distinguished De Witt Clinton, then Governor of New York. And just here it is perhaps the proper thing to quote what others have said concerning his qualifications and successful career in the matter of teaching. Says one well fitted to express an opinion on the subject:

"The name of no man who ever lived in Georgia was more intimately identified with the cause of education, unless the late venerable Moses Waddel be an exception. As a teacher, his chief merits were thoroughness of instruction and the most exact discipline, such as would, in these days, be esteemed too rigorous. He never enjoyed much reputation as a preacher, owing, no doubt, to the want of ready eloquence and the almost entire absence of that faculty of the mind called imagination. Nature and education seemed to have fitted him for the school-house."

Another has placed these words on record:

"Two generations sat at the feet of this venerable preceptor. Fathers and sons in turn responded to his nod, and feared his frown. Although

'A man severe he was, and stern to view,'

so impartial was he in the support of whatever was just and of good report, and so competent and thorough as a teacher, that for more than a quarter of a century his numerous pupils found in him, above all others, their mentor, guide, and helper in the thorny paths of knowledge. Strongly did he impress his character and influence upon the generations in which he lived, and his name and acts are even now well remembered."*

Mr. Mc Whir's wife died on the 16th of December, 1819, and it so affected him that he was advised to take a long rest from his labors and to get away from the scenes of his prolonged and happy married life. He therefore took that opportunity to pay a visit to his only brother, then living in Ireland, and to look upon the last resting place of his parents. His diary, kept during this long trip, is in the possession of this writer, and contains much interesting matter concerning places he visited, and persons he met, and some

*This was in connection with the Sunbury Academy.

extracts from it will now be made. Just before leaving the United States he had attended the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, as a Commissioner from the Presbytery of Harmony, of which he was a member. He was proud of his connection with the General Assembly, and in the diary mentions the fact that on several occasions while abroad he spoke, on invitation, of the action of that body on various matters.

He arrived at Liverpool on Sunday, July 16, 1820, stopped at the Waterloo hotel, and in the evening went with the proprietor and his wife to a church for the blind, concerning which he wrote: "Here my heart was rejoiced to see 120 of those to whom, as Milton expresses it, 'Light, the prime work of God, is extinct,' and who 'are dark amid the blaze of noon,' enlightened by the glorious rays of the Gospel, and comforted by the kind hand of Christian charity, and cheered with the hope of a blessed immortality. Never was I more delighted with music than in hearing their melodious voices unite in celebrating the praises of Him who hath called them from darkness to marvelous light."

The next day he called upon Mr. Robert Bolton who did not wait long to return the visit, but exchanged the compliment next day and persuaded Mr. Mc Whir to be his guest during his stay in the city. During Mr. Bolton's visit, Mr. Maury, the American Consul called and spent an hour with the reverend gentleman. While at Mr. Bolton's he "dined with a company of the very first stamp which he had invited on my account; among them was Mrs. Mather, and her two amiable daughters, distant relatives of the great and good Cotton Mather of America." Again, he remarks, "Mr. Bolton, I ought to have mentioned, conducted me to the Athenaeum, the first public library ever established in England, and that which has given rise to similar institutions in London, Bristol, Bath, and other places. This library consists of upwards of 10,000 books, many of them very rare, valuable and ancient; some manuscripts, before printing was invented, and some modern works, bound more elegantly than any I ever before have seen. The books are not permitted to be taken out of the library, but there are elegant reading rooms to which the members have access the whole day. This causes the books to be much more clean than they would otherwise be."

His account of the great Liverpool dock is interesting. He thus wrote on this subject:

"Mr. Bolton also walked with me all around the New Dock, a most astonishing work which is carried on with great spirit by the Corporation of the City. It is 500 yards long, very broad, and at least 40, perhaps 50 feet deep, some parts of it cut out of solid rock, and where it is not the sides and bottom are lined with hewn stone, neatly and closely cemented with mortar, or bound with iron."

He had letters of introduction to the Rev. Mr. Raffles whom he heard preach and who asked Mr. Mc Whir to address the scholars of his Sunday School. He called the place of worship a chapel, and explained that "Presbyterian places of worship are not honored with the appellation of churches." His health was not at that time at all good, and he decided "to visit the celebrated waters of Cheltenham, 150 miles from Liverpool, to try their efficacy," but before going he spent an evening "with Mr. Priestley, a kinsman of Dr. Priestley, a very pious, Godly man, with whom I was much pleased, as well as with his amiable lady. He informed me that Dr. Priestley was the only person of the name that he knew of who was of Socinian principles, and that he lamented that he was not as good a theologian as philosopher." That was on the 24th of July, 1820.

On the 26th he dined with three gentlemen, two of whom he named, Mr. Sherry and Dr. Stewart, and said of them "They are all men of science, especially the former (name not given) and Dr. Stewart are men of profound literature. Much, very much, is to be gained by their society; and they were both very solicitous in their inquiries about the state of religion, the progress of the arts and sciences, etc., in America. And having so recently visited several of the United States, and been in the principal Atlantic cities, the information I was able to give them, from actual observation, was more interesting, especially as I had attended Congress for some days, and had myself the honor of being a Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States. Dr. Stewart very politely offered to introduce me to the great and good Dr. Chalmers, should I visit Glasgow. This I considered a very great favor, and thankfully acknowledged it as such."

On the 27th he set out from Liverpool for Cheltenham, expecting to stop in Birmingham, and his descriptions of places on the way are truly interesting. On the 28th he rested at the last named place, of which he said:

"After breakfast took a walk to view the place which is large and prosperous, and entirely a manufacturing town. The streets are narrow and by no means clean. Butchers'

shops are in every street, and here and there vegetable and fruit stalls scattered up and down the streets. The smell is intolerable, and such filth, in a southern climate, would assuredly create yellow fever.

"I first visited the Eagle Foundry, the oldest establishment in Birmingham, where castings of the largest size are made. I saw how it was done. While I was present some small articles were cast. Some single pieces weigh from 3 to 4 tons. Here I met with Mr. Thos. Gibson, one of the largest manufacturers of almost every kind of iron ware. He makes iron wheel-barrows, gates, fences for fields and gardens, chairs, settees, porches, and porticos for houses, bridges of almost any size, etc., etc. He very obligingly showed me the whole concern, and took me to a place where the prospect both of town and country, was really grand as well as beautiful. Elegant houses, placed in good order in that quarter of the town, were surrounded by beautiful seats highly improved, with stately houses at equal distances, every one of which had attached to it a fine garden and orchard, and in many places fine meadows and lawns covered with sheep, and in some places fat cows with udders distended with milk. Beyond these were rising hills and lofty mountains, raising their towering tops to the clouds—yea, far above the clouds of smoke and vapor which arose from the innumerable furnaces, founderies, and potteries in and about Birmingham."

On the 29th, he entered this record in the journal:

"At eight in the morning I set out for Cheltenham, an outside passenger, that I might better see the country, which is very hilly indeed, rather mountainous and naturally barren; but mostly under cultivation and in many places rendered productive by manure and high cultivation. We stopped several hours at a very fine town named Worcester. I was so unwell I could not eat dinner. But exerted myself to view the Cathedral, one of the most ancient buildings in England, and very large and magnificent. It is upwards of 300 feet long, proportionably wide, and more than 70 feet in the story. Within its walls and under its roof rest the ashes of several Kings. And, as the custom of old was, the upper part of the tomb is a likeness of the deceased in polished marble, in full dress, or clad in armour agreeable to the fashion of the times, laid prostrate on the grave or tomb, in full size. And curious indeed are some of the dresses, and wonderfully ponderous the armour of ancient times. I lament now that I did not allow myself more time to take down some of the superscriptions and have a more

accurate account of this very ancient and venerable edifice. The pulpit, its staircase railing and canopy, are hewn out of one piece of solid marble. My curiosity led me to ascend it and examine it minutely. And really when I reflected on the antiquity of the building, its magnificence, and the length of time that it had been devoted to the worship of Him who is and was and is to come, the same yesterday, today and forever—Himself without variableness or shadow of turning, amidst all the changes and vicissitudes of this world, I was struck with solemn awe, and think I was in proper frame of mind to worship the God of my fathers to whom that sacred place no doubt had been the gate to heaven. True, worship little better than idolatry had often been performed within these walls; but dare we say that if the hearts of the worshippers were sincere, in the sight of the all-seeing, heart-searching and rein-trying God, that the sacrifice was not acceptable? I dare not say so, because the Sacred Oracles forbid me to judge unfavourably in this case."

The same night he arrived at Cheltenham, and in the morning of the next day, the 31st, he went to the springs of which he had this to say:

"After breakfast I strolled out and accidentally directed my course to the celebrated Springs. And I can candidly say that in my whole life I have never beheld a more charming place. I shall not attempt to describe the elegant buildings, fine gardens, and delightful shady walks which all at once presented themselves to my astonished view. I say astonished, for no person had given me any intimation of the elegance of the place, and the high state of improvement to which it had already attained; for it is only a place of yesterday, although it is now become so famous and so much noted for salubrity, gaiety, and fashion. Hither the nobility, as they are called, dukes, lords, earls, and such sort of folks come for health, more for pleasure, and some fine ladies and gentlemen to exhibit themselves. The men have something in them which I cannot describe—very different from American gentlemen. The ladies are much more affable, but not so handsome as the men. I did not see anything to incline me to think with Guthrie that a well-bred Englishman is the finest gentleman in the world. And among one hundred and thirty or forty persons in one house, at such a place, where so much brilliancy of dress was displayed, some intellectual excellence was to be expected; but I saw nothing of it. There was no appearance of profanity; neither was there of religion. Amongst other great men the Duke of Gloucester was there. I often saw him.

He appears to be very simple, and indeed it is said he really is so."

The first Sunday he spent in Cheltenham he was so ill that his physician forbade his accepting an invitation to preach for a Mr. Brown, but he went to church, and this is his record of the manner in which he joined in the service:

"I attended Divine service, and, for the first time in my life, received the sacramental bread and wine on bended knees. Oh that the humble posture of my body may have assisted me to humble my soul before God, under a deep conviction of sin, and that I may be enabled to walk in newness of life to the glory of God!!!"

On the 10th of August he talked to an audience on the subject of religious societies in America, including in his address the progress made and the interest taken in Sunday School work. His hearers were, from his account, very much interested, and somewhat surprised, by certain statements from his lips. He ended his record of the incident with this paragraph:

"I told them that the very first people in our country send their children to Sunday Schools, both by way of example and to learn lessons of piety and habits of religious observance of the Sabbath; and the sons and daughters of our most wealthy citizens found their only claim to nobility on the glorious privilege of being employed by the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords to train up His own children for glory, honor and immortality, and thus be prepared to enjoy their heavenly inheritance. Some of the supercilious Royalists do not like to hear this; but I felt it to be my duty to say the truth, and have nothing to hope or fear from them, only from neglecting to tell them the truth."

The next day, the 11th, he made note of the fact that his physical condition, which he had hoped would be bettered by the use of the Cheltenham waters, had not improved, and added:

"In the course of the day I received a letter from the Honorable Mr. Maury, enclosing an introduction to the American envoy extraordinary in London, and another to a Mr. Williams; but all this did not make me feel well."

He had a delightful experience on the 12th of August, 1820, described by himself as follows:

"Today a little after twelve it was proposed to me by a very agreeable party to make one with them to go about six or seven miles into the country to see the remains of a Roman Villa, as it is supposed, which had been discovered about two years ago in the parish of Great Wilcombe in the

county of Gloucester. And I am rejoiced that the jaunt was proposed to me. For it really afforded me much pleasure. The day was fine, the road good, the country through which we passed beautiful, highly cultivated, teeming with plenty, and in many places the reapers busily employed in cutting down as fine wheat, barley, peas, oats, etc., as my eyes ever beheld. And the company was truly agreeable and social, three ladies and four gentlemen, one lady from the East Indies, one from France, daughter of Dr. Thomas, and the other an English lady, all well bred and intelligent. One gentleman, a physician from the Indies, another an officer belonging to the Bengal Engineers, the other a gentleman from the West Indies, an invalid, and myself from the U. S. of America.

“The Roman Villa, interesting itself from its antiquity, becomes more so from the situation in which it is placed, which is truly romantic. It is situated on the brow of a hill, not very lofty itself; but surrounded on all sides by mountains, high and fertile, affording fine pasture which is everywhere covered with fine fat sheep. In many places are delightful fields of grain, on places so steep that one would scarcely suppose it possible to cultivate them on account of their declivity. Several of the apartments of this supposed Villa have been cleared of the rubbish which had fallen upon them, and in many places mosaic pavements of small pebbles, or rather rocks, of various colours, white, blue, gray, and perhaps mixed colours, in which are represented beasts, birds, fishes, crabs, etc., are very plainly to be seen. Small thatched roofs are placed over these beautiful pavements and on the old walls which appear to have been a little repaired before the covering was put over them. We gazed with delight upon these ancient remains of ingenious mechanism. We are informed that some pieces of ancient Roman coin were found in digging up the ruins, which leave no doubt on the minds of those who have seen them, that they are remains of Roman buildings. Baths, both hot and cold, are very plainly to be traced in the ruins.

“The mind is struck with reverential awe when beholding the workmanship of hands which many centuries ago have mingled with the clods of the valley, and the works themselves, together with their possessors, entirely unknown. And this naturally leads us to reflect that we too, must soon go hence and be no more seen among men, and that the places which now know us, shall know us no more.

We returned a little before 6 P. M., all much pleased with our excursion, as well as with each other."

The delightful experience of suddenly, and without previous notice, meeting a friend in a foreign land, and in the midst of entire strangers, is thus noted in his journal under date of Sunday, August 13, 1820.

"I got out of bed in time to make preparation to go to the Spa, and also prepare for public worship. While I was sitting at breakfast with some friends, a young gentleman came up to me and said, 'Am I addressing Mr. Mc Whir?' I said, 'that is my name,' and who was it but a son of Captain Stiles, of Savannah, who had come to Fisher's late the evening before. I was as glad to see him as if he had been a relative, and he apparently overjoyed to see me. There was not a person in the house whom either he or I had ever seen before, only that we had seen each other, and in the evening a brother of Mr. Stiles who had been traveling in France, in company with his brother, arrived at Fisher's."

The same day his diary ended with this entry:

"This evening after tea, the boarders assembled together to hear me read the 'Narrative of the State of Religion in the United States,' as published by the General Assembly in May last. I was listened to with great attention, and concluded with prayer, and when I had done, many of the ladies and gentlemen, both old and young, surrounded me, shook hands, and thanked me for the information I had given them, which afforded them so much gratification. And most assuredly it afforded me sacred pleasure to see so much interest taken by so gay an assembly in a matter of such high importance."

On the 15th he gave an account of a trip to the town of Gloucester:

"I took a trip to Gloucester, an ancient town 9 miles to the west of Cheltenham and about the same size. There is in it also a Spa well and elegantly fitted up. The water seems to be saline, and very similar to the Cheltenham water. We visited the Cathedral which is said to have been built in 1300, or thereabouts. It is evidently very ancient and very magnificent. Its length 444 feet, breadth 90, and its height very great. We went to the top of the steeple by 277 steps, the climbing of which exhausted me much. Here lie the remains of many ancient Kings and Nobles of civil and ecclesiastical dignity, in tombs ornamented with elegant sculpture and statues in the costume of the times in which they lived and died. In this town is a Gaol which is said to be the best in the Kingdom, but unfortunately it was

the time of the Assizes, and we could not be admitted to see the inside of it. It stands on the bank of the river Severn which runs along the western side of the town of Gloucester.

"We visited the Pin Manufactory which is very curious indeed. Men, women and boys are all engaged in making this small ware, for small wages. None of them can earn more than 6 pence a day, although they work from six in the morning till eight at night. The woman who puts the pins in paper told me that she gets only 2½ pence for putting 24 sheets of pins in paper. This really requires diligence to make anything at all."

While Mr. Mc Whir was on this foreign trip, and when in and about the City of London, the trial of England's queen, Caroline, was in progress, and he was in the great excitement which existed at that time. His remarks relative to the event are not without interest. These are his words:

"17th. Was an important day at London. This day came on the trial of the Queen for adultery. A trial, in the opinion of some, big with the fate of the Nation. The public mind being very much excited, I, even as a stranger, felt no small interest on this interesting occasion. That the happiness of a people, the very foremost to support the Gospel, should be endangered by the imprudence, to say the least of it, of two individuals, neither of whom is remarkable either for piety or prudence, is to be lamented."

On the road from Bath to London he passed through a delightful section of country, at one time observing a large number of deer which forced him to wish that some of his friends in America, who were sportsmen, could see them and "have a crack at them," he added, "But this would have been almost as bad as treason, indeed worse than to curse the King at the present moment while the Queen's trial is going on in the House of Lords." On the same trip, on the 23rd of August, he had the experience which he thus described:

"Betwixt Bath and London we passed nearly 40 stage coaches drawn by four horses each, apparently going at the same rate with us, and we traveled the 108 miles, from a little after 6 A. M. till a little after 5 P. M., and stopped 15 minutes to breakfast and 30 minutes to dinner, besides changing horses about nine or ten times."

"At last we entered the gate of the great City, but before we had proceeded far, were obliged to stop, until an immense multitude, such as my eyes never before beheld,

would pass. All were trying to see who could get nearest the Queen, who was returning in state, from the House of Lords where her trial was going on from day to day. Her Coach passed close by us and we had a full view of her, but Lady Hamilton, who was in the coach with her, concealed herself. We were stopped by the multitudes passing rapidly along, for almost two hours, crying with loud voices 'God Save the Queen!' 'God bless Queen Caroline!' 'Long live our beloved Queen!' Hats everywhere waving and handkerchiefs streaming in the air, and every minute from the crowds 'Hats off!' 'Hats off!' I whispered to a gentleman near me in our coach, 'Suppose we, as loyal subjects of his majesty George the 4th, say aloud 'God save the king!' He replied that 'he supposed it would hazard our lives.' And this I firmly believed. But even if it had not, my loyalty to his majesty was not so great as to have spent my breath in this way.

"About 7 o'clock the torrent of the crowd seemed to have passed and we began to move forward with some thousand others, some in coaches, some in post chaises, gigs, and on horseback, but more on foot, who had, like ourselves, wished to go on, when lo! another crowd presented itself to our view rending the air with huzzas of 'Clear the way for the loyal subjects of Her Majesty coming with an unanimous address from———!' Then we were obliged to come to a full stop, until I know not how many coaches, each drawn by four beautiful horses, and containing some four and some six gentlemen with ribbons in their breasts, passed us, after which we at last got to the coach Inn."

On the way to London from Bath he saw things which drew from him expressions of admiration as follows:

"On our way to London we passed through a country the hills of which are chalk, covered over in most places with earth, some deep and some shallow. In one place you see at a great distance the figure of a very beautiful monstrous white horse on the side of a fine green hill. I could not tell what to make of it at first view, nor did I like to ask, till a passenger asked me if I saw it. I answered yes, and he told me that the gentleman to whom the estate belonged had employed an artist to have the earth removed from the surface of the chalk rock in that form. We also passed another, but by no means well done. We passed the house in which the great and good Mr. Addison lived and died, a few miles from London. And not far from his former seat is the residence of Dr. Herschel a few rods from the road we were traveling. We very plainly saw the huge platform on

which he erects his telescope from time to time to view yonder worlds entirely invisible to the naked eye and of which the greatest astronomers are only able to discover as much as is sufficient to convince them more fully how little they know even of those heavenly bodies which with great exertion they are enabled to discover.

"We passed through Hounslow Heath, which is a beautiful place, uncultivated and unfenced. I believe it is what is here called a royalty; but what in America is called a Common.

"All along the road, for six miles before we come to the City, as far as the eye can see is thickly inhabited and cultivated like a garden, indeed the greater part is laid out in gardens, or fields which are planted with garden stuffs.

"About 15 miles from the City Winsor Castle presents itself to view. A great mass of ancient Gothic buildings, apparently verging to decay; unless they are soon repaired, it is said they will be entirely useless as many of them already are."

Mr. Mc Whir did not return to America until autumn in the year 1821. In the meantime he went to Scotland, where he met Dr. Chalmers, and attended the sessions of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and he visited Ireland, his native land, and staid in the place of his birth and saw the graves of his parents.

He briefly described some of the sights of London, but we will not here quote further from his diary, except what he said as to a visit to the theatre in London and his account of the resting place of father and mother at Moneyrea.

One evening, having nothing else to occupy his time, he decided to witness a dramatic performance, and he entered this description on the pages of his journal:

"This evening presented the best opportunity of effecting an object which I had long contemplated, namely, to visit the theatre, that I might really see and hear and know, from actual observation, whether the stage be really as corrupt, immoral and as dangerous as divines and moralists have represented it to be; or whether, from the too general character of theatrical performances, as well as the tenor of many of the pieces which they exhibit on the stage, rigid moralists had not represented the thing in worse characters than it deserved. Perhaps candor would here oblige me to say that curiosity also somewhat induced me to go, not having seen a theatrical performance for more than 40 years, except such as had been executed either by my own pupils, or those of other academies. * * * These, and the like cir-

cumstances, inclined me to hope that on actual observation I might find it not quite as bad as it is said to be. But here, alas! I was miserably disappointed. I saw virtue and religion turned to contempt and ridicule; the very best sentiments of the best authors selected for profane mockery; and the most dangerous sentiments of the most deistical writers approved and applauded. Dueling, or murder, is represented as being honorable; seduction as laudable; falsehood and even perjury as venial; and, in one word, integrity as dishonorable. I really cannot see how any modest woman or man can dare to go to these scenes of abomination and afterwards look each other in the face."

Not included in any regular order in the book in which he recorded the account of his travels, but on a separate page, he wrote the following:

"MEMORANDUM.

"Such was my lameness for several months after my coming to Moneyrea, that I could not visit the tombs of my fathers notwithstanding my strong desire so to do.

"But the 1st of February, 1821, I stopped at the meeting house, put up my horse, and went into the graveyard to spend an hour or two in the mansions of the dead. In solemn silence I passed from tomb to tomb, with eager steps, until I came to that under which lay the dust of my beloved parents. This drew many sighs from my heart, and tears from my eyes. But oh, how my heart was rejoiced when I read the character of my departed father, drawn on his tomb in a few words which I know to be the truth.

"'Sacred to the Memory of Jas. Mc Whir of Montogh, who departed this life Jan. 13th, 1800, aged 75 years, in whom Piety, Justice and Charity were remarkably united.'

"My Mother also, who had been long afflicted, was spoken of as being piously resigned to the will of her Heavenly Father and very charitable to the poor.

"This afforded me more pleasure than if they had bequeathed me a great worldly inheritance.

"And almost every day, I hear from their contemporaries who yet remain, something or other in their praise:

"A few days ago an old lady of more than 70, said to me, 'Mr. Mc Whir you have traveled a great deal and seen many places and known many persons, will you answer me one question?' I said I would if I could. 'Did you in all your travels ever know two better men than James and Robert Mc Whir?'"

The number of persons taught by the subject of this sketch, especially those who afterwards became prominent in the affairs of the State and in other parts, is enormous, and a list of them, if it were possible to make one, would be interesting.

In August, 1872, Mr. William Hughes, County Surveyor of Liberty County, gave to the Hinesville Gazette, a list of the scholars who attended the Sunbury Academy in the year 1807, when Dr. McWhir was the principal of that Academy, and Mr. James E. Morris was his assistant.

Mr. Hughes mentioned the fact that at that time he and Judge William Law were the only survivors of those mentioned, when the latter was 79 years old, and the former about four score years.

The following is the list:

Abigail James, Adam Somersal, Alex. McIntosh, Alex. McIver, Am'da Axson, Ann Maxwell, Ann Myers, Ann Peacock, Artemas Baker, Audley Maxwell, Caroline Fabian, Edward Footman, Elizabeth McCall, Elizabeth Jones, Elizabeth Peacock, Elizabeth Wilkins, George Forrester, Hannah Maxwell, Hester Elliott, Hester McIntosh, Harriet Croft, James Baker, James Bowen, James Bulloch, James McCall, James McIntosh, Jr., John Baker, John Bulloch, John Caldwell, John Glass, John Jones, John Law, John Maxwell, John McIntosh, John Pomeroy, Lach'n Cuthbert, Lach'n McIntosh, Louisa Croft, Louis Latouche, Lucretia Cook, Maria Baillie, Mary Axson, Mary Law, Mary McIntosh, Mary Osgood, Mathilda Elliott, Peter Goulding, Preserved Alger, Richard Cuyler, Richard Pomeroy, Samuel Lines, Sarah Maxwell, Sarah Wood, Susan Myers, Thomas Baillie, Thomas Baker, Thomas McCall, Thomas Stone, Thomas Winn, Wm. Baker, Wm. Cooper, Wm. Cuyler, Wm. Grumball, Wm. Hughes, Wm. James, Wm. Jasper, Wm. Law, Wm. McIntosh.

In 1824 he was persuaded that the need of the people of East Florida in the matter of religious instruction was great, and he went to St. Augustine where he organized a church and ordained elders, and finally had the pleasure of seeing a suitable house of worship erected there. Then, always on the lookout for the opportunity of laboring in the cause of spreading the Gospel, he supplied vacant churches in the Counties of Bryan, Liberty, and McIntosh from 1827 to 1835.

The honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him in 1832 by Franklin College, now the University of Georgia.

In 1838 he sold his Springfield home in Liberty County; and from that time to 1847 he resided in Bryan County with his very dear friend Major William J. McIntosh. In the last named year he moved to Savannah and fixed his home in the family of his step-grandson, Edward J. Harden.

Until within a short time of his death he performed the duties of a volunteer colporteur of the American Tract Society. It has been said of him that "until within the last ten or fifteen years of his life he preached occasionally, chiefly in destitute places, and at his decease he was probably the oldest Presbyterian minister in the United States." The same writer mentioned this interesting fact: "His correspondence * * * was very extensive, and embraced within its range several distinguished men, amongst them Gen. Washington, Dr. Chalmers, and Sir John Sinclair."

Dr. Mc Whir died at the residence of Roswell King, Esq., in Liberty County on Friday, the 31st of January, 1851, in the ninety-second year of his age. For many years before his death he was affectionately called by those who knew him "Father Mc Whir."

His will was made on the 11th of December, 1847, in Savannah, and the preliminary item is in these characteristic words: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three Persons but one God, I, William Mc Whir, Minister of the everlasting Gospel of Christ, and Member of the Old School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Do make this my last will and testament." The first regular item is "I commit my spirit to God who gave it and my body to the earth, hoping for a glorious resurrection through the merits of His Son Jesus Christ, and desiring that my body be buried at Sunbury with my dearly beloved wife, in a manner not too ostentatious, to be judged of by my Executors, the place of interment to be west of the resting-place of the late Dr. (Adam) Alexander, about eight or ten paces."

Within a year or two after his death a monument was erected over the resting place of husband and wife, with suitable inscriptions for both. His inscription is here given:

Sacred
to the memory of
Rev. William Mc Whir, D. D.,
who was born in the County Down, Ireland,
and died in Liberty County, Ga.,
31st January, 1851.

In 1783 he came to the United States
and settled at Alexandria, Va.,
whence he removed to Georgia
about the year 1793.

His long and eventful life
was devoted to the cause of Christianity
and education, and his labors to promote these objects
were eminently successful.

ADDRESS OF MAJOR JOSEPH B. CUMMING

On Occasion of Celebration of Municipal Centennial of the City of Augusta.

One hundred years! A century! How great! How small! What a mere span compared with the life of the human race, even when measured by the Mosaic account which attributes only six thousand years to man's presence on this planet! What a mere needle's point besides those eons, which in the belief of the learned of this age have elapsed in the building of the everlasting hills, in fixing the shores of old ocean, in hollowing the river's rock-bound beds! Oh, the littleness of a hundred years, measured by the great facts of nature, which represent time too long for our minds to grasp or our thoughts to hold! Even in our habits of thought we belittle a century soon after it has drifted back into the boundless past. We are apt, for instance, to think of William the Conqueror and Richard the Lion Hearted as practically contemporaries; yet a century and more rolled between them. Coming down nearly to our own times, we are prone, of course in a careless way, to regard our original thirteen states as belonging to the same period. Yet between the oldest and the youngest there was a stretch of one hundred and twenty-five years. How little is a century! And yet how great! A single one of many solemn facts attests its greatness. In its course it removes from beneath the sun and the stars, from under the bending sky, from city and from country, from hill and field, from the banks of rivers and from the riverless prairies, from the ocean's shores and from the ocean's waves—from every habitation and haunt of man, it removes, by the time it has run its course, every mortal whom it found at its beginning. If nothing else could be said of the greatness of a century than that it sweeps away before its close every mortal it found at its opening, we would say great and awful is a century of time!

While any subject might be selected for my discourse without violating any express condition of my commission to speak to you on this Centennial occasion, I feel, nevertheless, that there is an implied undertaking on my part to make Augusta my theme.

When I approach it, I find myself perplexed in deciding how to deal with it. Shall I transport myself, in imagination and by the aid of records, to that point in Augusta's

history, the centennial of which we are here to celebrate, and I live for a time only in it? Shall I, by the aid of traditions and of contemporaneous documents, and confining myself to the one point of view, present a sketch of the place and its people as they were then? This were easy and safe but meagre. Or shall I endeavor to lead you down the path of a century through all the story? This were long and tedious. Indeed, the subject is one which I find difficult and tiresome, for it holds nothing of thrilling, soul-stirring interest.

I trust that none of my hearers have come here expecting anything like a consecutive and detailed historical sketch of Augusta. To any such I must say at the outset that their expectations will not be fulfilled. I shall not say that they will be disappointed, for nothing, methinks, could be more interesting, even to the degree of dreariness, than a minute recital of the uneventful history of a small town during the course of a hundred years. Such is the drama of human life; that in no year of the hundred have there not been episodes and experiences of more absorbing interest to the actors therein than the history of wars or famine or pestilence or any of the tragedies in the lives of States. But their interest lived and died with the actors in them, the memory of them has perished, and, even if it could be revived, it would invoke no interest from the living of today, absorbed, as they are, by the concerns of the all exacting present. Certainly, too, there have lived in Augusta in the century, the close of which we are now celebrating, citizens in all walks of life, in all its avocations, of peace and of war, of whom any city may be proud. But if I should undertake to speak of them, what could I do in the compass of this occasion but present to you a catalogue of names? Homer could make a catalogue interesting and even poetic, as when, in the close of the second book of the Iliad, he gives a list of the ships that sailed from Greece and her islands and the men they carried to the siege of Troy, and called the long roll of the defenders of that devoted city. But a less than Homer should not undertake such a feat.

The way, in part at least, in which I shall endeavor to comply with the expectations of the occasion, will be to present to you pictures of Augusta at various periods of her history, and, as if a hundred years were not field enough, I will go back to her very origin one hundred and sixty-three years ago.

The first thing to do for the infant then just beginning to live was to name it, and the loyal Oglethorpe gave her the

name of the Princess Augusta. Augusta, unlike some of her neighbors, has not been moved to change her name bestowed by her father in her infancy. Atlanta, for instance, commenced life as "Marthasville." Of course she could not be expected to tolerate long so plain a name as that, sure to be corrupted into "Marthysville." Its rusticity could not comport with the fine airs and metropolitan ways she was soon taking on. She must have a name suggestive of greatness, vastness, expansion as wide as ocean or at any rate as far as to the shores of ocean. Think of the great and brilliant "Gate City" covering all her glory with the name of "Marthysville!" But Augusta, whether because her name had been chosen more wisely at the first or because she is proverbially conservative and slow, has been satisfied to retain the name she received from her sponsors in baptism.

Let us take a glimpse of this infant in her cradle. The striking feature of the little Augusta was then, as it is now and ever will be while waters seek the sea, the noble river which bathes her northern limits. Not only was it and is it and ever will be it, her great feature, but it was her cause. Because a water highway could connect her with Savannah and thence with the mother country and the world, Augusta came into existence. How beautiful was her tutelary river then! The axe had not denuded its banks. The plowshare had not reduced its hillsides to red powder to stain forever its then crystal waters. The willow and the reed dipped into its stream on either bank, lining with emerald both sides of an unpolluting conduit for its waters. Noble forests came down to its very edge and spread their shade far over its bed. Between such banks and in such shadow flowed a vast volume of water, clear and cold as the springs from which they took their source. Over rapids the beautiful river came with a roar, or through long stretches it flowed in impressive silence. But ever, in roar or in silence, the same clear limpid water, a suggestion of which is given us dwellers in this age sometimes in a long autumnal drought, but the perfect beauty of which is lost forever. In this glorious stream abounded such fish as rejoice in clear waters. The fresh water mussel, to which mud is death, was found in myriads, furnishing food for man, and a pearl of no mean beauty as an ornament—for woman. No wonder that the Indian haunted the shores of this magnificent river as of a Pactolus, a river of gold for all his wants. Not strange that along its banks the school boy still finds the frequent Indian arrow head. No wonder that the archaeolo-

gist unearths on its islands the populous Indian burying ground—for where men live their graves soon outnumber their habitations.

The existence of the rapids a few miles north-west of this spot, presenting an impassable barrier to further navigation of the river except by the canoe of the Indian determined the general site of the town. The high bluff, emerging here from the alluvial lowlands decided its particular location.

But why, it may be asked, was this settlement made at all at that period? There were thousands of square miles and millions of acres of fertile, finely watered and nobly timbered lands between Savannah and this bluff below the rapids, sufficient to provide the increasing population for generations with ample farms and plantations. Why was this extensive intervening region left unpeopled by the white man?

Again, what was to be the business of this isolated and remote settlement?

Both questions may receive one and the same answer. It was the trade with the Indians. Pelfry, skin of every kind, including even that of the buffalo, which were in those days a not distant neighbor to the spot where we are now assembled, was the staple of a brisk trade with the aborigines. I read in the sketch which our fellow townsman, Mr. John North, has lent me, of the half-breed German Cherokee Indian, Se-quo-yah, or George Guess: "Augusta was the great center of this commerce, which in those days was more extensive than would now be believed. Flatboats, barges and pirogues floated the bales of pelf to tide water. Above Augusta trains of pack horses, sometimes numbering one hundred, gathered in the furs and carried goods to and from remote regions."

While there was a strong element of romance and adventure in this trade, the threading of the primeval forests by mere paths, the constant association with nature presenting here a novel and virgin aspect, the floating down a beautiful stream of limpid waters between banks covered with noble and variegated growth, gorgeous with flowers and musical with the song of birds—so different from the dusty beaten paths of commerce in this prosaic day, alas! I fear that these sentimental features of the situation had no effect on the keen traders of that day. Trade is trade. Its ultimate objective is money making. It is successful only when it brings profits. It is most successful when its profits are greatest. Primitive nature, grand forests, noble

rivers, song birds, the jasmine, the wild honeysuckle; the bay and magnolia about its paths do not modify its essential spirit. So we find our trader, who gave importance to infant Augusta, plying his avocation not for the romance which in that age accompanied it, but for colossal profits. I read in the same sketch as follows: "The trader immediately in connection with the Indian hunter expected to make one thousand per cent. The wholesale dealer made several hundred. The governors, councils and superintendents made all they could. It could scarcely be called commerce. It was a grab game."

History repeats itself! The poor Indian was the real producer in this business. With tireless foot, with scanty food, with, at the first at least, ineffective weapons of the chase, in sunshine and storm, through forest and across streams, by day and by night, he pursued the beasts of the woods. His labor, his fatigue, his hunger, his privation, at last have the reward of a skin stripped from the deer or the buffalo. More weary leagues to get his pelt to the trader. There the fruit of the toil and danger of the chase is exchanged for a few colored beads, a yard of cheap calico, or at most a few ounces of powder and a scanty weight of lead, and the trader has closed a transaction—"made a deal"—which pays him one thousand per cent. profit.

Thus history repeats itself. Then, as now, trade furnished greater rewards than production. Then, as now, the producer toiled for its benefit more than for his own.

The chapter in Augusta's history which I have thus far considered, extended from its first settlement in 1735 to the outbreak of the Revolution. During this period it grew steadily, but its population even at the end of the period was probably not high up in the hundreds.

If anything of man's work of this first period remains, I do not know it, except a few streets and their names—Centre, Broad, Ellis, and Reynolds.

The Revolutionary history of Augusta is most interesting. But I shall not dwell on it, for the reason that less than a year ago at this same place, and in the hearing of substantially this same audience, an eminent citizen of the State delivered a most eloquent and exhaustive oration on that subject. Nothing of interest, whether of matter or style, of form or of substances, could be added to that masterly presentation by Hon. Emory Speer. It was heard by you at the time with deep interest, and doubtless abides fresh and vivid in your memory. I shall only say in passing that the little town witnessed deeds of valor by friends and foe not

surpassed on more imposing theatres. It also witnessed acts of barbarity, not only by Indian allies, but by men of our own race, not outdone by the alleged horrors of the Cuban war. For, my hearers, war is war, war is cruel, war is barbarous, war makes fiends of men, whether they be Spanish or Anglo-Saxon, whether they strike for conquest or for freedom, whether they fight to impose or to shake the yoke.

The next division in the history of Augusta covers the years between the close of the Revolutionary war and the end of the century. I shall call this the "Tobacco Age." Up to the war, it may be said with substantial accuracy, that the life of Augusta, its reason to exist, was the Indian trade. The little agriculture which existed near and around it was for the purpose of home support. Nothing left it for export except the peculiar yield of the forest. Nothing came to it from beyond the woods seaward, but the articles to be exchanged for these sylvan products and a few staples for consumption by its meager population and on a few outlying, not distant plantations. But by the end of the Revolutionary war the yield of the forest had greatly diminished. Its denizens themselves were fewer. They were already feeling the pressure of deadly civilization, and, depressed in spirit, were retiring towards the setting sun. The red man was still not an infrequent figure in the little town. The deer skin—but no longer the buffalo robe—Indian ponies and various simple articles of Indian handiwork were still brought to Augusta for sale or barter. But this commerce had shrunk to a very slender rivulet compared with the great stream which a few years earlier had flowed through the little town. But now, first to supplement and then to replace this waning traffic, came the tobacco business. As we are informed by that conscientious and accurate historian, who to our great sorrow departed from our midst a few years ago, Charles Colcock Jones, the settlers from Virginia brought them the seed and the cultivation of this plant. The industry soon attained in soil and climate admirably adapted to it, large and flourishing proportions. Government tobacco warehouses were established at various points in the interior of the State west and north-west of Augusta, and were presided over by government inspectors. To these warehouses the tobacco was brought by the producers of the contiguous country, was inspected, weighed and packed in hogsheads, all under governmental supervision. The market where this tobacco was to pass from the hands of the producer into the hands of

the merchant was Augusta. How did it make the journey from the interior warehouse to this mart? Some of it, in districts contiguous to the Savannah, floated down the river in boats, the precursors of the Petersburg merchantmen of the present day. But the most if it made the trip in a mode which, as far as my knowledge goes, was peculiar to this trade and absolutely unique. The day of pack horses, sufficient for the transportation of loads of small bulk but comparatively large value, as pelfry, was passed. The wagon roads of the country were few. The wagons themselves were not numerous. So, as Col. Jones tells us, "the hogs-head or cask being made strong and tight and having been stoutly coopered, was furnished with a temporary axle and shafts to which a horse was attached. By this means it was trundled over the country roads to market."

Thus for a while Augusta was, as greatness went in that day, a great tobacco market, and whether nurtured by skins or tobacco it continued to grow. Under the conditions of transportation of that age it could not but grow. A navigable river flowing past its doors to the ocean gave it an immeasurable advantage over any place not similarly situated. What would have become of poor little "Marthysville" having no river, without the railroads? But the lordly Savannah was to Augusta as the Thames to London, the Tiber to Rome, and the Nile to all Egypt. So, by the end of the century Augusta had grown to be a very flourishing town of about 2,000 inhabitants.

It was in this tobacco age, but when it was waning, and at the opening of the next period, which I shall call the cotton age, that the event occurred of which we are now celebrating the 100th anniversary. In January, 1798, the Legislature incorporated the freeholders residing in a certain area, which may be roughly described as lying between the river on the north and Telfair street on the south, and between Elbert and Marbury streets on the east and west. The charter then granted has never been repealed. We live under it at this day. Movements have been made from time to time of late years to substitute a new charter for this venerable instrument; but they have come to naught. It has been built upon and enlarged in some particulars to meet the wants of a later civilization, but in its essential parts it remains as it was in the beginning. A most liberal and comprehensive "general welfare" clause, which provided: "The said City Council shall also be vested with full power and authority to make such assessments on the inhabitants of Augusta, or those who have taxable property within the

same, for the safety, benefit and convenience of said city, as shall appear to them expedient," has served the city a good turn on many an occasion, when progress in public works would otherwise have been arrested for lack of some specific authority from the Legislature to the City Council. But this provision of the charter has lost much of its beneficent elasticity since the constitution of 1877.

I trust that this audience will, at this point in my remarks, permit me the indulgence of a gratified feeling by reminding them that the first executive of the city, intendent, as that official was then called, inaugurated on the occasion which now, after the lapse of one hundred years, we are celebrating, was my grandfather, Thomas Cumming, then just completing his thirty-third year. For thirty-six years thereafter he resided in Augusta, leading and closing here a life which, I trust I may be pardoned for speaking of as that of the good and just man, "*vir integer vitæ scelerisque purus,*" the good citizen, seeking no office, but avoiding no public duty. He was not only the first intendent of the city; he was also the president of its bank, and held that office from the foundation of the bank until his death in 1834, the old Bank of Augusta, chartered in 1810, and pursuing its honorable and prosperous career until swept away, like so many hitherto solid institutions, by the great war between the states. If a breath of reproach ever attached to the name of this good citizen, it has not reached the ears of his descendants of this day, who still in the fifth generation cherish his memory and seek in it inspiration for unambitious and faithful citizenship.

The next period in the history of Augusta I shall call the "Cotton Age." By the opening of the century, near whose close we are now standing, the cotton gin had come into common use. With climate and soil adapted the best in the world to the cultivation of cotton, with this product itself more universally adapted than any other to all the uses for which cloth is needed, whose place in preceding periods was supplemented and inadequately supplied by the fabrics of wool and flax and silk, its cultivation had been discouraged previously by the impracticability of separating the fibre from the seed. Where this result was effected at all it was accomplished slowly, laboriously, expensively and scantily by hand. Whitney's cotton gin produced a stupendous industrial revolution. It is a fact of no small interest in connection with the history of Augusta that Whitney manufactured his gins at a little factory, the power of which was furnished by the little Rocky Creek on the plantation of the

late Mr. John Phinzy, now almost included in the present boundaries of the city.

At once the kingdom of a new and great monarch, King Cotton, rose to power. Practically all the cultivable land in Georgia and Carolina was speedily embraced in his wide domain. The comparatively feeble forces of tobacco and indigo were promptly subdued and banished into the unreturning past. This great potentate made rapid and extensive inroads on the primeval forest. In the service of this great king roads were opened; and at the right season of the year, in the beautiful autumnal weather, when the skies were at their bluest, when the air held a light haze, softening and mellowing the landscape, when the forests were glorious in their robes of turning leaf, these roads were crowded with the royal progress of the king from the interior of his realm to the great outer world. Right merrily did his majesty descend from his rural seats to his busy mart. In those days, when the railroad was not, fine teams of mules were the motive power of land transportation. Great care was taken in their selection and pride felt in their equipment. A part of the equipment was a bow of bells, raised high over the withers of at least the leaders of every team. These were not the dull little tinklers of the horse car, heard only when that now almost obsolete affair is close upon the foot passenger; but bells—bells that rang loud, clear and musical on the still autumnal air. And thus, with music along his route, coming up from the valleys and resounding from hill top to hill top, King Cotton came marching down.

Let us pause here and unroll a map of this period before our mental vision. Our map shall have no regard for State lines. It will be in the form of nearly half of a circular disc, whose base line shall run through Augusta as its centre. This half circle shall have a radius of 200 miles, and shall sweep around the city from a point 200 miles north-east of it to a point 200 miles south-west. Throughout this region cotton is raised. In this truly vast area where is there a cotton market but Augusta? Atlanta, Macon, Columbus, Chattanooga, Athens were unborn. Where could the cotton come for a market but to Augusta?

All roads led to our little city. As the traveler even of this day still occasionally encounters the old Roman milestone in every part of Europe, with the Roman inscription "S. P. Q. R.," "*Senatus populusque Romanus*," reminds us of the time when all roads led to Imperial Rome, so throughout the region I have sketched all the milestones, to have

their truest significance, should have marked the distance to Augusta—Augusta on the Savannah.

Where could the cotton come except here? Why must it, of necessity, under the conditions of that age, come hither? Oh, the river, the river! Our Thames, our Tiber, our Nile! It beckoned it to its banks and solicited it to embark on its bosom. Here, then, it was in fact collected. Hence, in the first years of this century, in flat boats and barges, and later by steamboats, it was floated down the river to Savannah, where it found itself at the gateway of the outer world. So already at the commencement of the century one hundred thousand bales of cotton found a market in Augusta, and one hundred thousand bales represented then many times the amount of money enclosed in the same number now.

This period was Augusta's most prosperous. Without rivals, without competitors, she collected on the banks of her fostering river the wealth producing crop of a vast tributary, and gathered in its magnificent proceeds. For the boats, at first barges and flatboats, and then several distinct fleets of steamboats, which took the cotton to the port, brought back the hardware, the groceries, the dry goods, the furniture, in a word all the necessaries and luxuries of life of that age, for consumption in that extensive back country, from which the cotton was drawn. The wagons which brought the staple to Augusta, marched back with the same merry chimes, laden with the merchandise I have mentioned for the use of the producers of the cotton—master and slave—in the interior. How easy then for the merchant of Augusta to grow rich. It is true the one thousand per cent. profit of the Indian trader was a thing of the past. Even the three or four hundred per cent. of an earlier generation of Augusta merchants had ceased. Still his profits were very large. And they came so easily. How little of wear and tear was in his life! How different from the strain on the faculties of the business man of this day! His at first weekly, then semi-weekly mail was received. It was then his business to write in reply a few of those formal, ceremonious, stilted letters of the period, which he subscribed, "With great esteem and distinguished consideration, I have the honor to be your obedient, humble servant." This done with great deliberation, not to say solemnity, and the letters turned over to a clerk to be copied by hand, there was nothing to make even a ripple of excitement in the business life of your solid merchant of that age until the arrival of the next weekly and semi-weekly mail. Our tormentors,

the three or four daily mail deliveries, and those fiends of modern life, the telephone, the telegraph and the "ticker," afflicted him not. What steadiness of nerve, what sweetness of temper, ought not your merchant of that time to have had! What piety, too, for with his leisurely, easy going life, he could attend church Sunday, and was not obliged to make that day one of literal and absolute rest of body and brain to repair the ravages of six days of physical and mental tension. The fortunes of that period are in a large measure what Augusta is living on at this day. The struggles of these later times have been considered successful if they have been able to keep the accumulations of that period from being worn away by the attrition of many years of "hard times."

The next period of Augusta's history I shall call "The Manufacturing Age." The immediately preceding period, which I have just been speaking of as the "Cotton Age," was not only the time of Augusta's greatest prosperity to her own people, but also of her greatest relative importance to the rest of the world. At that time she dominated commercially a wide territory, in which she found not a single rival. She possessed in the Savannah river a magnificent highway of the only kind then used for heavy traffic, between herself and the outer world. In the last quarter of that period, it is true that a new kind of highway, one, as the future was to show, of stupendous potentialities, was extended to her doors from the sea. I refer to the old South Carolina Railroad. But this rather added to than subtracted from Augusta's relative importance; it diverted no commerce from her, and it increased the facilities of that which she already had.

But all this was soon to change. About 1840 the Georgia Railroad became a potent factor in Augusta's history. Its tendency, so long as it was merely a local road, extending 100 miles or so into the interior, was not so much to bring trade to Augusta—for that trade already came by the wagon roads—as to build up rival markets in the interior. Moreover, Macon, Columbus, Athens and other places in the interior began to divide with her the commerce of a back country, which was once all her own tributary province. I shall not dwell tediously on this evolution of a new situation. Suffice it to say that the relative, if not absolute, decline of Augusta was apparent. At this time thoughtful and public spirited citizens realized the fact that something must be done to invigorate her languishing life. The scheme which commended itself to them was the construc-

tion of a canal to furnish water power for manufacturing purposes. The result was the old Augusta Canal, constructed between 1845 and 1847. This project did not at first meet with unanimous approval. Respectable and conscientious citizens opposed it on honest grounds of public policy. I shall not weary you with the details of that struggle. I shall not even pause, though sorely tempted to do so, to say a few words of affectionate eulogy of that private citizen, the originator and master spirit of the enterprise, who in the midst of an exacting professional practice, and with the cares of a large family, gave, as president of the Board of Canal Commissioners, several years out of the prime of his life to unselfish and gratuitous devotion to this public work. This old canal was a slight affair compared with the present work, which was brought up from its former small estate to its present magnificent proportions, under the administration as Mayor and largely by the wise measure of our venerable fellow citizen, Mr. Charles Estes, who still abides with us.* Neither was the first effort at manufacturing on the canal successful, but it failed not from any inherent error in the general idea of making Augusta a manufacturing centre, and the failure brought no discouragement to this aspiration. The old canal accomplished its purpose. It directed the business thought of Augusta into an additional channel. Previously nothing was considered but commerce. Naturally, for trade had made Augusta one of the most favored places in the country. When that trade began unmistakably to withdraw from her, it is not strange that she became alarmed and felt the forebodings of death. But since the advent of the Manufacturing Age a new stream of life has been coursing through her veins.

The next period in the history of Augusta was "The War Age." Short it was, compared with the shortest of other periods, but not to be measured by its duration in years as to the place it will hold in her history. It is true that Augusta, unlike in this respect many Southern towns, knew not the actual tramp of hostile armies; but she knew and felt the exaltation and the bitterness of war in every other aspect of the dreadful scourge. How glorious, too, is her war record! Of the military companies forming her volunteer battalion in the peace time preceding the war, the Clinch Rifles, the Oglethorpe Infantry, the Irish Volunteers, the Richmond Hussars, the Washington Artillery, all went promptly to the field with full ranks and took their places

* Mr. Estes was born February 2, 1819, and died March 26, 1917, a few weeks after his 98th birthday.

in the earliest organizations of the Confederacy. But these old and already historic companies were but a fraction of those which Augusta sent to that great conflict. There were at least ten other companies which came into life with that crisis. All these were at "the front," and most of them from the beginning to the end of the struggle. That meant that there were men constantly falling in their ranks and new men going to take their places. Besides this, not a few young men of Augusta for one reason and another joined military organizations elsewhere. I think I am safely within bounds when I say that first and last Augusta sent two thousand of her sons to the battlefield. How many of these were numbered among the "unreturning brave!" How many returned only on their shields!

But that was not all. There was the front and there was the rear. There was the field where the men battled, and there was the home where the women waited. There were the brave hearts in the camps, and the aching hearts by the firesides—not in a few homes, but in all. There were mingled sorrow and pride, grief and joy—sorrow for the fallen, pride for the hero. Grief for the death of dear ones, joy for their glorious memory! We who are still living and were living then know that that was the period of Augusta's highest as well as intensest life. We know that that was the time when the sordid, the selfish, the commercial in us was subdued by our higher nature. While we live we can attest with our tongues the nobility of Augusta in her war period. But in a few more mornings such witnesses will have taken on the silence of the tomb. Well then is it that enduring monuments commemorate that period of Augusta's history. They will ever be her most glorious memorials. As the stately shaft in her principal thoroughfare towering heavenward is the loftiest of all her monuments, so it marks the culmination of her spiritual life. In the time to come great railroad systems may rear huge habitations for themselves on her soil. Successful commerce may build themselves palatial exchanges within her borders. Learning may here construct for itself some vast temple, dedicated to books and science. Religion itself may here uprear ostentatious fanes. But while God and man rate the spiritual above the material, self-sacrifice above self-indulgence, duty above success, so long will the private soldier of the Confederacy, fronting the eternal east from the top of that noble column, be a type and memento of Augusta's highest life. Spare it ye forces of nature! Disturb it not, thou dreadful earthquake! Pass it by, ye destroying cyclone! Blast it not,

thou deadly lightning! Touch it not, ye frosts, with insidious fingers! Guard it, ye spirits of air and earth, that it may speak to distant ages of Augusta's noblest and highest life!

But one other period remains—the period stretching from the close of the war to the present day—which I shall call “The Iron Age.” Primarily I so denominate it for the reason that it is the period when the iron road has become a tremendous factor, an upbuilder or destroyer, in the history of towns and cities. Augusta, like all other industrial centres, has felt the influence of this force, whose enormous development is a thing of this post bellum period. I make bold to believe that that influence has been on the whole beneficial to Augusta. I cannot explain her steady and satisfactory growth on a contrary supposition. But I would not discuss that intricate question on an occasion like this. Suffice it to say that she has become and is a very important railroad centre, from which distribution can be made in all directions, inward and outward, to the land and to the sea.

But I have called this period “The Iron Age” for another reason. There has ever been among the myths of the human race a belief in a golden age. The characteristics of that mythical period are ease and plenty, love and peace, life blessed with good things acquired without effort, and crowned with tranquil happiness. Those same traditions have ever taken note also of an “Iron Age.” That age has always been the then present. The dwellers in every period have regarded it as an iron age. Pressed with the hard conditions, the bitter struggles of life, they have been prone to regard the past and the future as more to be desired than the present. Their thought has been: Life was easy in the past; it will be happy in the future. In the past it was golden in its beauty and excellence. Now it is iron in its hardness.

Very justly, I think, we may call this latest period of Augusta's history an iron age in a business sense as compared in the same sense with the golden past. The struggle for business success in these latter times has been severe. The conditions, not merely locally but generally, have been unfavorable. Notwithstanding, to her credit be it said, she has gone ahead. She has taken no step backward, but many forward. She has grown, and she has taken to herself in nearly every particular the fruits of a progressive civilization. But why should I prolong this already too tedious discourse by speaking of this phase of her history to those who not only know it, but have made it?

Thus, with no design on my part to distribute Augusta's life up to the present hour into seven ages, like Shakespeare's division of man's life, I find that it has naturally and of itself fallen into those parts. And now, one lingering look backward and I am done.

We dwellers in this age, looking over this relatively long period, have just grounds, as citizens of Augusta, to be gratified at the retrospect. From the day she came into life, an isolated outpost of the white race, a speck of civilization in the wilderness, down to the present hour, her course has been respectable, honest, honorable. True, no brilliant "boom" period with its inevitable reaction finds a place in her history. But her progress has been steady and her advance always held *nullum vestigium retrosum*. The little settlement at the head of navigation, perched on the very bank of its river of life, has gradually spread far and wide over the adjacent plain and climbed the sides of its circumscribing hills. In the bitter times of war, she has risen heroically to the fullest measure of patriotic duty. In the long periods of blessed peace she has been conspicuous for her civic virtues—the chiefest of which are law and order and financial integrity. Of these, she now reaps the rich reward in credit unsurpassed and in respect unfeigned. In time of pestilence, which has twice visited her habitations, she has had the fortitude for the trial and has uttered no cry for help. When swept by devastating floods, she has found in her own stout heart and in her own reserved resources, strength to meet the ordeal, and has declined, not churlishly but proudly, all proffered assistance from without. All this she has done without the blare of trumpets or the beating of drums or the waving of flags. Quiet, self-contained and self-sufficient, she has maintained her steady way onward and upward. Our fathers and our fathers' fathers planted wisely, and if from that far shore whither they went long since, their vision could revert to this time and this expansion of their work, they would know that those who came after them have been true to their trust and their opportunities.

Why, then, should I withhold high-sounding words in speaking of Augusta? Why should I hesitate and falter at the epithet "great?" Wherein consists the greatness of a city? Not in population. Athens, the light of whose greatness in art and arms shines on and on down ages, would have been engulfed in the population of any of a thousand cities of inglorious Cathay. Sparta and Thebes, great and immortal, how slender were they in population! Rome was

already great when her citizens were less numerous than our own. It is the quality, not the number of citizens that makes the greatness of a city. The patriotic in war—the law abiding and honest in peace—the constant in adversity—on these firm foundations is built a city's greatness.

Then, oh, Augusta, strong in this test, call thyself "Great!" For once sound a loud trumpet, blow a clear clarion blast to the world, proclaiming in tones not to be challenged, thy real merits! And hope for thyself—aye, secure for thyself—excellence in all the time to come. My people are of the same blood and lineage as of old. Civic virtue is prized as much now as in the days of our fathers. The soil that nourished them is equally generous to us. The atmosphere in which they lived lives of industry and usefulness, many of them through four score years, plays about your heads. The same beneficent sky bends over us. And our river! With it my story began, and with it will end. Oh, our river! Shorn of much of thy pristine beauty, thou art strong and beneficent still, thou great and lordly Savannah! Thou everlasting traveler from the mountains to the sea, didst lure the little Augusta to nestle on thy banks. Here thou didst nourish her infancy. Thou didst give her strength as she grew. In time thou didst bring her wealth. Thou art still beneficent to her, furnishing her drink, for her fighting the fire fiend, for her turning the wheels of her factories. Let no man think thou art not also still the guardian and protector of her commerce, not dead but sleeping. At any threat of danger to her prosperity, thou mayst awake and, as of old, show to thy beloved city how powerful thou canst be in her behalf. For thy God-built highway all the works of puny man are impotent to abolish or annul. Augusta's fostering river still flows by her gates and will do so forever. *Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

TOPOGRAPHY OF SAVANNAH AND ITS VICINITY.**A Report to the Georgia Medical Society, May 3, 1806.**

BY DR. J. E. WHITE.

Few things are more common and few more painful to most minds than the practice of making apologies, as it implies on the part of the person making them an error, an omission, a neglect, or a carelessness, which, though sometimes pardonable, is frequently reprehensible.

The following report is offered as a compliance in part with an obligation imposed by the Society on Doctor Schley and myself nearly twelve months since, and imperfect as it now is, I have thought it best not longer to delay it, and thus deservedly incur more censure. For not doing it sooner, I have to observe that I have been for a considerable time waiting for my colleague to prepare his portion of the report, and for replies to some queries addressed to a gentleman of this place, which, though often promised, I have not yet had furnished me.

The city of Savannah is built on the south side of the river of the same name, about seventeen miles from its junction with the Atlantic ocean. Its site is a level and elevated sandy plain, in length from East to West Broad Streets about 1300 yards, and in breadth 475. Its course N. W. $77^{\circ} 30'$ and N. E. $12^{\circ} 30'$ —variation of the compass in 1805 was $6^{\circ} 30'$ east.

The plan of the city is highly judicious, being laid out into large squares, and the streets intersect each other at right angles. The width of the streets is perhaps one of the most objectionable parts of the plan; the central streets dividing the wards, not exceeding 75 feet, and the two others in each ward being only $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The wards are subdivided into Tythings which are divided by a lane $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. These are also objections to the general plan, as they serve as receptacles for filth. The squares laid out at a late period are each 275 by 270 feet, including the streets, except Jefferson, Lincoln and Price streets, each 50 feet wide. East, West and South Broad streets are 100 feet wide.

The distance from the line of the Bay, the top of the Bluff, is calculated according to the curve of the river, and varies from 175 feet at East Broad street, to 250 feet at West Broad street. The height of the Bluff varies considerably, and in many places the ascent is almost perpendicular. About the lower end of the city it is 35 and 40 feet high, de-

creasing to about 30 feet at Abercorn street and continuing (with little variation) of this height to West Broad street, from thence to Farm street distance 800 feet, the decrease in the height of the Bluff is about a foot in every 100. From Farm street to the marsh on the western side of the city the descent is very gradual, and the distance on an average about 500 feet. Persons who have resided many years in the city have observed a visible increase in the height of the Bluff, arising from the action of all winds between N. W. and S. E., which blow the sands from the bottom to the top.

From the west boundary line of the old city to the Fort, the Bay is planted by a double row of trees at about twenty feet distance from each other, forming a pleasant walk in the summer months, adding to the beauty of that part of the city, and contributing to its healthiness in a considerable degree. These trees as also most of the others, very generally planted in the city, are what are generally known by the name of the Pride of China or India, by botanists entitled *Melia Azedarach*, are admirably calculated for our soil and climate. They are easily reared, speedy in their growth and afford a thick and almost impervious shade to the rays of the sun.

To the members of this Society these slight geographical observations may appear unnecessary, and probably thought unconnected with the subject of this report. But it may be observed that to gain a correct knowledge of medical topography, we should possess some information respecting the face of the country, its elevations and depressions; the quantity of and proportion of low and high grounds; the number and magnitude of streams, and various other local circumstances. In relating facts and detailing alterations which have been produced by the art and industry of man, or by fortuitous causes, in the face of a country, we should not confine our views solely to the present moment. To those who succeed us, it may be satisfactory to be informed what was, and they may be enabled to calculate what *may* be. The knowledge of apparently trifling circumstances in the geography and topography of a country when taken in the aggregate, frequently lead to important deductions, unfold facts, which otherwise would remain obscured.

Excepting that part of the city which lies below the bluff, it is not in general very compactly built, and with few exceptions, the buildings are of wood. The common south of the city extends nearly east and west the whole length of it, and south about half a mile to the woods. Like that part

now built on, this is almost a perfect level; the evenness of the surface being only interrupted by a few excavations and ridges; the remains of ditches and parapet and other walls formed for the defence of the city during the revolutionary war. These are now almost effaced in most places on the south side of the city, but at the east end contiguous to the old fort they are still very considerable, and the fortified lines may almost be traced.

Spring Hill, so called from its being the source of some never failing streams of water, is the most considerable eminence within the limits of the town. One of these springs supplies a distillery with water, which is afterwards discharged into the neighboring low grounds. Between Spring Hill and Savannah River there are several hollows, or gullies but they are not of such a nature as to influence the medical topography of the place. There are two tan yards at the west end of the city, contiguous to each other, and vats for a third have been made but not yet applied to their intended use. South of these, about two hundred yards from Spring Hill are the places for slaughtering cattle.

The depository for the dead is a large square inclosure within a high brick wall, about seventy-five yards from the buildings on South Broad street and a little south of this is the burial ground for negroes and other people of color. While the neatness and spaciousness of the former, together with the attention which is properly bestowed on the interment of the dead, is worthy of commendation, the extreme carelessness (bordering on an indelicate want of feeling towards a race of unfortunate beings) which is too commonly evinced in burying the negroes, merits the harshest censure. The fact is known, that their bodies are sometimes scarcely covered to a depth sufficient to prevent the depredations of turkey-buzzards and other carnivorous animals. Decency, humanity, that sacred respect which we should pay to the remains of the deceased, and a proper regard for our own health, exclaim against the practice.*

Contiguous to the woods bordering the south common are some small ponds which are generally dry in the summer season unless it proves to be very rainy.

*Subsequent information has induced me to modify the remarks in this passage. The negroes have a place of burial allotted them—are permitted to bury their own dead, and if improperly done, the censure should attach to them exclusively, if my information be correct. The indelicate interments I have noted were of some Africans and to their masters belong the shame and dishonor of such acts.

The soil of the city is sand, free from any admixture of loam or clay, which last is only partially found at the depth of several feet. The water which is used for drink and culinary purposes within the city is pure, cool and healthy. It is about the temperature of 68° of Far., and is found at different depths, varying from sixteen to twenty-four and twenty-five feet, increasing nearer the Bay, being greater at the Fort, and least at the western end of the city. Though it lathers easily with soap, and does not, I believe, hold in solution any mineral particles, it sometimes affects strangers (producing diarrhoea) who have been accustomed to the softer water of springs, wells and rivers. This effect seldom lasts long. There are, perhaps, but few places situated like Savannah, and so near the ocean, in which the water is more cool and pleasant. Does this arise altogether from its filtration through the sand?

As imperfect as this sketch is, it would be still more so if the situation and nature of the contiguous country was not to be noticed. Whether it was contemplated that the view should be extended beyond the narrow limits of Savannah, I know not, but it is so evident that there is such an intimate union between the medical topography of the adjoining lands and the state of the atmosphere, consequently influencing disease and health, in fact it is so clearly ascertained that they are the principal sources of those causes which produce great disease, that no apology is required for taking a slight view of them in this report.

Hutchinson's Island, situated immediately in front of the city, extending several miles above, and some distance below, is a low piece of land, and is sometimes overflowed both from freshets and high tides. It divides Savannah river into two branches, and the greater part of it is cultivated in rice. The land on the north side of the back river is similar in its situations and adapted to the same culture. The distance from Savannah to the Carolina shore is a little more than a mile. Adjoining the east and west boundaries of the city the ground was originally swamp, but it is now converted into rice fields.

About S. W. and S. E. from the precincts of Savannah there are considerable swamps principally remaining in a state of nature. Their precise extent I do not know, not having had it in my power to get the requisite information. Both sides of Savannah River from the city to the ocean consist of extensive swamps which still remain uncultivated, except for a few miles on the south side. The land above the city on the main is also cultivated in rice.

From what has been stated a few deductions may be drawn, and I claim the indulgence of the Society while I make such remarks as, springing from the nature of the subject, present themselves to my mind. First, the plan of the city, exclusively speaking, particularly in a climate like ours, is calculated for healthiness, it admits of a free ventilation in all parts of it except below the bluff, where the influence only of winds from N. W. to N. E. are felt.

Second, situated on a plane consisting of sand which retains the heat of the sun's rays and refracts them strongly, and possessing few declivities to carry off superfluous moisture, it might on the first view be imagined that these circumstances alone would make it unhealthy. But the looseness of the soil is in some measure a preventive of those effects which otherwise might ensue from its levelness, when heat has acted for a considerable time on vegetable and animal matter with moisture. It admits the absorption of water with facility, hence it never stagnates more than a few hours unless after a very inordinate fall of rain or in places where the ground is hard on the surface.

Third, while the nature of the soil on which our city is built does not permit the stagnations and consequent putrefaction of water, it is favorable for the collection of animal and vegetable filth. To remove these a scavenger is appointed, but the duties absolutely belonging to his office are unfaithfully performed, and much matter that should be removed is suffered to collect and remain on the open lots, squares and principal streets of the city. Evils are the consequence of this carelessness, and they will become more extensive in their influence in proportion as our city becomes thronged with inhabitants.

Fourth, it would be laying a partial stress on a real evil, if I were not to notice the filthy state in which most of our yards and back buildings are kept. This comes in general more immediately under the cognizance of the eye, and I dare to say that there is no one here who has not, and who does not daily witness the fact. It needs not the power of reasoning to elucidate the mischief which is the offspring of domestic uncleanness, and it is not a matter of much surprise that evils are deservedly the result.

Fifth, the experience of ages, and the observations of discerning and enlightened men in almost every country, particularly by Lancisi in Italy, all tend to confirm the truth, that trees contribute to purify the air, and wherever planted by nature or art between mill-ponds, swamps, or marshes, and dwellings, towns or camps, oppose a partially success-

ful barrier to the progress of impure exhalations.* The advantage then to health in the sickly months, of the trees planted on the Bay, is evident, but as tending to arrest the miasmatic particles from the immense and prolific source of them in their front their power is but feeble.† Their number should be increased, and as being equally necessary, the line should be continued to the west end of the city in front, and also extended along its eastern, southern and western sides. This subject merits the attention of our corporation, and a few hundred dollars thus expended would add to the beauty of our place, the convenience, pleasure, and health of our citizens.

Sixth, from the slight view which has been taken of the nature and extent of the low grounds in the vicinity of our city, it will be observed that it is nearly surrounded by swamps, marshes and rice fields, consequently when long acted on by a hot sun, producing putrefaction, and an emission of mephitic particles, a vitiated air must be the effect, and diseases the inevitable product.

Seventh, as acknowledged as is the influence of states of the weather upon the diseases which accompany and succeed them, it is plainly a melancholy fact that from the nature of our climate, and the existence of causes riveted to it and to the soil in the vicinity of Savannah, it must ever remain unhealthy. From time immemorial these causes have been known to produce multiplied diseases, and how much greater and more septic the exhalations are in the months of September and October, after the rice fields have been drained and the rice cut, and when to hot days succeed cool nights, with great dews fraught with the poison extricated

*In the works of the author just mentioned there are several letters confirming the truth of the salutary effects of forests, and containing multiplied reasons against the destruction of some woods in the Papal Territories, which has been proposed to be destroyed. Quotations might be multiplied on this head.

†The fact is well supported that the atmosphere of the open sea, and also over large bays and lakes whether the water be fresh or salt, is favorable to health, unless contiguous to unhealthy shores. Doctor Lind has limited the influence of marsh exhalations to three leagues. This must vary from circumstances. The quantum of poisonous miasmata must be in proportion to the extent of the surface from whence they issue. Thus, though the exhalations from a source of a quarter of a mile or even a mile square may be so blended with the air as not to extend their deleterious influence to the distance of one or three miles, particularly if there be an intervention of woods or very elevated ground. We may very readily conceive the reverse will follow where there is an extent of marshy surfaces for twenty or more miles. Such parts as are covered by the diurnal motion of the tides are much less injurious.

during the day, let the increase of diseases say—let the fatality in those months declare.*

Eighth, if it should be asked what are our most healthy winds, I would reply that as their purity depends on the nature of the ground over which they blow, I believe the southern and western are most so. The salubrity of the former is lessened from the immense quantity of various filth improperly deposited on the south common and all the winds from the north-west to the south-east inclusive, sweeping in their progress an extensive surface of swamp and rice fields, necessarily take up those particles which lessen their purity and are unfriendly to health. Local circumstances then, whether they be of a natural or fortuitous nature, influence the healthiness of winds, and hence a north or a west wind may be salubrious in one place, but the reverse in another. This, I repeat, is solely determined by the nature of the ground they last pass over. It is a fact commonly noticed that winds which prevail here in the last summer and first autumnal months from the east, though coming from the ocean, are peculiarly unhealthy, produce an almost immediate sense of oppression and lassitude, and very commonly produce relapses. An explanation of this has been already given.

*The pernicious effects which ensue from the exposure of the muddy surface of low grounds to the action of the sun might be prevented, for it is well known that while marshes, mill-ponds, rice fields, etc., are covered with water to a depth sufficient to prevent its putrefactions, they are not injurious. But as soon as they are drained evaporation takes place from the very mud, and this increased by the putrefaction of vegetables and small animals which may have found support in the water. The destruction of vegetables in cultivated or uncultivated low ground produces similar effects as draining them. Two reasons may be assigned for this: First, because the shade of vegetables protects in a great degree the moist ground from the rays of the sun, and secondly, the experiments of Mr. Ingenhousz and others have shown that vegetables purify the atmosphere by absorbing the noxious portion of it, and during sunshine emitting pure air. Hence, the propriety and evident good which results from bordering marshes, and mill-ponds with as many trees as possible, particularly such as are of speedy growth as the willow; and, hence, also, the evils of draining rice fields to get off the crop might be avoided by overflowing them again, and letting the water remain until frost.

SAVANNAH IN THE '40'S.

BY CHARLES H. OLMSTEAD.

Nothing gives clearer idea of the advance made by a community or state than a detailed recital of its condition in the more or less remote past.

The comparison between the limitations of one period and the expansion of a later day; between the quiet, sleepy, little town and the bustling, thronging city; between the sparsely settled country and the great commonwealth with its teeming population and varied industries, is always an absorbing subject for contemplation. Indeed, this it is that gives the charm to History. No part of "Macaulay's England" is more engrossing than that portion of his first chapter in which he so graphically describes what our old Motherland was in the days of which he wrote; what the manners and customs of the people, what their amusements, their occupations, their surroundings. Side by side with all this, place our knowledge of the great Empire of the present day, and we arrive at a comprehension of its history that the dry record of dynasties and wars, parliaments and ministerial changes—important though they all may be—could never by itself impart.

Reflections of this character have induced the writer to believe that a few reminiscences of Savannah as it was in his early boyhood may not prove uninteresting to the readers of the Quarterly. The city of today was then but little more than a town of very moderate proportions. According to the United States Census of 1840, its entire population amounted to only 11,214—of these, 5,888 were white and 5,326 colored. 632 of the colored people figured as "free persons of color," the remainder were slaves. The same census reported the population of the great city of New York as 312,710, and Boston 85,000.

In the U. S. Census of 1850 Savannah is put down for 15,312, an increase of 4,098 in 10 years, or, a little over 36½ per cent.—a fair indication of healthy growth.

The river marked the northern boundary of the city. On the east there was a fringe of houses beyond East Broad street and beyond them a grassy slope, (site of "The Trustee's Gardens" in Colonial times) and the remains of an old earth-work erected, I believe, during the war of 1812. This last gave the name of "The Fort" to the entire locality. A few industrial plants, a shipyard, sawmill, cotton press, etc., extended a little further down on the river front. The

Ogeechee Canal bounded the city on the west though the area built upon did not reach its banks; a broad common intervened, a grazing place for cattle and a favorite resort for ball-players—not the scientific baseball of the present day but a more modest game conducted, however, with the same amount of noisy enthusiasm. The section west of West Broad street was known then, as now, as “Yamacraw” and between the boys who lived there and those of “The Fort” there was bitter and ceaseless rivalry which not unfrequently resulted in black eyes and bloody noses. Beyond the canal there was nothing save very low land, partly cultivated, and marshes making in from the river. The splendid collection of railroad terminals, warehouses, mills and factories of one kind and another that now bear testimony to the city’s prosperity in that quarter, had then no existence. None of them were even dreamed of; he would have been called a visionary indeed who had ventured to predict them. On the south, Harris street was the limit in 1840 excepting in the eastern and western suburbs. I distinctly remember standing in 1846 or 7, at the corner of Oglethorpe Barracks, where the DeSoto Hotel now stands, and seeing no buildings south of me but two which had recently been erected, the residence of Mr. John N. Lewis on the S. W. corner of Bull and Charlton streets, and that of the Gallaudet on Jones street where the headquarters of the Y. M. C. A. were so long located in later years. Toward the south-east was the old county jail and its enclosed yard occupying ground on which the handsome Low and Cohen residences were afterwards built. From Harris street to Gaston the city common extended, a broad grassy stretch of land much frequented in the summer season by sportsmen for shooting night-hawks. At Gaston street the pine forest began and continued indefinitely to the south except where broken by a negro cemetery, and the stranger’s burial ground, situated, if memory serves me, just south-east of the City Hospital.

Running east and west through this forest and crossing Bull street near where the fountain now stands in Forsyth Park, was a very wide deep ditch dug to carry off surface drainage water to the lowlands lying to the eastward; the White Bluff road crossed this by a wooden bridge.

Reference has been made to the old jail; I can recall having been taken there by my nurse, when a very small boy, to carry some message she had been charged with, to a gentleman then imprisoned there for debt. There comes before me a dim recollection of a large room the door of which had to be unlocked to let us in. It was occupied by

eight or ten impecunious gentlemen, all more or less "*en dis-habile*" all smoking pipes, and several of them busy with cards. It seems to have been the custom to release such prisoners on parole under certain circumstances and limitations. There stood in Wright Square, for a great many years, a stone bearing the cabalistic letters, "J. B." My youthful mind was long puzzled as to their meaning until told that they stood for "Jail Bounds," and that the stone marked the point beyond which the paroled might not pass.

There were many features about the old town that would seem queer to the present generation. For one, the fact that there was not a paved street throughout its length and breadth, while in some of them there were even no sidewalks. Every street was a bed of heavy sand through which wheeled vehicles had to plough their way as could best be done. With every high wind clouds of dust were stirred up to the great discomfort of pedestrians and of housekeepers. The first attempt to remedy this state of affairs was the building of a plank road from the Central Railroad depot down West Broad and Bay streets to the wharves beyond East Broad, thus connecting our only commercial feeder from the interior of the State with the shipping that was to carry away cotton and other products to northern ports and to Europe. This road was considered a great advance in civilization and there was an inclination among Savannahians to boast of it.

It did not last very long, however; exposure to the weather and the heavy traffic over the planks soon made a new road necessary and this time it was of cobble stones.

The water supply of the town was drawn entirely from wells. An old-fashioned wooden pump was located in each one of the public squares and at the intersection of the broader streets, such as Bull and Broughton. There were also wells in some private yards but to these the general public did not have access. It goes without saying that the water was more or less polluted by drainage from the surface and there can be no doubt that for a great many years this was a serious detriment to the health of the city and contributed largely to its reputation for sickness, a reputation that stuck to it long after the causes for it had been removed.

The lighting facilities were even more primitive; they consisted of a single oil lamp at each pump, "only this and nothing more." In these, whale oil was burned, the illuminating power of which was exceedingly limited; beyond a little circle around the pump there was Cimmerian darkness on

such nights as the moon did not happen to be shining. Looking back upon the manner in which those who lived in that day were supplied with these two necessities, water and light, it is difficult to understand how they got along, yet get along they did, and doubtless no less happily than those of us now who have all that modern science can give to meet those two great wants.

The communications of Savannah, by sea, with ports along the coast were fairly well kept up by steamboat lines to Charleston on the north and Darien, Brunswick, St. Mary's, Jacksonville, Palatka, etc., to the south. Sundry lines of sailing craft, barks and brigs mostly, furnished the only means of reaching New York by water, and they were freely patronized in the summer months by persons of leisure, seeking relief from the hot Southern climate. The names of some of these vessels will be remembered by our older citizens: The ship Hartford; barks Exact, Peter Demill and Isaac Mead; brigs Macon, Wilson Fuller, Philura, Excel, Augusta, etc.

They were staunch sea-going craft, well commanded and comfortably provided, but small affairs after all, the average being only about 330 tons. To Philadelphia there was a line of schooners averaging a little under 200 tons each.

In 1848 on resolution of the City Council, a census of the city was prepared by Mr. Joseph Bancroft, and published for general information. In this pamphlet the following announcement appears:

"The Steam Ship Packet Line,
Between Savannah and New York."

"Of this projected line, one ship is already launched and in process of completion, and will be on the route between this port and New York in September, and a second one is contracted for, to follow her, and will be ready in March next. The two will form a weekly communication next season. These ships are about 1200 tons each, unsurpassed in strength, in beauty of model and solidity of machinery. All the latest improvements will be in them which experience has suggested, and they will be entitled to succeed. They will cost \$170,000 each, and are partly owned in Savannah."

"Padelford & Fay, Agents in Savannah,
Samuel L. Mitchell, Agent in New York."

A steamer of 1200 tons does not seem a leviathan in these days, yet everything in this world is relative, and I doubt if any one of the great floating caravanseries with

which we are now familiar, ever received a more enthusiastic welcome at its port of arrival than did the wooden side wheel steamship Cherokee and her consort the Tennessee as, in accordance with the above prospectus, they sailed up the muddy waters of the Savannah. There was, on each occasion, a tremendous crowd on the wharf to meet the new boats, and a rush to get on board as soon as the gang plank was adjusted that was like a Caruso night at the Metropolitan Opera.

Mr. Bancroft's census gave some very interesting figures concerning shipments from the port during a series of years. From these we learn that the total exports of cotton were as follows:

In 1839.....	199,176	Bales
“ 1840.....	284,249	“
“ 1841.....	147,280	“
“ 1842.....	222,234	..
“ 1843.....	280,826	“
“ 1844.....	244,575	“
“ 1845.....	304,544	“
“ 1846.....	186,306	“
“ 1847.....	234,151	“

Comparing these figures with later ones, it will be seen that in 1913 the year before the outbreak of the present war, the exports of cotton from Savannah were as follows:

To foreign ports.....	1,121,780	Bales
Coastwise	586,912	“
Total.....	1,708,692	..

Under the heading “*Pauperism*,” Mr. Bancroft had this to say, which is good reading for all who love the old city, and suggestive reading to any northern friends who may still regard our “peculiar institution” as “The sum of all the villainies.” He says:

“On this subject, in published statistics of places, it is usual to give some particulars. In many cities of our country the subject is a fruitful and almost a frightful one. But Savannah is blessed in almost an exemption from this calamity of human nature, and little or nothing can be said of its misery.”

“Under her peculiar institution her slaves are taken care of. The free blacks are generally in comfortable circumstances; and, for the relief of the poor and destitute whites

in her midst, institutions abound which charge themselves with alleviating their wants. A beggar is rarely seen in her streets, public charity is always ready, and private charity never lacketh."

The Fire Department of that day prided itself on efficiency and probably it would have borne favorable comparison with that of any one of the smaller cities of the United States. The Department proper was composed entirely of whites.

A Chief Fireman, two or three assistants and two officers for each engine company. I do not know whether these gentlemen were paid or not, but it is my impression that their services were entirely voluntary, a free-will offering to the public welfare.

There were some eight or ten fire engines, two or three hose carts and a hook-and-ladder truck, all of which were drawn and worked by hand power. Each engine was manned by a company of colored men in whom there was a great spirit of emulation and pride of organization. The company that reached a fire first was considered to bear the honors of the occasion, the individual members of the company not being slow or mealy-mouthed in giving expression to their appreciation of that fact. In working the brakes and in returning from fires the men invariably burst into song, as is the custom of the race whenever rhythmic effort is put forth, such as rowing, marching, etc. The engine houses were located in the public squares, and near most of them cisterns were dug and kept filled with water. These furnished the only supply, except where fires happened to occur sufficiently near the river for that limitless source to be drawn upon.

Alarms were given from the steeple of the Exchange building on Bay street where a watchman kept ward day and night, to sound the alarm by loud and rapid ringing of the great bell whenever smoke or flame in any quarter of the old town advised him that help was needed. That one man held the place now filled by a thorough and complex telegraphic system; in the not un-supposable case of his having fallen asleep, it will readily be seen that a fire might have gotten beyond control before the summoning of aid. When the Exchange bell spoke, officers and men of the various companies dropped their individual employments and made the quickest time possible to the engine houses but nothing could be done there until men enough had gathered to drag the heavy machine. The few first moments lost from this cause were worth hours afterwards.

The city was divided into four fire districts by the intersection of Bull street and Oglethorpe Avenue, (or South Broad street as it was then called) these were numbered respectively 1, 2, 3, and 4. Districts 1 and 2 were north of Oglethorpe Ave., 3 and 4 to the south of it, and when an alarm had been sounded, after a pause the watchman indicated the particular district in which the fire was occurring by so many distinct strokes of the bell. If, for instance, there were three of these the captains of the engine companies would know they were wanted somewhere east of Bull and south of Oglethorpe. This was a tolerably large area to search through, especially when it is considered that the men were dragging a heavy engine through sandy streets while uncertain as to just where was the scene of trouble. Still, the old department did its work and did it faithfully and well. Citizens could only compare it with similar organizations in other places and they found no cause for dissatisfaction in the comparison.

The military spirit of Savannah in the 40's as expressed by its volunteer organizations differed not at all from what it has always been from the first settlement of Oglethorpe's Colony down to the present time. Of the commands existing at that period several dated back to the early years of the century, and one as far back as 1786—only three years after the close of the Revolution. All of them served with honor in the Confederate Army and all, with but one exception, the Phoenix Riflemen, are still in vigorous life, in line to do their part in the great war that is upon the nation. That particular company expanded into a regiment—the 63rd Georgia—in 1862, laid down its arms with Gen. Joseph E. Johnston at Greensboro, N. C., in April, 1865, and was not subsequently re-formed. But one feature of the city's martial life has definitely passed away, the annual parade of the "unterrified" militia. Under the old State laws, every citizen between certain ages was called upon to perform military duty at least one day in the year, and the gathering of these warriors was surely a unique occasion—the Kaiser would turn gray could he see one now. The officers were duly commissioned by the State and paraded in the full uniform of the United States Army, but of the rank and file, so far as appearance went, the least said the better.

The town was divided into militia districts or "beats," as they were called, the boundaries and numbers of which were coincident with those of the Fire Districts. Within these limits all citizens of the prescribed age, who were not members of volunteer companies or other-

wise legally exempt, were summoned to appear at the arsenal on a specified day prepared to serve their country. In case of default the one summoned was further required to make satisfactory excuse before a magistrate's court or bear whatever fine "His Honor" might inflict. The companies bore the names of the beats from which they were drawn as 1st Beat, 2nd Beat, etc., and they paraded on separate days, except upon such occasions as when the entire brigade, (which included the volunteer commands) might happen to be ordered out by the Brigadier General. The arsenal stood on Whitaker street on the ground now occupied by the western end of the Post Office building—it was only pulled down a few years ago. On the upper floor were stored the arms and equipments provided by the State, but drawn originally from the Federal government. A sorry lot they were—old flint and steel muskets dating back at least as far as the war with Great Britain in 1812, some of them, perhaps, even longer. Bayonets and ramrods were missing from a great many, and a general air of antiquity was over them all. The equipments, belts, cartridge-boxes and bayonet scabbards, all more or less dilapidated, furnished fit complement to the wonderful army of ancient weapons. For the yard of the arsenal were three or four old siege guns, (two of which, I believe, now adorn the front of the Armory of the Savannah Volunteer Guards). It is impossible to say how long they had been there, but I remember observing that a good sized mulberry tree had grown up between the cheeks of the carriage of one of them. On parade days the men assembled outside the building, and when the doors were opened a general rush was made for the room where the arms were kept, and each man equipped himself for the day. The line was then formed on President street and the martial column proceeded to the south common to take in such portion of the Tactics of General Winfield Scott as its officers were able to impart. Crude and ludicrous as were these attempts at soldiering, they were far in advance of what took place all through the country districts on "Training Day," as one can readily see by reference to Judge Longstreet's "Georgia Scenes." An interesting and unique figure in those days was a genuine Revolutionary hero, Mr. Sheftall Sheftall, who lived in a wonder dwelling on the north side of Broughton street between Whitaker and Barnard. The old gentleman when a young man had served in the Continental Army with faithfulness and honor. To the end of life he clung to the costume of '76—the long coat, flapped waist-

coat, knee breeches, low quartered shoes with large silver buckles, and the cocked hat, which gave him the name by which he was generally spoken of—"Cocked Hat Sheftall." On any fine day he could be seen taking his constitutional up and down the long piazza that ran in front of the house, and report had it that so regular was he in this that he wore out two or three sets of flooring in his tramps. The old veteran passed away on August 15, 1847, and was escorted to his last resting place by all the military of the city on the following day.

Politics ran very high in those far off days; of course the colored people had no votes and the whites were nearly equally divided between the Whig and the Democratic parties. There was much bitterness of expression on both sides in every campaign and the vicinity of the court-house on each election day was the scene of many personal conflicts, but as everywhere else in our favored land, the white dove of peace always put in an appearance on the following morning. I was too young to have any memory of the Harrison presidential campaign though there comes to me a faint memory of a certain suit I wore adorned with log-cabin buttons, that being the distinctive badge of the Whig party in that famous contest.

The Whigs had their headquarters in a large two-story wooden building known as Lyceum Hall, and situated on the south-west corner of Bull and Broughton streets. The Democrats were more modestly housed on the corresponding corner of Barnard and Broughton. Lyceum Hall was a favorite place for public entertainments of one kind and another, a popularity which it shared with the long room of the City Exchange and with Oglethorpe Hall on Bryan street just across from the Merchants National Bank.

In 1844 Henry Clay visited Savannah by invitation. He arrived by the Central Railroad and was escorted from the depot to the house of the Hon. John McPherson Berrien, by a long cavalcade of gentlemen riding by twos. At every other corner or so the procession was stopped and the riders with bared heads gave three cheers for "Harry of the West," as Mr. Clay was affectionately called by his followers. Judge Berrien was a representative of Georgia in the United States Senate for many years, and held the office of Attorney General in the Cabinet of President Jackson. He was a gentleman of cultivated mind and polished manners; the honor and dignity of our old commonwealth were worthily sus-

tained by him in a body where sat some of the greatest men whom America has ever produced. His house is still standing on the north-west corner of Habersham and Broughton streets.

On the day after his arrival Mr. Clay addressed a large crowd of citizens from the balcony over the Bryan street entrance of the old Pulaski House. I was present upon the occasion, it being my habit at that period of life to see everything that was going on. Some three years afterwards I heard Daniel Webster speak from a platform erected around the Greene Monument in Johnson Square. It has ever been a satisfaction to me to have seen these two distinguished men. I have clear recollection of their personal appearance, but, of course, was not old enough to understand their speeches.

Many have been the changes in the old town since the days here written of, but none more marked than in the system of education for the young. Indeed there was no public system then, nor had a single one of the splendid school buildings been erected that now adorn the city. True, the old Chatham Academy was in existence, but only pay schools were conducted in it by private individuals, though the Academy itself was under control of a Board of Trustees. There were a number of private schools scattered here and there throughout the town but only one free school—it was located at the corner of Perry and Whitaker streets and the majority of its scholars were the boys of the Union Society.

The character of the private schools, however, was of a high order, and what was taught in them thoroughly taught. The curriculum had not the ambitious breadth and universality of the modern school course, yet it is doubtful whether the average pupil of today can claim to be so faithfully grounded in "the three R's," or in the basic work of English and classical education as were the boys and girls who studied under Henry K. and James Preston, Wm. T. Feay, Rev. George White, and others, their contemporaries.

Here then, may end this brief retrospect. It has been pleasant to look back upon the day of small things—to compare the Savannah of seventy or eighty years ago with the beautiful and thriving city that the industry, zeal and patriotism of its citizens have made it.

The contrast may well fill the heart with bright hope for the future.

THE GREAT SEALS OF GEORGIA; THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

BY HENRY R. GOETCHIUS.

For a long time little was known of the origin and meaning of those important symbols of state sovereignty. In 1894 Prof. Ashmore of Savannah, who is Corresponding Secretary of the Georgia Historical Society, prepared and published a fairly full history of the five great seals of Georgia.

In 1912 Governor Joseph M. Brown, who is a student of history, and especially of matters pertaining to Georgia history, gave to the Atlanta Constitution an exceedingly interesting story of the first great seal of Georgia. Neither Prof. Ashmore nor Governor Brown makes reference to the difference in the great seal and the executive seal. The great seals are described in full by both writers.

The law provides that the great seal shall be kept by the Secretary of State, and it is his duty to attach the same to all grants and to certified copies and transcripts of public documents in his office when so ordered by the Governor or the General Assembly.

The executive seal is kept in the office of the Governor. It differs in form from the great seal, being designed only in part like the original seal as adopted by the state in 1799. The device is an ordinary seal having the column from the great seal on which is the legend, "Moderation." The soldier with the drawn sword appears by the column and there also appears the escutcheon of the United States, the shield and eagle. The executive seal is used and attached by the Governor to commissions which he issues and other current papers and orders on which the stamp of his official authority is required to be placed.

It will be noticed that Prof. Ashmore relates how Governor Jenkins saved the executive seal of the State in 1868. He fails to relate the equally interesting story of how Col. N. C. Barnett, deceased, who was Secretary of State for nearly half a century and preceded Gen. Phil Cook, father of the present Secretary, Phil Cook, prompted by equally as great patriotism, saved from corrupt republican hands the great seal of Georgia.

Here is that story:

Colonel Barnett, being Secretary at the time of Sherman's invasion, of course, the great seal was in his keeping. He determined to save it at all hazards, and preferred to take the responsibility upon himself. However, being afraid that the Yankees might kill him, he wished someone else to know where it was, so he secretly carried it home and gave it to his wife. She placed it in a tin box and buried it under her house. When Sherman reached our capital, which was then Milledgeville, he had the Secretary of State arrested and commanded him to give up the great seal of state. This Colonel Barnett refused to do, saying that he would die first. They put him in prison, but were never able to extort any information as to the hiding place of Georgia's treasure. It is considered remarkable that they did not torture him to force his secret, but it is supposed that his brave spirit and dauntless bearing over-awed them, for he was one of nature's noblemen, physically and mentally, and no fear of death or suffering had power to make him quail.

After Sherman laid Georgia to the sword and torch, the Republicans took charge of the state government. Bullock was their Governor, and they needed a state seal with which to authorize their fraudulent acts and papers. So they had one made by description as near like the original as they could get it. Now, a strange thing came to pass. This reconstruction seal of the reconstruction period bore upon its obverse face the bar sinister, for the soldier standing between the pillars of "Justice" and "Moderation" held his sword in his left hand instead of in his right, as upon the original. The irony of fate marked that bogus seal and stamped fraud upon its face.

In 1910 the Secretary of State reported to the General Assembly that the great seal of Georgia was so worn by long use that it was practically of no service, and it was found on investigation that as far back as 1868 the General Assembly had ordered that the great seal be re-engraved and renewed. Nothing was done with this action of the General Assembly because of want of an appropriation, but in 1914 the General Assembly adopted a resolution authorizing a new seal, to be prepared as an exact copy of the old one in every respect except that the year "1776" was substituted for 1799. An appropriation was made under this resolution and the present great seal of Georgia is a facsimile of the one described by Prof. Ashmore and later by Governor Brown, except that the year 1776 stands in place of 1799, as on the old seal.

The following is the sketch of the great seals given in 1894 by Prof. Ashmore:

Great Seals of Georgia—Five of Them Marking Five Epochs of Her History.

The Colonial Seal the First—A Description of It—The Royal Seal, the Larger and More Beautiful. The Revolutionary Seal—The Seal of 1799. The Confederate Seal—Some Interesting Facts Concerning It.

Some recent official duties connected with the Georgia Historical Society having called my attention to the great seals of our State, I have thought that a brief history of them might not prove uninteresting to the public. It is a matter of much surprise to find so few of our people, even of our public men, have much accurate information about these seals, and, what is worse, our State histories, which should be the conservators of historic truth, contain some glaring errors concerning them. The great seal of a state symbolizes its highest authority, and being used as an attestation upon only the most important public documents, it is naturally invested with a sacred sentiment of inviolable honor and moral obligation.

Georgia has had in all five great seals, corresponding to five great epochs in her history. The first, which may be called the Colonial seal, was adopted by the trustees about the middle of July, 1732, when the charter was obtained from the crown of England for colonizing Georgia. It was brought over by Oglethorpe in 1733 and used until 1734.

This seal was formed with two faces, one for legislative acts, deeds and commissions, and the other, the common seal, for grants, orders, certificates, etc. The device on the one was two figures resting upon urns, representing the rivers Savannah and Altamaha, the north-western and south-eastern boundaries of the province, between which the genius of the colony was seated with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand and a cornucopia in the other, with the inscription "Colonia Georgia, Aug." On the other face was the representation of silk worms, some beginning and others completing their labors, which was characterized by the motto, "Non Sibi, Sed Aliis." This inscription not only proclaimed the disinterested motives and intentions of the trustees, but suggested that the production of silk was to be reckoned among the most profitable employments of the colony.

The side of the first seal described was adopted as the seal of the Georgia Historical Society with only a change in the inscription. The inscription "Colonia Georgia, Aug," was replaced by the motto on the other side, "Non Sibi, Sed

Aliis," and the words "Georgia Historical Society" were added. It is a matter of much regret that no picture or impression of that side of this seal containing the silk worms is known to exist, though persons now living remember to have seen impressions of it upon old land grants. There are doubtless among the papers of some of our old families copies of this old seal, but long and diligent inquiry has failed, so far, to discover one of them. The writer would be glad to communicate with anyone who may have one of these old seals in his possession. For the sake of Georgia history, it should be rescued from oblivion.*

The Royal Seal.

In 1752 the trustees surrendered their charter to the crown, and Georgia became a royal province. On June 21, 1754, a new seal was adopted by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and approved by the king, George II. This, which may be termed the royal seal, was the largest and the most beautiful of all the seals which Georgia has ever had. It was $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and made of silver. It was of equal size with those sent to North and South Carolina, and similar in some respects to them. On one face was a figure representing the genius of the colony offering a skein of silk to his majesty, with the motto "Hinc Laudam Sperate Coloni," and this inscription around the circumference, "Sigillum Provinciae Nostrae Georgiae in America." On the other side appeared his majesty's arms, crown, garter, supports and motto, with the inscription "Georgius II., Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor, Brunsvici et Luneburgi, Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi Thesaurarius et Princeps Elector."

The designs upon this seal were strikingly appropriate, and the workmanship and finish were executed with exquisite taste. It is a matter of some surprise that no print or engraving of this seal has ever been made, indeed no writer upon Georgia history seems ever to have had access to an impression of it, though a brief and imperfect description of it may be found in most of our state histories.

A few weeks ago the writer, with a desire to rescue, if possible, this historic relic from oblivion, made a systematic search for it among the private papers and public documents of the city of Savannah. The search was finally rewarded by the discovery of the long lost seal among the papers of

*Since the statement above was first printed, copies have been found, and all danger of total loss is averted.

Mr. William Neyle Habersham, of this city. This generous gentleman has presented it to the Georgia Historical Society, by whom it will be preserved as a curious historic relic of colonial times.

Realizing the fact that no print or engraving of this beautiful seal had ever been made, the writer had both sides of it photographed, and from the photographs appropriate engravings have been made in New York. These engravings, together with engravings of all the great seals of Georgia from 1732 to 1894, appeared for the first time in a new school history of Georgia by Superintendent Lawton B. Evans, of Augusta.

The Revolutionary Seal.

The royal seal was used till 1777, when Georgia united with her sister colonies in that great final struggle which gained for us our independence and established Georgia as a free and sovereign state. Upon the adoption of a new constitution on February 5, 1777, the great seal was changed to one of smaller size and less artistic in design.

On one side was a scroll, whereon was inscribed, "The Constitution of the State of Georgia," and the motto "Pro Bono Publico." On the other side appeared an elegant house and other buildings, fields of corn and meadows covered with sheep and cattle; a river running through the same, with a ship under full sail and the motto, "Deus nobis haec otia fecit." Wax impressions of this old seal may still be found attached to old land grants made from 1777 to 1799. Several very good ones are in possession of the Georgia Historical Society.

Seal of 1799.

In 1798 a constitutional convention was called and among the changes made in the fundamental law of the State was another change in the great seal, which was adopted Feb. 8, 1799.

On one side of this seal was a view of the seashore, with a ship bearing the flag of the United States, riding at anchor near a wharf, receiving on board hogsheads of tobacco and bales of cotton, emblematic of the exports of this state; at a small distance a boat landing from the interior of the state with hogsheads, etc., on board, representing her internal traffic; in the back part of the same side, a man in the act of ploughing, and at a small distance a flock of sheep in different pastures, shaded by a flourishing tree. The motto on this side was "Agriculture and Commerce, 1799." The oth-

er side contained three pillars supporting an arch with the word "Constitution" engraved within the same, emblematic of the constitution supported by three departments of the government, viz: the legislative, judicial and executive; the first had engraved in a wreath upon it, "Wisdom;" the second "Justice," and the third, "Moderation." On the right of the last pillar was a man standing with a drawn sword, representing the aid of the military in defense of the constitution, and around the margin the motto "State of Georgia, 1799."

The words wisdom, justice and moderation were originally ordered to be placed upon the base of the pillars, but the artists finding this impracticable, a subsequent act of the legislature authorized them to be placed in the wreath. The act directed that this seal be made of silver and the size of two and one-quarter inches in diameter, and that the old seal should be broken in the presence of the governor. This was used as the great seal of the State for sixty-two consecutive years, until the secession convention of 1861 ordered that the next legislature, which should assemble immediately after the rising of that body, should change the great seal of the State.

The Confederate Seal.

Pursuant to this order the legislature, by an act approved December 14, 1861, appointed a commission consisting of S. S. Stafford, G. N. Lester, B. H. Bigham and the Secretary of State, "to prepare a new great seal for the State of Georgia, and to make all necessary preparations and arrangements to bring the same, as agreed on by the said commission, into use." Strangely enough the records concerning the further use of this seal are almost completely silent. There is not recorded in the acts of the subsequent legislatures any report of that commission, though on Dec. 14, 1863, the sum of \$2,000, or so much of it as might be necessary, was appropriated to pay the commissioners for preparing the new seal.

There is no record, however, that the appropriation was ever used. Unfortunately every member of the commission is now dead and the details of their action cannot be ascertained. It appears, however, from impressions of this seal in the office of the Secretary of State, that it differed little from the seal of 1799. The only changes were: First, the date, 1861, was placed amid the brilliant rays of a new rising sun under the arch of the constitution, evidently symbolizing the birth of a new independence; second, the man with

the drawn sword, representing the military in defense of the constitution, was removed; third, the date, 1799, at the bottom, was replaced by the date, 1776, representing the birth of our first independence.

Several of our state histories give this last date as 1779, which is certainly wrong. I have before me a recent impression of this seal furnished by the Secretary of State and the date is clearly 1776. The proportions of the devices upon this seal were slightly different from those on the old one.

In 1865 the Confederate cause went down with the surrender of Lee on April 9th, and Georgia once more occupied a new attitude to its constitution and to the new order of its political affairs. And now comes the strangest part of the history of the great seal of the State. The legislature of 1865-'66 passed an act approved Feb. 5, 1866, which reads as follows: "That the seal prepared by the committee under the act assented to on the fourteenth day of December, 1861, be and the same is hereby adopted as the seal of the office of the Secretary of State."

So far as I have been able to ascertain, this is the only act concerning the great seal of the State passed since the war. Neither the acts of the legislatures since that time, nor the journals of the constitutional conventions of 1865, 1868 and 1877, say one single word about the re-adoption of the old seal of 1799, and yet all the codes since 1866 describe as the great seal of the State the old seal of 1799 which was used up to 1861. It would appear that with the downfall of the Confederacy, the seal of 1799 was readopted without enactment. It is certain at all events, that the present seal is the old seal of 1799 and that it has been used ever since 1872. It will be observed also that the old Confederate seal was by the act of February 5, 1866, made the official seal of the Secretary of State and it is today in use in that office. It must be remembered that it is not the present great seal of the State, which is also kept in the same office.

It is rather a curious fact that the old Confederate great seal is still in force in the office of the Secretary of State, but it is nevertheless true.

A Patriotic Incident.

In 1868 while Charles J. Jenkins was Governor, Georgia was placed under military rule and our state government passed into the unfriendly hands of that rapacious horde that made the reconstruction period memorable. The country

was overrun by carpet-baggers, scalawags and negroes, and intelligence and political virtue were for a time to be at the mercy of ignorance and bitter partisan misrule. Governor Jenkins was forced to retire, and to deliver the government into the hands of his military successor. But at this crisis Governor Jenkins took the executive seal of the State, together with \$400,000 of the people's money, carried them north with him and locked them up in a vault for safe-keeping. Here they remained until 1872, when Georgia's own people once more obtained possession of the State government and placed James M. Smith in the executive office. It was then that the noble Jenkins in a speech of matchless eloquence and patriotism before the General Assembly restored to Georgia the executive seal of the State and the money, which he had for four dark years held as a sacred trust for his people. For this patriotic act the General Assembly unanimously ordered that a facsimile of the executive seal be made of gold, appropriately engraved and presented to Governor Jenkins. A resolution of gratitude and thanks, characterized by the loftiest sentiments of patriotism and honor, was also extended him. The occasion of the return of the executive seal of the State to her own people at this time forms one of the most touching and memorable incidents in the history of Georgia.

The golden facsimile of the seal presented to Governor Jenkins and a beautiful framed copy of the resolutions are in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society at Savannah.

Thus it will be seen that the great seals of a state not only mark the great epochs in its political history, but they symbolize a nation's honor, and around them cluster the sacred sentiments of a people's faith and patriotic devotion.

"The following is Governor Brown's letter published in 1912 and addressed to the Atlanta Constitution:

"The enclosed advertisement was found in an old copy of the Louisville Gazette, dated February 26, 1799, when Louisville was the capital of Georgia. I secured several copies of this old paper from a collector several years ago.

"I have never before known how the figures 1799 came on the great seal of Georgia and nobody seemed to be able to give any information as to when or by whom the great seal was designed.

"I have copied it exactly as printed and punctuated and suggest that you reproduce it without making any changes whatever.

"In the paper, the 's,' except when terminal, resembled 'f.'

"I send it to you as you carry the great seal at the head of your editorial page."

How Advertisement Appeared.

"The advertisement in *The Louisville Gazette*, February 26, 1799, is reproduced in all the quaintness of its diction:

ARTISTS OF ALL NATIONS ATTEND: PREMIUM
FOR GENIUS.

Executive Department of Georgia, Louisville, Feb. 23rd,
1799.

The Act, entitled "an act for altering the Great Seal of the State of Georgia" passed the 8th day of February, 1799, being taken up and considered: It is

ORDERED, That a premium of thirteen dollars be given for the best drawing of the device for the great seal of this state, in pursuance of the second section of the said act—the device being as follows, towit:

"On the one side, a view of the seashore with a ship bearing the flag of the United States, riding at anchor near a wharf, receiving on board hogsheads of tobacco and bales of cotton, emblematic of the exports of this state—at a small distance a boat landing from the interior of the state, with hogsheads, etc., on board, representing her internal traffic, in the back part of the same side, a man in the act of plowing and at a small distance a flock of sheep in different pastures shaded by a flourishing tree, the motto on this side agriculture and commerce, 1799—that the other side contain three pillars supporting an arch with the word constitution engraved within the same, emblematic of the constitution supported by the three departments of the government, viz: the legislative, judicial and executive—the first pillar to have engraven on its base wisdom, the second justice, and the third moderation; on the right of the last pillar a man standing with a drawn sword representing the aid of the military in defense of the constitution—the motto state of Georgia 1799." Provided such drawing be lodged in the executive office, at Louisville, on or before the twentieth day of April next; the size of the seal two inches and one-quarter, and it is further

Ordered, that proposals be received at the same office until the said twentieth day of April for forming, making and engraving the same agreeably to such device and drawing, in a masterly and workmanlike manner, on or before the third day of July next. Bond and security to be given for the due performance of the work, within the time limited in the sum of two thousand dollars. The proposals will be sealed up, addressed to the executive, and marked proposals for forming, making and engraving the great seal of the state of Georgia. The drawings will also be sealed up, addressed in like manner and marked drawings for the device of the great seal and will be examined the twentieth day of April aforesaid.

The cash will be paid for the drawing the moment it is decided on as to the best design, and for the seal immediately it is completed and delivered, if applied for.

Taken from the minutes.

Test.

THOMAS JOHNSON,
Secretary."

The foregoing was found in *The Louisville Gazette* Tuesday, Feb. 26, 1799.

In the above newspaper, dated Tuesday, May 7, 1799, is the following news item:

"We understand that the device approved of by the governor for the great seal of this state was drawn by Mr. Sturges, the state surveyor general. The best drawing sent the executive department was performed by Mr. Chas. Frazer, of South Carolina, and which we are assured would have obtained the premium had he not through mistake placed all the figures on one side instead of making a reverse. This young artist is but sixteen years old—his genius is great and deserves encouragement. Several of the handsome performances were sent to the executive."

In still another issue of the same paper Governor Brown completed his research for information about the great seal by discovering the full name and title of the designer, "Daniel Sturges, surveyor general," in a card announcing his business. It is doubtful if another person in the state other than Governor Brown knew the name of the designer, or that it could have been found without months of labor in searching old records, even if they are still legible and have not been destroyed. Georgia history is, therefore, in debt to him for this valuable information.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN GEORGIA ON SECESSION AND SLAVERY.

Notwithstanding the fact that the two questions to which the following paper is devoted were settled through the arbitrament of war more than half a century ago, it is considered proper to now make public the attitude taken by one branch of the Christian Church in Georgia at the time when those questions were so prominently in the minds of the people of the whole country, and the actual causes of the four years' terrible struggle between the North and the South.

Before the year 1867, what is now known as the Presbytery of Savannah was known as the Presbytery of Georgia.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Georgia held in the month of November, 1861, in Darien, a committee consisting of Rev. R. Q. Mallard and Rev. D. L. Buttolph, was appointed to consider Presbytery's relations with the Old School General Assembly, and also the action of said General Assembly at its late meeting in reference to the State of the Country, which committee brought in the following paper which was unanimously adopted:

"RESOLUTIONS OF WITHDRAWMENT FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. Whereas, the State of Georgia, upon just and necessary grounds, which, as loyal citizens, we cordially approve, did, on January 19, 1861, withdraw, in the exercise of her own state sovereignty, from and forever cast off all political connection with the United States of America; and said State did, on February 8, 1861, with other Southern and South-western States, unite in the formation of a new government entitled the Confederate States of America, wholly independent of the old confederation, which action we also cordially approve, and to which State and Confederation we hold ourselves loyal citizens and pledged to the extent of our utmost ability in dependence upon the favor of God to sustain and defend; and whereas, it has been the custom of all Protestant Churches to conform their Ecclesiastical connection to the metes and bounds of their civil and political, for most satisfactory reasons of propriety, expediency, harmony and safety,

RESOLVED, That the Presbytery of Georgia does now dissolve all connection with and separate itself entirely from the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, and is no longer in any form or manner subject to the same.

RESOLVED, further, that the Presbytery of Georgia condemns the action of the last General Assembly on the political state of the country in resolving to sustain the government of the United States in its execrable war upon the Confederate States, in violation of their own constitution and utter disregard of its provisions—in violation of common justice and humanity and of the right of a people to self-government and of withdrawal from a compact denied and broken to their political degradation and ruin, and, above all, in violation of the principles and spirit of the religion of the Prince of Peace, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—and the said action forced through the Assembly in the face of the solemn protest of the few Southern members present and of a minority of Northern members of weight and influence, and in the absence of the great body of Southern members which, had they been present, would have cast the said action out of the Assembly. This said action the Presbytery of Georgia condemns both in letter and spirit as unwise, unchristian, and tending to schism, and furnishes sufficient ground for our withdrawal, if none other existed.

RESOLVED, In said withdrawal, That we have a just right to our proportion of all property now held by the said General Assembly, and shall in due time, upon ground of Christian equity, insist upon a division of the same.

RESOLVED, That we hereby adopt and adhere to our former standards, the Confession of Faith, Form of Government and Book of Discipline, with such alterations in phraseology as our new circumstances shall require and our coming General Assembly shall determine.

RESOLVED, That, we do now appoint, according to our right of representation in our former connection, Commissioners to meet Commissioners from all the Southern and South-western Presbyteries who will convene in Augusta, Georgia, December 4, 1861, for the purpose of constituting a General Assembly of the Confederate States of America, and do empower them to act in concert with that body in framing all measures necessary to the complete constitution, organization and efficiency of said Assembly.

In accordance with the last resolution Dr. Charles C. Jones and Mr. A. Mitchell, (Elder from the Darien and Harris Neck Churches) were appointed principals and Rev. F. R. Goulding and Mr. T. S. Mallard (Elder from the Walthourville church) alternates to represent the Presbytery of Georgia in the proposed General Assembly to be held in Augusta.

The Presbytery again met on Saturday, November 8, 1862, at Bryan Neck, when the following resolutions were adopted. The Dr. Talmage referred to was the Rev. S. K. Talmage, D. D., the second president of Oglethorpe University, which shortly after suspended operations, and has just recently been re-organized and located near Atlanta. Dr. Talmage was the uncle of Dr. T. DeWitt Talmage of Brooklyn Tabernacle fame. The resolutions were as follows:

RESOLVED, 1st, That Presbytery has read with pleasure and approval the recent letter of Dr. Talmage, published in some of the secular papers in relation to the repealing of the law prohibiting our slaves to read.

RESOLVED, 2nd, That they rejoice in the belief expressed by Dr. Talmage that there will be an application at the approaching session of the Georgia Legislature, from a source entitled to a distinguished consideration, for a repeal of the law prohibiting the right to teach our negroes to read the Sacred Scriptures.

RESOLVED, 3rd, That the Presbytery of Georgia indulges the pleasing hope that the day is not far distant, if indeed it has not already dawned upon us, when the entire slave code of our own and other Confederate States shall be thoroughly revised, and every Statute inconsistent with our character as a Christian nation, with the teachings of God's Holy Word, and with the high and solemn obligations of God's special providence now renewedly imposed upon us, that so nothing may impede us in the diligent and faithful discharge of our solemn trust, assured that we need fear nothing from the full enjoyment on the part of our slaves of all the rights and privileges guaranteed to them in the Word of God, and that the more fully their minds and hearts shall become imbued with its sacred teachings, from whence we derive so clearly our sanction and authority for the institution itself, the better will our slave population be enabled to glorify God, and the more faithful and useful to ourselves will they become.

RESOLVED, 4th, That it is due if only to consistency, that, referring as we constantly do to God's Word for our sanction and authority in regard to the institution of Slavery, we should seek in all respects, as in the sight of God, and exposed ever to the full scrutiny of an enlightened, discerning and censorious world to limit and regulate the institution by the infallible teachings of that Word itself, and so remove from ourselves and the institution the most serious of the allegations it has been customary to employ in opposition."

Muster Roll of the Company Known as the Chestatee Artillery, Commanded by Captain Thomas Bomar, stationed at Camp Lee, Skidaway Road, 3½ Miles From Savannah, December 31, 1862.

The company herein named was formed somewhere in the neighborhood north-east of Atlanta, and did service on the coast of Georgia during the year 1862.

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|---|-----------------------|------------|
| 1 | Thomas H. Bomar, | Captain |
| 2 | Samuel E. Taylor, Sr. | 1st Lieut. |
| 3 | John C. Hendrix, Jr. | 1st Lieut. |
| 4 | William Hendrix, | 2nd Lieut. |

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|---|------------------|----------------|
| 1 | John Norrell, | 1st Sergeant |
| 2 | P. S. McDaniel, | Q. M. Sergeant |
| 3 | Thomas W. Dean, | Sergeant |
| 4 | Robert Mooney, | Sergeant |
| 5 | Hardin Jordan, | Sergeant |
| 6 | Moses C. Cannon, | Sergeant |
| 7 | John Childress, | Sergeant |

- | | | |
|---|------------------|----------|
| 1 | T. M. Andoe, | Corporal |
| 2 | R. H. Tatum, | Corporal |
| 3 | H. G. Smith, | Corporal |
| 4 | Enoch Patterson, | Corporal |
| 5 | A. J. Garrett, | Corporal |
| 6 | J. F. Lane, | Corporal |
| 7 | J. R. Brice, | Corporal |
| 8 | E. H. Whitmire, | Corporal |

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|------------|
| 1 | W. H. Perry, | Bugler |
| 1 | Joshua Patterson, | Artificer |
| 1 | L. A. Stephens, | Blacksmith |
| 1 | Bennett, E. B. | Teamster |
| 2 | Jas. S. Bottin, | Teamster |
| 3 | P. G. Light, | Teamster |

PRIVATES:

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|----|-----------------|
| 1 | Baxter, J. J. | 8 | Crawford, W. A. |
| 2 | Brice, D. P. | 9 | Crane, S. F. |
| 3 | Boyd, Robert | 10 | Crow, Isaac |
| 4 | Boyd, John A. | 11 | Cogburn, G. H. |
| 5 | Bennett, W. J. | 12 | Cantrell, W. F. |
| 6 | Brice, Thos. J. | 13 | Carver, William |
| 7 | Childress, Jackson | 14 | Dacus, P. H. |

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|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 15 Daniel, H. T. | 57 Stripland, W. B. |
| 16 Dobbs, W. C. | 58 Smith, William |
| 17 Dean, E. C. | 59 Shiftet, Monroe |
| 18 Garrett, G. W. | 60 Taylor, George T. |
| 19 Garrett, Hosia | 61 Taylor, W. H. |
| 20 Gibson, J. B. | 62 Tatum, Moses |
| 21 Hubbard, J. O. | 63 Tatum, Silas E. |
| 22 Henderson, E. L. | 64 Taylor, John M. |
| 23 Hubbard, Early | 65 Watson, George |
| 24 Hubbard, William | 66 Watson, Harrison |
| 25 Hardman, A. J. | 67 Wetherford, Alfred |
| 26 Hardin, B. T. | 68 Watson, Richmond |
| 27 Jones, J. L. | 69 Whitmire, E. E. |
| 28 Lee, A. J. | 70 Whitmire, W. R. |
| 29 Loggins, Ervin | 71 Whitmire, George C. |
| 30 McKinney, J. O. | 72 Wilson, R. T. |
| 31 Massingale, B. D. | 73 Whitmire, John A. |
| 32 Morgan, Simeon | 74 Wood, W. H. |
| 33 Mason, Merrill | 75 Westbrooks, Samuel |
| 34 Mason, Bluford | 76 Robinson, J. H. |
| 35 Neal, W. P. | 77 McDaniel, V. O. |
| 36 Oshields, Pinkney | 78 Wofford, J. D. |
| 37 Owen, W. J. | 79 Childress, John |
| 38 Owen, Jesse P. | 80 Campbell, George S. |
| 39 Owen, W. A. | 81 Freeman, John |
| 40 Owen, G. W. | 82 Hutchins, D. B. |
| 41 Owen, I. N. | 83 Oshields, David |
| 42 Owen, Thos. A. | 84 Owens, W. C. |
| 43 Owen, F. M. | 85 Oshields, Hiram |
| 44 Owen, A. J. | 86 Patterson, Hiram |
| 45 Oliver, L. D. | 87 Stovall, G. W. |
| 46 Owen, J. H. | 88 Tatum, Elisha |
| 47 Patterson, John D. | 89 Wood, Joseph P. |
| 48 Phillips, E. W. | 90 Whitmire, J. C. |
| 49 Green, John | 91 Whitmire, R. B. |
| 50 Pigeon, J. F. | 92 Brown, John C. |
| 51 Porter, H. W. | 93 Robinson, W. E. |
| 52 Prater, Benjamin | 94 Sanford, R. B. |
| 53 Prater, A. P. | 95 Dacus, W. R. |
| 54 Singleton, P. W. | 96 Dacus, James |
| 55 Stephens, J. R. | 97 Mooney, James H. |
| 56 Satterfield, J. A. | 98 Mooney, W. O. |

**Muster and Pay Roll of Company, Jo Thompson Artillery,
of Atlanta, at Beaulieu, Below Savannah, From the
First Day of November, 1862, to the Thirty
First Day of December, 1862.**

1 Hanleiter, C. R.	Captain
2 Shaw, Augustus	1st Lieut.
3 Hanleiter, Wm. R.,	2nd Lieut.
4 Kenady, Thomas A.,	2nd Lieut.

1 Bailey, Joseph E.,	1st Sergeant
2 Defoor, James A.,	2nd Sergeant
3 McKemie, William,	3rd Sergeant
4 Giles, John T.,	4th Sergeant
5 Holmes, Augustus,	5th Sergeant
1 Trainer, Thomas,	Sergeant

1 Robbins, Algernon S.,	1st Corporal
2 Douglas, William A.,	2nd Corporal
3 Wilson, William,	3rd Corporal
4 Roberts, Querlis W.,	4th Corporal
5 McDaniel, Greenberry,	5th Corporal
6 Frost, John	6th Corporal
7 Long, William H.,	7th Corporal
8 Adams, Edmond R.,	8th Corporal

1 Simril, Robert E.	Bugler
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PRIVATES:

1 Boring, George	17 Horton, William R.
2 Colwell, John	18 Hornsby, James H.
3 Carlton, Spencer	19 Hutson, Joseph
4 Cash, John	20 Hutson, William
5 Chapman, John M.	21 Joice, William H.
6 Conner, Edward	22 Laseter, John L.
7 Daniel, Jesse F.	23 Latheridge, Thomas
8 Daniel, John	24 Lawrence, James B.
9 Dansly, William	25 Littleton, Benj. F.
10 Englett, Daniel B.	26 Lowe, Aaron
11 Englett, James J.	27 Marlow, John
12 Etheridge, Zachariah	28 McDaniel, John
13 Goode, Richard	29 McKennie, Samuel R.
14 Holbrook, James G.	30 Moore, William P.
15 Holbrook, William M.	31 Morgan, Matthew R.
16 Hornsby, William G.	32 Morgan, William M.

33 Pinion, Sandford V.	42 Smith, Warren F.
34 Ragan, J. M.	43 Smith, Joseph B.
35 Robbins, James W.	44 Thrash, William H.
36 Robbins, Joseph P.	45 Waits, Andrew M.
37 Roberts, William E.	46 Waits, James M.
38 Roberts, Willis R.	47 Wallace, Jesse P.
39 Shaw, Samuel H.	48 Weisterfeld, Peter
40 Sherling, Hamilton	49 Wooton, Daniel B.
41 Stevenson, William H.	

THE SCREVEN FAMILY.

(Concluded.)

BY THE EDITOR.

Having mentioned the names of Col. John Screven and his brother Thomas Forman, sons of Dr. James Proctor and Hannah Georgia (Bryan) Screven, we will now give some account of the marriages contracted by them and the offspring of the same, and then take up the other children of Dr. Screven.

John married first Mary White Footman, daughter of Richard Hunter and Elizabeth (Maxwell) Footman. Richard Hunter was the son of Richard S. Footman, and Elizabeth B. Maxwell was the daughter of James Benjamin and Polly (Habersham) Maxwell—so they were first cousins. The children of Colonel John and Mary W. Footman Screven who lived beyond infancy were:

1. Georgia Bryan Screven, died unmarried.
2. Elizabeth W. Screven, married Thomas C. Arnold, and survives her husband. Their daughter, Louise G. is the wife of Rev. Frederick W. Jackson, and they have two children. The other daughter, Mary S., married Arthur Nash, and they have one child.
3. James Proctor Screven, died unmarried.
4. Thomas Screven, married Emily, daughter of Dr. Wm. S. Lawton and his wife Elizabeth G. Jones, daughter of Colonel Augustus Seaborn Jones. Thomas Screven died leaving one son, Thomas, and his widow married Col. William Garrard.

Col. John Screven married second, Mary Eleanor (Nesbit) Browne, widow of Col. Thomas Browne and daughter of Hugh O'Kiefe Nesbit, of Macon, Ga., and had

1. Lila McIntosh Screven, married Samuel C. Atkinson, leaving issue;

2. Martha Berrien Screven, married Alexander C. Wylly, leaving issue.

Dr. James Proctor Screven and his wife Hannah Georgia Bryan had one daughter, Sarah Ada, who married Rev. Matthew H. Henderson by whom she had children; among them the following married and left issue:

1. Ada H. Henderson, married Henry H. Foote;

2. Maude Bryan Henderson, married George A. Cosens, of Savannah.

A son, Marion Henry Henderson, grew to manhood, but died unmarried.

Captain Thomas Forman Screven, third of the children of Dr. Jas. P. and Hannah Georgia, as already mentioned, was, like his brother John, an enthusiastic member and officer of the historic military organization known as the Savannah Volunteer Guards with which he served with honor through the whole of the War Between the States in Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. This is not the place to record the incidents which mark the virtues and good deeds of the persons whose names hold a place in this family register; but the history of these brothers and the other one now to be mentioned is written elsewhere and should be read by all who are interested in the Screvens and their connections. Thomas F. Screven married first, Adelaide Van Dyke Moore, daughter of Dr. R. D. and Elizabeth (Stockton) Moore, and granddaughter of Major Thomas Stockton who served as Major in the United States army and was, at the time of his death, Governor of Maryland. This couple had two sons, the first of whom died unmarried. The second, John Screven, married Mary Gallie Bond, daughter of Thomas P. Bond and Miss Gallie, daughter of Major John B. Gallie, of the Confederate army, who lost his life at Fort McAllister, Ga. This John, son of Thos. F. and Adelaide Screven, is survived by a widow and child.

Thomas Forman Screven married second, Sallie Lloyd Buchanan, daughter of Admiral Franklin and Ann Catherine (Lloyd) Buchanan, her father having been before the War of Secession in the United States Navy, and afterwards in the Confederate States Navy. To this marriage there was no offspring.

Another son of Dr. Jas. P. and Hannah Georgia Screven was George Proctor Screven. He, like the other sons, followed the father in his devotion to the military organization in which all of them at some time in their lives served faithfully and long. George P. Screven married Ellen Buchanan, sister of the wife of his brother Thomas F., and

daughter, as before mentioned, of Admiral Franklin and Ann C. Buchanan, and had

1. Franklin B. Screven, married Elizabeth Mackay (Stiles) Mills, widow of Charles Mills, leaving a son;

2. Murray Lloyd Screven, married Adele Weber, having one son.

3. Ellen Screven, married Willam W. Gordon, Jr., having two children; Wm. W. Gordon and Margaret Eleanor Gordon.

4. Nannie Lloyd Screven, married James Garnett Basinger, having one child, Anna Lloyd Basinger.

Let us return now to Major John Screven and his wife Hannah Proctor, mentioned in the article in our June number. This couple had a daughter Martha who became the second wife of Dr. William Coffee Daniell. Dr. Daniell's first wife was Elizabeth Mary Screven, sister of Martha his second wife. These two ladies were daughters of Proctor sisters. Dr. Daniell and his first wife, Martha Screven, had

Benjamin R. Daniell, married Eleanor Dockery, and left issue;

Tattnall F. Daniell, married Susan Ann Footman, and left issue.

Dr. Daniell and his second wife, Elizabeth Mary Screven, had

Charles Daniell, married Elizabeth P. Richardson—no issue;

Sarah E. Daniell, married Dr. J. C. LeHardy, and their descendants are with us at this time.

In giving an account of the Screvens it would be unpardonable to omit the names of members of the Bryan family who surely did a large part in shaping the history of this State.

We will begin with Jonathan Bryan, of whom we will quote a few words from Captain Thomas F. Screven, one of his descendants, to give in brief form some account of his active life:

"Mr. Bryan moved in December, 1752, with his family to Savannah, permanently. With a high standing in South Carolina, he soon became more prominent in Georgia. One of the king's council; one of the judges of the court of oyer and terminer and the general court; treasurer of the province; captain of a company of horse militia; prominent in the councils of the malcontents with the actions of the British government in regard to taxation, who desired and finally succeeded in a separation of the province and state from the control of that government; resigned from the king's coun-

cil, because of its threat to expel him, whereupon the Union Society bestowed upon him a silver vase, a gift expressive of the Society's appreciation of his devotion to the cause of his fellow citizens; member of the Council of Safety and Executive Council, at one time acting as president of the state; in January, 1779, captured with his son James by the British at his 'Union' Plantation, twelve miles north and west of Savannah, but on the northern shore of the Savannah river, both taken to New York and held there in close and severe imprisonment for more than two years; when exchanged they returned to Georgia or South Carolina. Mr. Bryan's last effort for the colonists was his fighting with General Wayne in the latter's victory over the British and Indians near Savannah in the last year of the war."

Josiah Bryan, sixth child of Jonathan and Mary (Williamson) Bryan, married Elizabeth Pendarvis, and a son of this couple, Joseph, married Delia Forman, as we have seen, and had John Randolph, Thomas Marsh Forman, and Georgia Hannah Bryan. The last named has had our attention in what we have said of Dr. James P. Screven, her son. The second, Thos. M. Forman Bryan, married first Florida Troup, daughter of Governor George M. Troup, by whom he had children, among them Augusta Forman Bryan, who became the wife of Robert Pooler Wayne, and the mother of a family. Mrs. Wayne and her daughter Eliza are now living in Savannah. Her sister, Georgia Bryan Forman (the father having dropped the name Bryan in 1846) married Holmes Conrad, and this family live outside of Georgia. Another daughter of Josiah and Elizabeth (Pendarvis) Bryan was named Virginia Sarah, and she married William Mackay. She and her two children were lost in the sinking of the steamer "Pulaski," off the shore of North Carolina, in 1838. Joseph Bryan, son of Josiah, married Jane Bourke, and a number of children were born to this couple, of whom was Major Henry Bryan, and he married Jane Wallace, daughter of the Rev. Charles Wallace Howard, leaving at his death his widow, a son, and two daughters:

1. Ella Howard Bryan, writer of short stories, using the name, "Clinton Dangerfield."
2. Howard Bryan.
3. Virginia Bryan.

We have departed from our original purpose by following up to a certain extent the Bryan line of the Screven family, and here we must take leave of the subject, at least for the present. The other branches and connections are worthy of special articles, and we may at some other time pay attention to them.

THE ATTRIBUTES OF AMERICA.

Dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt, the Greatest Living
American Patriot.

Freedom. America! America!!
 The signet of the free:
The land which gave that wondrous birth—
 A Lincoln and a Lee.

Patriotism. America! America!!
 The slogan of the brave;
For honor, and for liberty,
 Victory, or the grave.

Leadership. America! America!!
 The beacon of the world,
Which lights the way to shun the shoals
 Where ships of state are hurled.

Sympathy. America! America!!
 The synonym of rest,
As bleeding Belgium lifts her eyes,
 And pillows on thy breast.

Justice. America! America!!
 The emblem of the Right;
No savage lust can more prevail
 When thou hast shown thy might.

Peace. America! America!!
 The gentle dove of peace—
Thou warrest for the only cause,
 That wrongful wars shall cease!

A Member of the Georgia Historical Society.

Savannah, Ga., July 31, 1917.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

We wish to make clear to our readers the fact that the Georgia Historical Society is not in politics.

Certain newspapers and other publications have asserted that this Society has officially criticised the two United States Senators from Georgia for their opposition to the administration's war policy. One of them, the *New York Times*, said "The Georgia Historical Society, a non-political body, finds the conduct of the Georgia Senators 'a matter of humiliation and just anger to patriotic Georgians,'" and quoted more from the article under review which we need not repeat. The *Nation* also made the mistake of attributing to us the action taken by another body.

The Georgia Historical Society is the publisher of our *Quarterly*, and we take this method of disclaiming any such action as that referred to. We are really just what the *Times* called us—"a non-political body"—and we stick closely to the specific purposes for which we were founded: "To collect, preserve, and diffuse information in relation to the history of the State of Georgia in all its various departments, and American history generally, and to create an historical library for the use of its members and others."

We have never entered into politics, and never will do so. The action in question was taken by a newly organized institution, with headquarters in Atlanta, which has unfortunately adopted a name so much like ours as to cause all this confusion. It is called the Georgia Historical Association.

The Georgia Historical Society—ours—has been in existence since 1839, and we regret that certain persons have now organized and taken a name so much like it as to make this statement necessary.

We are under obligation to Sir Gilbert Parker and to Professor W. Macneile Dixon, of the University of Glasgow, for regular remittances of publications of great interest in behalf of the cause of Great Britain and the other allied powers in the present war. These come at regular intervals, and are full of matter bearing on the war, and will be very useful in time to come to persons desiring to read about the world war from every standpoint.

From the Hon. James M. Beck we have received a complimentary copy of his latest work: "The War and Humanity," published by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Since our June number we have received the following exchanges:

Chicago Historical Society Year Book, 1916.

Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, March, 1917.

Bulletin of the Minnesota Historical Society, February, 1917.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, October, 1916.

Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, January, April and July, 1917.

Quarterly of the Louisiana Historical Society, January, 1917.

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, July, 1917.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1917.

Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society, Vol. 5, 1905-12.

Proceedings of 111th Annual Meeting of the New England Society in the City of New York.

Charleston, S. C., Year Book, 1916.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

O. C. W.—In your Queries and Answers in the September Quarterly will you please give the derivation of the name of our suburban village, Thunderbolt?

The first time the name Thunderbolt appears in Georgia history is under the date of March 13th, 1733, when acknowledgment was made of the receipt from Mr. Samuel Baker of "a cask of potash made at Thunderbolt, in Georgia." Again, General Oglethorpe, on the 27th of February, 1735-36, mentioned the purchase of a cargo of provisions to be delivered at St. Simon's whither he went after having "passed by Skidaway and Thunderbolt." It is on the authority of Oglethorpe that the statement has repeatedly been made that the place received its name "from a fall of a thunderbolt, and a spring thereupon arose in that place which still smells of the bolt."

Several attempts have been made to change the name to the more dignified one of Warsaw, but in this case the old adage "Give a place a bad name, and it will stick to it" holds true. The name Warsaw is now the real name of the town, given to it in the act of incorporation; but notwithstanding all that the people still call it Thunderbolt, and will probably always do so. The cars on the trolley line running there all bear the name by which the people insist on calling it.

But even though the name of Warsaw should be adopted, it would be a misnomer. The reason for the change was because the town is on a branch of what is wrongfully called Warsaw River. The river and island so called should really be the Indian name Wassaw, and so they were originally named. It is correctly given in a tract published in 1740, called "A State of the Province of Georgia," by William Stephens, in which the author wrote that "To the southward of Tybee are the following enteries, viz: Wassaw," etc., and De Brahm, in his "History of the Province of Georgia," always used that name, giving it no less than three times on one page.

T. R. H.—Who was the wife of Oglethorpe? Was she ever in Georgia?

On the 15th of September, 1744, General Oglethorpe married Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir Nathan Wright, Baronet, of Cranham Hall, Essex, England. As he made his final departure from Georgia on the 23rd of July, 1743, it will be seen that Mrs. Oglethorpe never was here.

Truth-seeker.—I have been told by some persons that General Nathanael Greene died at Mulberry Grove, and by others that he died at White Hall, the home of a Mr. Gibbons. What is the truth about this matter?

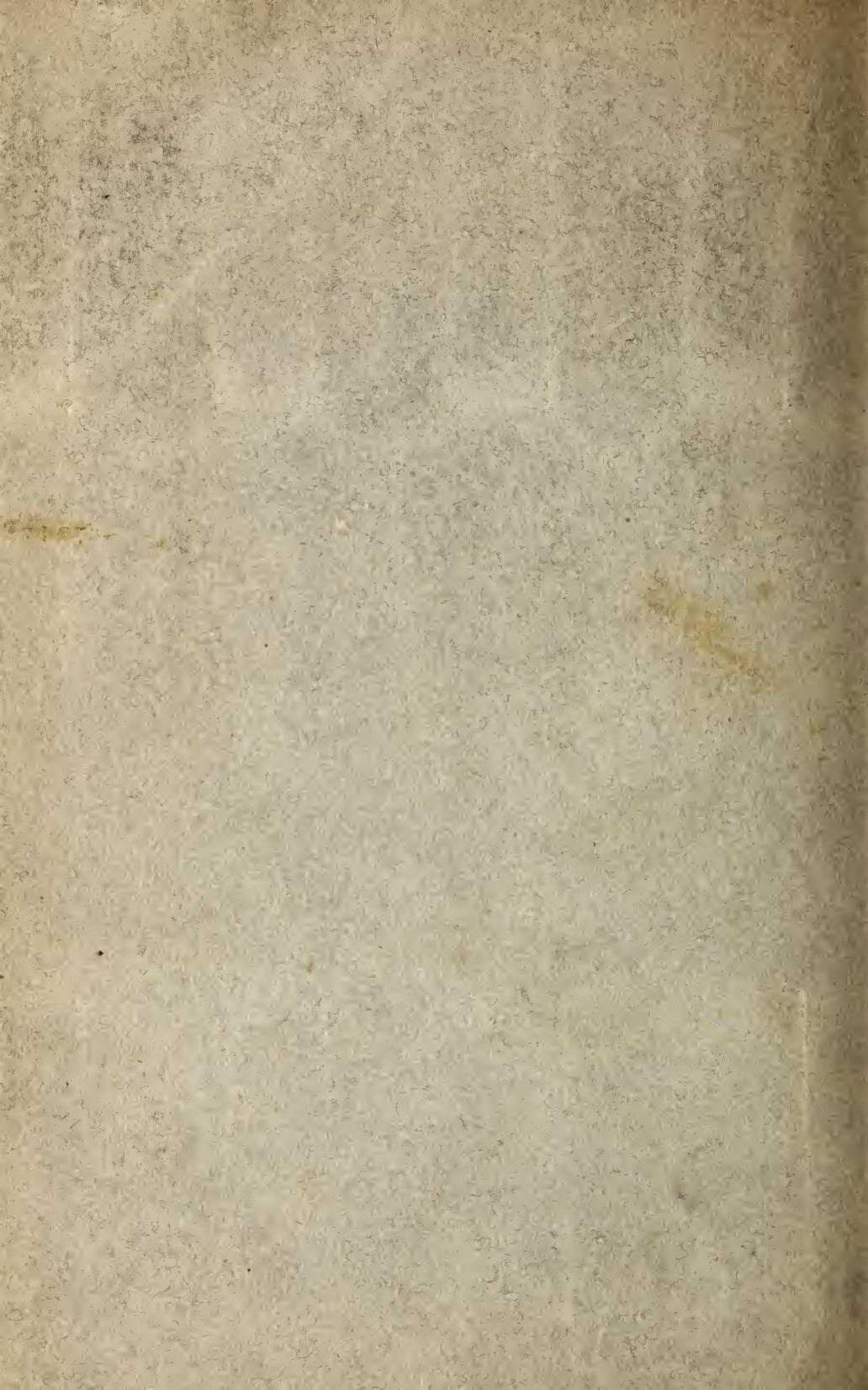
Our correspondent is not alone in his desire to be set right on this subject. So many writers have made the positive statement that General Greene died at his home, Mulberry Grove, that they surely must have had sufficient reason for so saying; but, on the other hand, many have stated that he died at White Hall, the home Mr. William Gibbons, among the latter being the Rev. George White, in his "Statistics of Georgia." The former statement is correct. The General was in Savannah on the 12th of June, 1786, and the next day he started early to return to Mulberry Grove, intending to spend the day at White Hall. After breakfast

he and his party went to look over the rice crop of Mr. Gibbons, where it is supposed the heat of the sun was so intense as to have afterwards affected him. At any rate, he was not at once stricken down, for the best accounts show that it was while on his way home in the evening that he complained of a severe pain in the head. It is needless to recount the facts regarding his last moments and death. It is not positively known what was the cause of his death, whether it was a sunstroke, according to some, or a congestive chill, according to others. The fact is, as the weight of the evidence shows, that he died at Mulberry Grove.

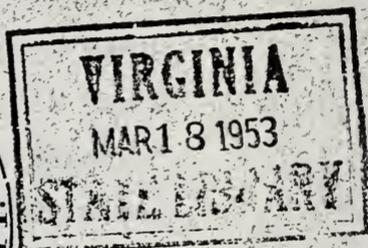
W. G. L.—How was Count Pulaski introduced to General Washington?

Benjamin Franklin, minister to France when Pulaski was much talked of, gave the following letter to Pulaski, to be delivered to Washington:

“Count Pulaski, of Poland, an officer famous throughout Europe for his bravery and conduct in defence of the liberties of his country against the great invading powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, will have the honour of delivering this into your hands. The Court here have encouraged and promoted his voyage, from an opinion that he may be useful to our service.”



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QUARTERLY



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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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VOL. 1—No. 4.

DECEMBER, 1917.

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One Dollar a Number.

Three Dollars a Year.

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1917

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AND
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*Died May 9, 1917.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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DECEMBER, 1917.

No. 4

OFFICIAL LETTERS OF GOVERNOR JOHN MARTIN, 1782-1783.

John Martin was the Governor of Georgia at a most important time in the history of the State, when the British government found that all hope of keeping within its grasp its rich possessions in America must be thrown away; when Sir James Wright, the royal Governor, seeing the hopelessness of his cause, wrote to England that "appearances are very gloomy," and, as a matter of great concern, stated that "The rebel Governor Martin, now at Ebenezer, has issued three proclamations, one to the King's troops, one to the Hessians, and another to the militia, inviting them all to revolt and join the virtuous Americans against the tyranny of the British government," adding that "three hundred French troops are on their way from Virginia, and yet we can get no assistance, and all my letters are disregarded;" and when the British troops actually evacuated Savannah, forever liberating the State of Georgia from foreign dominion. It is strange, then, that the letters of this man have not before this been published collectively. Stranger still is the fact that so little is known of his life. Writers state that they do not know where he was born, and yet in one of the letters following, to General Greene, he says he was a native of Rhode Island. One account alleges that nothing is known as to the time or place of his death, but the Georgia Gazette of February 2d, 1786, contained this record: "Last week died on his way westward, whither he was bound for the recovery of his health, the Hon. John Martin, Esq."

John Martin represented the town and district of Savannah in the first Provincial Congress of Georgia, in July, 1775. He was a member of the Council of Safety until ap-

pointed first lieutenant of the 7th Company "ordered to be raised for the protection and defense of the Colony of Georgia." He was promoted to the office of Captain July 11th, 1776, and in 1781 attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. On the 2d of January, 1782, he was elected Governor of Georgia, and held the office until January 9th, 1783, when he was succeeded by Lyman Hall, and then he became Treasurer of the State.

Augusta, Jan. 11th, 1782.

Friends and Brothers,

Open your ears wide, and be attentive to what I am now going to tell you; for they are great truths and not lies.

In our last talk to you by your head men and warriors we told you that our great warrior, General Washington, had beat the English in Virginia, and had taken their head warrior and eight thousand red coats and two thousand Tories and sailors prisoners, and had also taken a great many of their ships of war, which has put an end to the war in Virginia; that our warriors were coming on to Carolina & Georgia to General Greene, our great warrior in Carolina, in order to drive the British from Charleston and Savannah, and put an end to the war in Carolina and in this Country.

Our warriors are all arrived in Carolina, and are not now more than one hundred miles from Augusta.

We likewise told you we would wish to live in peace and friendship with our old friends and brothers, the Creeks, and to keep the chain of friendship as fair and as bright as the Sun, and the path plain, clear and open, and that our friendship should be united by a chain so strong as never to be broken, so that we might live in peace with our good old friends and brothers, the Creeks, forever; and that I now repeat and tell them the same.

But, to our great surprise and astonishment, some of your mad people and the Tories and bad people who remain among them by the instigation of Brown's lying talks and a few trifling presents, have been induced to come down and have murdered one of our people, in the back settlements, and have carried off two young women prisoners, and some of our horses and cattle.

Our great warrior, General Greene, is now lying before Chas. Town with a large army of soldiers and horsemen, with their long swords and pistols, so that none of the

British dare shew their heads out of Charleston;—Our good friends the French have already taken most all the rum, sugar and salt islands from the English, and will this winter take the whole of them, then they will supply us with plenty of rum, sugar, and salt, and we shall be able to supply you with these articles. You likewise see that our good friends the Spaniards, have already taken Mobile & Pensacola, and they will very soon take Augustine, as we are told by deserters from Savannah that they are already there with a great many thousand warriors and ships of war, & we shall soon drive the British away from Chas. Town and Sav., and then this whole country will be ours again, and the British will never be again able to take it from us, for we have already killed and taken most all of their soldiers.

Brothers, you are sensible we have desired you to go to Carolina to see our great warrior, Gen'l Greene, and his army, that you might see them with your own eyes, and be convinced we tell you nothing but truth, and that you might tell your headmen and warriors that you have seen these things with your own eyes, but you have told us you are obliged immediately to return and can't undertake the journey. However, if you'll inform your headmen and warriors if any of them have a mind to come down and see our great warrior, General Greene, and his army in Carolina, we would be very glad, that they might see with their own eyes, and be convinced that what we tell you is true.

You say our good friends the Spaniards won't give you any ammunition, altho' you say you know they have great plenty. I know the reason very well; it is because you still keep Brown's liars, Tories & King's people among you, and they are afraid if they supply you with powder and ball, that your mad men will use it against their good friends the Virginians. But if you drive the Tories, Brown's liars, and King's men from among you, and never let them return again, then they will supply you with what you want; otherwise they will not. Brothers, we should be very sorry to fall out with any of our good old friends, the Creeks, on account of their mad people, occasioned by Brown's lying talks, but we cannot; our hearts will not let us put up with those injuries, and they may depend we will not put up with our people's being cruelly murdered in this manner.

You tell us you wish to be our friends & to live in peace & still let Mr. McIntosh & Brown's lying people keep among you, & let your mad men and them come down and murder our peaceable men, women, and children, and steal

our horses, cattle & negroes. Actions speak louder than words. If you wish to live in peace with us, as we sincerely do with you, convince us you speak truth, by immediately sending down all our white people that you have taken prisoners, and all the negroes, horses, and cattle they have stole from us, and likewise send us down all those Tories, bad people, and King's men that are among you making mischief, that we may take satisfaction of them ourselves, and suffer no more of them to come among you with their lies, to deceive you. By doing this you will plainly show that you mean to be our fast and firm friends;—for, as I told you before, actions speak louder than words; otherwise we are sorry to tell you we shall be obliged to send our warriors up to your towns (that have done the mischief) and lay them in ashes and make your women widows, and children fatherless. We should be very sorry the innocent should suffer with the guilty, which perhaps may be the case, which can only be avoided by separating themselves from their mad men, & those Tories and liars that are among them—it is our enemies we threaten and not our friends. But we hope you will be wise and give us the satisfaction we ask, and not oblige us to do that which we would not wish to do.

The British made war upon us because we and our women and children would not be their slaves & work for them the same as the negroes, and if they could have made slaves of us, they would have made you their slaves also;—no we would not be their slaves, we had the spirit of men and warriors; we fought them and beat them: the great God above fights for us in our great cause. The British have told you all along that they have beat us everywhere, and that they had killed almost all of us—they tell you great lies—for if they are strong enough to beat us themselves, why are they sending people among you every day with their lies to deceive you, and to endeavor by their trifling presents to persuade your madmen to come down and kill us. No; they tell you great lies, and the truth is not in them.

We never ask you to assist us; we never ask you to come down and kill the British;—but in all our talks we have desired you to sit down peaceably and quietly, and mind your hunting. No—the reason is very plain. We are strong enough to beat them ourselves, and they know it—otherwise they would not ask you to help them. They have made our men all warriors, and we shall soon drive them from our country over the other side of the great water.

We shall then sit down in peace and quietness, every man under his own vine and fig tree, and none shall make him afraid. We shall then begin to build large ships again, and trade with all nations, the French, the Spanish, & the Dutch;—we shall then have plenty of goods of all kinds. It is true, this war has made us poor, and we are not ashamed to own it; because our cause is just; but we shall soon be rich and happy, as our countrymen at the northward are already—and if you are determined to be our good friends as you have heretofore been and as willing to be at peace with us, and keep the good old chain of friendship bright, and the path straight, fair and open—we will then love you as friends, and take you to our bosoms; and you shall share our riches and happiness with us.

Friends and brothers, we hope you'll remember all we have now told you, and hope you'll give this talk to your head men and warriors. Brothers, we have told you all we have to say to you now, and wish you a pleasant and an agreeable journey, and a happy sight of your friends and families.

Augusta, 15th Jan. 1782.

Sir:—

Agreeable to the enclosed resolution of the honorable the House of Assembly, you are hereby required to deliver to Mr. Daniel McMurphy all public papers belonging to this State, which may be in your hands, taking his receipt for the same. You'll please to have the trunks, &c., sealed and the keys sent under seal to our Delegates in Congress,

I am sir,

Your most obt. serv't,

Edm'd Davies, Esq'r.

J. M.

Augusta, 19th of January, 1782.

Sir:—

I am happy to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 14th inst., by Col. Eustace, and am pleased that the military operations of this infant and distressed State are, by the Honorable Major Gen'l Greene, committed to the care of a gentleman whose military talent has already rendered him so conspicuous both in Europe and America. I mean not to flatter, sir, but only to give real merit her just

due, and doubt not but duty, as well as inclination, will lead you to exert every power for the protection of the citizens, and the total extirpation of the enemy from this State; and you may rest assured that I will give you every support, aid and assistance, and co-operate with you in every measure that will tend to this essential and desirable purpose.

I have already issued orders to the respective officers for one-half of the militia of this State to be immediately drafted and imbodyed (except the County of Wilkes, they being a frontier, and one-third of them are ordered out) and to march to camp by the 26th inst., in order to act in concert with the Continental troops you have now with you. They are to do duty for two months, at which period they will be relieved by an equal number—I have likewise ordered a Commissary and quarter-master, to proceed to camp in order to provide proper provisions & forage for the support and maintenance of the whole in the field. I have also collected and sent down such boats as could be procured to the Two Sisters, agreeable to your request, for the immediate crossing of the troops on this side. Your observations respecting the opening a wide door for the reception of such citizens as have taken protection or joined the enemy are in my opinion extremely just and humane, and such as good policy at this crisis would undoubtedly dictate. I have more than once urged those very measures during the setting of the late House of Assembly, which were entirely disregarded, and not the least attention paid to them. Owing to the repeated injuries and distresses those very characters have brought upon the virtuous citizens of this State, nature would not be nature could it immediately forget injuries like those, which impressions are only to be erased by time—but those very characters among the enemy are of such a nature (some few excepted) that I am confident the citizens of this State would rather meet them in the open field than suffer them to remain among them, and think in that situation they would be less able to do us mischief. You cannot, sir, be sensible of the misery and distress they have been a means of bringing on this once flourishing, but now unhappy country, nor can you possibly have an idea of the feelings of men in this situation. However, I am not yet out of hope, and think that something important may still be done in this business at a future day.

I would beg leave to urge the necessity of a body of regular Infantry to give support, stability and confidence to the militia; you must be sensible what militia are, (tho' I flatter myself ours are good or I am much deceived; they

have been tried), therefore must be thoroughly convinced they never will stand the bayonet, without a support of this kind.

I imagine we shall be able with the draft of one-half of the militia to bring about three hundred effective men into the field, exclusive of Col. Jackson's troops and Infantry belonging to this State, which I expect will be complete in a fortnight, and will consist of about 40 horse & fifty foot, Col. McKay's corps of Volunteers consisting of about eighty men well mounted, and Maj. Moore's Regmt. of Carolina State Dragoons, consisting of one hundred and sixty well mounted; the above corps have orders to reconnoiter the country, cover your crossing and to join you immediately on this side. You will therefore from this estimate be the best judge of what number of regular infantry will be sufficient to carry on your future operations. In the interim I have the honor to be with the greatest esteem & respect y'r honor's obt. and very humble serv't,

J. M.

P. S.—I beg leave to hint to you that we have a great scarcity of salt and ammunition, likewise of corn & fodder; and the back inhabitants of this State are at this time in the greatest distress for grain for the support of themselves and families. Whether a supply of those articles could not be procured from Carolina to be refunded on a future day?

The Honorable Brig. Gen. }
Wayne at Camp. } Hon'd by Col. Eustace.

Augusta, 29th Jan'y, 1782.

Dr. Sir:—It is with pleasure I acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 24 instant, enclosing a duplicate of yours of the 14, which I had rec'd. I now have the honor of enclosing you a duplicate of a letter I wrote you by Mr. Donally, to be delivered to Col. Cooper, by whose hands I hope you have rec'd it. It was to have been conveyed to you by Col. Eustace who went off and left my dispatches, and beg leave to refer you to the same.

I shall endeavor by every possible means to supply you with provisions & forage, but am afraid they will be small from this part of the country, as the inhabitants hereabouts are greatly distressed for subsistence. Therefore am apprehensive we must have recourse to Carolina, where, am confident, there is plenty to be had.

The late House of Assembly have not furnished me with the means of supply any otherwise than by certificates, redeemable by the sale of the forfeited estates in December next; and the inhabitants of Beech Island in Carolina (our principal granary at present) have combined together, and will not sell a single bushel without the cash, which we have not got; and I being possessed of no powers without the limits of this State cannot take a single bushel of grain from them. I must therefore request that (as a Continental gen'l officer) you would furnish the Or. Mr. or Com'ys with sufficient powers to impress corn & forage in Carolina as the only effectual means of supply.

I am extremely sorry the militia have not been able to co-operate with you sooner, owing to a former draft being nearly expired, and being under the absolute necessity of ordering a new draft; however, I hope they'll now be able shortly to join you, by detachments or otherwise, as every exertion on my part is now, and has been making.

I have given the necessary orders for the immediate repair of the bridges between the Sisters and Ebenezer, which hope will speedily be effected. I hope to have the honor of being with you shortly. Interim, I am with the greatest esteem & respect y'r honor's most obedient

& very hble. servant,

The hon'ble

Brig'r Gen'l Wayne, in Camp;

Per Express.

J. M.

Augusta, Feb. 3rd, 1782.

Dr. Sir:—

I did myself the honor of writing to you per the return of the express, in answer to your favor of the 24th ulto., covering a duplicate of a letter I wrote you some time since, which I hope has safely reached your hands.

I flatter'd myself of being with you in this; but unavoidable delays have retarded the march of the militia longer that I expected, and business of a civil nature has detained me. However, I hope the militia will now speedily join you at Ebenezer, and I shall follow in a few days after, myself, as I am extremely anxious to see them in forwardness before I leave this.

The foot militia in field I am apprehensive will fall something short of the numbers I mentioned to you in my letter, owing to an expedition being formed against the Cherokee

nation, by the States of North and So. Carolina in which this State is called upon for their assistance, to co-operate with them in this undertaking, and Col. Clarke with the Wilkes County militia are obliged to proceed upon this business, which will for the present deprive us of about eighty men in the field; however I am in hopes we shall not fall far short, as numbers have turned out and joined the volunteer corps now with you, under Cols. McKay and Baker.

I hope you have furnished the different departments with sufficient powers for procuring a supply of corn and forage from Carolina, as I can see no possibility of effecting it on this side, the inhabitants of the upper parts of this State being so amazingly distressed for those articles, owing to their being constantly on duty for this twelve months past, and many of them not having it in their power to raise a single bushel of grain.

I am, with the greatest esteem & respect, your honor's most obt. & very humble servant,

J. M.

The Honorable Brig. Gen'l Wayne,
at Camp.

I must beg the favor of you to endeavor, if possible, to effect the liberation of Col. Wylly, now within the enemy's lines, at Savannah, a gentleman who has been a long time in captivity with his family, and in the greatest distress, not having been able to procure any kind of supplies from his friends. If this business could be effected I should be extremely happy. You'll have this handed to you by Col. Jackson, of the Georgia State Legion, a friend of mine. He is a gentleman and a soldier, I beg leave to introduce him to your acquaintance as one worthy of your confidence.

To the Honorable Brig. Gen'l Wayne.

Augusta, Feb. 3rd, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

If you recollect, when in Augusta, you mentioned to me you had some intentions of becoming a citizen of Georgia, likewise many of your corps, provided you & they have any encouragement from this State. I have the pleasure to inform you, that I have consulted Council on this head,

and find them extremely agreeable, and I am authorized to make you the following proposals, that is, provided they engage for 12 months, or during the war, to allow the privates for Continental pay, and two hundred and fifty acres of land, and the officers in proportion to their rank. If these terms should be agreeable, I should be extremely happy. In the interim, I am with perfect esteem

Dr. Sir, Yr. most obt. Servant

P. S.—I expect to be at camp shortly. Please write me on this head as speedily as possible.

Maj'r John Moore, Com'g the
State troops of So. Carolina,
Camp.

Augusta, 9 Feb'y, 1782.

Dr. Sir:—

I was extremely happy in receiving your obliging favor of the 9th of Jan., ultimo, wherein you mention you have just been informed by the Speaker of our House of Assembly of my appointment to the arduous and unthankful office of Chief Magistrate of this State; an office unexpected, unasked and unsolicited by me. It was by the free voice of my country. I was therefore, of course, dragged into it unwillingly; therefore, if I should not answer their expectations they have only themselves to blame. However, I flatter myself they have appointed a firm and staunch friend to the independence of America, and I can assure them the small share of abilities I possess are entirely devoted to their service.

I sincerely wish I may be able to conduct myself through this troublesome business with propriety to myself, and satisfaction to the public. The moment a man is appointed to an elevated station in life, he that moment becomes a target for every fool to level his arrows at. I expect many rubs, anxieties, and unpleasant moments. If I should not, I shall be greatly disappointed; therefore, shall prepare myself for their reception and endeavor to plunge through them if possible. I may err from the head, but I flatter myself not from the heart. I shall endeavor to act with a conscious rectitude, and proceed straight forward, without looking partially to the right hand or to the left; therefore, whatever censures I may receive during my administration, I flatter myself when they come to be investigated by a candid, an impartial world, they'll at least allow me to be the honest man.

I observe you say in your letter, "if you are the gentleman from Rhode Island to whom I had the honor of being introduced at the Congaree, I am happy in the choice, and beg leave to congratulate you on your appointment, but if you are not the gentleman I must trust to your good nature to pardon the freedom of this familiar introduction, founded upon the supposition of the gentleman's being a countryman of mine"—

I must sir, in the first place inform you that I am the gentleman from Rhode Island who had the honor of being introduced to you, upon the Congaree, and am also happy in the pleasing reflection that I am a countryman of yours.

The appointment of Gen. Wayne to take command in this State is perfectly agreeable. An officer of his distinguished merit, and tried experience, must and does give general satisfaction, and may depend I shall give every support, aid and assistance, and will cheerfully co-operate with him in any measure that will tend to the total extirpation of the enemy from this infant & distressed State. The judicious appointment of two such officers to command in the Southern Department is, in my humble opinion, a pleasing presage of future success and happiness. I heartily congratulate you on the late honorable acknowledgments Congress have been pleased to pay to your merits in the battle of the Eutaw.

I have ordered out one-half of the militia of this State for a fixed period (two months), which I believe will amount to about three hundred foot, besides Col. Jackson's Legion of this State, consisting of about 40 horse & 50 foot, and about 100 volunteer horse. I should have been able to have turned out a few more in the field, had it not been for the frequent alarms on the frontiers, by the Indians and Tories, which must be protected; and an expedition against the Cherokee nation being now undertaken by the States of North & South Carolina, in which this State is called upon for her aid and assistance in this business. Col. Clarke has, of course, gone with the Wilkes County militia; therefore have not been able to draw a single man from thence.

Your observations respecting the opening a door for the reception of the disaffected of our State, with particular exceptions, are in my opinion extremely just and humane, and such as good policy, at this crisis, would undoubtedly dictate. I have more than once urged those very measures during the setting of the late House of Assembly, which were entirely disregarded and not the least attention paid to them. Owing to the repeated injuries and distresses those

very characters have brought upon the virtuous citizens of this State, nature would not be nature could it immediately forget injuries like those which impressions are only to be erased by time; but those very characters among the enemy are of such a nature (some few excepted) that I am confident the citizens of this State would rather meet them in the open field than suffer them to remain among them, and think in that situation they would be less able to do us mischief. You cannot, sir, be sensible of the misery and distress they have been a means of bringing on this once flourishing but now distressed and unhappy country, nor can you possibly have an idea of the feelings of men in their situation; therefore they have great reason for their implacability. However, I am not out of hope, and still think that something important may yet be done in this business, on a future day. In my letter to General Wayne, I have urged the necessity of a body of regular infantry to give support, stability and confidence to the militia. You are very sensible what militia in general are, tho' I flatter myself ours are good, or I am much deceived. They have been tried, therefore must be thoroughly convinced they will never stand the bayonet, without a support of this kind. Your observations in respect to plundering are, in my opinion, extremely just and politic; it is a diabolical practice, and one that I am determined to crush. I have the honor to be with the greatest esteem, & respect,

Your Excellency's most obt. serv't,

J. M.

His Excel'y Maj. Gen'l Greene.

Augusta, 6th March, 1782.

Sir:—

I have received your kind favor of the 3rd Feb'y, ultimo, informing of your detaining a number of negroes at the Yadkin Ford, in the possession of Col. McMurphy, and that they are suspected to be plundered property, and that they appear to belong to one Dill, a tory whose property is confiscated by a late act of Assembly. I am extremely obliged to your Excellency, for this friendly information, and am therefore to request that you'll please give the necessary orders, and have the said negroes disposed of as speedily as possible, in the most convenient and advantageous manner, for the benefit of this State, transmitting an account sales of the

same to me as early as possible, the proceeds for the present to be lodg'd as your Excellency may think proper to direct, until you may receive further advice from me. In the meantime, I am with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obt. and very hble. serv't,

His Excell'y
Gov. Martin of No. Carolina.

J. M.

Augusta, 14 March, 1782.

Gentlemen:—

Your favor of the 3 & 12th Dec., & of the 9th Jan'y, three from his Excellency the President of Congress, the 24th Sept., 30th Nov. and 17th Dec., four from the financier, Rob't Morris, Esq., 17th Nov., 6th, 19th & 21st Dec., one from Robert R. Livingston, Esquire, of 12th Nov., and one from his Excellency Gen. Washington, of the 19th December—all of which I have had the honor of receiving. The many weighty and important matters therein contained, wherein the safety and independence of this State is so essentially concerned, has, by and with the advice and consent of the honorable the Executive Council, induced me to convene the House of Assembly of this State at a much earlier period than that which it stood adjourned to, in order to lay the same before them for their consideration, & doubt not but every attention will be paid to the respective recommendations therein contained, as far as the nature & situation of this country will admit of. The various struggles we have had, and which we daily experience, and the present distressed situation of this country, will admit of but small exertions; our inclinations are good, but our abilities are small. We therefore stand in great need of every support and assistance which I flatter myself Congress will not be unmindful of. The conduct of the military operations in this State was, by the Honorable Major General Greene, committed to the care of Brig. Gen'l Wayne, an officer whose abilities are too well known to need a comment, and who is much approved of here. He entered this State the beginning of January last, with about one hundred and twenty horse, which threw the enemy into such a panick that they immediately abandon'd their outposts, destroy'd all the provision & forage in the vicinity of Savannah, & fled into the town with precipitation, where they have ever since been cooped up by that force, with

the addition of Col. Jackson's Legion of this State, consisting of about 40 horse, and 50 foot & about 100 militia—altho' their force, from the best information, is about 1,500 or 2,000 men, including militia. They doubtless at first must have conceived Gen. Wayne's force to have been much greater than it really was. Gen. Wayne, I'm informed, has been down near the lines of Savannah, and has destroy'd all their forage at the Governor's Plantation at Yamacraw and at Hutchinson's Island. General Barnwell co-operated with Gen'l Wayne from the Carolina side. In this manoeuvre about six or eight of the militia of Carolina were either killed or taken in this enterprise, which is all the loss we have met with, and I believe that was principally occasioned by their own imprudence. I have received no official accounts from Gen. Wayne as yet, respecting it; but it comes well authenticated, & I believe is beyond a doubt. Altho' the enemy at Savannah are so vastly superior in force to us, yet they seldom or ever venture without their lines. I believe the principal cause is they are afraid of trusting their own men, as desertions from them are very prevalent, which they embrace every opportunity, and numbers of Hessians and others have come out from time to time which all their vigilance is not able to prevent. The troops in Savannah from every information are much dissatisfied.

The distresses of the inhabitants of this State for the want of provisions has prevented my giving that support to the operations of Gen. Wayne that I could have wished. Many of the inhabitants in the upper part of this State have not tasted any thing of bread kind this six weeks past, and it is almost impossible to turn out men under these circumstances, for, by the constant duty they were heretofore on, they lost their former crops, & if they are now drawn into the field they would of course lose the ensuing, and we should be obliged to quit the country for want of provisions; however, I'm in great hopes I shall be able to alleviate their distresses in some measure by an application to Carolina for a quantity of rice for their present support, and if we can possibly rub through for a month or two longer, I'm in hopes we shall do much better, as we have prospects of fine crops of wheat this season. This State is much in want of arms, ammunition, clothing and salt. We are without money and no mode of supply unless Congress could fall on some plan of doing it. We have, it is true, had some temporary supplies of ammunition from General Greene, but those are nearly exhausted. I am requested by the hon'ble the Executive Council to desire you would, without loss of time, inquire into

the expenditure or appropriation of the 30,000 levies granted for the use of this State, and transmit an account of the same to me as early as possible. Altho' civil government is established in the States, yet still our unhappy situation is such that it is morally impossible to carry the laws fully into effect.

Plundering and killing have heretofore been frequent in this country. That was a time, perhaps, when it was justifiable, but that time is now past, and I am determined to crush those horrid practices in future, as far as lays in my power. I have enclosed you three proclamations lately issued: one for the reception of deluded citizens (great numbers of which have already come in), one to encourage desertion from the enemy (this has been published in German, as well as English language), and one calling the House of Assembly to meet at Augusta the third Tuesday in April next. For further particulars I beg leave to refer you to Col. Few, by whom you'll receive this & who is competent to give you every necessary information. Interim, I have the honor to be, gen'm'n

Your most obt. & very humble serv't,

J. M.

To the Hon. the Delegates for the
State of Georgia in Congress, Philadelphia.

Augusta, 14th March, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

You'll have this handed you by Mr. Douglass, who has leave to visit his friends at Augusta and then return to camp. I am sorry to find many of his countrymen are very inveterate against him, tho' in my opinion undeservedly. His life, I'm informed, has been attempted more than once, and am afraid if I had not particularly interfered he would have been murdered.

I am confident it would have been out of my power to give him sufficient protection was he at present to stay here longer. There was, a few days since, a most notorious instance of this kind happened; a citizen was coolly and deliberately killed at noon day, by one of our back inhabitants. I immediately took the necessary measures for securing the murderer, but my orders were disobeyed, as opposition was threatened. The person who killed the man I'm informed afterwards gave as a reason that the man killed was the

means of the death of his father; but if justice is prevented, and every man to be a judge in his own cause, there will shortly be no safety in this country. We should call the military in to our aid, which is a sad alternative. I am very sorry the corn has not reached your camp sooner, owing to a neglect in some of the departments, for which I shall have them called to a severe account.

The inhabitants of the upper part of this State are almost perishing for provisions; many of them have not eat any bread kind for this three weeks past. If you could possibly have the boats loaded with rice on their return, it would be of infinite advantage to many of the suffering inhabitants this way. Mr. Douglass, Captain Cuthbert, & Mr. Glasscock were unfortunately taken prisoners & paroled by a small party from Savannah. The principals were Weatherford, Lyons, & Webster. There is a quantity of corn impressed by Mr. Oates on Beech-Island agreeable to your orders. Whether a proportion of it could not be spared for this post, as there is no prospect of procuring it on the Georgia side, for the relief of the inhabitants? I'm confident the reason why the people have been so tardy in turning out is the present distress of their families and their preparing for a future crop. I am informed there are numbers of the citizens who have come in from the enemy. I have ordered them all for camp immediately. I have, with the advice of the Council, thought proper to call the Assembly to meet at Augusta the third Tuesday in April next, who will doubtless adjourn to Ebenezer. I would be extremely happy in hearing from you, and am with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your honor's most obt. & very humble serv't,

J. M.

Hon'ble Brig. Gen. Wayne.

Augusta, 14th March, 1782.

Sir:—

Nothing but the present deplorable situation of this country, & the starving condition of the greatest part of the inhabitants, many of whom have not tasted bread kind for more than a month past, could have induced me to trouble your Excellency on this occasion; but impressed with the idea that our distresses, which have been owing to the accumulated horrors of war this country has experienced for this

four years past, might entitle us to hope for some small relief for the present from our sister State, has encouraged me to make this application. Could your Excellency, either in a public capacity or by private recommendation, assist us in the procuring about five hundred barrels of clean rice, the favor will be most gratefully acknowledged, and you may depend I shall take the earliest and most effectual method of having it paid for, as soon as the nature of our affairs will admit. Mr. Wereat, a gentleman who I am informed you are well acquainted with, is the bearer of this, will be able more fully to inform your Excellency of the necessity of this measure, which when you have considered I am fully persuaded you will not in the least wonder at. It was some time in June last, when this country was rescued by its citizens out of the hands of the British, when most of them found only empty houses and barren fields. It was then too late, and our situation by most thought too precarious to attempt making a crop.

The few who stayed at home and made some small effort to raise provisions were too inconsiderable in number to supply those that were obliged in a manner constantly to keep the field, in order to retain the small and desolated part of the country we were possessed of. This is literally the true picture of this country, aggravated by the cries of widows & orphans with which it in all parts abound. Fully relying on the goodness and humanity of your heart, to promote this essential business as much as possible,

I am, with the truest regard, your Excellency's most obt. and very humble servant,

His Excellency the Governor
of South Carolina.

Augusta, 14th March, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I am greatly concerned at not having it in my power to furnish you regularly with so large a number of militia, as I heretofore intimated; and altho' I have made use of every exertion in my power, yet the present unhappy situation of this country is such that I find it impossible to draw out a larger force at a time than you have with you at present. I am to inform you, sir, that it was June, last year, before the inhabitants that were at the retaking of this country

had an opportunity of putting their grain in the ground, and being almost constantly on duty at the same time, their fields were neglected, and of course very little made, which has brought on the great scarcity we at present experience the inconvenience of; and I can assure you that many families in the upper parts have not had a mouthful of bread for more than a month past. The planting season is again arrived, and if this opportunity is omitted of putting their fields in order, and sowing their grain, they and their families must inevitably perish, or be obliged to quit the State; not to mention the many daily murders committed, in which women & children are not excluded, making it absolutely necessary that a patrol be kept constantly on duty in every settlement for its security. These reasons alone, & not an aversion to the service, makes them so backward in turning out at this time. Under these melancholy circumstances it is very hard to get men into the field. I have been obliged lately to apply to the Governor of South Carolina for rice for our present support, & if it should be obtained shall have it distributed among the necessitous, which will cause the men to turn out with more alacrity. If your regular infantry are arrived, or a prospect of their coming soon and the militia can possibly be spared from camp till their crops are in the ground, I'm confident they may then be readily drawn into the field, and in the interval a continuance of my exertions shall not be wanting to keep you as largely supplied as possible. I am fully convinced Gen. Twiggs's going to the northward at the time he did was unfortunate for this country; for in his absence there was not an officer for the militia to look up to as their chief in the field, or to enforce my orders generally, and as Col. Clarke who is next in command was at that time engaged on an Indian expedition; for had he remained, thro' his influence a greater number might at first have been drawn out, being heretofore constantly with them on all occasions. I fully concur with you in sentiments respecting volunteer corps and should never have suffered either McKay's or Carr's to have gone down, if the militia could have been drafted and got out time enough to have rendered you any assistance at your first coming into this State. I have since reduced them, but as they were chiefly composed of Carolinians will not add many to our Militia, and have only retained a few under proper restrictions as a scout during the present alarm on the frontiers of Burke & Effingham Counties. Observing when in camp that your troops appeared to be in great want of tobacco, I shall purchase some as soon as possible and send

down for their use, as nothing contributes more to health in this climate than that plant. I do myself the honor to enclose some letters lately intercepted on their way to the Indian nation, copies of which I have retained. Mr. Wereat, who delivers these dispatches, is very intelligent and capable of giving you every further and necessary information respecting our present situation. He is a very particular friend of mine, and whom I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance. In the mean time I am with the highest sentiments of respect, your honor's most obt. & very humble servant,

Hon'ble Brigadier Gen'l Wayne.

Augusta, 15th March, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 9th Feb., ultimo, in answer to your first letter; since which I have received yours of the 2nd covering copies of two letters you wrote to the Gov. of So. Carolina respecting the raising of black corps. In consequence whereof, and on receipt of several other dispatches from Congress of an important nature, and on consulting with General Wayne, I have by the advice and consent of the Executive Council of this State issued my proclamation for convening the General Assembly at a much earlier period than that which it stood adjourned to & shall then lay the several recommendations therein contained before them and make no doubt but they will be attended to as far as our present distressed situation will admit. The raising a body of blacks I am sure would answer every purpose intended, but am afraid it will not go down with the people here. However, it shall not want my exertions to carry it into effect.

Major Habersham of the Georgia Continental troops has undertaken to find out the different officers now in this State and to ascertain their ranks and dates of commissions; their distressed situation will necessarily make it some time before he can complete it, but as soon as done will have it transmitted to you. Our great want of arms, ammunition, clothing & salt—no money or mode of supply & our very great want of grain—render it impossible to make any extraordinary exertions at this time, & keeps me with regret from affording that assistance to Gen. Wayne which my heart could wish. The inhabitants losing their crops generally

last year by being almost on constant duty and not having planted 'till the season was nearly past, makes them apprehensive of the dreadful consequences that must ensue their neglecting the present opportunity of getting their grain in the ground. This, and their necessitous situation for almost every necessity of life, and not an aversion to their country's service, makes them so tardy in turning out. I have by this opportunity wrote to the Governor of South Carolina, for a quantity of rice sufficient for our present support, and if it can be obtained shall have it immediately given to the proper objects, which I'm in hopes will make those at present so anxious for the preservation of their families, many of whom have not tasted bread kind for more than a month past, turn out with their accustomed alacrity. Indeed, sir, it is impossible to get men into the field under such melancholy circumstances. If the infantry General Wayne has expected for some time are arrived, and the militia could possibly be spared 'till their grain is in the ground, it would be of public utility, and a famine thereby prevented, and I'm confident one half of them at least & more if there should be an occasion, might then be kept constantly in the field. General Twiggs's going to the northward at the time he did has been attended with very bad consequences, for his influence, by having been always on duty with the militia, would have induced them cheerfully to turn out when drafted. I have now no officer to enforce my orders generally, nor the militia any one to look up to in camp as their chief. These little circumstances are of great importance among them. Mr. Wereat, of this State, who will have the honor of handing this to your Excellency, is capable of giving you every further information respecting our local situation, and one whom I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance. I have the honor to be with the highest sentiments of respect & esteem,

Your Excellency's, &c.

Honorable Major Gen'l Greene.

Augusta, 16th March, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I this moment had the honor of receiving your favor of the 9th inst., and duly notice the contents. I am extremely unhappy in not having been able to give you that support & assistance at first expected; for further particulars on that head beg leave to refer you to my dispatches of yesterday.

I shall give the necessary orders for the second division of militia to march within the time but must reiterate my request respecting the expediency of their being indulged 'till their corn is planted, if they can possibly be spared. Apropos in respect to forming volunteer corps, in your letter of Feb. 1st, ultimo, you strongly recommend the raising a volunteer corps in addition to the militia, to be enlisted for a fixed period under proper officers and subject to the articles of war for the government of the army. I have for this purpose ordered Col. McKay & Captain Carr to meet me next Monday and shall propose their again getting their men together in the manner you point out. If it should be effected I think it will be of infinite advantage to this State, as they chiefly belong to Carolina, and I find it impossible to get them on duty afoot. I likewise think if it could be consistently allowed they would serve with more cheerfulness under the immediate command of their own officers, who are used to their dispositions & manners. I have suspended Mr. Oates, & he has my orders to repair to camp immediately to answer for his neglect of duty and abuse of your authority as a purchasing commissary. I heartily congratulate you on the success of your late enterprise, and think it was an exceeding good plan. I am greatly obliged to you for the Chastown paper and shall be glad you would send them as often as opportunities offer, for I'm entirely out of the circle of news, and seldom get it thro' any other channel. I shall be glad to be favored with your sentiments as early as possible respecting the militia and raising of McKay's & Carr's volunteers in the manner I have mentioned. If I can possibly be with you before the meeting of the Assembly I most assuredly will do myself that pleasure, & am glad to find Gen. Marion's affair not so bad as reported. Interim, &c.

P. S.—I have given orders to the Quartermaster General to send the wagons to camp, which will be immediately done; Mr. Stirk informs that it was your particular desire.

Hon. Brig. Gen'l Wayne.

Augusta, 22 March, 1782.

Sir:—

I am just informed that the inhabitants of your county have drove several gangs of cattle from Burke belonging to the inhabitants of that county, into Wilkes, and that forty others are daily expected there on the same horrid

business. You must be sensible of the villainy of such practices so destructive of the public tranquillity. I therefore request that you will immediately send orders to the different field officers of your county to be vigilant in apprehending & securing all such parties of men, and to prevent it in future as much as possible.

Col. Elijah Clarke,
Wilkes County.

I am, &c.,
J. M.

Augusta, March 23rd, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I had the honor of writing you by my friend, Mr. Werat, the 15th and 16th instant, since which I have had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 15th by Captain Bell. You'll have this handed you by Col. Clarke who comes to take command of the militia in the field, a gentleman whose vigilance and activity in the cause of his country has rendered him very conspicuous in the eyes of his countrymen. He has requested that Carr's Corps might be permitted to proceed to camp with him; as a Volunteer Corps they are broke, and now go under the denomination of mounted militia. I have done my utmost to endeavour to get them properly organized, but all to no purpose. It is morally impossible to get them to do duty on foot. They will be subject to your orders; if you can possibly find employment for them for the present either in reconnoitering the enemy, or on some separate command to the southward. I am informed Mr. Girt* and a number of Tories have collected a large property belonging to this State consisting of negroes, horses, cattle, etc. I think if we can secure the property that way it may be a help towards raising our Continental quota. I only throw this out as a hint for your further consideration, and I think if you should not have an immediate use for those men at camp they would answer for an expedition of that nature. The militia are drafted and collecting, and have the pleasure to inform you they will march speedily. I am much indebted to the vigilance of Col. Clarke in this business. I am very happy to find the militia & reclaimed citizens have merited your approbation. It must be a pleasing reflection to them and, I hope will stimulate others in future.

I have the honor, &c.,

Hon. Brig. Gen'l Wayne.

*McGirth (?)

Augusta, 24th March, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I omitted in my letter of yesterday informing you that I have ordered Col. Wade, D'y Quarter Master General, the bearer of this, down to your headquarters that he may arrange the business of his department & rectify the abuses or mistakes that may have been committed.

He brings with him all the wagons that can be spared from this post. They are inconsiderable in number, but hope will be of service to you. Major Lucas & Captains Glasscock and Booker, who arrived here last night immediately from Virginia, inform that it was confidently reported that the homeward bound Jamaica fleet was captured in the Channel by the combined fleets, & that scarcely one escaped. They likewise bring certain accounts that the Virginia Line had marched thro' Charlotte a few days before they got there, and General Greene informs me that he intends them for this State.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Hon. Brig. Gen. Wayne.

Augusta, 10th April, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I sincerely thank you for your very polite and obliging favors of the 12th & 26th ultimo. I wish I may merit a continuance of the favorable opinion, you are pleased to say, people in general, entertain of me. I thank you for your good wishes. Your sentiments respecting the policy of Legislatures are extremely just, and exactly coincide with my own. When I mentioned that nature would not be nature if it forgave injuries like theirs, I only meant to account in some measure for the implacability of the community at large towards those deluded people; and, not to express my own sentiments or feelings on that occasion. The General Assembly meet here on Tuesday next. I am confident exertions will not be wanting to raise as great a proportion of our Continental quota of troops as the present weak and distressed situation of this State will admit.

Every encouragement is given by me to the planters; but am apprehensive, notwithstanding all my endeavors, we shall be much distressed by the militia being kept in the field at this time. In order to gain a respite for them, I am endeavoring to raise a corps of about 200 rifle-

men enrolled for two months to serve in their stead, and am to allow each of them a cow & calf, exclusive of pay. This is exceeding the authority allowed me by law, but the necessity of the step, and the good consequences that will result therefrom I hope will justify it, & plead my excuse.

I am truly sensible of, & sincerely thank you for your friendly assistance to this unhappy country, and do not in the least doubt of your future support and exertions in our favor. I would be much obliged to you for the *news* papers, occasionally, as I seldom obtain any thro' any other channel.

This State is much distressed at present for want of ammunition, & if you could supply us with 200 or 300 lbs. of powder & lead in proportion, it may answer 'till our supplies arrive from Philadelphia. One cause of the great consumption of ammunition is, that our back inhabitants are obliged to support their families almost entirely with gunning.

I am, &c.,

Maj. Gen'l Greene.

Augusta, 10th April, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I have been duly honored with your favors of the 26th & 31st ultimo. Every exertion has been made to forward the second draft of the militia to camp. I hope they are by this time with you. They turn out with reluctance at this time, & I am fearful it will be productive of melancholy circumstances, as they must suffer in their crops amazingly; there is, however, too great a necessity for it. I sincerely wish it could have been avoided with safety. Agreeable to your requisition I have already given orders, and an attempt is now making to raise a corps of rifle-men to be enrolled for two months, and their times not to commence 'till they arrive at camp. In this affair I have exceeded my powers in giving each, as a bounty, one cow & calf immediately upon enrolling, exclusive of pay. I find great fault with that part of our Constitution which lodges no exclusive power in the executive authority, in cases of emergency. The service, however, requires an adoption of the present measures, and it is a determined & fixed principle with me to support you in your operations as far as I possibly can—the immediate safety of the country demands it. I am happy in finding Col. Clarke was much pleased with his reception at camp. He is now exerting every nerve to raise the rifle corps, and forward the militia.

I flatter myself I shall very shortly be able to send you between 100 & 200 of the former, & doubt not of their rendering essential service to you.

I am happy to inform you I have procured a supply of rice from the Governor of Carolina, but am afraid it will be some time before I get it conveyed to this post, by not having a sufficient number of wagons.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

Hon. Brig. Gen'l Wayne.

Augusta, Ga., 16th April, 1782.

Mr. Speaker & Gentlemen:—

The many weighty & important matters I have to communicate to your honorable House, wherein the safety, prosperity & happiness of this country is so essentially concerned, has, by the advice of the honorable the Executive Council, induced me to call you together at a much earlier period than that to which you stood adjourned.

It is with heartfelt pain I reflect on the misery & distress of the poor, suffering, but virtuous inhabitants of this State, who, for want of common sustenance, are now reduced to a perishing condition. It has been principally occasioned by the wanton waste of grain heretofore expended, which, had it been dealt out with the least degree of economy, would have been more than sufficient to have answered every exigency, & prevented those calamities we at present unhappily experience; but those evils I have endeavored to remove as far as lay in my power by an application to our sister State for a quantity of rice, to relieve us from our present distressed situation, & am happy to inform you that I have in part succeeded, which hope may be a means of removing those difficulties, and the alarming situation we at present labor under, until the return of our next crops, which I am happy to be informed are promising. The raising of our Continental quota of troops, for the defence and protection of this State, the revision of the militia law, whereby the services may be equally borne, and the establishment of public faith, are in my opinion matters of such an important nature, wherein the well being, safety, happiness, and independence of this State is so essentially concerned, that I cannot help recommending the same to your honorable House in the most earnest and pressing terms, to take the same into your serious consideration and fall upon

such immediate measures, as will best effect those grand & desirable purposes.

I would beg leave to recommend the establishing a Court of Claims to determine the right of contested property, so essentially necessary at this time to quiet the minds of people. I would also most earnestly recommend the subject of the boundaries of this State to be taken into your immediate consideration. I think it would be wise and expedient that a shorter & explicit act do pass ascertaining and declaring the same as objects of negotiation may speedily take place, & in that case we shall be able to produce this act to our aid, on the important subject of boundaries, and that instructions on that head be immediately forwarded to our delegates at Philadelphia.

It is with pleasure I can inform you that, from assurance of our delegates, I have every reason speedily to expect a supply of arms, ammunition & clothing for the use of this State, which we at present so greatly stand in need of.

The American cause is now so well supported by the sword, the timely arrival of the reinforcement to General Wayne, with proper exertions of our own, I flatter myself we shall have little to fear from the power of our enemies.

The enterprising spirit and unremitted perseverance of the brave General Wayne, and the intrepidity of the officers & men under his command, have, under many difficulties, with numbers vastly inferior, happily kept the enemy closely confined to very narrow limits. They are now compelled to seek refuge within the lines of Savannah, whilst we remain in the full & absolute possession of every other part of this State; and the Legislative, Executive, & Judicial powers now enjoy the free exercise of their respective authorities. I most heartily congratulate you on the present pleasing & happy prospect of our affairs, & do not in the least doubt, under the protection of Divine Providence, together with our own exertions, we shall be able to terminate this cruel & bloody war; and once more thoroughly establish our country in peace, liberty and independence.

I sincerely & ardently wish we may soon be reinstated in the full possession and enjoyment of our country, and by steadily adhering to principles of economy and decorum in our public affairs, there cannot be the least doubt of our establishing funds adequate to the support of our internal police, and by pursuing our public measures with decision and rectitude, we shall recover the ground we have lost, and rise superior to the present difficulties and distresses that surround us, & soon equal any State in the

Union. The extent and fertility of our country are well known and well worth contending for.

The interest & honor, the safety & happiness of this Country so much depend on the result of your deliberations, that I doubt not of your proceeding on the same with firmness, temper, unanimity & dispatch.

J. M.

Mr. Speaker, & Gen'mn
of Assembly.

Augusta, 29th April, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

Every step has been taken to get as many confiscated negroes as will pay Captain Locke for the horses purchased of him for your Legion; but they cannot be procured up here. He was to have been paid in two months at farthest from the day of sale, and relying on the faith of the State pledged to him at the time, has returned and been waiting here some time at a great expense, in expectation of being paid; and he is willing to assist in collecting the negroes and bringing them to this place to be appraised. As the purchase was principally for your Legion, I would be glad if you will assist Captain Locke in getting as many negroes belonging to the confiscated estates near Savannah as will amount to about £400, the sum due him, & furnish him with a small guard to convey them here, as they will be at the risk of the State 'till they are appraised, and take his receipt for them.

I am, &c.

Col. Jackson of the
Georgia State Legion.

Augusta, 30th April, 1782.

Gentlemen:—

Mr. Jones, late Clerk of the Council, has been obliged, from the inadequateness of the salary, & for want of many necessaries of support, to resign, & no one can be procured capable of discharging that duty for the present salary allowed by the public. The former House which fixed the salaries of public officers had it in idea that the post of Clerk of Council was very lucrative, but I can assure you that he scarcely gets a dollar per month by perquisites, and that there never will be any thing materially got by it

'till the land office is opened, so as to induce any person to accept it for the present salary; and the House of Assembly can, at any time when the perquisites increase, diminish the salary.

I beg leave further to inform the honorable the Assembly that I have been obliged to employ a private secretary, to assist me in transacting public business, as I find I cannot possibly do without one; and it never can be expected that I can support him out of the trifling salary allowed me; I would therefore, be glad if the House would take it into consideration, and enable me to provide suitably for him. I am sorry to inform you that my family is frequently destitute of provisions, & that I have no mode of supplying them but thro' the commissary, who has it not in his power to prevent it, or is very neglectful, and that, in a fit of illness, from which I have not yet recovered, I was obliged to send to my neighbors for every article but sugar & coffee fit for a weak or sick person to eat; and it is a well known fact that there is not a private family in Augusta that lives so wretchedly as mine does, which some of the members of your House can testify.

I have not had since my commencement in office as much money as would purchase the most trifling necessities myself or family stand in need of from time to time.

My family, such of the members of your body (who stay with me for want of public houses) and the Guard have been for some time, and are now, supported by grain procured on my private credit. I flatter myself it is the wish of the House to support the Governor in character, if only for the honor & credit of the State; and not suffer him to become a butt, a laughing stock, to the Continent; it would be a disgrace, a scandal.

I hope, gentlemen, you will consider of these matters, and remedy them as far as the situation of our affairs will admit.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

To the Honorable the
Speaker, &c., of Assembly.

J. M.

Augusta, 3 May, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I have a severe indisposition that has reduced me very low; but have been some days on the recovery, and hope to be perfectly well in a few weeks. I had the honor receiv-

ing your favor of the 17th, ultimo, during my indisposition, and a number of public letters yesterday from Philadelphia, under a cover of Major Fishburn's, each enclosing Gazettes, for all which I am much obliged to you.

The Speaker of the Assembly also writes by this opportunity, and will, I make no doubt, fully inform you of every thing material that has been transacted since their meeting.

His Honor, Gen'l Wayne.

2 o'clock.

P. S.—Lieut. Stallings of Jackson's Legion has this moment waited on me. He informs that yesterday evening he stopped at a house the other side of Brier Creek to refresh his horse which was tired, and to get dinner; that about 3 o'clock six men made a charge upon the house, and the women knew them to be Coopers. It was vain to attempt mounting his horse in that tired condition, and he and young Lyons, the only person with him, made their escape on foot by retiring to a swamp. Your dispatches were in his saddle bags and taken with his horse.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

J. M.

Augusta, 6th May, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

Yours of the 22 ultimo I have had the honor of receiving, and sincerely regret that the few militia that have been sent you cannot be kept together. I have given the necessary orders for apprehending and securing the deserters from the different regiments to their commanding officers, and to have the militia law put in full force against them. I can with pleasure inform you that Col. Clarke has raised part of the Rifle Corps and will shortly complete it & bring them to your headquarters. He says they are chiefly young men, can bear fatigue, & capable of executing the boldest enterprise, numbers of them having been with him from the commencement of the war. The Assembly have adjourned since my last, for want of provisions, to the first of July, then to meet at Ebenezer. They have left undone the most material business that induced me to call them together at the time I did. They raised the Continental quota of troops, & an amendment of the militia law. I most sincerely congratulate you for the mark of esteem that Georgia has paid to your merit, tho' far short of my wishes, by which I

observe it is their desire to induce you to settle among us after a conclusion of the war.*

I am, &c.,

Gen'l Wayne.

J. M.

Whereas, information has been lodged with me that sundry negroes belonging to the confiscated estates have been feloniously carried out of this State into the State of Carolina; in consequence thereof I do hereby authorize and appoint Captain John Green to collect the said negroes and keep the same in his possession until called upon for them by me, or the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates; and all officers, both civil and military, are hereby required to aid and assist the said Green in procuring the said negroes.

Given under my hand at Augusta, this
3rd day of May, 1782.

J. M.

Capt. John Green.

Augusta, 23rd May, 1782.

Dear Col.:—

I have received your favor of 21st per express, & am happy to find your family were not murdered, as was reported. Wherever there is an absolute necessity for the protection of the good citizens of this State, every measure tending to that effect I shall always most cheerfully approve of. I have sent you the powder & lead, agreeable to your request. I hope you will lose no time in endeavoring to complete the rifle corps, as speedily as possible, as I have received a very pressing letter from General Wayne, who mentions he wants to see you very much with the rifle-men. I hope you will lose no time in this essential business, but be speedily down.

I am, &c.,

Col. E. Clarke,
Wilkes County.

J. M.

N. B.—Don't let any of the rifle-corps be detained by any means, as there will be a sufficient number of the inhabitants for the protection of the settlement.

*This refers to the purchase by the State of the confiscated plantation of Alexander Wright, at a cost of £3,900, and the presentation of the same to General Wayne.

Augusta, 23rd May, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I have had the honor of receiving your favor of 14th inst., enclosing a copy of yours of the 1st. The original was taken by the enemy. Captain Alexander, the bearer of this (I am informed by Col. Clarke), is a worthy man and a good soldier. He commands one of the Rifle Companies which he this morning marched off for your headquarters: I expect one Company more down this day, and another shortly, when shall send them forward with all the dispatch possible. Captain Carr's corps is entirely upon a new plan. It is to consist of two companies, thirty men each, one of Dragoons, the other of Rifle-men, and is called Carr's Independent Corps, and commanded by two captains, two lieutenants, and a captain commandant, with which compliment he is not a little pleased. They will shortly proceed upon the business intended, agreeable to your orders. I think they will be of great service to you, on many occasions. I am in hopes of procuring you some whisky shortly, for the army must, & I am determined shall, be supported as far as lays in my power.

I think appearances on the side of the enemy seem to indicate an evacuation. I pray God it may be the case, and rid us of such troublesome neighbors. Interim I am, &c., &c.,

J. M.

Hon. Brig. Gen'l Wayne.

P. S.—I shortly intend doing myself the pleasure of paying you a visit at Ebenezer.

[The following bears no address, but is indorsed: "A flag by Messrs. Wallace & Cecil."]

(Copy)

Ebenezer, 27th June, 1782.

My dear Major:—*

By Major Washington I have wrote Gen. Wayne, and inclosed him a list of the names of those persons proscribed in our late confiscation Act, together with a clause for your government in the recruiting service.

*Probably Major John Habersham.

I confess, my dear sir, in many respects the terms there held out are hard, but as Chief Magistrate of the State (who am sworn to preserve the laws inviolate) am compelled to prevent an infringement of the same, if possible. I therefore beg leave to refer you to the General's letter, and expect you'll conduct yourself accordingly. Interim, I am, my dear sir,
Your sincere friend and very humble serv't,

J. M.

P. S.—My kindest respects to my friend LeConte & the gentlemen of the army. Pray let me hear from you, & write me all the news.

(Copy)

Ebenezer, 26th June, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

Since my leaving you, I have for my further information once more perused our Act of Confiscation; have therefore taken liberty of enclosing you a list of the names of those persons that are therein proscribed, together with a clause of the said Act. My duty, as the Chief Magistrate of this State, who am sworn to execute the laws, compels me to request that you'll communicate the same to Major Habersham, for his government in raising the Georgia Battalion as speedily as possible. Interim, I have the honor to be, with the highest sentiments of respect & esteem, dear sir, your most obt. and very humb'l servant,

J. M.

Copy to Gen'l Wayne.

N. B.—For God's sake don't forget an express the moment you enter Savannah.

Savannah, 31st July, 1782.

Sir:—

The certificates you may have remaining are much wanted. Therefore would wish you to forward them with every possible dispatch.

I am your most obt. servant,

J. M.

Mr. Dunlap,
Printer, Parker's Ferry.

Savannah, 19th of July, 1782.

To the Tallassee King & the Head Men and Warriors of the Upper and Lower Creek Nation:—

Friends and Brothers of the upper & lower Creek nation, you will remember the talk I gave my good friend & brother the Tallassee King. It was a true and good talk; it spoke nothing but peace and friendship. It spoke the sentiments of my heart, & of my beloved men. They are great truths, and not lies. I told you that our Great Warrior **General Washington** had beat the British great warrior in Virginia, had killed a great many of his soldiers & taken their great warriors and eight thousand prisoners, also many of their large ships, several thousand sailors, with all their cannon, powder and small arms, which had put an end to the war in Virginia. I also told you then that Savannah would soon be ours, and then we should have possession of all this country once more. You are convinced that what I told you then is now true, Savannah is ours once more; you have seen it with your own eyes, & have walked the streets with us with your own feet, and we shall soon have Chas. Town also, and the Spaniards will soon have possession of Augustine, then our ports will be open again, and we shall be able to supply you as usual with goods. You are fully sensible we always spoke peace to you. We never called upon you to assist us in our wars, we never asked you to spill your blood in our cause as the British have done. No, if we had, we should not have basely deserted you by running away, as they have done. No, we always desired you to remain at home quietly and peaceably, and to mind your hunting & support your women & children in peace & happiness.

But no, your madmen, instigated by the treacherous Emistesegoe* and for the sake of a few trifling presents, did wantonly fall on our warriors in the night in hopes of cutting them off, a people that never wanted to injure you but always sought your friendship. And had our warriors have seen them the day before, they would have taken them by the hand & esteemed them as friends & brothers. But happily our people were not asleep; they were on their guard & have amply & fully revenged themselves for the few drops of blood we have lost by killing a number of your headmen & warriors, whose bodies have been left to the ravenous wolves and the birds of the air & whose bones now lay white upon the ground.

*Also called Emitasago and Guristersigo.

Their women are now widows and their children fatherless and are now left to mourn the unhappy event. Their blood is upon their own heads. They compelled us to do that which we would not wish to do. Brothers, we hope your mad people have seen their error; we hope they will repent & be sorry for what they have done, and once more be wise like yourselves.

We therefore hope you'll immediately deliver up all the commissaries & traders. Likewise all our negroes, horses & cattle that are among you. A proceeding like this will convince us you mean to be our fast & firm friends. It will be the means of burying the hatchet, brightening the good old chain of friendship, and make the path straight, fair and open, so that we shall live like friends & brothers living upon the same land and eating out of the same dish.

We don't wish to be at peace with you because we are afraid. No, you must be convinced it is not the case, for all our warriors are now a hardy race of men, and can undergo any kind of fatigue & surmount any difficulties. They possess sinewy arms & keen cutting swords, and are not afraid to die; & if your madmen should prefer war to peace, & should throw away your friendly & brotherly talks which I now do & have before given them, then we shall be under the disagreeable necessity of going to their towns & lay them in ashes, and make their women widows and their children fatherless. Their dead bodies will cover the ground and be devoured by the wolves of the forest and vultures of the air, and their bones will lay white upon the ground. It is our enemies we mean to threaten, & not our friends. Now, after comparing the horrid & shocking distresses (incident to war) with the tranquil & happy effects of a generous peace, pray let me ask you seriously, as men of sense, who have a regard for their own safety and for the safety of their own dear wives and children, men whom I love, & whom I would wish to take by the hand as friends & brothers—

Brothers, I do not hesitate a moment respecting which you would prefer—the sword, or olive branch. As I told you before, it is not fear that induces us to wish for peace with you, but the affection we have for you, your wives and children. I hope you will be wise, and consider seriously what I have told you, and give us the satisfaction we ask. It is true the English have run away & left us peaceable possession of our capital once more. Friends and brothers, exult and rejoice with me & my people upon this happy occasion. But I am sorry to inform you they have carried away most of the goods with them. However, trade will

flow in upon us shortly, and we shall be able to supply you with goods as formerly.

For the present we will endeavor to collect such articles of goods as we can for you. I shall send some tobacco with you as a token of my friendship to the Nation, in order that my good friend the Tallassee King, his head men & warriors, may smoke together in your great square, so that the white smoke may ascend to the Master of the Breath & be a witness of the sincerity of my intention.

Friends & brothers, I doubt not but you'll remember all I have told you & will repeat in your great square those words which I have now told you. Brothers, I have nothing further to say to you at this time. I therefore wish you a pleasant journey and a happy sight of your friends and families.

J. M.

Savannah, 8th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I had the honor of receiving your favor of the 14th ult., and also acknowledge the receipt of two others, the one by Dr. Ridgely, a gentleman from Maryland, who I am happy to find is likely to become a citizen with us; the other covering copies of letters unto his Excellency Gov. Rutledge, on the subject of raising black corps in the States of South Carolina & Georgia, which I have laid before the Honorable the House of Assembly.

I return your Excellency my sincere thanks for your kind congratulations on the total evacuation of this State by the British, and doubt not this happy event will be a means of restoring tranquillity to every part of the State. I am very sorry you have occasion to withdraw the troops from this State at so early a period, as the good consequences resulting from their longer stay must appear conspicuous, as they would not only have been a means of giving a tone to government but would have thoroughly established the same. I hope we may not soon have occasion for them. As for Col. Jackson's Corps, they are at present annihilated. Their times have nearly expired; and as for Major Habersham's new recruits, they are not to be much depended on at present. However, I hope discipline may reform them, if principle does not.

I am happy to inform your Excellency that our worthy Gen. Wayne, his brave officers & men, have given universal

satisfaction in this country, & I do assure you it is with the greatest degree of regret that we part with them. I thank you for your kind attentions to this little State on all occasions, & am confident it will never want your friendly aid & assistance.

The leveling the works 'round the town (which I think very essential) has employed my particular attention of late, which business is now nearly completed. I think your observations on that head extremely just. Rest assured, my dear sir, that my endeavors shall not be wanting to soften the resentment of parties and correct the abuses which the confusion and disorders of the war have given rise to, & sincerely pray my efforts may not prove abortive. I am directed by the honorable the House of the Assembly to inform your Excellency that they have appointed Frederick Rolphs to the office of Deputy Commissary General of Purchases & Mr. John Strong Deputy Commissary General of Issues, and am requested to recommend those gentlemen to your Excellency as proper persons to fill those offices, & that you would please confirm them in their respective appointments.

I have the honor to be with the highest sentiments of esteem and respect, dear sir,

Your most hble. serv't,

J. M.

His Excellency Maj. General Greene,
Headquarters, So. Carolina.
Honored by His Honor General Wayne.

Savannah, 9th August, 1782.

Sir:—

I am requested by the Honorable the House of Assembly to inform your honor of your appointment by them to the office of Chief Justice of this State with a salary of five hundred pounds sterling per annum annexed. I heartily congratulate your honor on the appointment & should be happy it would meet with your approbation.

I am with sentiments of respect,

Your honor's most obt. & very humble serv't,

J. M.

The Honorable Aedanus Burke, Esq.,
So. Carolina.
Honored by his Honor General Wayne.

Savannah, 9th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I have had the honor of receiving your letter of this day (by the hands of Captain Cowen) respecting that unfortunate young man, Mr. Maxwell, and have submitted the same to the consideration of the honorable the Executive Council. They, I'm confident, would wish to pay every attention to any recommendation of Gen. Wayne's, but am requested to inform your Honor that they have taken the matter into consideration, & find that they cannot possibly interfere in the business, as it does not come before them—the law being explicit on that head, which says that those characters whose names are mentioned in the Bill of Attainder shall be committed to jail without bail or mainprize—and we being sworn to support those very laws cannot possibly deviate from them.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of esteem,
Your most obt. & very humble serv't,

J. M.

Hon'ble Brig. Gen'l Wayne,
&c., &c., &c.

Savannah, 13th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

Having been informed that there is a probability that the wagons, that were intended to bring down the public arms, ammunition, &c., at Augusta are stopped by Gen. Twiggs and of course those articles still remain there, if this should be the case, which I sincerely hope is not, you will immediately proceed & procure a proper boat & hands & have those articles transported by water under a proper guard to Savannah, where they are much wanted. I hope General Twiggs has not proceeded upon so unjustifiable a measure. I wish it may not be the case, upon his own account, as well as on account of the State, as in that case I shall undoubtedly be under the disagreeable necessity of taking proper notice of the same. I am with esteem, sir,

Your most obt. & very humble serv't,

J. M.

P. S.—I believe Col. Hammond's boat may have arrived at Augusta by this time & I think it would be a proper one for that purpose.

Cornelius Collins, Esq., Maj., &c., Command't at Augusta.

Savannah, August 13th, 1782.

Gentlemen:—

Agreeable to a resolve of the Honorable the House of Assembly, I am allowed ten prime negroes from the confiscated estates for the support of my family. I would therefore request the favor of you gen'n to endeavor (by consent of the Commissioners) to select ten prime slaves from the confiscated estates agreeable to said resolve; but in case the gent'n Commissioners should not think proper to select the negroes, then & in that case you'll please purchase in ten prime slaves for me at all events, & if the negroes go anything reasonable, you'll also please purchase in about six or more for my private account. You'll please observe that they are all to be prime slaves. I am informed there's two fine pier glasses, the property of Parson Seymour, at his place. I would be glad you'd purchase them in for the Government House. Billy Taply can inform where they are, & if any good furniture can be purchased in for Government House, I would be glad you would oblige me in that particular, as at present you must be sensible, it is very bare of those articles & I am confident for the honor of government, you would wish a Governor of the State of Georgia to live in some degree of character. Your kind compliance in that particular will much oblige gentlemen,

Your most obt. and very humble serv't,

J. M.

Messrs. Washington & Odingsell, Commissioners,
County of Chatham.

Savannah, 15th August, 1782.

Gentlemen:—

I am applyed to by Governor Mathews of the State of South Carolina as also by Gen'ls Greene & Pickens for the supply of two thousands bushels salt, for the use of the back inhabitants of South Carolina, & have sent his letter for your inspection on that head. Would therefore be glad to know the lowest price and terms in writing that you would wish to supply the said quantity upon, that I may communicate the same to those gentlemen.

I am gentlemen, your most obt. serv't,

J. M.

Messrs. Mord and Keall &
Owen & Thompson, Merch'ts, Savannah.

Savannah, 15th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I yesterday received your Excellency's favor of the 8th instant, requesting a supply of salt for the use of back inhabitants of your State. I should ever think myself extremely happy in the opportunity of rendering any assistance in my power to our good neighbors, the Carolinians, especially on such an occasion as this. But am sorry the application had not been earlier made, as in that case we could have conveniently included the quantity mentioned in that already procured for the use of this State. However, as I would wish to give every support on this occasion, we will engage to supply your State with five hundred bushels from the quantity procured for our own private stock, provided you should not be able to comply with the terms of the merchants.

I have applied to such merchants here as have salt for sale, and have requested to know the lowest price and terms they would wish to supply that quantity upon (which General Pickens informed is two thousand bushels) and have enclosed your Excellency their terms for your inspection.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of respect & esteem,

Your excellency's most obt. and humble serv't,

J. M.

His Excellency
Gov'r John Mathews,
So. Carolina.

Savannah, 16th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 8th inst., respecting a supply of salt for the back inhabitants of South Carolina, and am truly sensible of their exertions, merit and distresses. You may rely on my attention to them on this occasion.

I have wrote his Excellency General Mathews more fully on this head,

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obt. humble serv't,

J. M.

His Excell'y
Maj. Gen'l Greene,
So. Carolina.

Savannah, 16th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 9th, inst., and return my sincere thanks for your kind congratulation on the evacuation of the Capital of this State. My feelings for the many distresses & sufferings of the back inhabitants of both States are very great but particularly their sufferings on account of the scarcity of salt.

You may depend I shall make use of every exertion on this occasion for their relief. The quantity may yet be had of the merchants, provided the payments are agreeable. I have applied to them on the subject, and have received their answer, a copy of which I have enclosed to Governor Mathews whom I have wrote more fully on this head.

Your Honor's letter in regard to the Indian Expedition I have received, but have been so hurried with business that have not had time to answer it. However, I shall do myself that pleasure shortly.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of esteem, dear sir, your most obt. and very humble servant,

J. M.

Hon'ble Brig. Gen'l Pickens.

Savannah, 15th August, 1782.

Sir:—

In consequence of assurance being given by some of the first characters of your province to Col. William McIntosh while at Augustine, that provided it was agreeable to the executive authority of this State to put an entire stop to and prevent all plundering and marauding parties in future and for carrying on the war upon a more liberal plan, that they did not doubt it would meet with the approbation and concurrence of your Excellency & Council as also of the Legislature of your Province:

It is with this presumption I am led to address your Excellency on this subject, and should think myself extremely happy provided a negotiation of this kind should take place. In my opinion, it will mutually prove beneficial & advantageous to the industrious inhabitants of your province and of this State.

I have with the advice & consent of the Honorable Executive Council of this State thought proper to nominate and appoint Col. William McIntosh, Samuel Stirk and

John Wereat, Esquires, Commissioners with full and sufficient powers to treat for that purpose, and beg leave to introduce those gentlemen to your Excellency's notice, and expect all due faith, credit and protection may be given them. Interim—

I am with respect your Excellency's most obt. and very humble serv't,

J. M.

His Excell'y Pat'k Tonyn, Esq., Gov.,
& Commander-in-chief of the
Province of East Florida, &c., &c., &c.

Savannah, 26th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I have received your two letters, one of the 22nd and the other of the 23rd inst., and I thank you for the intelligence contained therein. Sorry am I that there is such a parcel of scoundrels infesting our roads and disturbing the peaceable inhabitants of this State. However, I hope you'll take every precaution and pursue every method in order to detect those fellows and put an entire stop to these diabolical practices in future. Try all you possibly can to find out the characters and connections those fellows have with our people. I shall send up and apprise the people on the Carolina side that the roads are waylaid, and shall also give particular directions for the taking up those men in the different counties. I hope by your vigilance and activity you'll shortly be able to give a good account of those fellows. The salt you sent for was supplied by the bearer, by whom I send you one quire of paper. I shall communicate the contents of those letters to Major Habersham, and measures shall be taken accordingly. I hope to hear from you shortly, and am, dear sir, your most obt. humble servant,

J. M.

Col. Stephen Johnson,
Effingham County.

Savannah, 27th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I received your favor of the 18th inst., by Mr. Bowie, and am much surprised to think the people are dissatisfied on account of any idle & ridiculous reports that may have

been propagated by Mr. Biddle, which you as an assemblyman know to be false, and of course should have contradicted. You'll please inform Mr. Biddle if he or any other person shall in future presume to inflame the minds of the people by such idle & scandalous reports that they may depend I shall take proper notice of them.

In regard to the appointment of a commissary, I shall leave to the recommendation of Col. Clarke to be sanctioned by me. Therefore I shall refer you to him on that head. I believe I shall fall on a plan to prevent all plundering and marauding parties from East Florida in future. However, in the meantime, be upon your guard.

In respect to the salt—you as a member of the honorable House must be sensible that measures have already been taken on that head, & a supply granted to each county, which I shall as soon as possible send up to Augusta for that purpose, to be delivered to Stephen Heard & Edmund Bugg, Esq. I expect a boat from the south'd shortly by which I shall send it.

As for news, the evacuation of Chs. town will take place in about three weeks, or a month. It is certain a French fleet of sixteen sail of the line have gone to the northward; it is imagined against New York. A couple of prizes have arrived here since you left us. I am with esteem dear sir,

Your most obt. & humble serv't,

J. M.

Capt. John Hill,
Fort Martin,
Wilkes County.
Favored by Mr. Bowie.

Savannah, 28th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

Your favor of the 16th, inst., I have had the honor of receiving. Your Excellency will have this handed you by Col. Wylly, a friend of mine, a gentleman of character and one who is much esteemed by his fellow citizens. He has been a prisoner with the British at Savannah for some time past, and proceeds to Carolina in order to solicit an exchange. I beg leave to introduce him to your Excellency's notice and attention, as his services are much wanted in this State. With sentiments of esteem and regard, I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obt. & very humble serv't,

His Excellency,
Gen'l Greene.

J. M.

Savannah, 28th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I received your esteemed favor of the 11th, inst. I am exceeding sorry to find you have been so very unwell, but hope by this time you are thoroughly recovered. In regard to the fellows who have made their escape from Savannah and are lurking about the country, I would be glad you would endeavor to collect them as speedily as possible and have them sent to Savannah and delivered to Major Habersham.

I am sorry our roads have been of late so much infested by that fellow Moore and his gang. However, I hope you'll soon be able to clear the country of those scoundrels. If you find any women that harbour those fellows, I would be glad you'd have them sent to Savannah, where they shall be taken care of.

In regard to those bad characters who are waiting to do mischief and then slip off, I must leave to your own discretion to take such methods as will be most conducive to the welfare and interest of this country, I doubt not of your taking every necessary step on this occasion for the benefit of this State. It is impossible for me to give you necessary instructions on every particular head. Therefore, I must in many respects leave it to yourself. I am, dear sir, wishing success and happiness may attend you in your operations,

Your most obt. and very humble serv't,

Capt. Patrick Carr,
Commanding Carr's Legion.

J. M.

Savannah, 28th August, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I saw a letter lately from you directed to Mr. Rolfes, respecting the appointment of a commissary. After the stores, &c., are shipped to Savannah, I think there will be no occasion for a commissary. I hope the stores are forwarded on, but I have received no certain accounts of its being done. In regard to the powder & lead to be left for the defence of the upper counties, it may be lodged in a private manner under the direction of some gentleman, in some private place. There is a quantity of sheet lead that was thrown in the edge of the river just down by the water fence—towards the Indian house. The lead was thrown in on the side of the

fence next the dwelling house. By getting a sharp piece of iron & striking for it, it may be found.

I wish you would endeavor to get it up as soon as possible. I was informed you intended leaving shortly for Savannah, where I should be glad to see you.

Interim, I am dear sir, your most obt. & very humble serv't,

Cornelius Collins, Esq.,
Major Commanding at Augusta.

J. M.

P. S.—Compliments to all my Augusta friends.

Savannah, 4th September, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

Your favor of the 1st, inst., whereby I find you are still interrupted by those horse thieves, &c., which I hope you will pay proper attention to, and do all in your power to prevent their parties marauding among you.

Agreeable to your request have sent ten pounds of gun powder and twenty pounds of lead, which hope may be of infinite service to your intended expedition, and a great means of preventing their further inroads to your territory.

With respect to John Lee I shall take particular care that he is properly secured.

I am, &c.,

Lt. Colo'l John Cooper,
Midway.

J. M.

Savannah, 4th Sept., 1782.

Dear Sir:—

Your esteemed favor of the 16th, ultimo, per Mr. Lamar, I have received. In my last to your honor of the 16th August I informed it was not in my power to furnish the quantity of two thousand bushels salt agreeable to your request, but that I did not doubt that it might be procured from the merchants of this town, and wrote very fully on that head to Governor Mathews, enclosing the terms the merchants would supply that quantity upon & take produce in payment. I expect Governor Mathews has informed you of those particulars ere this.

Have received no answer from him as yet on that head. However, I engaged to supply your state with five hundred

bushels out of our own stock we had provided for the use of the public, four hundred bushels of which Mr. Lamar now takes up with him, being all he can possibly carry at present, as the flat he applied for is very much out of repair. The other hundred bushels shall at any time be delivered to your order.

Interim, I have the honor to be your most obt. & humble serv't,
Hon'ble Brig. Gen'l Pickens. J. M.

P. S.—Mr. Lamar can inform your honor more fully on this matter.

J. M.

Savannah, 5th Sept., 1782.

Dear Sir:—

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance the bearer of this, Col. Adlai Osborn, a gentleman of the State of North Carolina who means to become a settler among us. He, I do assure you, comes highly recommended from the first characters of that State. You'll find him to be a man of sense, an agreeable companion, a firm & staunch friend to our glorious independence.

Any attention or civilities shown him shall be gratefully acknowledged by, dear sir,

Your honor's most obt. & very humble serv't,

Brig. Gen'l McIntosh,
Augusta.

J. M.

P. S.—Comp'ts to Mrs. & Miss Wereat & the ladies at Augusta. For news I refer to the Colo'l.

Savannah, 7th Sept., 1782.

Sir:—

I had the honor of writing your Excellency the 15th, ulto., in answer to your letter of the 8th respecting a supply of two thousand bushels salt for the use of your State, enclosing a copy of a letter from the merchants of this town with the terms that they would supply that quantity upon, to which I have not been honored with your answer as yet, and the merchants are very pressing to know of me whether they are at liberty to dispose of their salt, it being in very great demand. Please favor me with an early answer on this

business, that I may detain the salt or release the said merchants from the terms they proposed. By application from General Pickens have already delivered four hundred bushels out of our private stock which was all the boats could carry of the five hundred promised by me, in case the said terms could not be complied with.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of esteem, your Excellency's most obt. and very humble serv't,

J. M.

His Excellency, John Mathews, Esq.,
Gov'r, &c., &c., &c.
So. Carolina.

Savannah, 7th Sept., 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I received your very polite letter of the 25th July respecting your worthy friend Mr. Bowman, a gentleman with whom I have the pleasure of being acquainted, and whose conduct and sentiments I have the highest opinion of. You need be under no apprehensions with respect to Mr. Bowman or his property. The good people of this State entertain a very great respect for his person & character. I am exceeding sorry he has of late been so much indisposed, however, I hope his jaunt to the northward will be a means of fully restoring his health once more. I have inclosed my permission for that purpose, agreeable to your request, which doubt not you will immediately forward him. Please make my compliments acceptable to him.

I requested the favor of Col. Wyllly who has a few days since proceeded to General Green's headquarters to wait on you and inform you of those particulars. Your letter should with pleasure have been answered much earlier, but hurry of business prevented me.

I am with sentiments of esteem, dear sir, your most obt. & humble serv't,

J. M.

Col. C. C. Pinckney.

Savannah, 7th Sept., 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 30th ulto., together with the enclosure, & thank you for the

intelligence they contained. The British policy in withdrawing their troops is doubtless to lull us into a state of security until their particular purposes are answered in the West Indies and then to return with redoubled fury. However, I hope we shall be on our guard.

I am sorry to find those damn'd fellows are likely to become such near neighbors of ours. I'm afraid they will be rather troublesome to us with their skulking, marauding parties. You doubtless will watch their motions narrowly, and if any thing material should happen, am confident you'll immediately fly to the assistance of poor Georgia. We are preparing a couple of galleys and look-out boats, as speedily as possible, for the protection of this town and harbor.

The negroes that were employed in levelling the works around the town, I was under the necessity of discharging, on account of the crops. Therefore, that essential business is not as yet effected, but you may rely it shall be done as speedily as possible. My respectful compliments attend the worthy gentlemen of your family.

I have the honor to be your Honor's most obedient & most humble serv't,

J. M.

Hon'ble B. General Wayne.

Savannah, 9th August, 1782.

Sir:—

Mr. Lindsay, the gentleman who will have the honor of delivering this letter to your Excellency, is appointed by the Commissioners of our Forfeited Estates agent for collecting the public property of this State which has been illegally and eventually carried into the States of Virginia, the North and South Carolinas. I have therefore to request your Excellency's support and countenance, to be administered in such manner as may consist with local circumstances and the purport of Mr. Lindsay's agency.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most humble and obt. serv't,

J. M.

To the Governors of Virginia,
North & South Carolina.

Savannah, 16th Sept., 1782.

Sir:—

You'll please proceed immediately from this with the schooner ——— and the men on board, under your direction, to the Bar of Tybee, & endeavor to get the cannon from on board the ship *Defiance* (a wreck now on the North Breaker Head) for the use of this garrison; and in effecting this essential business you'll immediately return to Savannah. Captain Findly, who has been kind enough to offer his vessel and sea-men for this purpose, and who has the charge of navigating the said schooner, you'll consult on every occasion, and advise with him for the more effectual prosecution of this business.

I doubt not every precaution will be taken to prevent your being captured by the enemy, and of course bringing a heavy expense on the State. Confident of your making every dispatch possible, I wish you success.

I am sir, your humble serv't,

J. M.

Capt. Robert Greer.

Savannah, 17th Sept., 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I am informed that one Captain Fulton with his company has been to the southward, & has distressed Mrs. McIntosh very much by robbing her of her property, as also several others of the inhabitants of this State. I would be glad you would see into this matter, & have her property restored to her again if possible; likewise to have the offenders brought to justice, and prevent such abuses in future, as I am resolved to put a stop to all plundering parties.

There has lately been an agreement entered into between Governor Tonyn & myself, to prevent and put an entire stop to all plundering and marauding parties of either side, from molesting the peaceable and industrious inhabitants of each country; and the River St. Mary's being the boundary between this State and that province, in consequence thereof, it is my express orders that no parties from this State be suffered to pass the said river on any pretense whatever.

But I am informed that there is a set of banditti both in this and on the other side of St. Mary's that make a point of plundering both sides indiscriminately. These are a set of fellows that it becomes our duty to disperse on this side, and

Governor Tonyn will give directions to have them dispersed on the other side of St. Mary's, so that the industrious & peaceable inhabitants of both countries may once more quietly sit down in their plantations and enjoy the fruits of their labour. I would be glad to see you as soon as possible, in order to concert proper measures to put the foregoing plan into immediate execution. Interim,

I am sir, with esteem, your most humble serv't,

J. M.

Colo'l Cooper.

Savannah, 1st Oct., 1782.

Dear Sir:—

As Mr. Burke, who was appointed Chief Justice for this State, has not as yet arrived, and there is at present a great necessity for a court, in order to try at a number of felons now under confinement, it is therefore my particular request you would be so kind as to accept of the appointment of Chief Justice *pro tempore* on this occasion; & you will much oblige,

Dear sir, your most obt. serv't,

J. M.

Richard Howly, Esq.

Savannah, Oct. 2nd, 1782.

Sir:—

I received your esteemed favors of the 11th and 17th Sept., on the subject of such supplies of forage as may have been furnished by this State for subsisting the horses of the army commanded by Brig. Gen. Wayne during the time they were serving here you are pleased to inform are to be settled by you.

I shall take the most speedy method for procuring the different returns of forage, and shall transmit them to you as early as possible, in order to be sanctioned by the necessary signatures. I believe there was no great quantity of grain regularly supplied the army from this State, but there has been several rice and corn fields into which the horses of the army were at first turned in, and of course the fields were destroyed, after which many others followed the example, which must be valued by indifferent persons, in order to ascertain the same, to do justice to the proprietors.

I should have been exceedingly happy in the pleasure of seeing you at Savannah.

I am sir, with sentiments of esteem, your most obt. and very humble serv't,

J. M.

Lieut. Col. Edw'd Carrington, D. Q. So. Army.

By return of express from headquarters South Carolina.

Copy of Col. McMurphy's instructions, and sent by him to Mr. Richard Henderson, Ass't Dep. Supt. Indian Affairs.

Savannah, 4th Oct., 1782.

Sir:—

As the Creek Indians are arrived at Augusta I find it an impossibility for me to attend their talk there, not only on account of my indisposition, but on account of the Assembly's being so near sitting. If four or five of their principal Head Warriors, my friend the Tallassee King, his father, Hicot, &c., can come to Savannah I should be very glad to see them & hear their talk here; but unless these four or five head men can come here by themselves, by no means to come down, as I have no new talk to give them at present. I could only repeat the old talk which I have already given them and which they have by no means complied with. If the four or five head men can not come down, without bringing the rest with them, they are by no means to come here, but you are to receive the talk there which they may have to give me, and transmit the same to me as early as possible. If the few head men think of coming to Savannah, you'll send off the remainder of the Indians to the nation with all dispatch imaginable. I hope you'll take every precaution to send them away in as peaceable and quiet a manner as you possibly can, and by all means take care that the talks are not interrupted by any disputes, riots, or drunkenness, but observe that decency and decorum be observed in all your transactions with them.

Inform them I hope we shall soon be able to have a trade open with them, and when we are in a situation for it, we will inform them. At present we have no goods, and therefore can't supply them as we would wish.

I am sir, your most obt. serv't,

J. M.

Savannah, 5th Oct., 1782.

Sir:—

If you cannot procure cattle sufficient for the support of the army, upon the faith of the State, nor upon such terms as you are able to offer, then and in that case you are to impress cattle where they are to be most conveniently spared, taking particular care to distress individuals as little as possible in such a proceeding. You are to observe that these orders are not to be put in execution unless you find it an impossibility to supply the troops in any other mode.

By order of the Governor,

J. CLARKE, Sec.

Frederick Rolfes, Esq.,
Agent for the State of Georgia.

Savannah, 7th Oct., 1782.

Sir:—

I wrote you by Col. McMurphy which is in fact nearly a copy of the instructions I gave him to which I now refer and enclose you. I should be exceeding happy in seeing four or five of their principal head men down here to have their talk. I mean my good old friend the Tallasse King, his father, the fat King, Hicot, and one or two more. If these could come it might do very well, but not suffer more to come down by any means, as we have neither provisions nor presents to give them. If it can't be managed in this manner you must receive their talk there, and send the same to me by the earliest opportunity. I trust you will take every care and precaution to send them away as well satisfied and in as peaceable and quiet a manner as you possibly can, and be particularly careful that the talks are not interrupted by any riots, disputes or drunkenness that may interrupt the friendship that subsists between us. I think it would not be amiss to apply to the commanding officer of the militia to procure a body of men to escort the Indians safely out of the settlements, and to prevent their doing mischief to the inhabitants.

I am sir, wishing you success & happiness, your most obt. serv't,

J. M.

Mr. Rich'd Henderson,
D. S. I. Affairs at Augusta.

Savannah, 18th Oct., 1782.

Gentlemen:—

Having been informed that Mr. Johnston, the printer, who has returned to this State under the faith of the same (in full expectation of meeting with ample protection) is likely to be turned out of doors with his family into the streets, altho' he has undertaken to print for the public, and his press already prepared for that purpose. It is true his house was sold to Doctor Waudin previous to his being taken off the bill, and of course optional with the purchaser. But in this particular case, gentlemen, I would wish your friendly mediation, as the matter in my opinion may be easily settled, provided the parties are inclinable. There is now several houses to be disposed of on account of the public—**Quere**, whether one of those cannot be reserved by you gentlemen for the reception of Doctor Waudin & family, and sold on a future day?

I think this matter might be easily done, and to the satisfaction of both parties.

Your compliance in this will much oblige, gentlemen, your most obed't serv't,

J. M.

The Gent'n Commissioners
of Forfeited Estates.

Savannah, 18th Oct., 1782.

Sir:—

I am sorry to be informed that your family is in town and at present destitute of a house, altho' one was purchased by you at the late sales and that Mr. Johnston's was the house you purchased. Unfortunate for him it was sold previous to his being taken off the bill. He has now returned to this State, under the faith and protection of the same, in order to print for the public, and his press already prepared in that house. If he should be turned out of doors, he and his little family would also be destitute for a place to put their heads in. Now, as the commissioners have several houses for sale on the public account, I think one of those houses might be reserved for your family until the meeting of the House of Assembly, who will doubtless settle the matter to your mutual satisfaction. I have wrote the gentlemen commissioners on this head, and beg leave to refer you to them on this business, and doubt not but it may be settled amicably, provided gentlemen are inclinable.

I hope you'll endeavor to compromise this matter, and endeavor to make it as easy as possible. I have no other motive, upon my honor, than that harmony and good will should exist between the contending parties.

I am with esteem, sir, your most obt. serv't,

J. M.

Doctor John Waudin.

Savannah, 19th Oct., 1782.

Sir:—

I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 28th Aug., in answer to mine of the 15th by the gentlemen commissioners who were appointed by me to negotiate concerning the mode of carrying on the war in future, upon liberal principles, in order to prevent plundering and marauding parties from disturbing the peaceable and industrious inhabitants on the frontiers of Florida and of this State.

Happy am I to find that your Excellency's opinion exactly coincides with mine on that head, as cruel predatory incursions never will be a means of answering any good purpose towards procuring that great and desirable object—Peace; but rather serves to irritate and embitter the minds of the contending parties. Anxious to promote those sentiments of moderation, I had, previous to the receipt of your letter, given strict and positive instructions to the commanding officer acting under my authority in the Southern parts of this State not to pass the St. Mary's River, it being the boundary between Florida & Georgia, and by no means to suffer those horrid scenes of murder & plunder to be permitted in future, which I am sorry to say has been hitherto but too much encouraged by both parties. I shall be particularly careful and give positive instructions that no depredations or hostilities shall be committed on the plantations in Florida, and if, contrary to my orders and instructions, any irregularity should be committed by any parties acting under my authority, that I do promise that every satisfaction in my power shall be given, and that every step shall be taken by me to promote and establish those desirable objects, and make them of equal weight and efficiency in this State as in Florida. In regard to the unfortunate characters hinted at in your letter, I truly & sincerely feel for their situation, many of whom I know to be men of worth and integrity.

Happy should I be to see the blessings of peace once more restored not only to this country, but all Europe; and until that wished for period arrives, I hope the war may be conducted with that becoming moderation that may reflect honor, and add to the luster and dignity of both nations.

I return you my sincere thanks for your kind offers of supplies & may rely nothing shall be wanting on my part to promote & carry on a friendly intercourse between the two countries consistent with my duty and the laws of nations.

The genteel and polite reception the gentlemen commissioners met with at St. Augustine, and while there, merits my particular thanks. There is one Samuel Moore (who was formerly in the service of the British when they had possession of Savannah, and now pretends to act under a commission from them) has of late, in company with five or six others of his associates, waylaid some of our roads, has cruelly murdered one Sellers, a subject of this State, and has plundered a number of our worthy & peaceable inhabitants of their money—600 guineas in cash from a Mr. Walthour, together with several horses and negroes & has since gone off to Florida, by the information of a party I sent after them. I would wish for your interposition in this matter, & endeavor if possible to secure the property, and have the fellow & his party apprehended & sent into this State where they may be dealt with agreeable to the laws of this country. Information has also just come to hand that a Captain Scallions, in a galley from St. Augustine, did last evening secretly come into one of the inlets of Ossabaw in this State, & burnt a new vessel on the stocks, nearly finished, taken off thirty negroes & two thousand weight of indigo belonging to the estate of Mr. John Morel, & three negroes belonging to the estate of Thomas Netherclift, Esq.

I confess these are violations I by no means expected, & contrary to those good intentions aimed at between us. However, I hope the property may be secured for their proper owners, & such other measures taken as may be deemed necessary on this occasion.

This will be handed you by Col. Cooper who goes with a flag for that express purpose. He is a gentleman I would wish to recommend to your notice and attention.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obt. & most humble serv't,

J. M.

His Excell'y
Patrick Tonyn, Esq.,
per Col. Cooper.

Savannah, Oct. 22nd, 1782.

Sir:—

After my dispatches for Governor Tonym were closed, I heard that it was uncertain what boat or vessel it was from Florida that did the mischief at the Southward in burning the vessel, carrying off the negroes & indigo of Mr. Morel belonging to an undivided estate, in which misfortune a number of helpless children are involved; also those negroes of Mr. Netherclift's. Inclosed is a memorandum of sundry negroes, horses, &c., the property of General & Col. McIntosh, which has been lately plundered by people who have taken asylum in Florida. I would be glad you would apply to his Excellency, Governor Tonym, for his interposition in the several matters here contained, in order to secure the property for their rightful owners, agreeable to certain stipulations entered into between us, & request that his Excellency would take such other measures as may be deemed necessary in this essential business.

I am with esteem, sir, your most obt. & very humble serv't,

J. M.

Lieut. Col. Cooper.

LETTER FROM GENERAL GREENE TO GOVERNOR MARTIN.

Head Quarters, January 7th, 1782.

Dear Sir:—

I am this moment informed by the Speaker of your House of Assembly that you are elected Governor of the State of Georgia. If you are the gentleman from Rhode Island to whom I had the honor of being introduced at the Congaree, I am happy in the choice & beg leave to congratulate you on your appointment. But if you are not the gentleman I must trust to your good nature to pardon the freedom of this familiar introduction, founded upon the supposition of the gentleman's being a countryman of mine.

General Wayne marches tomorrow with a considerable body of horse, some artillery & a quantity of ammunition, to take command in your State. He is an officer for whom I have the highest esteem, & whose military talents have made him conspicuous both in Europe and America. I flatter myself his appointment will be perfectly agreeable to your State, and that under his direction the inhabitants, if they afford him the aid and support they are able to give, will find great relief from the further ravages of the enemy.

The General is directed to make application to the Governor for such orders of Militia as he may find requisite for the purposes of his command, and I flatter myself the State will find it to her interest to concur in the measures he may recommend.

I cannot help recommending to your Excellency to open a door for the disabled of your State to come in with particular exceptions. It is better to save than destroy, especially when we are obliged to expose good men to destroy bad. It is always dangerous to push people to a state of desperation, & the satisfaction of revenge has but a momentary existence and is commonly succeeded by pity & remorse. The practice of plundering which I am told has been too much indulged with you, is very destructive to the morals & manners of people; habits & dispositions founded on this practice soon grow obstinate & are difficult to restrain. Indeed it is the most direct way of undermining all Government, & never fails to bring the laws into contempt, for people will not stop at the barriers which were first intended to bound them after having tasted the

sweets of possessing property by the easy modes of plunder. The preservation of morals and an encouragement to honest industry should be the first objects of **Government**; plundering is the destruction of both. I wish the cause of liberty may never be tarnished with inhumanity, nor the morals of people bartered in exchange for wealth.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

LETTERS OF PATRICK CARR, TERROR TO
BRITISH LOYALISTS, TO GOVERNORS JOHN
MARTIN AND LYMAN HALL, 1782 AND 1783.

During the American Revolution there was in Georgia a man who was most active in hunting down and punishing the enemies of the cause of the colonies, and his special efforts were directed against the Tories, of whom it is said that, with his own hands, he killed one hundred. He was an Irishman, and, when provoked, let his temper run high. His name was Patrick Carr, and he was a citizen of Jefferson County after the War, and there he is said to have lived many years, and met his death at the hands of some descendants of Tories whom he had offended. It is recorded that when once praised for his courage he replied that he would have made a good soldier, but God had given him too merciful a heart.

The letters which follow show the spirit in which he carried out his purpose of standing by the American cause. They are given just as they were written, without any corrections.

Letter From Capt. Patrick Carr to Governor Martin.

Silver Bluff, 11th Aug., 1782.

Dear Sir: —

This is to acquaint your honor with the situation of affairs in this part of the country, and to desire your directions how I shall act. There is a number of fellows about — some gave up to the Militia officers, & numbers still sculking about their homes. They are, chiefly, persons who stole out of Savannah before and about the fall of the town.

I have got the copy of the Oaths & the enlistment from the Honorable Gen. Wayne, but I have been so exceedingly ill since I got home, that I have been obliged to keep my bed. I am now upon the recovery, and I hope will be able to put in execution your orders as soon as I receive them.

It was with the greatest grief that I have been laid up sick, while poor travelers have been annoyed by Sam Moore with that infernal set of outlaws, I have sent parties out without success. But your honor may depend upon it, as soon as I get able to ride I will make them shy or catch them. They all have wives who harbour them and their plundered property; and without the men are killed, or the women secured, there will be no end to the robberies & murders committed in Georgia; but your honor may be assured that my best exertions shall be used in suppressing those troublesome villains who are a pest to society; & to fulfill & put in force whatever orders I may receive from you from time to time. There are now among us some of the worst of men, I dare say, waiting only for an opportunity to do mischief & slip off. But you have power to issue orders by which I shall be able to stop them. Ogeechee settlement in Burke, is entirely abandoned, the Indians coming in now and then and picking off a Tory (though they have never as yet killed a Whig) has so alarmed them that they have all fled to Buck head.

Mr. Galphin's Settlement at the Old Town still stands, by my persuasion; if that settlement is broke up, Burke county will certainly follow. There are several designing men who wish to see it done, that they may see the ruin of the county; in order to which they are attempting to frighten the people from their settlements.

I have got some half breeds to live there who have given themselves up to me. As soon as I get able to ride and assist the people on the line, I hope I shall be able to persuade them to return to their former places of abode by the order I formerly received from your honor.

I remain, Dear Sir, with great respect your honor's most Ob't & Humble Serv't,

PATRICK CARR.

P. S.—I have just received intelligence of a party of the Traders coming in to give themselves up, chiefly from the lower Towns; after which I hope in a few days to wait upon you in person to give you an account of my proceedings with them.

Letter From Patrick Carr to Governor Martin.

Silver Bluff, August 22nd, 1782.

Dr. Sir:—

I informed you in my last that I was going out to meet some of the lower town traders. I accordingly went, but there came none but John Anderson, who went up with Philip Scott, Joseph Cornels & some others. As for the report about Cornel's giving bad talks to the Indians and gathering them to come down, it is entirely false, for the talks he received from Gen'l Wayne he gave to the Indians.

Anderson was confined in the upper towns for near two months and he attempted to come down but was stopped by the commissary. The reason the traders did not come was this: After Mr. Barnard told them Savannah was taken they were all for coming; but an express from St. Augustine informed them that they were going to hold that place; and the having such a vast property belonging to those two States gave them still hopes of holding it. They keep continually sending Negroes to West Florida. Your Honor may with all ease have them stopped there by sending a letter to the Spanish Governor who they say had a great regard for the Americans. I can any time send your letters with safety and dispatch. It must do an essential service to those two States, as it will be the means of keeping the Negroes in the nation till we can get them, but your honor knows best how to proceed.

The Indians that escaped that night from Gen'l Wayne (ten in number) went straight to Thomas Graham's house in the upper Towns, & killed him. He was the most active man in tarring and feathering Brown, and the first white man afterwards that headed a party of Indians to kill women and children on our frontier, and done great mischief. The Tories keep dropping in every day. Their number increases up here and is very large. If I once received your Honor's orders, I could recruit this regiment down there with a great many men; for the truth is I believe the Militia officers are afraid to concern (consort?) with them. I would be glad to know your pleasure in regard to those men who have come from the Nation, as I can make them of great service; and it will be the means of making the settlers go back to their Plantations on the Ogeechee, as I intend myself in a very little time.

No more from your Honor's most obt. & humble serv't to command,

PATRICK CARR.

Rockey Ford, Ogeechey, September 13th, 1783.

To Governor Lyman Hall.

Dr. Sir,

I have got up as high as here. After leaving Mr. George Galphin I made no discoveries in respect of what I went after, but when I got to this place I met Ben Leenear who informed me that his Brother in Law, Henry Cooper, wanted to go off peaceably to Florida with his wife. I really think it would be for the good of this country if he is suffered to go in peace, if he concerns with no person's property but his own. But your Honor must be the best judge in this affair. Mr. leenear likewise informs me that the last Boats that were robbed, Cooper tells him if I would go and search the Widow Grine's loft, between the loft and ceiling, I would find a great many goods, and take two Negroes belonging to the plantation and whip them I would find the chief of the Rum and Sugar. But I shall not procede 'till I receive your Honor's orders on that head. Cooper declares to his Brother in law he had no hand in it. If you think proper to give Cooper a pass, I would be glad if you would send me word, as I intend to keep scouts constantly out 'till those fellows that infests the Road is either killed or dispersed. We have kept ourselves peacible as long as possible; but to see those fellows committing such depre-dations dayly on the peacable inhabitants is insufferable. Please to send your order for me to Silver Bluff by safe hands, and I shall willingly put them in execution on sight if in my power.

I remain with respect your Honor's most obedient humble servant to command.

PATRICK CARR.

Old Town, 10th December, 1783.

To Governor Lyman Hall.

Dr. Sir,

I take this opportunity to inform your Honor of my great success since I received your last letter in pursuing those plunderers who infest this State from Florida.

I have taken a good many horses & considerable other property which I have restored to our citizens agreeably to your orders to Colo. Johnson, a copy of which he sent to me.

When Henry Cooper went off he sent me word that he should take care & not let a single stolen horse go in his company; but notwithstanding Col. Johnson went in the same company, he, or his gang, carried off several. Ben Lanier tried to take the horses from him, but was near losing his life in the attempt. As soon as I heard of it, which was not for several days after I received the first intelligence from Esquire Lanier, (whose letter I enclose to your honor), I followed Cooper to St. Mary's, but was afraid of creating a misunderstanding between this State & that Province. Had I crossed the river I believe I could have the chief of all the rogues that infests this State, as St. Mary's is their principal harbour; but I was afraid of censure.

The people, generally, seem determined to pursue those fellows to St. John's if there is not a stop put to their robing & plundering. For my part, I, nor my people, will not attempt it without orders. I have lived on the frontiers for more than seven months, and there has been but two horses stolen in that time within twenty miles of me, either by Indians or by Tories; & those two have both been restored, for those rogues are afraid to come into this settlement. There are people coming from Florida, every day, especially Colo. Brown's core, & no body has as yet interrupted them.

I would be obliged to your honor if your honor would let me have the ammunition you promised me when in Augusta. & send it by the bearer, Peter Benson, also a few flints, as they are very scarce with us.

I remain with great respect, your Honor's most obedient & humbl serv't,

PATRICK CARR.

Copy of a letter from Patrick Tonyn, Governor of East Florida, to his Excellency, John Martin, Governor of Georgia.

St. Augustine, 28th August, '82.

Sir:—

I have the honor of receiving your letter of the 15th instant, by the Flag of Truce, the Hephsebeth, and papers relative thereto in which you nominate William McIntosh, Samuel Stirk & John Wereat, Esquires, Commissioners to negotiate concerning the mode of carrying on the War in future upon liberal principles so as to prevent plundering & marauding parties from disturbing the settlements in Geor-

gia and in this province, that industrious inhabitants of both countries may unmolested pursue their occupations.

From the commencement of this unnatural and pernicious War the temper of East Florida had ever discountenanced cruel predatory incursions, as answering no good purpose for procuring the great object of War, Peace and accommodation; and until impelled from the sufferings of the people by depredations & excesses, no hostilities, sir, on our parts had been made which was then necessary in our defence.

Desirous of preserving the same moderation previous to the receipt of your letter, strict orders were given to the military acting under my authority not to pass the boundary of this Province, and by no means to be guilty of cruelty or plunder; and the Provincial Legislature has framed no laws to authorize such proceedings. The officers of law and justice in this Province have the laws of Great Britain alone to direct their decisions.

A distinguishing mark of civilization is to conduct War with humanity, to avoid whatever is cruel, and does not answer good purposes to the community. Provided therefore your people commit no depredations and hostilities upon the plantations in this Province, of which I shall be happy to have assurances from you by letter, I shall and do engage that the most positive and express orders shall be given that no plunder or depredations be committed by any marauding parties, acting under my authority, and if contrary to these orders and intentions any irregularities should be done, that every satisfaction in my power shall be made.

As I have, by virtue of my Royal Master, sufficient power to effectuate these purposes, it is not necessary on my part to negotiate with Commissioners, and I trust on yours every effectual step will be taken to establish these measures of equal force, weight, and efficacy in Georgia as in East Florida.

When a prevailing spirit of moderation and a regard to the property of individuals are manifest, I take the liberty of mentioning the circumstance of depriving persons of their estates who were respectable inhabitants of Georgia. If a firm and manly conduct in vicissitude, so much the admiration of all ages, and a fixed adherence to principles openly, and uniformly avowed by men deemed honorable characters become a crime, they are certainly highly culpable. Convinced however I am that upon cool, dispassionate consideration, such conduct must command

the esteem and respect of all good men, nothing can give me so great pleasure as an accommodation settled and established between Great Britain and America conducive to the interest of both, that the United Nation may increase its pristine lustre and glory. I hope until that happy period we shall conduct the contest with becoming moderation and as little as possible to the disadvantage of industrious, peaceable inhabitants of both countries; and I trust, sir, that this spirit in your **Government** will show itself by paving the way to such desirable end, and I shall take care that no Provincial laws be sanctioned here to clog such reconciliations, and every countenance in my power, consistent with my duty to the best of Sovereigns, shall be given to proceedings founded upon humane and beneficial principles.

I have therefore directed Mr. Forbes to supply you with such necessaries as are proper in our situation & shall in future study to carry on an intercourse not inconsistent with my duty and the law of nations.

It was my particular care that the gentlemen sent in your flag were lodged in the most respectable families, and that proper attention was shown them.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

Representation of the Deputies to Governor Martin.

Savannah, 5th December, 1782.

As your Excellency has applied to us for the substance of what passed between us as your deputies & his Excellency, Governor Tonyn, of the Province of East Florida, we beg leave that his Excellency's dispatches were made up & sealed for transmission before we were called upon, but this we well remember, when we had an audience with his Excellency he informed us that every thing necessary was mentioned in his letter which he delivered us, but at the same time said that altho' this State would not make incursions upon the Province of East Florida, yet if people from other States were permitted to come through this for that purpose, or to proceed by the inland passage it might be a means of frustrating the intentions of both countries. To this we replied that no predatory parties should be permitted to pass through our country by land for any such purpose, also that as far as it was in the power of this State, the inland passage should secure that if any property was

taken by boats and brought here the same should be secured, but that we could not be answerable for those who might come from other States, and carry off any of the property of East Florida to any other part of the Continent, as our State was not competent to take notice of or punish them. His Excellency, Governor Tonyn, also expressed some apprehensions of a set of men who set themselves down between the two countrys and pay no obedience to the laws of either, that notwithstanding the good intentions of that government and our own some disorders might be committed by such a lawless banditti, and that should this happen every step should be taken to secure & punish such offenders.

LETTER FROM SAMUEL STIRK TO BRIGADIER GENERAL TWIGGS.

Samuel Stirk, the author of the following letter, was a Georgian of distinction, but it is a matter of regret that very little is known of his life. He is supposed to have been born in Georgia, but of this we are not certain. The records show that besides Samuel there was a John as well as a Benjamin Stirk, and the name of Mrs. Hannah Stirk also appears.

When the Executive Council was chosen for 1777, John Adam Treutlen having defeated Button Gwinnett for the office of Governor, Mr. Stirk was appointed the clerk of that body.

The Assembly which convened in Augusta on the 16th day of August, 1781, elected him a delegate to the Continental Congress. We find in the Journals of the Continental Congress that his credentials were twice read, showing that he was certainly entitled to a seat, but there is no evidence of his ever having been seated.

The same Legislature appointing him to the Continental Congress later elected him Attorney General of Georgia in January, 1783; and about the same time he was appointed a Commissioner from Georgia to treat with Governor Patrick Tonyn, of East Florida, for the settlement of the differences and the prevention of future difficulties along the line of the St. Mary's river.

He was a Lieutenant Colonel in 1778 and 1779 in the service of the State, and was with Gwinnett in the disastrous expedition against East Florida.

He was one of the Justices for Chatham County in 1786 as well as in 1789. In the last mentioned year he was President of the Board of Wardens of Savannah.

We do not know under what circumstances the following letter was written, but we venture to reproduce it from the original, deeming it worthy of preservation.

Augusta, Nov'r 1st, 1781.

The Honorable
Brigadier General Twiggs,
Camp.

Dear General:—

I shall proceed for camp with your dispatches this morning.

Immediately on my arrival in Town, I waited on the Governor & informed him I was honor'd with a letter of a public nature from you to General Greene, the contents of which I delivered him; he immediately spoke on the subject with great agitation, and seem'd much dissatisfied; the next morning I attended when he gave his objections to the measure on a large scale, & told me that the proceeding was contrary to order, as all applications were to be made thro' him as being the superior officer in command, and that it could only be meant to him as a direct affront. I told him that no such thing was meant or intended, but that the officers seem'd much distressed that an application on the same business had not been made (altho' long talked of by him & his Council) before that period, and assured him in plain terms that they could not, and would not, keep the field if some aid did not soon arrive; that however some men might talk lightly of the sufferings that the people of this country underwent, over a good fire & a warm bed to repose in, that the practical part, without a shoe, stocking, or a blanket, was of so serious a nature to them that I should not be surpris'd if they quit the field & leave to him & his Council to combat the enemy; he then repeated his old story of having already made application to General Greene, by letter, & that his friend Mr. Few was going to headquarters to urge it again. From the whole tenor of his conversation, your letter on the subject hurts him prodigiously, & I am confident would do anything in his power to stop it, but I gave him to understand I had rec'd your express order to proceed & that I should do it at all hazard.

Yesterday Dannally arrived from Philadelphia with letters & news papers; those of a public nature I have not seen; from what I can learn Howly & Walton were much astonished at their not being re-elected; the former means to return here immediately, but it is not known when the latter means to make his appearance. Telfair & Jones have taken their seats in Congress; they have sent us our public account of the monies advanced the State. I am told our delegates have been very liberal on the score of drawing. I could wish for the sake of this injured country that the same could be circulated among the people, that the real conduct of our gentry might be properly inquired into & the people in future know how their affairs are conducted. Messrs. Telfair & Jones mean to bring on cloathing for our troops immediately.

It is reported from very good authority, as well as by letter from Mr. Samuel Miller, that Cornwallis surrendered last month to General Washington; the person who came last from Camden & brought Miller's letter says he heard the guns which were fired at General Greene's camp on the occasion. In a day or two official accounts I expect will be here.

I have rec'd some letters from our delegates which I shall bring to camp with me.

Inclosed is a packet from your friends in Virginia.

Remember me kindly to Majors Demere & Collins, & believe me to be dr. General, with every sentiment of regard,
your friend & servant,

SAM'L STIRK.

Excuse haste, as I am now on the wing.

MEMOIR OF FREDERICA.

BY THE REV. T. B. BARTOW,
Chaplain in the U. S. Navy.

Read Before the Georgia Historical Society,
September 9, 1839.

Although the early history of Frederica reaches back but a century, it is involved in the obscurity of a remote antiquity by a disregard to dates in its first chronicles, and by a spirit of exaggeration on the part of its friends, and of depreciation on the part of those who were dissatisfied with the military government of General Oglethorpe. For instance, we do not know with certainty when the city was founded. On the authority of McCall, the centennial anniversary was celebrated in 1836; but the township was laid out by the Council of South Carolina in 1733, and in their memorial to Parliament, April 9, 1734, they mention Oglethorpe's having fortified the southern part of the Colony against the Spaniards of Florida. John and Charles Wesley, who left England with Oglethorpe in October, 1735, found Frederica settled on their arrival in the following February. The probability is, therefore, that the town was commenced before Oglethorpe left Georgia the first time.

We find the following entry in Wesley's journal ten days after his arrival at Tybee: "On Monday, the 16th of February, Mr. Oglethorpe set out for the new settlement on the Altamaha river. He took with him 52 men and three Indians," and three weeks after, on the 9th of March, Charles Wesley entered on his duties as chaplain at Frederica. Marshall, in his History of the American Colonies, says that Frederica was settled in 1734. Bartram, whose information was accurate, though often colored by the rosy light of a poetic imagination, says it was the first town built by the English in Georgia.

When John Wesley left Georgia in December, 1737, the soldiers were stationed at Fort St. Simon, on the sea point, since washed away, but even then the Fort of Frederica better deserved to be the stronghold, "being encompassed with regular ramparts of earth and a palisaded ditch, and mounted with cannon which entirely command the river." It was not until after the retreat from Augustine that it answered the amiable botanist's description: "The fortress was regular and beautiful, constructed chiefly with brick, and was the largest, most regular, and perhaps most costly of any in North America of British con-

struction." McCall says the Fort was built of tabby. Both accounts are partly true. The magazines of brick still remain, as well as the flanking wall, which is of tabby, and the light house was entirely built from the tabby of the Fort at Frederica.

An uncertainty rests, too, upon the victory of Bloody Marsh, where Montiano was defeated in 1742. McCall states that 500 Spaniards were left dead upon the field. Other historians record that the Spaniards lost one Captain, two lieutenants, and one hundred men made prisoners.* Tradition adds that General Oglethorpe knew by the very reports of the muskets that they were fired by his own victorious troops, and hastened to the field, ordering a wagon-load of porter to be brought to refresh his soldiers after their fatigue. The bottles which contained the liquor were broken in a heap upon the battle-field as a monument which envious time could not destroy, but, not to be defeated in effacing the records of earthly glory, he has at length buried them in the sand; but not till they had been seen by the present generation.

The size of Frederica at the zenith of its prosperity is likewise a matter of dispute. Mr. Spalding, who was born there, thinks it once contained two hundred houses and nearly a thousand inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison; that it held a direct commerce with London, and ships of the largest size brought every luxury that Europe could supply to its wharves. This prosperity must have happened subsequently to the year 1763, for Oglethorpe's regiment was disbanded, except for one company, in 1749, when the Colony languished from its state of insecurity. The resumption of the government by the King, on the resignation of the Trustees in 1752, effected little change for the better, and Georgia did not prosper until the peace of Paris in 1763, when Florida was ceded to England. Then, having got rid of her troublesome neighbors, who, more than her unwise legislators, had retarded her growth, and being taught by Governor Wright to cultivate her swamps, emigration into the Colony was rapid, and in ten years her exports had increased fourfold. Then houses might safely have been constructed without the ramparts of Frederica, and many were. Yet, when Bartram visited the town in March, 1774, "The Fortress," he says, "is now in ruins, yet occupied by a small garrison, the ruins also of the town only remain; peach

*Information not available when this account was written shows that the loss of the Spaniards was about five hundred in killed, wounded and prisoners.

trees, pomegranates, fig trees, and other shrubs grow out of the ruinous walls of former spacious and expensive buildings, not only in the town, but at a distance, in various parts of the island; yet there are a few neat houses in good repair, and inhabited. It seems now recovering again, owing to the public and liberal spirit and exertions of Mr. James Spalding who is president of the island, and engaged in very extensive mercantile concerns." (Bartram's Travels, Part 2, Chap. 1.)

The fort was dismantled and most of the garrison withdrawn to St. Augustine soon after 1763. In 1833 I conversed with an old lady, then eighty-one years of age, and since dead, whose father belonged to Oglethorpe's regiment (and it was one peculiarity of that regiment that almost every soldier brought his wife with him from England). Mrs. Baisden told me that when she was thirteen years of age the guard house was burned, the cannon dismounted, and the troops removed in a vessel to St. Augustine where she remained until after the revolution. She spoke of the extreme beauty and neatness of Frederica and of its parades, of which her father, Mr. Grant, had the charge; of the strict discipline observed; of its land post, or gate, surmounted by a huge bell which apprised the garrison whenever it was opened; and of the cantonment, full of officers; but she was then too young to know the number of houses or inhabitants.

Colonel Burr thus describes Frederica in 1804:

"Frederica, now known as Old Town, was about fifty years ago a very gay place, consisting perhaps of twenty-five or thirty houses. The walls of several of them still remain. Three or four families only now reside there. In the vicinity of the town several ruins were pointed out to me as having been formerly country seats of the Governor and officers of the garrison, and gentlemen of the town. At present nothing can be more gloomy than what was once Frederica. The few families now remaining, or rather residing there, for they are all new comers, have a sickly, melancholy appearance, well assorted with the ruins which surround them."

The present aspect of Frederica differs a little from that which it presented to Colonel Burr. But three families reside there, and they are quite healthy. The unsightly ruins have fallen down. One very pretty one, which was Oglethorpe's headquarters, remains, overgrown with wild ivy, a sketch of which I beg leave to present to the Historical Society.*

*This sketch cannot now be found.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Ernest S.—In my search recently for facts in connection with the life of Aaron Burr, I was told that he visited Savannah more than once. Is that statement true?

Aaron Burr came to Georgia twice, but the record does not show that he stopped in Savannah on his second visit. The accounts of his trips to this State are not without interest, and we will now give the details for the information of our correspondent and others who may not know them.

After his election as Vice President he traveled through the South, reaching Savannah May 20th, 1802, and a week after the Georgia Gazette said:

“On Thursday last the Vice President of the United States arrived here from Charleston. About six miles from town he was received by a number of gentlemen and the troop of horse; on his approaching Spring Hill he was saluted by discharges of cannon from the artillery company; at Spring Hill the Chatham rangers and Savannah Volunteer Guards joined the troop, and escorted him to lodgings fitted up for him in the city, where he was again saluted by the artillery. On Monday he partook of an elegant dinner at the City Hall in company with a numerous and most respectable assemblage of citizens. And on Tuesday forenoon he left the city on his return to the Northward, being saluted by the guns of the revenue cutter on his departure.”

Some time in the month of August, 1804, after the duel with Alexander Hamilton and the death of that gentleman, Burr secretly sailed from Philadelphia and made his way as speedily as possible to St. Simon's island, on the Georgia coast, where he was warmly welcomed by his friend Mr. Butler. In this number of the Quarterly his description of the island is embraced in the account of Frederica, by Mr. T. B. Bartow. That all the people did not hail his landing on Georgia soil with such pleasure as did Mr. Butler is shown by the announcement of the event by the Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser of Wednesday, August 29th, 1804:

“The Vice President of the United States arrived, we understand, a few days since at St. Simon's in a vessel from Philadelphia, in perfect health, and entirely relieved from the hydrocephalus which afflicted him in the neighborhood of that city. If his distance from the scene of guilt has removed the distraction of his brain, shall we presume also that it has quieted the unwelcome suggestions of his conscience?”

It is a surprising fact that both of the newspaper notices of the two visits of Burr to Georgia omit entirely to mention his name.

In this connection we deem it appropriate to quote Parton's account of the visit to St. Simon's in his *Life of Aaron Burr*:

"About the middle of August, 1804, Colonel Burr, accompanied by Samuel Swartwout (a younger brother of the indomitable John), and attended by his favorite slave, Peter, a good-humored blunderer of fifteen, secretly embarked for St. Simon's, an island off the coast of Georgia, then the residence of a few wealthy planters. He had old friends upon this island, and the arrival of a Vice President was itself an event to excite the few inhabitants of a place so remote from the great world. He was welcomed, on his arrival, to a mansion luxurious and hospitable, and the resources of the island were placed at his disposal. He was serenaded by the island's only band of music. He saw no more averted faces and lowering brows, and heard no more muttered execrations as he passed. His Southern friends, he found, had very different feelings with regard to the duel from the people at the North, and the society of St. Simon's bestowed every mark of consideration upon him that hospitable minds could suggest. 'You have no idea,' he wrote to Theodosia, 'of the zeal and animation of the intrepidity and frankness, with which Major Butler (his host) avowed and maintained—but I forget that this letter goes to Savannah by a negro who has to swim half a dozen creeks, in one of which, at least, it is probable he may drown, and that, if he escapes drowning, various other accidents may bring it to you through the newspapers, and then how many enemies might my indiscretion create for a man who had the sensibility and the honor to feel and to judge, and the firmness to avow—'"

"After a month's detention at St. Simon's by the devastation of a hurricane, he crossed to the main land and made his way, with immense difficulties,——to his daughter's home in South Carolina."

An admirer of James Jackson.—I would like to know where Governor James Jackson is buried. I am told that his remains are not resting on Georgia soil where, it seems to me, his grave should be, and that it should be well cared for.

General James Jackson died in Washington City, March 19, 1806, and he is buried in the Congressional burying ground there, by order of Congress. At the time of his

death he was serving as United States Senator. On the front of his tombstone is this inscription:

"To the memory of Major General James Jackson, of Georgia, who deserved and enjoyed the confidence of a grateful country—a soldier of the Revolution."

On the reverse of the monument these words are inscribed:

"He was the determined foe of foreign tyranny, the scourge and terror of corruption at home. Died 19th of March, 1806, in the 49th year of his age."

EDITOR'S NOTES.

During the late summer a volume, compiled by one of our members, on "The Beville Family of Virginia, Georgia, and Florida, and Several Allied Families North and South" appeared in a small edition, limited to two hundred and fifty copies. It was privately printed, and makes a fine appearance. The compiler is Mrs. Agnes Beville Vaughan Tedcastle, of Hyde Park, Massachusetts. The book will be of interest to members of the families whose record is so fully given, and the information contained must have been secured through much labor, pains and expense. We believe a mistake was made in so strictly limiting the number of copies, as it is certain that many persons bearing the names of families represented will seek information which is not to be found elsewhere without considerable research. Mrs. Tedcastle has done a good work, and has done it well. We like the way in which she has put together the records of the several families.

The nature of this periodical is such that we cannot devote much space to reviews of books. We must, however, take up a portion of this department of the Quarterly to say a few words in commendation of the work of Dr. Dunbar Rowland, Director of the Department of Archives and History, of the State of Mississippi, in editing and publishing the six volumes of "Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816." The editor's task in handling this great mass of material, preparing it for the printer, and writing the many notes of interest and historical value, was no easy one, and the value of the work to historians engaged in the in-

vestigation of matters relating to the Northwest cannot be computed. The editor truly says, in his endeavor to relate the scope of the work: "In a brief editorial note like this it is not possible to give a satisfactory summing up of the Claiborne letter books. They include hitherto unknown and unpublished material of first importance concerning very many really great events in the history of the United States."

As an instance of the variety of subjects included in the letters, we find information which we hardly expected to find on the subject of the short-lived Bourbon County of Georgia. While that matter is very lightly touched upon, there is much information on many points in these volumes that will be useful to students of American history. There is a full index to the contents, and a glance through it shows that information may be gathered on topics which would not generally be sought for in such a collection.

Through the generosity of Mrs. Elizabeth Millar Bullard we are pleased to include in this number of the *Quarterly*, as a frontispiece, the interesting and instructive Historical Map of Savannah, compiled by Mr. Harry A. Chandler. The map was submitted, before printing, to a committee of gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the history of the City and well qualified to pass upon its correctness. They are satisfied that it is remarkably free from errors, and believe it to be on the whole as reliable as it is possible for a work of the kind to be. Mrs. Bullard, realizing the importance and value of such a production, has placed us under great obligation by donating a sum sufficient to cover the expense of supplying the map to every reader of this number of our periodical.

COMMUNICATION.

Mr. Jos. B. Cumming writes concerning the Great Seals of Georgia, correcting some mistakes in the article in the September Quarterly, and adding some interesting facts.

November 13, 1917.

William Harden, Esq., Editor,
Georgia Historical Quarterly,
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Sir:—

I read with great pleasure and much instruction Mr. Henry R. Goetchius' article on the great seals of Georgia, published in the September number of the Quarterly. It may possibly add a little to the great value of this contribution to Georgia history if I correct one or two minor mistakes in the article.

The seal, which Governor Jenkins took with him when he was ejected from the office of Governor by the Federal General Ruger, the Military Governor, under the reconstruction Act of Congress, was the seal kept in the Governor's office and used by him to impress purely executive documents. Some persons, though evidently not Mr. Goetchius, have confused this seal with the great seal of the State.

Mr. Goetchius represents Governor Jenkins as appearing before the General Assembly of Georgia and delivering a speech on the occasion of the return of the seal. This is a mistake. Governor Jenkins did not address the Legislature in person. He wrote what he considered a message to the first legal Legislature after his deposition and entrusted it to me to be delivered to his first legal successor, Governor James M. Smith. It was transmitted by Governor Smith to the Legislature. I had the honor at that time to be Speaker of the House of Representatives, and on the reception of the message by the House, I left the Chair and offered the enclosed Resolution. (Enclosed on separate sheet.)

The Resolution was adopted with practical unanimity, though I am not able to say now—45 years after the event—whether the twelve or fifteen Republican members of the House, all but two or three being negroes, voted for or against the Resolution or simply abstained from voting.

When the fac simile seal, provided for by the Resolution, was completed, Governor Smith kindly delegated to me the privilege of making manual delivery of it to Governor Jenkins. In his will, of which the late Col. Chas. Colcock Jones and I were executors, he bequeathed the seal to Dr. Chas. Jenkins Montgomery of Augusta, Ga., the son of his adopted daughter, Mrs. James Gardner Montgomery, and that original seal, and not a fac simile of it, is the one now in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, having been presented to it by Dr. Montgomery.

There was a period of anxiety and distress on the part of Governor Jenkins in connection with the return of the seal to the State. He had written out his message on the subject and then went to the receptacle where he supposed the seal was to be found. It was missing, and for several days he was in great distress lest it should have finally disappeared. After much thought and searching of his memory, he recalled the place of deposit and on resorting to it found the seal intact.

Very truly yours,

JOS. B. CUMMING.

WHEREAS, The Honorable Charles J. Jenkins, when expelled by usurpers from the office of Governor of this State, had the firmness and the courage to save the public treasure from the plunderers, and applied it to the obligations of the State, and also removed the archives of the State Treasury, and saved from desecration the Seal of the Executive Department; and whereas, his efforts to save the people of Georgia from oppression relaxed not with his hold upon the Executive office, but in the midst of discouragement were continued before the Supreme Court of the United States so long as there was any hope of success; and whereas, preserving the archives and the seal until, in better times, he might restore them to his first rightful successor, he has delivered them to his Excellency the Governor; and whereas, gratitude to a great and good man, deference to the feelings of the people of Georgia, and the encouragement of patriotism and virtue in the generations to come, alike render it good that we should make and put in imperishable form a recognition of his fidelity to his trust: therefore be it—

RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA, That his Excellency the

Governor be authorized and instructed to have prepared, and in the name of the people of Georgia to present to the Honorable Charles J. Jenkins, a seal to be the fac simile of the one preserved and restored by him, except that, in addition to the other devices, it shall have this inscription: "Presented to Charles J. Jenkins by the State of Georgia;" and this legend: "In arduis fidelis."

Approved August 22, 1872.

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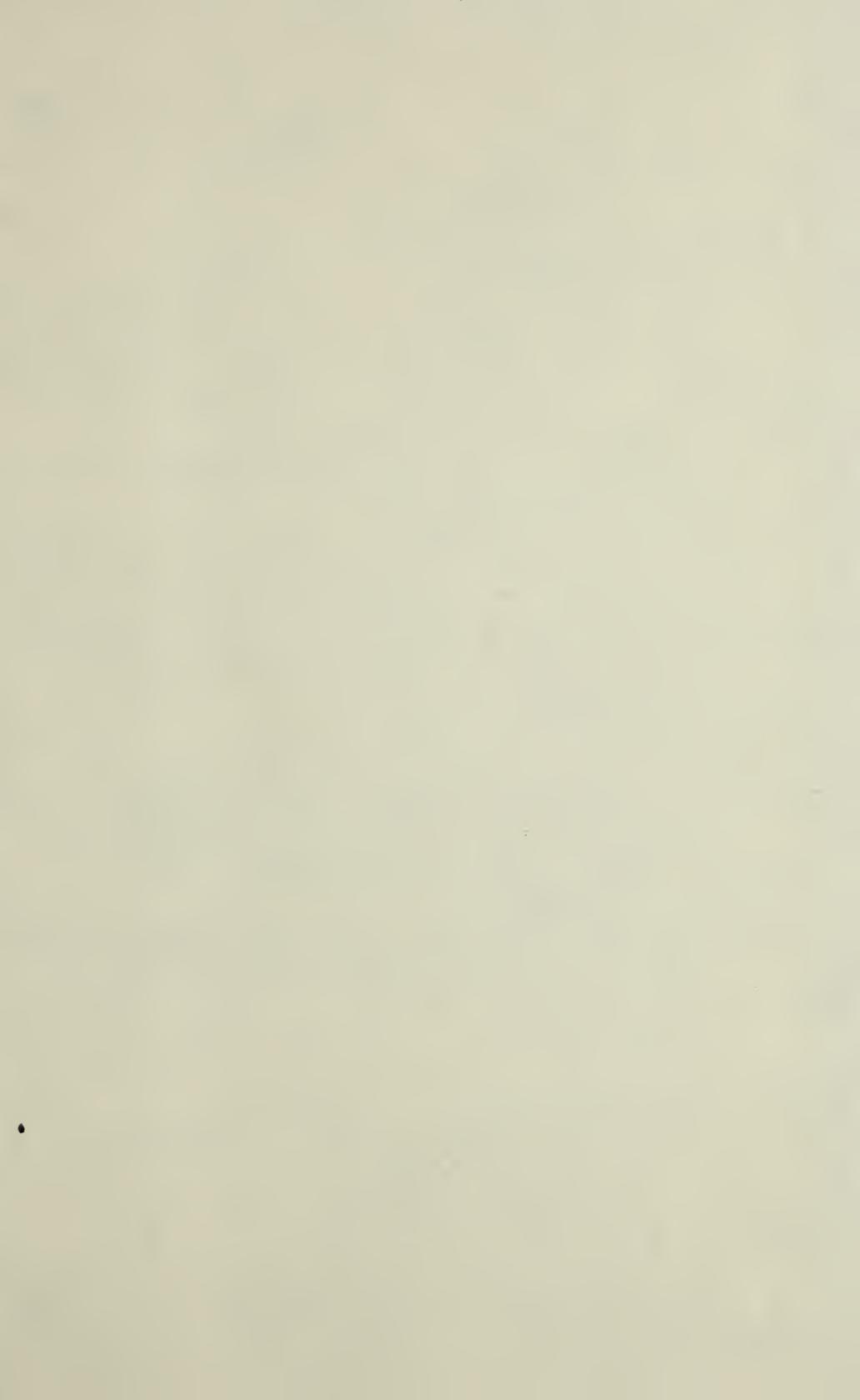
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