



HISTORY
OF
SAVANNAH, GA.

*FROM ITS SETTLEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BY*

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FROM THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BY

O. F. VEDDER AND FRANK WELDON.

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PREFACE.

THE interesting field of municipal history was, until a comparatively recent time, almost wholly untilled by intellectual labor. How rich and productive this field is, is shown by the hundreds of volumes since published that are devoted to the annals of such corporations and narratives of the deeds of men who have aided in building them up. The publishers of the History of Savannah refer with pride to the many works of this character which they have been instrumental in giving to the world of readers, and now offer this one to the community of which it treats in no apologetic mood. It is true that the perfect history of any particular locality has never been written; but it is assumed here and now that this work, devoted to a historical account of only one of the many municipal corporations of this great country, is in the main all that could be expected, if not in every particular all that could be wished for, from the painstaking effort and the unremitting labor of those who have contributed, directly or indirectly, to its pages.

The history of Savannah was never before written, and the details of its annals and those of the territory adjacent to it, were wide-spread among historical volumes of not recent dates, and treating of the whole or large portions of the country; in the scattered files of newspapers, new and old; in the musty records of the State, the county, the town and the city, and to some extent in the memories of the few living pioneers. All of these sources have been placed under tribute to pro-

duce this volume, and the task as a whole was given into the hands and placed under the supervision of those who were believed to be most competent for its various departments.

The history of any city, to be comprehensive and satisfactory, must begin far back beyond the inception of the city itself, and among the pioneers of the broad State of which the municipality finally became a part. For this portion of the History of Savannah, the publishers could not have been more fortunate than in securing the services of Colonel C. C. JONES, the results of whose researches in the Colonial history of the State of Georgia are beyond praise. The reader will find in those pages of general history a faithful and comprehensive narrative of pioneer life in this section, in all of its interesting phases, from the arrival on these shores of the *Anne* in November, 1732, down through the period of Indian occupation and early settlement by white population, to the Declaration of Independence and the exciting times of the Revolutionary war; the development of the locality from that time down to the late war between the North and the South, and the part taken in that great conflict by the city.

Leaving this fruitful field, which has been so generously and meritoriously treated by its author, the reader will find the subsequent history of the city divided into various chapters requisite to tell the story of the birth and growth of all the prominent professions, institutions and industries that combine to constitute the municipality. The preparation of these various chapters was confided either to local writers or to others of ample experience in this field of authorship, the greater share of their work passing under the critical inspection of those residents of the city whose occupations and ability would be a guarantee that it was properly done. Thus, the history of the courts and the bar of the city, a topic of uncommon interest, will be found from the earliest time to the present, and the same may be said of the medical profession and its institutions. The commercial and manufacturing industries have

received that careful and full treatment that this important feature of every city deserves; while the religious and educational institutions, the transportation facilities, secret societies, and all other departments of the city's history have received the conscientious attention which they merit.

The mechanical excellence of the work will commend itself to all. It has been the aim of the publishers in this regard to produce a volume of which every possessor of it would be proud. The engravings in its pages are above criticism, and the biographic pages form a not uninteresting portion of the volume.

With the hope that every one into whose hands the History of Savannah may fall, will, in a fair degree, appreciate the magnitude and the difficulties of the task now finished, the work is here commended to the public by

THE PUBLISHERS.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

- Earliest Colonists Under the Conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe—His Eminent Fitness for the Position of Founder of the Contemplated Plantation—Arrival at Charles-Town, and at Beaufort-Town—Selection of Yamacraw Bluff as the Site for Primal Settlement—Description of the Locality—Tomo-chi-chi, and Oglethorpe's First Interview with him and his Tribe—The Colonists Entertained at Beaufort-Town—Their Arrival and Location at Savannah..... 17

CHAPTER II.

- Early Labors of the Colonists at Savannah—Oglethorpe's Letters to the Trustees—Generous Aid Extended by the Authorities of South Carolina, and Private Benefactions from her Inhabitants—Mutual Dependence of the Two Plantations—Description of Savannah Furnished by Gentlemen from South Carolina—Mr. Oglethorpe's Visit to Charles-Town..... 22

CHAPTER III.

- Original Cession of Territory from the Crown to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia—Importance of an Early and Amicable Extinguishment of the Indian Title to the Granted Lands—Oglethorpe's Pacific Policy Toward the Red Men—Tomo-chi-chi, his Character and Influence—Treaty with the Creeks—Articles of Friendship and Commerce 30

CHAPTER IV.

- Arrival of the Ship *James*—Fort Argyle Built and Garrisoned—The Villages of High-Gate and Hampstead Located and Peopled—Forts at Thunderbolt and on Skidoway Island—Joseph's Town—Abercorn—Irene—The Horse Quarter—Early Plantations—Manchecolas Fort at Skidoway Narrows—Tybee Lighthouse—Plan of Savannah—Names of its Squares, Streets, Wards, and Tithings—Arrival of Hebrew Immigrants—Deed Showing First Allotment of Town Lots, Garden Lots, and Farms in Savannah, and Containing the Names of the Original Grantees..... 44

CHAPTER V.

- Mr. Oglethorpe Visits the Southern Confines of the Province--Arrival of the Saltz-
burgers and their Location at Ebenezer--Baron Von Reck's Impressions of Sa-
vannah--Oglethorpe Visits England, and is Accompanied by Tomo-chi-chi and
Other Indians--Influence of this Visit Upon the Native Population--Acts
Passed Prohibiting the Introduction of Rum and Negro Slaves--Silk Culture--
Arrival of the Moravians and of the Highlanders--Settlements at Darien, at
Frederica, and at New Ebenezer--Progress of Colonization--Beacon on Tybee
Island--Francis Moore's Description of Savannah..... 61

CHAPTER VI.

- The Brothers, John and Charles Wesley, in Georgia..... 76

CHAPTER VII.

- Causton's Defalcation--Depressed Financial Condition of the Province--Industries
of the Colonists at Savannah--Composition of Disagreements with the South
Carolina Indian Traders, and with the Creeks--Petition from the Bailiffs and
Inhabitants of Savannah for an Enlargement of Land Tenures, and for the Intro-
duction of Negro Slaves--Opposition on the Part of General Oglethorpe--Mal-
contents at Savannah..... 99

CHAPTER VIII.

- General Oglethorpe addresses the Citizens of Savannah--Military Strength of the
Town in 1739--Death and Burial of Tomo-chi-chi--A Monument should be
Erected to his Memory--General Oglethorpe Returns to England--Colonel
William Stephens Designated as President of the Colony--Disappointment Ex-
perienced in all Efforts to Promote Silk Culture and the Growth of the Vine. . 115

CHAPTER IX.

- Mary and Thomas Bosomworth--Hostile Demonstration by the Creek Indians, in
Savannah, in Support of Mary Bosomworth's Pretensions--Settlement of her
Claim..... 122

CHAPTER X.

- Rev. George Whitefield--Bethesda Orphan House--Hon. James Habersham--Scheme
to Convert the Bethesda Orphan House into a "Seminary of Literature and
Academical Learning"--Death of Mr. Whitefield--His Will--Lady Huntington. 130

CHAPTER XI.

Georgia Divided into Two Counties—Colonel William Stephens Appointed President—His Death at Bewlie—Mr. Parker Succeeds to his Office—Negro Slavery and the Importation of Spirituous Liquors Permitted—Land Tenures Enlarged—Commercial House of Harris & Habersham—First Provincial Assembly—Qualification for Membership—First General Muster—The Trustees Surrender their Charter—Patrick Graham Succeeds Mr. Parker as President of the Colony. 140

CHAPTER XII.

Captain John Reynolds, the first Royal Governor of Georgia—His Report upon the Condition of the Province, and of Savannah in 1754—Recommends the Removal of the Seat of Government to Hardwicke—Courts Established in Savannah—Population and Military Strength of the Province—Governor Reynolds's Representation for the Defense of Savannah—Governor Henry Ellis—His Admirable Administration of Public Affairs—Georgia Divided into Parishes—Christ Church—Act Favoring the Erection of Churches in Sympathy with the Tenets of the Established Church of England—Legislation with Regard to Savannah—Conference with the Creek Indians—Heat in Savannah—Retirement of Governor Ellis 152

CHAPTER XIII.

Governor James Wright—His Admirable Qualifications for Office—Population and Military Strength of the Province—Occupations of the Colonists—Condition of Savannah—Fortifications of the Town—Construction of its Wharves—Health of Savannah—Four Additional Parishes Created—Improvement in the Condition of Affairs—Representation in the Provincial Assembly—Improper Conduct of Chief Justice Grover 169

CHAPTER XIV.

Stamp Act of 1765—Profound Impression Created in Savannah—Convention of the 2nd of September—Governor Wright's Letters of the 31st of January and the 7th of February, 1776—Declaration of Rights—Stamps Issued in Savannah—Joy upon the Repeal of the Act 176

CHAPTER XV.

- Marked Improvement in the Condition of the Province—Silk-Culture—Convention of the 3d of September, 1768—Benjamin Franklin Appointed the Agent of Georgia—Meeting of Savannah Merchants on the 16th of September, 1769—Patriotic Resolutions Adopted in Savannah—Non-Importation Agreement—Suspension of the Hon. Jonathan Bryan as a Member of Council—Revolutionary Temper of the Lower House of Assembly—Dr. Noble Wymerly Jones—Governor Wright Visits England—The Hon. James Habersham Governor of Georgia During his Absence..... 186

CHAPTER XVI.

- The Eighth Provincial Assembly Dissolved by Governor Habersham—Governor Wright Complimented with a Baronetcy—Convention of the 20th of October, 1773—Effect Produced in Savannah by the Passage of the Boston Port Bill—Meeting of Leading Citizens at Tondee's Tavern on the 27th of July, 1774.—Governor Wright Alarmed at the Revolutionary Movements—Admirable Resolutions of the 10th of August, 1774—Division of Political Sentiment in Georgia—The *Georgia Gazette*—Protests from Several Parishes—Parish of St. John—Meeting of the 8th of December, 1774—Provincial Congress of January 18, 1775—Independent Action of St. John's Parish—Dr. Lyman Hall—Embarrassing Position of Governor Wright..... 195

CHAPTER XVII.

- News of the Affairs at Lexington and Concord—The Powder Magazine in Savannah Broken Open and much of the Powder Removed by the Liberty Boys—The King's Cannon Dismounted—First Liberty Pole in Savannah—Meeting of the 22d of June—Mob-Law—Capture of Captain Maitland's Powder Ship—Memorable Provincial Congress of July 4th, 1775—Delegates Appointed to the Continental Congress—Article of Association—Council of Safety—The Militia Purged of its Loyal Element—Pitiable Plight of Governor Wright—Battalion Raised and Officered on the Continental Establishment..... 210

CHAPTER XVIII.

- Arrest of Governor Wright by Major Habersham—His Subsequent Escape to the Scarborough—His Communication to the Members of Council still in Savannah—Provincial Congress of January 22, 1776—Provisional Constitution of April, 1776—President Archibald Bulloch—First Passage at Arms in Georgia Between the Revolutionists and the King's Forces—Conduct and Resolutions of the Council of Safety—Affair on Tybee Island—Military Assistance from South Carolina..... 219

CHAPTER XIX.

- Promulgation, in Savannah, of the Declaration of Independence—King George III. Interred in Effigy—General Charles Lee Plans an Expedition Against East Florida—Constitution of 1777—Military and Political Events—The Theater of War Transferred to the Southern Department—Reduction of Savannah Resolved upon—Invasion of Georgia by Colonels Fuser and Prevost—Successful Defense of Sunbury by Colonel John McIntosh—Colonel Campbell's Advance upon and Capture of Savannah in December, 1778—Details of the Affair—Losses Sustained by the Rebels..... 233

CHAPTER XX.

- Proclamations of Colonels Innis and Campbell, and Admiral Parker—Return of Governor Wright—Divided Government in Georgia—The French Alliance—Count d'Estaing—Preparations by the Allied Army to Dislodge the English from Savannah—Siege of Savannah in September and October, 1779..... 248

CHAPTER XXI.

- The Siege of Savannah Continued—Assault of the 9th of October, 1779—Repulse of the Allied Army—Count Pulaski—Estimate of Forces Engaged and of Losses Sustained—Names of the Killed and Wounded—Lieutenant Lloyd—Sergeant Jasper—Siege Raised—Departure of the French and Americans—War Vessels Composing the French Fleet—General Lincoln's Letter to Congress—Count d'Estaing—Death of Colonel Maitland—Pitiable Condition of the Sea Coast of Georgia..... 274

CHAPTER XXII.

- Deplorable Plight of the Rebel Inhabitants of Savannah—Damaged Condition of the Town—Proclamation of Governor Wright—Legislation by the Royalist Assembly—Governor Wright's Representation with Regard to Savannah and its Fortifications—Fall of Augusta—Colonels Twiggs and Jackson Move Forward for the Investment of Savannah—General Anthony Wayne Detached by General Green to Reinstiate the Authority of the Union within the Limits of Georgia—Retaliatory Measures of General Alured Clarke—Military Operations of Colonel Jackson and General Wayne—Negotiations for the Surrender of Savannah—The Town Evacuated by the King's Servants—Savannah Again in the Possession of the Revolutionists—Legislative Proceedings in Savannah—Colonel Jackson, and Generals Wayne and Green Complimented—Losses Sustained by Georgia During the Revolutionary War..... 295

CHAPTER XXIII.

- Early Legislation Affecting Savannah—The Town Divided into Wards—Incorporated into a City—Condition of the Place in 1782—Longevity of the Inhabitants—Formation of the Chatham Artillery—Ceremonies Observed upon the Sepulture of General Nathanael Greene—Death and Burial of General Samuel Elbert—Demise of the Hon. Jonathan Bryan—Cultivation of Cotton and Rice—Health of Savannah..... 309

CHAPTER XXIV.

- General Washington's Visit to Savannah, and the Ceremonies Observed on that Occasion—Georgia Society of the Order of the Cincinnati—Severe Fire of 1796—Fourth of July Celebrations—Death of Major John Habersham—Concluding Observations..... 321

CHAPTER XXV.

MUNICIPAL HISTORY.

- Visit of Aaron Burr—Severe Storm in 1804—First City Seal—War of 1812—Plans for Defending the City—Rejoicing Over Naval Victories—Reception to President Monroe—Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1820—Tour of General Lafayette—His Reception in Savannah—Building of Fort Pulaski—Death of Ex-President Jackson—Mexican War—Death of Colonel McIntosh—Visit of Ex-President Polk—Death of President Taylor—Reception to Ex-President Fillmore—Yellow Fever Epidemic—Destructive Gale in September, 1854..... 330

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE WAR PERIOD.

- Exciting Event in 1860—Secession of South Carolina—Rejoicing in Savannah—Call for a State Convention—Governor Brown's Order—Seizure of Fort Pulaski—State Convention in Savannah—Unfurling of the Confederate Flag—Departure of the Oglethorpe Light Infantry—Death of General Bartow—Defenses of Savannah—General Lee in Savannah—Attack on Fort Pulaski—Surrender of the Garrison—Naval Assault on Fort McAllister—Sherman's March from Atlanta—Proclamation by the Mayor—The Federal Army before Savannah—Fort McAllister Attacked by a Land Force—Graphic Account of the Assault and its Capture—Plans for Evacuating the City—General Sherman's Demand for the Surrender of Savannah—Evacuation of the City—How the City was Surrendered—General Sherman's Order—Confiscation of Cotton—Destructive Fire of January, 1865—Return of Peace and Prosperity..... 356

CHAPTER XXVII.

HISTORY OF THE MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF SAVANNAH.

- Growth of Military Ideas—Chatham Artillery—Savannah Volunteer Guards—First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia—Georgia Hussars—Colored Military Companies..... 388

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BENCH AND BAR.

- History of the Bench and Bar..... 417

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION OF SAVANNAH.

- Sketches of some of the Most Prominent Physicians of Savannah, Past and Present
--Medical Colleges—Georgia Medical Society 436

CHAPTER XXX.

- Commerce and Manufactures..... 457

CHAPTER XXXI.

RAILROADS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF SAVANNAH.

- Central Railroad and Banking Company—History of its Organization and Growth
—Ocean Steamship Company—Savannah, Florida and Western Railway—Savannah and Tybee Railroad—Central Railroad Bank—Merchants' National Bank
—Savannah Bank and Trust Company—Southern Bank of the State of Georgia—National Bank of Savannah—The Oglethorpe Savings and Trust Company
--Citizens' Bank—Title Guarantee and Loan Company—Building and Loan Associations. 479

CHAPTER XXIII.

- Early Legislation Affecting Savannah—The Town Divided into Wards—Incorporated into a City—Condition of the Place in 1782—Longevity of the Inhabitants—Formation of the Chatham Artillery—Ceremonies Observed upon the Sepulture of General Nathanael Greene—Death and Burial of General Samuel Elbert—Demise of the Hon. Jonathan Bryan—Cultivation of Cotton and Rice—Health of Savannah..... 309

CHAPTER XXIV.

- General Washington's Visit to Savannah, and the Ceremonies Observed on that Occasion—Georgia Society of the Order of the Cincinnati—Severe Fire of 1796—Fourth of July Celebrations—Death of Major John Habersham—Concluding Observations..... 321

CHAPTER XXV.

MUNICIPAL HISTORY.

- Visit of Aaron Burr—Severe Storm in 1804—First City Seal—War of 1812—Plans for Defending the City—Rejoicing Over Naval Victories—Reception to President Monroe—Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1820—Tour of General Lafayette—His Reception in Savannah—Building of Fort Pulaski—Death of Ex-President Jackson—Mexican War—Death of Colonel McIntosh—Visit of Ex-President Polk—Death of President Taylor—Reception to Ex-President Fillmore—Yellow Fever Epidemic—Destructive Gale in September, 1854..... 330

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE WAR PERIOD.

- Exciting Event in 1860—Secession of South Carolina—Rejoicing in Savannah—Call for a State Convention—Governor Brown's Order—Seizure of Fort Pulaski—State Convention in Savannah—Unfurling of the Confederate Flag—Departure of the Oglethorpe Light Infantry—Death of General Bartow—Defenses of Savannah—General Lee in Savannah—Attack on Fort Pulaski—Surrender of the Garrison—Naval Assault on Fort McAllister—Sherman's March from Atlanta—Proclamation by the Mayor—The Federal Army before Savannah—Fort McAllister Attacked by a Land Force—Graphic Account of the Assault and its Capture—Plans for Evacuating the City—General Sherman's Demand for the Surrender of Savannah—Evacuation of the City—How the City was Surrendered—General Sherman's Order—Confiscation of Cotton—Destructive Fire of January, 1865—Return of Peace and Prosperity..... 356

CHAPTER XXVII.

HISTORY OF THE MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF SAVANNAH.

Growth of Military Ideas—Chatham Artillery—Savannah Volunteer Guards—First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia—Georgia Hussars—Colored Military Companies.....	388
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BENCH AND BAR.

History of the Bench and Bar.....	417
-----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION OF SAVANNAH.

Sketches of some of the Most Prominent Physicians of Savannah, Past and Present—Medical Colleges—Georgia Medical Society	436
--	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

Commerce and Manufactures.....	457
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXXI.

RAILROADS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF SAVANNAH.

Central Railroad and Banking Company—History of its Organization and Growth—Ocean Steamship Company—Savannah, Florida and Western Railway—Savannah and Tybee Railroad—Central Railroad Bank—Merchants' National Bank—Savannah Bank and Trust Company—Southern Bank of the State of Georgia—National Bank of Savannah—The Oglethorpe Savings and Trust Company—Citizens' Bank—Title Guarantee and Loan Company—Building and Loan Associations.	479
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHURCHES OF SAVANNAH.

First Religious Instructors—Careers of the Wesleys in Savannah—Work of George Whitefield—Christ Church—St. John's Church—Congregation Mickva Israel—B'nai B'reth Jacob Synagogue—Lutheran Church—Independent Presbyterian—First Presbyterian—Methodist Churches—Baptist Churches—Roman Catholic Churches—Colored Churches.....	492
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXIII.

JOURNALISM.

History of Journalism.....	516
----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV.

LITERARY, ART AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS AND SPECIAL FEATURES OF ATTRACTION.

Georgia Historical Society—Catholic Library Association—Telfair Academy, Arts and Sciences—Savannah Parks and Suburban Attractions—Forsyth Park—Parade Ground—Beanlieu—Tybee Island—Thunderbolt—Isle of Hope—Jasper Springs—Daufuskie Island—Bonaventure—Laurel Grove Cemetery—Cathedral Cemetery—Greene, Confederate, Gordon and Jasper Monuments....	527
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXV.

Benevolent Organizations and Hospitals—Social and Secret Societies.....	545
---	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Ballantyne, Thomas	facing page 464	Lovell, Edward	facing page 176
Dorsett, Charles Henry	facing page 536	McDonough, John J.	facing page 640
du Bignon, Fleming G.	facing page 432	McMahon, Captain John	facing page 348
Duncan, William, M.D.	facing page 450	Meldrim, Peter W.	facing page 256
Estill, Col. John H.	facing page 518	Mercer, George A.	facing page 136
Flannery, John	facing page 216	Olmstead, Charles H.	facing page 366
Guckenheimer, Simon	facing page 320	Purse, Daniel G.	facing page 488
Hartridge, Alfred Lamar	facing page 564	Screven, John	facing page 400
Jones, Col. Charles C	facing page 56	Thomas, Daniel R.	facing page 594
Lawton, Gen. Alex. R.	facing page 96	Young, John R.	facing page 288
Lester, Daniel B.	facing page 610		

BIOGRAPHICAL.

Ballantyne, Thomas	608	Lovell, Edward	618
✓ Dorsett, Charles Henry	615	McDonough, John J.	640
du Bignon, Fleming G.	603	McMahon, Captain John	570
Duncan, William, M.D.	613	Meldrim, Peter W.	612
Estill, Col. John H.	562	Mercer, George A.	567
Flannery, John	596	Olmstead, Charles H.	620
Guckenheimer, Simon	630	Purse, Daniel G.	634
Hartridge, Alfred Lamar	565	Screven, John	622
Jones, Col. Charles C	585	Thomas, Daniel R.	594
Lawton, Gen. Alexander R.	575	Young John R.	629
Lester, Daniel B.	610		

HISTORY

OF

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CHAPTER I.

Earliest Colonists under the Conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe—His Eminent Fitness for the Position of Founder of the Contemplated Plantation—Arrival at Charles-Town and Beaufort-Town—Selection of Yamacraw Bluff as the Site for Primal Settlement—Description of the Locality—Tomo-chi-chi, and Oglethorpe's First Interview with him and his Tribe—The Colonists Entertained at Beaufort-Town—Their Arrival and Location at Savannah.

ON the 17th of November, 1732, the *Anne*, a galley of some two hundred tons burden, commanded by Captain Thomas, and having on board about one hundred and thirty persons, among whom were Mr. Oglethorpe, the Rev. Dr. Henry Herbert, a clergyman of the Church of England, who volunteered to accompany the colonists and, without pecuniary recompense, to perform all religious services they might need, and Mr. Amatis from Piedmont, engaged to instruct in breeding silkworms and in the art of winding silk, departed from Gravesend bearing the first persons selected by the trustees for the colonization of Georgia. Thirty-five families were represented among these emigrants. There were carpenters, bricklayers, farmers, and mechanics—all able-bodied men, and of good reputation. It has been idly charged that in the beginning the Georgia colonists were impecunious, depraved, lawless, and abandoned ;

that the settlement at Savannah was a sort of Botany Bay ; and that Yamacraw Bluff was peopled by runagates from justice. The suggestion is utterly groundless. The truth is no applicant was admitted to the privilege of enrollment, as an emigrant, until he had been subjected to a preliminary examination and had furnished satisfactory evidence that he was fairly entitled to the benefits of the charity. Other American colonies were founded and augmented by individuals coming at will, without question, for personal gain, and bringing no certificate of present or past good conduct. Georgia, on the contrary, exhibits the spectacle at once unique and admirable, of permitting no one, at the outset, to enter her borders who was not, by competent authority, adjudged worthy the rights of citizenship.

At his own request Mr. Oglethorpe was selected to accompany the colonists and establish them in Georgia. He volunteered to bear his own expenses and to devote his entire time and attention to the consummation of the enterprise. Himself the originator and the most zealous advocate of the scheme, this offer on his part placed the seal of consecration upon his self-denial, patriotism, and enlarged philanthropy. Most fortunate were the trustees in securing the services of such a representative. To no one could the power to exercise the functions of a colonial governor have been more appropriately confided. Attentive to the voice of suffering, and ready to lend a helping hand wherever the weak and the oppressed required the aid of the more powerful and the noble-minded for the redress of wrongs and the alleviation of present ills ; “ in the prime of life, very handsome, tall, manly, dignified, but not austere ; the *beau ideal* of an English gentleman, and blessed with ample means for the gratification of every reasonable desire ;” possessing a liberal education, a fearless soul, a determined will, a tireless energy, a practical knowledge of military affairs and of the management of expeditions, and an experience of men and climes and matters which only years of careful observation, intelligent travel, and thoughtful study could supply, there was that about his person, character, attainments, and abilities, which inspired confidence and rendered Mr. Oglethorpe, beyond dispute, the man of his age and people best qualified to inaugurate and to conduct to a successful issue an enterprise so entirely in unison with his own philanthropic sentiments and so important to the interests both of England and America.

Shaping her course for the Island of Madeira, the *Anne* touched there and took on board five tuns of wine. Sailing thence, she fetched a compass for Charlestown harbor, where she dropped anchor outside the bar on the 13th of January, 1733. Although somewhat protracted, the voyage had proved pleasant and prosperous. The death of two delicate children in mid-ocean constituted the only sorrow which clouded the hearts of the colonists during the entire passage.

On the night of their arrival, having assembled the emigrants and returned thanks to Almighty God for this favorable termination of the voyage, Mr. Oglethorpe, accompanied by an escort, proceeded to Charlestown and waited upon his excellency, Robert Johnson, governor of the province of South Carolina. By him and his council was he warmly welcomed and treated with marked hospitality. Cheerfully responding to his needs, Governor Johnson ordered Mr. Middleton, the king's pilot, to attend upon Mr. Oglethorpe and to conduct the *Anne* into Port Royal. Instructions were also issued for small craft to be in readiness to convey the colonists thence to the Savannah River. The next morning, Mr. Oglethorpe having returned on board, the *Anne* sailed for Port Royal harbor.

Having posted a detachment of eight men upon an island about midway between Beaufort and the Savannah River, with instructions to "prepare huts for the reception of the colony against they should lie there in their passage," he proceeded to Beaufort-town, where he arrived early on the morning of the 19th. Here he was saluted by the artillery; and, at his request the new barracks were made ready for the reception of the colonists, who ascended the river and occupied them on the following day.

Leaving the colonists to refresh themselves at this pleasant place, Mr. Oglethorpe, accompanied by Colonel William Bull, of South Carolina, proceeded to the Savannah River and ascended that stream as high as Yamacraw Bluff. Regarding this as an eligible location, he landed and marked out the site of a town which, after the river flowing by, he named *Savannah*. This bluff, rising some forty feet above the level of the river and possessing a bold frontage on the water of nearly a mile, sufficiently ample for the riparian uses of a settlement of considerable magnitude, was the first high ground, abutting upon the stream, encountered by him

in its ascent. To the south a high and dry plain, overshadowed by pines, interspersed with live-oaks and magnolias, stretched away for a considerable distance. On the east and west were small creeks and swamps affording convenient drainage for the intermediate territory. The river in front was capable of floating ships of ordinary tonnage, and they could lie so near the shore that their cargoes might with facility be discharged. Northwardly, in the direction of Carolina, lay the rich delta of the river, with its islands and lowlands crowned with a dense growth of cypress, sweet-gum, tupelo, and other trees, many of them vine-covered and draped in long gray moss swaying gracefully in the ambient air. The yellow jessamine was already mingling its delicious perfume with the breath of the pine, and the trees were vocal with the voices of song-birds. Everything in this semi-tropical region was quickening into life and beauty under the reviving influences of returning spring. In its primeval repose it seemed a goodly land. The temperate rays of the sun gave no token of the heat of summer. There was no promise of the tornado and the thunder-storm in the gentle winds. In the balmy air lurked no suspicion of malarial fevers. Its proximity to the mouth of the river rendered this spot suitable alike for commercial purposes and for maintaining facile communication with the Carolina settlements.

Near by was an Indian village, the headquarters of the Yamacraws, a small tribe, the chief or mico of which was the venerable Tomo-chi-chi. Here too a post had been established by Musgrove,¹ a Carolina trader, married to a half breed named Mary. Before leading his colonists to this home which he had selected for their first habitation, Oglethorpe was anxious to propitiate the natives. He accordingly visited the village, and obtained an interview with Tomo-chi-chi. Mary Musgrove, who had acquired a tolerable knowledge of English and was favorably inclined toward her husband's countrymen, on this occasion not only acted as interpreter but exerted a valuable influence in securing from the Indians pledges of amity. When first acquainted with Oglethorpe's design of forming a settlement at Yamacraw the natives manifested much uneasiness and even threatened to prevent by force the advent of the whites.

¹ Musgrove's presence here contravened the stipulations of a treaty long existent between the colony of South Carolina and the natives, which forbade the establishment of trading-posts south of the Savannah River.

Assured, however, of the friendly intentions of the English, and persuaded of the benefits which would flow from direct association with them, the Indians finally withdrew their opposition and, with protestations of gladness, entered into an informal agreement by which the desired lands were ceded, and promises given to receive the strangers with good will.

His preliminary arrangements having been thus accomplished, Oglethorpe returned to Beaufort, reaching the town on the 24th. During his absence the emigrants were greatly refreshed by their sojourn on shore. They had been the recipients of every attention and hospitality. The following Sunday was observed as a day of special thanksgiving; the Rev. Lewis Jones preaching before the colonists, and their chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Herbert, occupying Mr. Jones's pulpit in Beaufort. The gentlemen of the neighborhood united with the colonists on this occasion, and the ceremonies terminated with a bountiful dinner provided by Oglethorpe. Among the articles mentioned as constituting this first feast were four fat hogs, eight turkeys, many fowls, English beef, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a generous quantity of wine. Although this repast was accompanied with a bountiful supply of malt liquor, wine, and spirits, we are informed that everything was conducted in such an agreeable manner that no one became drunk. Throughout the course of the entertainment there was an entire absence of everything savoring of disorder.

On the 30th of January the colonists, conveyed in a sloop of seventy tons and in five periaguas, set sail for Savannah. Encountering a storm they were forced to seek shelter from its violence at a point known as Look Out. Here they lay all night, and the next day proceeded as far as John's, where the eight men, there stationed by Oglethorpe, had prepared huts for their reception. A plentiful supply of venison awaited their coming. Upon this they supped, and there they spent the night. Re-embarking in the morning, they arrived the same afternoon at Yamacraw Bluff. Before dark they erected four large tents (one for each tything) capable of accommodating all the people, and transferred their bedding and other necessaries ashore. There they slept, passing their first night upon the soil of Georgia.

Faithful to his trust, Oglethorpe, having posted his sentinels, sought

no protection save the shelter of the towering pines, and lay upon the ground near the central watch-fire. The ocean had been crossed, and the germ of a new colony was planted in America.

CHAPTER II.

Early Labors of the Colonists at Savannah--Oglethorpe's Letters to the Trustees--Generous Aid Extended by the Authorities of South Carolina, and Private Benefactions from her Inhabitants--Mutual Dependence of the Two Plantations--Description of Savannah Furnished by Gentlemen from South Carolina--Mr. Oglethorpe's Visit to Charles-Town.

EARLY on the morning of the 2d of February, 1733 (O. S.), Oglethorpe convened the people to thank God for his safe conduct of the colony to its appointed destination, and to invoke his blessings upon the plantation. These religious services ended, he solemnly and earnestly reminded them of their duties as the founders of Georgia, impressing upon them an appreciation of the important fact that the seed now sown would yield a harvest either for good or bad in the coming generations. Against the evils of intemperance and idleness he uttered an emphatic warning, and cautioned them to be prudent and upright in their intercourse with the Indians. "It is my hope," said he, "that through your good example the settlement of Georgia may prove a blessing and not a curse to the native inhabitants." Then having explained the necessity for their laboring in common until the site of the town should be cleared, and having exhorted and encouraged them to work amicably and cheerfully, he dismissed them that they might enter upon the orderly discharge of the duties claiming immediate attention.¹ Some were detailed for the erection of a crane with which to facilitate the landing of bulky articles. Others plied axes and felled the tall pines, rendering more comfortable the temporary shelters prepared so hastily the evening before for the accommodation of the emigrants, and busying themselves with the erection

¹ See Wright's *Memoir of General Oglethorpe*, p. 60. London. 1867.

of new booths. Others still were detailed to unload the vessels, to split and sharpen posts with which to stockade the town, and to begin the construction of a fort at the eastern extremity of the bluff. Varied and arduous were these duties, but all with alacrity and energy entered upon and prosecuted their performance. Sharing the privations and the labors of his people, Oglethorpe was present everywhere, planning, supervising, and encouraging. The general outline of Savannah was soon indicated. In marking out its squares, lots, and streets, the founder of the colony was assisted by Colonel William Bull of South Carolina, a gentleman of intelligence and experience, who generously lent four of his servants, expert sawyers, to aid in preparing boards for houses. Oglethorpe claimed in his own behalf and for his own comfort no labor from the colonists. He caused four clustering pines to be left standing near the bluff and opposite the center of the encampment. Beneath their shadow he pitched his tent, and this canvass was his abiding-place for nearly a year. Subsequently he contented himself with hired lodgings in one of the houses of his people.

Upon his arrival at Charlestown on the 13th of January, Oglethorpe addressed a letter to the trustees communicating the happy intelligence, and on the 10th of February, from his camp in Savannah, penned his first communication on Georgia soil. It runs as follows:

“ To the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America :

“ GENTLEMEN,—I gave you an Account in my last of our Arrival at Charles-Town. The Governor and Assembly have given us all possible Encouragement. Our People arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January where I lodged them in some new Barracks built for the Soldiers, while I went myself to view the Savannah River. I fix'd upon a healthy situation about ten miles from the sea. The River here forms a Half-Moon, along the South-Side of which the Banks are about forty Foot high, and on the Top a Flat which they call a Bluff. The plain high Ground extends into the Country five or six Miles, and along the River-side about a Mile. Ships that draw twelve Foot Water can ride within ten Yards of the Bank. Upon the River-Side, in the Centre of this Plain, I have laid out the Town. Opposite to it is an Island of very rich Pasturage, which I think should be kept for the Trustees' Cattle. The River is pretty wide, the Water fresh, and from the Key of the Town you see its whole Course

to the Sea, with the Island of Tybe, which forms the Mouth of the River; and the other way you see the River for about six Miles up into the Country. The Landskip is very agreeable, the Stream being wide, and border'd with high Woods on both Sides. The whole People arrived here on the first of February. At Night their Tents were got up. 'Till the seventh we were taken up in unloading and making a Crane which I then could not get finish'd, so took off the Hands, and sent some to the Fortification and began to fell the woods. I mark'd out the Town and Common. Half of the former is already cleared, and the first House was begun Yesterday in the Afternoon. Not being able to get Negroes, I have taken ten of the Independent Company to work for us, for which I make them an allowance. I send you a copy of the Resolutions of the Assembly and the Governor and Council's Letter to me. M^r Whitaker has given us one hundred Head of Cattle. Col. Bull, M^r Barlow, M^r S^t Julian, and M^r Woodward are to come up to assist us with some of their own Servants. I am so taken up in looking after a hundred necessary Things, that I write now short, but shall give you a more particular Account hereafter. A little Indian Nation, the only one within fifty Miles, is not only at Amity, but desirous to be Subjects to his Majesty King George, to have Lands given them among us, and to breed their Children at our Schools. Their Chief, and his Beloved Man, who is the Second Man in the Nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian Religion.

“I am, Gentlemen

“Your Most Obedient, Humble Servant,

“JAMES OGLETHORPE.”

In token of the general interest in the success of this new plantation, the authorities of South Carolina—not content with simply adopting resolutions of welcome and making protestations of friendship—dispatched Captain McPherson with fifteen rangers to cover the new settlement in Georgia, and protect it “from any insults that might be offered by the Indians until the colonists should have enfor't themselves.” A scout-boat, perriaguas, breeding cattle, hogs and rice were placed, at the public charge, at the disposal of Mr. Oglethorpe.¹ This early and acceptable aid

¹ *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia with Regard to the Trade of Great Britain*, etc., pp. 42-46. London. MDCCXXXIII.

extended by the Province of Carolina was supplemented by the private benefactions of her inhabitants. Thus Colonel Bull, with four of his servants, came to Savannah and spent a month there, supervising the work of the sawyers, designating the proportions of the buildings, surveying the lots, and rendering various services of a most valuable character. From Mr. Whittaker and his friends were received one hundred head of cattle—a free gift to the colony. Mr. St. Julian for several weeks directed the people in erecting their houses and advancing the settlement. A silver boat and spoon, presented by Mr. Hume to the first child born on Georgia soil, were awarded to Mrs. Close. For two months Mr. Joseph Bryan gave his personal attention and the labor of four of his servants, who were sawyers, to the construction of the rising town. Sixteen sheep were donated by the inhabitants of Edisto Island. Mr. Hammerton contributed a drum. Mrs. Ann Drayton loaned four of her sawyers, and Colonel Bull and Mr. Bryan furnished Mr. Oglethorpe with twenty servants to be employed in such manner as he deemed most advantageous. Governor Johnson presented seven horses. This is but a partial list of the individual aid and personal gifts contributed by South Carolinians to the first settlers at Savannah.

Well knowing that the planting of this colony to the South would essentially promote the security of Carolina, shielding that province from the direct assaults of the Spaniards in Florida, preventing the facile escape of fugitive slaves, guarding her lower borders from the incursions of Indians, increasing commercial relations, and enhancing the value of lands, the South Carolinians were very solicitous for the promotion of the prosperity of Georgia. The mutual sympathy and dependence of the two plantations were expressed by a contributor to the *London Magazine* in the following lines:

“ To Carolina be a Georgia joined,
Then shall both colonies sure progress make,
Endeared to either for the other's sake ;
Georgia shall Carolina's favour move,
And Carolina bloom by Georgia's love.”

The following extract from a letter penned by Mr. Oglethorpe at Savannah, on the 20th of February, 1733, and addressed to the “Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America,” advises us of his further impressions of Yamacraw Bluff:

“Our People are all in perfect Health. I chose the situation for the Town upon an high Ground forty Foot perpendicular above High-Water Mark: The Soil dry and Sandy, the Water of the River fresh, Springs coming out from the Sides of the Hills. I pitch'd on this Place not only for the Pleasantness of its Situation, but because from the above-mention'd and other Signs I thought it Healthy, for it is shelter'd from the Western and Southern Winds (the worst in this Country) by vast Woods of Pine-trees many of which are an hundred, and few under seventy Foot high. There is no Moss on the Trees, tho' in most parts of Carolina they are cover'd with it, and it hangs down two or three Foot from them; The last and fullest Conviction of the Healthfulness of the Place was that an Indian Nation, who know the Nature of this Country, chose it for their Habitation.”¹

In his next communication, under date of March 12th, he conveys the following information in regard to the extent of the province, the temper of the aboriginal population, and the progress of colonization:

“This Province is much larger than we thought, being 120 miles from this river to the Alatomaha. The Savannah has a very long course, and a great trade is carried on by the Indians, there having above twelve trading boats passed since I have been here. There are in Georgia, on this side the mountains, three considerable nations of Indians; one called the Lower Creeks, consisting of nine towns, or rather cantons, making about a thousand men able to bear arms. One of these is within a short distance of us and has concluded a peace with us, giving us the right of all this part of the Country; and I have marked out the lands which they have reserved to themselves. Their King² comes constantly to Church, is desirous to be instructed in the Christian religion, and has given me his nephew,³ a boy who is his next heir, to educate. The two other Nations are the Uchees and the Upper Creeks: the first consisting of two hundred, the latter of eleven hundred men. We agree so well with the Indians that the Creeks and the Uchees have referred to me a difference to determine which otherwise would have occasioned a war.

¹ *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia with Regard to the Trade of Great Britain, etc.,* p. 48. London. MDCCXXXIII.

² Tomo-chi-chi.

³ Toonahowi.

“ Our people still lie in tents, there being only two clap-board houses built and three sawed houses framed. Our crane, our battery cannon, and magazine are finished. This is all that we have been able to do by reason of the smallness of our number, of which many have been sick and others unused to labor; though I thank God, they are now pretty well, and we have not lost one since our arrival here.”

In the South Carolina *Gazette* of March 22, 1733, may be found the following account of a visit paid by some Carolina gentlemen to Mr. Oglethorpe :

“ On Tuesday, the 13th Instant, I went on board a Canoe, in company with M^r George Ducat and Mr. John Ballantine, with four Negroes; and about 10 o'clock we set off from M^r Lloyd's Bridge for Georgia and, passing by Port Royal on Wednesday Night we arrived on Friday Morning an Hour before Day at *Yamacraw*,— a Place so called by the Indians, but now *Savannah* in the Colony of *Georgia*. Some time before we came to the Landing the Centinel challenged us, and understanding who we were, admitted us ashore. This is a very high Bluff,—Forty Feet perpendicular from High-water Mark. It lies, according to Captain Gascoigne's Observations, in the Latitude 31:58. which he took off *Tybee*, an island that lies at the Mouth of the *Savannah* River. It is distant from *Charles-Town* S. W. according to the Course and Windings of the Rivers and Creeks, about 140 Miles; but, by a direct Course, 77, allowing *Sullivants* Island to be in the Latitude 32:47: from *Augustine* N E and by E about 140 Miles, and by the Course of the Rivers is distant from Fort *Moore* 300 Miles; but upon a direct Line but 115 Miles N. W and by W. This Bluff is distant 10 Miles from the Mouth of the Rivers on the South Side; and *Parrysburgh* is 24 Miles above it on the North, and is so situated that you have a beautiful Prospect both up and down the River. It is very sandy and barren, and consequently a wholesome Place for a Town or City. There are on it 130 odd souls; and from the Time they embarked at London to the Time I left the Place there died but two sucking Children, and they at Sea. When they arrived, there was standing on it a great Quantity of the best Sorts of Pine, most of which is already cut down on the Spot where the Town is laid out to be built. The Land is barren about a Mile back, when you come into very rich Ground; and on both Sides within a Quarter of a Mile of the Town

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is choice, good Planting Land. Colonel Bull told me that he had been Seven Miles back, and found it extraordinary good.

“M^r Oglethorpe is indéfatigable, takes a vast deal of Pains ; his fare is but indifferent, having little else at present but salt Provisions: He is extremely well beloved by all his People ; the general Title they give him is *Father*. If any of them is sick he immediately visits them and takes a great deal of Care of them. If any difference arises, he is the Person that decides it. Two happened while I was there, and in my Presence; and all the Parties went away, to outward Appearance, satisfied and contented with his Determination. He keeps a strict Discipline ; I neither saw one of his People drunk or heard one swear all the Time I was there; He does not allow them Rum, but in lieu gives them *English* Beer. It is surprising to see how chearfully the Men go to work, considering they have not been bred to it ; There are no Idlers there ; even the Boys and Girls do their Parts. There are Four Houses already up but none finish'd ; and he hopes when he has got more Sawyers, which I suppose he will have in a short time, to finish two Houses a Week. He has ploughed up some Land, part of which he sowed with Wheat, which is come up and looks promising. He has two or three Gardens which he has sowed with divers Sorts of Seeds, and planted Thyme, with other Sorts of Pot-herbs, Sage, Leeks, Skellions, Celeri, Liquorice, &c, and several Sorts of Fruit trees. He was palisading the Town round, including some Part of the Common, which I do suppose may be finish'd in a Fortnight's time. In short he has done a vast deal of Work for the Time, and I think his Name Justly deserves to be immortalized.

“M^r Oglethorpe has with him Sir Walter Raleigh's written Journal, and, by the Latitude of the Place, the Marks and Tradition of the Indians, it is the very first Place where he went ashore and talked with the *Indians*, and was the first *Englishman* that ever they saw: And about half a Mile from *Savannah* is a high Mount of Earth under which lies their chief King; and the *Indians* informed M^r *Oglethorpe* that the King desired, before he died, that he might be buried on the Spot where he talked with that great good Man.

“The River Water is very good, and M^r *Oglethorpe* has proved it several Ways and thinks it as good as the River of *Thames*. On Monday the 19th we took our Leave of M^r *Oglethorpe* at Nine o'Clock in the Morn-

ing and embarked for Charles Town; and when we set off he was pleased to honour us with a Volley of small Arms, and the Discharge of Five Cannon: And coming down the Rivers, we found the Water perfectly fresh Six Miles below the Town, and saw Six or Seven large Sturgeon leap, with which Fish that River abounds, as also with Trout, Perch, Cat, and Rock Fish &c, and in the Winter Season there is Variety of Wild Fowl, especially Turkeys, some of them weighing Thirty Pounds, and abundance of Deer."¹

In the absence of saw-mills the labor of converting the pine logs into hewn timber and boards was tedious and severe. Nevertheless the work progressed, and one by one frame houses were builded. As rapidly as they were finished the colonists were transferred from tents into these more permanent and comfortable lodgings. A public garden was laid out and a servant detailed at the charge of the trust to cultivate it. This was to serve as a nursery whence might be procured fruit trees, vines, plants, and vegetables for the private orchards and gardens of the inhabitants. It was also largely devoted to the propagation of the white mulberry, from the general cultivation of which, as food for the silkworm, great benefit was anticipated.

Sensible of the courtesies and valuable assistance extended by the inhabitants of South Carolina, both in their public and private capacity, Mr. Oglethorpe repaired to Charlestown to return thanks in behalf of his colony, and to interest his neighbors still further in the welfare and the development of the infant plantation. His visit was most agreeable. Honorable welcome was accorded to him. His expressions of gratitude in behalf of Georgia were graciously received, and he returned to Savannah with a strong impression of the friendship existing between the colonies, and of the readiness of Carolina to assist her feeble sister in seasons of distress and of peril.

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¹ *An account showing the Progress of the colony of Georgia in America from its first establishment.* pp. 41, 42. London. MDCCXLI.

CHAPTER III.

Original Cession of Territory from the Crown to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia—Importance of an Early and Amicable Extinguishment of the Indian Title to the Granted Lands—Oglethorpe's Pacific Policy Toward the Red Men—Tomo-chi-chi, his Character and Influence--Treaty with the Creeks.—Articles of Friendship and Commerce.

IT will be remembered that the grant from his majesty, King George II. to the "trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America" covered seven-eighths of all lands "in that part of South Carolina in America" lying "from the most northern part of a stream or river, there commonly called the Savannah, all along the seacoast to the southward, unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and westerly from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines, to the South Seas." That cession also included all islands within twenty leagues of the coast. The remaining one-eighth part of this territory was acquired by the trustees by purchase from Lord Carteret, Baron of Hawnes. It became important at the outset to establish friendly relations with the native population and, by treaty, to extinguish the Indian title to the region.

In nothing were the prudence, wisdom, skill, and ability of the founder of the colony of Georgia more conspicuous than in his conduct toward and his treatment of the red men. The ascendancy he acquired over them, the respect they entertained for, and the confidence they reposed in him, the manly, generous, and just policy he ever maintained in his intercourse with the Indian tribes are remarkable. Their favor was essential to the security of the settlement. Their friendship was necessary to its existence. In the beginning, few in numbers and isolated in position, a hostile breath would have blown it into nothingness. As claimants of the soil by virtue of prior occupancy it was of vital consequence that the title which they asserted to these their homes and hunting grounds should, at the earliest moment, be peaceably and formally extinguished.

A resort to the sword in vindication of England's dominion over this

territory would have led at once to ambush, alarm, and bloodshed. The adoption of a violent and coercive policy towards the aborigines would have aroused their hostility and imperiled the success of the plantation. Recognizing that the plan of conciliation was the proper one to be pursued, Mr. Oglethorpe shaped his course accordingly.

It will not be forgotten that upon his preliminary survey of the region when, in company with Colonel Bull, he selected a spot for primal settlement, he sought an interview with Tomo-chi-chi and, by friendly offers and kind arguments, won the favor of that chief and his tribe and obtained their consent that the expected colonists should occupy Yamacraw Bluff. A few days afterwards, when the emigrants did arrive, true to his promise, this aged mico, at the head of his little band, welcomed the newcomers at the water's edge; and, when their tents were pitched upon the shore, repeated his salutations. Of the ceremonies observed on this occasion the following account has been preserved: In front advanced the "Medicine Man," bearing in each hand a fan of white feathers—the symbols of peace and friendship. Then came Tomo-chi-chi and Scenauki, his wife, attended by a retinue of some twenty members of the tribe filling the air with shouts. Approaching Oglethorpe, who advanced a few paces to meet them, the medicine man, or priest, proclaiming the while the brave deeds of his ancestors, stroked the governor on every side with his fans,—apt emblems of amity. This done, the king and queen drew near and bade him and his followers welcome. After an interchange of compliments the Indians were entertained as hospitably as the means at command would allow.

This acquaintance with Tomo-chi-chi ripened into a friendship close and valuable.

That the Indians in the neighborhood might be impressed with the power and military skill of the emigrants, Oglethorpe frequently, when the opportunity offered, exercised the colonists in their presence in the manual of arms, in marching and in firing, and sometimes roused the forests from their slumbers by the thunders of his cannon. Well did he know that such exhibitions of superior power would exert a potent influence upon the minds of the red men and engender a respect for the English all the more wholesome because commingled with fear.

The situation of this feeble colony was, in the very nature of things,

CHAPTER III.

Original Cession of Territory from the Crown to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia—Importance of an Early and Amicable Extinguishment of the Indian Title to the Granted Lands—Oglethorpe's Pacific Policy Toward the Red Men—Tomo-chi-chi, his Character and Influence--Treaty with the Creeks.—Articles of Friendship and Commerce.

IT will be remembered that the grant from his majesty, King George II. to the "trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America" covered seven-eighths of all lands "in that part of South Carolina in America" lying "from the most northern part of a stream or river, there commonly called the Savannah, all along the seacoast to the southward, unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and westerly from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines, to the South Seas." That cession also included all islands within twenty leagues of the coast. The remaining one-eighth part of this territory was acquired by the trustees by purchase from Lord Carteret, Baron of Hawnes. It became important at the outset to establish friendly relations with the native population and, by treaty, to extinguish the Indian title to the region.

In nothing were the prudence, wisdom, skill, and ability of the founder of the colony of Georgia more conspicuous than in his conduct toward and his treatment of the red men. The ascendancy he acquired over them, the respect they entertained for, and the confidence they reposed in him, the manly, generous, and just policy he ever maintained in his intercourse with the Indian tribes are remarkable. Their favor was essential to the security of the settlement. Their friendship was necessary to its existence. In the beginning, few in numbers and isolated in position, a hostile breath would have blown it into nothingness. As claimants of the soil by virtue of prior occupancy it was of vital consequence that the title which they asserted to these their homes and hunting grounds should, at the earliest moment, be peaceably and formally extinguished.

A resort to the sword in vindication of England's dominion over this

territory would have led at once to ambush, alarm, and bloodshed. The adoption of a violent and coercive policy towards the aborigines would have aroused their hostility and imperiled the success of the plantation. Recognizing that the plan of conciliation was the proper one to be pursued, Mr. Oglethorpe shaped his course accordingly.

It will not be forgotten that upon his preliminary survey of the region when, in company with Colonel Bull, he selected a spot for primal settlement, he sought an interview with Tomo-chi-chi and, by friendly offers and kind arguments, won the favor of that chief and his tribe and obtained their consent that the expected colonists should occupy Yamacraw Bluff. A few days afterwards, when the emigrants did arrive, true to his promise, this aged mico, at the head of his little band, welcomed the newcomers at the water's edge; and, when their tents were pitched upon the shore, repeated his salutations. Of the ceremonies observed on this occasion the following account has been preserved: In front advanced the "Medicine Man," bearing in each hand a fan of white feathers—the symbols of peace and friendship. Then came Tomo-chi-chi and Scenauki, his wife, attended by a retinue of some twenty members of the tribe filling the air with shouts. Approaching Oglethorpe, who advanced a few paces to meet them, the medicine man, or priest, proclaiming the while the brave deeds of his ancestors, stroked the governor on every side with his fans,—apt emblems of amity. This done, the king and queen drew near and bade him and his followers welcome. After an interchange of compliments the Indians were entertained as hospitably as the means at command would allow.

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The situation of this feeble colony was, in the very nature of things,

extremely precarious. Located in the depths of a primeval forest, the tangled brakes and solemn shadows of which proclaimed loneliness and isolation; the vast Atlantic rolling its waters between it and the mother country; the Carolina settlements at best few in numbers and contending in a stern life struggle for their own existence; Spaniards in Florida jealous of this disputed domain, and ready at any moment to frustrate by stealthy approaches and with force of arms all efforts of the English to extend their plantations along the Southern coast; and, above all, Indian tribes in the occupancy of the country attached to their grand old woods and gently flowing streams, watchful of the graves of their ancestors, imposed upon by Spanish lies, disquieted by French emisaries, cheated by Carolina traders, and naturally inclined to resist all encroachments by the whites upon their hunting-grounds, it did indeed appear that the preservation and development of this colony were well-nigh impossible. But its planting and perpetuation had been confided to the guardian care of one who was, perhaps, beyond all others, most capable of conducting the enterprise.

In his efforts to conciliate the native population, he derived incalculable benefit from the friendship and kindly intervention of Tomo-chi-chi. This chief, whose memory is so honorably associated with the early history of Georgia, and whose many acts of kindness and fidelity to the whites demand and must ever receive the most grateful acknowledgment, although at this time far advanced in years, was a man of commanding presence, grave demeanor, marked character, established influence, of a philosophical turn of mind, and in the full possession of all his faculties. For some cause, the precise nature of which has never been fully explained, he had, with a number of his countrymen, suffered banishment at the hands of his people, the Lower Creeks. Whatever the real reason may have been for this action on the part of the Creeks toward Tomo-chi-chi, it does not seem that it was the result of any special ill-will, or that the expatriation was a punishment either for specific crime or general misconduct. The probability is that he went into voluntary exile for a season, or that he may have been temporarily expelled the limits of the nation, on account of some political disagreements. Oueekachumpa, the great chief of the O'Conas, claimed kinship with him, and saluted him as a good man and a distinguished warrior.

Removing from his former abode, after some wanderings he finally, and not very long before the arrival of the colony of Georgia, formed a settlement at or very near the present site of the city of Savannah, where he gathered about him the tribe of Yamacraws, consisting mainly of disaffected parties from the Lower Creeks, and, to some extent, of Yemassee Indians, by whom he was chosen mico, or chief. Prior to his removal to Yamacraw Bluff he tarried for a season with the Palla-Chucolas. But little can be gathered of his life previous to his acquaintance with Oglethorpe. Ninety-one years had been, amid the forest shades, devoted to the pursuits of war and the chase, and there is scarcely a tradition which wrests from oblivion the deeds and thoughts of this aged chieftain during that long and voiceless period.

During the visit which he subsequently made to London, in company with Oglethorpe, his portrait was painted by Verelst, and hung for many years in the Georgia rooms. This likeness, which represents him in a standing posture with his left hand resting upon the shoulder of his nephew and adopted son, Toonahowi, who holds an eagle in his arms, was subsequently engraved by Faber and also by Kleinsmidt. That Tomo-chi-chi was noble in his connections we are fully advised, and there is that about the countenance of this venerable mico, as it has thus been handed down to us, which savors of intellect, dignity, manliness, and kingly bearing.

It will readily be perceived how important it was to the interests of the colony that the good will of this chief should be secured at the earliest moment, and his consent obtained for the peaceable occupation of the soil by the whites. On the occasion of his first interview with Tomo-chi-chi, as we have already seen, Mr. Oglethorpe was fortunate in securing the services of Mary Musgrove¹ as an interpreter. Perceiving that she possessed considerable influence with the Creeks, he retained her in this capacity, allowing her an annual compensation of £100. The meeting between the governor of the colony and the aged mico beneath the grand live-oaks and towering pines, the sheltering arms of which formed a noble canopy, was frank, cordial, and satisfactory. His personal friendship and the good will of the Yamacraws were firmly pledged,

¹ Her Indian name was Coosaponakesee.

and permission was granted for the permanent occupation of the site selected by Oglethorpe for the town of Savannah.

Although amicable relations had thus been established with the nearest Indians, it was necessary, in order to promote the security of the colony, that consent to its foundation here should be ratified by other and more powerful nations.

Learning from Tomo-chi-chi the names and the abodes of the most influential chiefs dwelling within the territory ceded by the charter, Mr. Oglethorpe enlisted the good offices of the mico in extending to them an earnest invitation to meet him at Savannah at some early convenient day. The value of these interviews with and the generous intervention of Tomo-chi-chi cannot easily be overestimated in considering their influence upon the well-being and prospects of this lonely colony struggling for its primal existence. Had this chief, turning a deaf ear to the advances of Mr. Oglethorpe, refused his friendship, denied his request, and, inclining his authority to hostile account, instigated a determined and combined opposition on the part not only of the Yamacraws, but also of the Uchees and the Lower Creeks, the perpetuation of this English settlement would have been either most seriously imperiled or abruptly terminated amid smoke and carnage. When, therefore, we recur to the memories of this period, and as often as the leading events in the early history of the colony of Georgia are narrated, so often should the favors experienced at the hands of this Indian chief be gratefully acknowledged. If Oglethorpe's proudest claim to the honor and the respect of succeeding generations rests upon the fact that he was the founder of the colony of Georgia, let it not be forgotten by those who accord him every praise for his valor, judgment, skill, endurance, and benevolence, that in the hour of supreme doubt and danger the right arm of this son of the forest and his active friendship were among the surest guarantees of the safety and the very existence of that colony. The enduring and universal gratitude of the present may well claim illustrious expression from the lips of the poet, the brush of the painter, and the chisel of the sculptor.

To the day of his death these pledges of amity and the assurances of good will and assistance given during these first interviews were faithfully observed. The firm friend of the white man, the guide, the adviser,

the protector of the colonist, the constant companion and faithful confederate of Oglethorpe, as such let us always remember the aged mico of the Yamacraws.

True to his promise Tomo-chi-chi exerted his influence in behalf of the contemplated convention, and dispatched messengers to the various principal towns and chief men of the Georgia tribes, apprising them of the objects of the convocation and leading their minds in advance to a favorable consideration of the propositions which had been intimated to him by Mr. Oglethorpe. The interval which necessarily intervened prior to the assembling of the Indians, was improved by the founder of the colony in furthering the settlement at Savannah and in paying a visit to the province of Carolina. The fullest narrative of the meeting between Mr. Oglethorpe and the Indians, in pursuance of this invitation, is contained in the forty sixth volume of the "Political State of Great Britain," and we repeat the account as it is there given :

"On the 14th of May, Mr. Oglethorpe set out from Charlestown on his return to Savannah, which is the name of the town now begun to be built in Georgia. That night he lay at Colonel Bull's house on Ashley River, where he dined the next day. The Rev. Mr. Guy, rector of the parish of St. John's, waited upon him there, and acquainted him that his parishioners had raised a very handsome contribution for the assistance of the colony of Georgia. Mr. Oglethorpe went from thence to Captain Bull's where he lay on the 15th. On the 16th, in the morning, he embarked at Daho, and rested at Mr. Cochran's island. On the 17th he dined at Lieutenant Watts' at Beaufort, and landed at Savannah on the 18th, at ten in the morning, where he found that Mr. Wiggan, the interpreter, with the chief men of all the Lower Creek nation, had come down to treat of an alliance with the new colony.

"The Lower Creeks are a nation of Indians who formerly consisted of ten, but now are reduced to eight tribes or towns, who have each their different government, but are allied together and speak the same language. They claim from the Savannah River as far as S. Augustin, and up to the Flint river, which falls into the bay of Mexico. All the Indians inhabiting this tract speak their language. Tomo-chi-chi, mico, and the Indians of Yamacraw are of their nation and language.

"Mr. Oglethorpe received the Indians in one of the new houses that afternoon. They were as follows:

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" *From the tribe of Coweeta*—Yahou-Lakee, their king or mico. Es-soboa, their warrior,—the son of old Breen, lately dead, whom the Spaniards called emperor of the Creeks,—with eight men and two women attendants.

" *From the tribe of Cussetas*—Cusseta, the mico, Tatchiquatchi, the head warrior, and four attendants.

" *From the tribe of Owseecheys*—Ogeese, the mico, or war king, Ne-athlouthko and Ougachi, two chief men, with three attendants.

" *From the tribe of Cheehaws*—Outhleteboa, the mico, Thlauthothlukee, Figeer, Soota-Milla, war-captains, and three attendants.

" *From the tribe of Echetas*—Chutabeeche and Robin, two war captains, (the latter was bred among the English) with four attendants.

" *From the tribe of Pallachucolas*—Gillatee, the head warrior, and five attendants.

" *From the tribe of Oconas*—Oueekachumpa, called by the English 'Long King,' Coowoo, a warrior.

" *From the tribe of Eufaula*—Tomaumi, the head warrior, and three attendants.

" The Indians being all seated, Oueekachumpa, a very tall old man, stood up, and with a graceful action and a good voice, made a long speech, which was interpreted by Mr. Wiggan and John Musgrove, and was to the following purpose. He first claimed all the land to the southward of the river Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. Next he said that although they were poor and ignorant, He who had given the English breath had given them breath also; that He who had made both, had given more wisdom to the white men; that they were firmly persuaded that the Great Power which dwelt in heaven and all around, (and then he spread out his hands and lengthened the sound of his words), and which had given breath to all men, had sent the English thither for the instruction of them, their wives and children; that therefore they gave them up freely their right to all the land which they did not use themselves, and that this was not only his opinion, but the opinion of the eight towns of the Creeks, each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their chief men with skins, which is their wealth. He then stopped, and the chief men of each town brought up a bundle of buck skins, and laid eight bundles from the eight towns at Mr. Ogle-

thorpe's feet. He then said those were the best things they had, and therefore they gave them with a good heart. He then thanked him for his kindness to Tomo-chi-chi, mico, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related; and said, that though Tomo-chi-chi was banished from his nation, he was a good man, and had been a great warrior, and it was for his wisdom and courage that the banished men chose him king. Lastly, he said, they had heard in the nation that the Cherokees had killed some Englishmen, and that if he should command them, they would enter with their whole force into the Cherokee country, destroy their harvest, kill their people and revenge the English. He then sat down. Mr. Oglethorpe promised to acquaint the trustees with their desire of being instructed, and informed them that although there had been a report of Cherokees having killed some Englishmen, it was groundless. He thanked them in the most cordial manner for their affection, and told them that he would acquaint the trustees with it.

"Tomo-chi-chi, mico, then came in, with the Indians of Yamacraw, to Mr. Oglethorpe, and bowing very low, said: 'I was a banished man; I came here poor and helpless to look for good land near the tombs of my ancestors, and the trustees sent people here; I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak and wanted corn; but you confirmed our land to us, gave us food and instructed our children. We have already thanked you in the strongest words we could find, but words are no return for such favors; for good words may be spoke by the deceitful, as well as by the upright heart. The chief men of all our nation are here to thank you for us; and before them I declare your goodness, and that here I design to die; for we all love your people so well that with them we will live and die. We do not know good from evil, but desire to be instructed and guided by you that we may do well with, and be numbered amongst the children of the trustees.'¹ He sat down, and Ya-

¹ In *A Curious Account of the Indians by an Honorable Person*, Mr. Oglethorpe writes: "Tomo-chi-chi, in his first set speech to me, among other things, said, 'Here is a little present;' and then gave me a buffalo's skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. He desired me to accept it because 'the eagle signified speed, and the buffalo strength; that the English were as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast; since like the first, they flew from the utmost parts of the earth, over the vast seas, and like the second, nothing could withstand them; that the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love; the buffalo skin was warm, and signified protection; therefore he hoped that we would love and protect their little families.'"

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hou-Lakee, mico of Cowecat, stood up and said : ' We are come twenty-five days' journey to see you. I have been often advised to go down to Charles-Town, but would not go down because I thought I might die in the way; but when I heard that you were come, and that you were good men, I knew you were sent by Him who lives in Heaven, to teach us Indians wisdom; I therefore came down that I might hear good things, for I knew that if I died in the way I should die in doing good, and what was said would be carried back to the nation, and our children would reap the benefit of it. I rejoice that I have lived to see this day, and to see our friends that have long been gone from amongst us. Our nation was once strong, and had ten towns; but we are now weak, and have but eight towns. You have comforted the banished, and have gathered them that were scattered like little birds before the eagle. We desire therefore to be reconciled to our brethren who are here amongst you, and we give leave to Tomo-chi-chi, Stimoiche, and Illispelle, to call the kindred that love them out of each of the Creek towns, that they may come together and make one town. We must pray you to recall the Yamasees that they may be buried in peace amongst their ancestors, and that they may see their graves before they die; and their own nation shall be restored again to its ten towns.' After which he spoke concerning the abatement of the prices of goods, and agreed upon articles of a treaty which were ordered to be engrossed."

Tomo-chi-chi invited them to his town, where they passed the night in feasting and dancing. On the 21st, the treaty was signed. "A laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt were given to each of the Indian chiefs; to each of the warriors a gun, and a mantle of Duffils; and to all their attendants coarse cloth for clothing. A barrel of gunpowder, four cags of bullets, a piece of broad-cloth, a piece of Irish linen, a cask of tobacco pipes, eight belts, and cutlashes with gilt handles, tape and inkle of all colors, and eight cags of rum, to be carried home to their towns; one pound of powder, one pound of bullets, and as much provision for each man as they pleased to take for their journey home," were also distributed.¹

During this interview the conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe toward the Indians was characterized by marked kindness, courtesy, and conciliation.

¹ See *The Political State of Great Britain*, xlvi. 237; *Gentleman's Magazine for July 1733*, iii. 384. *et seq.*; *American Gazetteer*, ii., article "Georgia." London. 1762.

He urged upon them an appreciation of the fact that in making this settlement the English desired neither to dispossess nor to annoy the natives, but that the earnest wish of his government and people was to live in peace and friendship with the surrounding tribes. He further explained the power of the British nation and the general object in view in founding the colony, and asked from the assembled chiefs and those whom they represented a cession of the lands lying between the Savannah and Alatamaha Rivers. In addition, he invoked the ratification of a treaty of commerce and of perpetual amity.

The interview was in every respect satisfactory, and resulted in the consummation of a treaty by which the Lower Creeks agreed to place themselves under the general government of Great Britain and to live in peace with the colonists. To the trustees were granted all lands lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha Rivers, from the ocean to the head of tide-water. This cession also embraced the islands on the coast, from Tybee to St. Simon's Island inclusive, with the exception of the Islands of Ossabau, Sapelo, and St. Catharine, which were reserved by the Indians for the purposes of hunting, bathing, and fishing. The tract of land lying above Yamacraw Bluff, between Pipemaker's Bluff and Pally-Chuckola Creek, was also reserved as a place of encampment whenever it should please them to visit their beloved friends at Savannah. Stipulations were entered into regulating the price of goods, the value of peltry, and the privileges of traders. It was further agreed that all criminal offenses should be tried and punished in accordance with the laws of England.¹

Although this treaty was engrossed, and formally executed by Oglethorpe on the one part, and the chiefs and principal warriors who were then present on the other, in order that its terms might be duly considered and approved, it was forwarded to the trustees for their formal confirmation.

In due course it was returned with the following ratification:²

¹ See McCall's *History of Georgia*, i. 37, 38.

² This ratification of these articles of friendship and commerce between the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America and, the chief mico of the nation of the Lower Creeks was made on the 18th of October, 1733. See *Minutes of the Common Council for the Years 1731 to 1736*, p. 75.

“The Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America to the chief men of the nation of the Lower Creeks,

“SEND GREETING:

“WHEREAS, The great king, George the Second, king of Great Britain, did by his letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, bearing date the 9th day of June, in the 5th year of his reign, constitute and appoint a body politic and corporate by the name of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America :

“And WHEREAS, The said Trustees have received from their beloved Mr. James Oglethorpe, of West Brook Place, in the county of Surry, Esquire, one of the common council of the said Trustees, a copy of certain articles of friendship and commerce between the said Trustees and the said chief men, which is in the words following (that is to say), Articles of friendship and commerce between the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief men of the nation of the Lower Creeks.

“*First.* The Trustees bearing in their hearts great love and friendship to you the said head-men of the Lower Creek nation, do engage to let their people carry up into your towns all kinds of goods fitting to trade in the said towns, at the rates and prices settled and agreed upon before you the said head-men, and annexed to this treaty of trade and friendship.

“*Secondly.* The Trustees do by these articles promise to see restitution done to any of the people of your towns by the people they shall send among you; proof being made to the beloved man they shall at any time send among you, that they who have either committed murder, robbery, or have beat or wounded any of your people, or any wise injured them in their crops, by their horses, or in any other ways whatever; and upon such proof the said people shall be tried and punished according to the English law.

“*Thirdly.* The Trustees when they find the hearts of you the said head-men and your people are not good to the people they shall send among you, or that you or your people do not mind this paper, they will withdraw the English trade from the town so offending. And that you and your people may have this chain of friendship in your minds and fixed to your hearts, they have made fast their seal to this treaty.

Fourthly. We, the head-men of the Coweta and Cuseta towns, in behalf of all the Lower Creek nation, being firmly persuaded that He who lives in Heaven and is the occasion of all good things, has moved the hearts of the Trustees to send their beloved men among us, for the good of our wives and children, and to instruct us and them in what is straight, do therefore declare that we are glad that their people are come here; and though this land belongs to us (the Lower Creeks), yet we, that we may be instructed by them, do consent and agree that they shall make use of and possess all those lands which our nation hath not occasion to use; and we make over unto them, their successors and assigns, all such lands and territories as we shall have no occasion to use; provided always, that they, upon settling every new town, shall set out for the use of ourselves and the people of our nation such lands as shall be agreed upon between their beloved men and the head-men of our nation, and that those lands shall remain to us forever.

Fifthly. We, the head-men, do promise for ourselves and the people of our towns that the traders for the English which shall settle among us, shall not be robbed or molested in their trade in our nation; and that if it shall so happen any of our people should be mad, and either kill, wound, beat or rob any of the English traders or their people, then we the said head-men of the towns aforesaid do engage to have justice done to the English, and for that purpose to deliver up any of our people who shall be guilty of the crimes aforesaid, to be tried by the English laws, or by the laws of our nation, as the beloved man of the Trustees shall think fit. And we further promise not to suffer any of the people of our said towns to come into the limits of the English settlements without leave from the English beloved man, and that we will not molest any of the English traders passing to or from any nation in friendship with the English.

Sixthly. We, the head-men, for ourselves and people do promise to apprehend and secure any negro or other slave which shall run away from any of the English settlements to our nation, and to carry them either to this town, or Savannah, or Palachuckola garrison, and there to deliver him up to the commander of such garrison, and to be paid by him four blankets or two guns, or the value thereof in other goods; provided such runaway negro, or other slave, shall be taken by us or any of our peo-

ple on the farther side of Oconee River; and in case such negro or runaway slave shall be taken on the hither side of the said river, and delivered to the commanders aforesaid, then we understand the pay to be one gun, or the value thereof; and in case we or our people should kill any such slave for resistance or running away from us in apprehending him, then we are to be paid one blanket for his head, by any trader, for carrying such slave's head unto him.

"*Lastly.* We promise with stout hearts, and love to our brothers the English, to give no encouragement to any other white people, but themselves, to settle amongst us, and that we will not have any correspondence with the Spaniards or French; and to show that we both for the good of ourselves our wives and children do firmly promise to keep the talk in our hearts as long as the sun shall shine or the waters run in the rivers, we have each of us set the marks of our families.

SCHEDULE OF THE PRICES OF GOODS AGREED ON, ANNEXED.

Two yards of stroud	Five buck-skins.
One yard of plains	One ditto.
White blanket	One ditto.
Blue ditto	Five ditto.
A gun	Ten ditto.
A pistol	Five ditto.
A gun-lock	Four ditto.
Two measures of powder	One ditto.
Sixty bullets	Ditto ditto.
One white shirt	Two ditto.
One knife	One doe-skin.
Eighteen flints	One buck-skin.
Three yards of cadiz	One doe-skin.
Ditto ditto of gartering	Ditto ditto.
One hoe	Two buck-skins.
One ax	Ditto ditto.
One large hatchet	Three doe-skins.
One small ditto	One buck-skin.
Brass kettles per lb.	Ditto ditto.

Doe-skins were estimated at half the value of the bucks.

“ And, WHEREAS, The said Trustees are greatly desirous to maintain and preserve an inviolable peace, friendship and commerce between the said head-men of the Lower nation of Creeks, and the people the said Trustees have sent and shall send to inhabit and settle in the province of Georgia aforesaid, to endure to the world's end ;

“ Now know ye that we the said Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America do by these presents ratify and confirm the said articles of friendship and commerce between the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief men of the Lower Creeks, and all and every of the articles and agreements therein contained, and also the rates and prices of goods above mentioned, settled and agreed upon before the said head-men, and annexed to the said treaty of trade and friendship.

“ In witness whereof the Common Council of the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America have to these presents made fast the common seal of the corporation of the said Trustees, the eighteenth day of October, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the Second, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three.

“ By order of the said Common Council,

“ BENJAMIN MARTYN, *Secretary.*”¹

This treaty of the 21st of May, 1733, resulted in the pacification of all the Lower Creek Indians, the Uchees, the Yamacraws, and of other tribes acknowledging their supremacy. Nor did the influences of this convocation rest with them only. They were recognized by the Upper Creeks, and, at a later date, similar stipulations were ratified by the Cherokees. For years were they preserved inviolate ; and the colony of Georgia, thus protected, extended its settlements up the Savannah River and along the coast, experiencing neither molestation nor opposition, but on the contrary receiving on every hand positive and valuable assurances of the good-will and sympathy of the children of the forest. Probably the early history of no plantation in America affords so few instances of hostility on the part of the natives, or discloses so many acts of kindness

¹ See *McCall's History of Georgia* i. 357, *et seq.*

extended by the red men. To the prudence, conciliatory conduct, sound judgment, and wisdom of Mr. Oglethorpe, seconded by the hospitality and generosity, as well as the direct personal influence of Tomo-chi-chi, was the colony of Georgia indebted for this first and liberal treaty of amity and commerce with the aborigines.¹ To the inhabitants of Savannah this concession and these friendly stipulations proved of vital consequence.

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival of the Ship *James*—Fort Argyle Built and Garrisoned—The Villages of High-Gate and Hampstead Located and Peopled—Forts at Thunderbolt and on Skidoway Island—Joseph's Town—Abercorn—Irene—The Horse Quarter—Early Plantations—Manchecolas Fort at Skidoway Narrows—Tybee Lighthouse—Plan of Savannah—Names of its Squares, Streets, Wards, and Tithings—Arrival of Hebrew Immigrants—Deed Showing first Allotment of Town Lots, Garden Lots, and Farms in Savannah, and Containing the Names of the Original Grantees.

DURING the month of March, 1733, the ranks of the colonists were increased by small accessions from London. Some of them came at their own charge, and all found their way to Savannah through the intermediate port of Charlestown. In May seventeen persons arrived at Yamacraw Bluff, who had been approved of by the trustees and conveyed at their expense. Among them were some Italians from Piedmont accustomed to the propagation of silkworms and the manufacture of raw silk. They were engaged to develop an industry from the pursuit of which no inconsiderable gain was anticipated, and obligated themselves to instruct the colonists in the cultivation of the white mulberry tree, in the breeding of silkworms, and in reeling the threads from cocoons. The ship which conveyed them was the *James*, Captain Yoakley. As this was the first vessel from England which ascended the Savannah River,

¹ See *Historical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi*, pp. 25-37. C. C. Jones, jr., Albany, N. Y. 1868. *History of Georgia*, vol. i., pp. 132-145. C. C. Jones, jr. Boston. 1883.

landed her passengers, and discharged her cargo at Yamacraw Bluff, to her captain was awarded the prize offered by the trustees.¹

The colonists at Savannah being busily employed in such labors as were most conducive to the promotion of their comfort and safety, Mr. Oglethorpe deemed it prudent, at this early period in the life of the plantation, to advance his outposts and to occupy strategic points in the neighborhood which would tend to confirm the security of the town. Captain McPherson, of South Carolina, with his rangers, had been stationed just above Yamacraw Bluff at a point on the Savannah River known as the *Horse Quarter*. His duty was, while the settlers were "enforting themselves" and constructing their temporary shelters, to maintain strict watch against any hostile demonstration. Now, however, as a battery of cannon had been planted, and as the stockade which surrounded the space allotted for the town was partially completed, it was thought best to detach the captain and a portion of his command that possession might be taken of a locality on the Great Ogeechee River where the Indians, in their predatory expeditions against Carolina, were accustomed to cross that stream. Here a fort was builded which Oglethorpe, in honor of his friend John, Duke of Argyle, called *Fort Argyle*. It commanded the passage of the river. That this outpost might be strenghtened, ten families were soon sent from Savannah to erect dwellings and cultivate lands in its vicinity.

Between four and five miles south of Savannah, as its limits were at first defined, and on rising ground, the village of High Gate was laid out, and twelve families, mostly French, were assigned to its occupancy. About a mile to the eastward, the village of Hampstead was located and oepled with twelve families, chiefly German. Gardening was to be the occupation of these settlers, and their principal business was to supply the inhabitants of Savannah with vegetables and provisions. In the spring of 1736 Francis Moore, who then visited these little towns, describes them as being "pretty," and says that the planters there domi-

¹ The following notice of this arrival may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1733, p. 284: "Savannah, May 20, 1733.—The James, Captain Yoakley, 110 tons and 6 guns, arrived here on the 14th with passengers and stores. This Ship rode in 2 Fathom and a half water close to the Town at low water Mark. The Captain received the Price appointed by the Trustees for the first Ship that should unload at this Town, where is safe Riding for much larger Vessels."

ciled were "very forward, having built neat huts and cleared and planted a great deal of land." The prosperity of these villages was of short duration. In 1740 but two families remained at High Gate, while Hampstead had then been entirely abandoned.

As a protection against hostile approach by the way of St. Augustine Creek, a small fort was constructed at Thunderbolt. To several families were homes here granted. So frail was this defensive structure that it fell into decay as early as 1737. On the northeast end of Skidaway Island ten families were located in 1734, and a fort was built for their protection. This attempt at early colonization at this exposed point proved so unsuccessful that within four years the village disappeared and the fortification fell into a deserted and dilapidated condition.

Joseph's-Town, situated on the Savannah River opposite Onslow and Argyle islands, was another of the early outlying towns. It was occupied by colonists from Scotland, but malarial fevers and a failure of crops brought about its speedy abandonment.

On a creek or branch of the Savannah, distant some three miles from its confluence with that river, and about fifteen miles above the town of Savannah, the village of Abercorn was laid out in 1733. The plan of the town embraced twelve lots, with a trust lot in addition at either extremity. Four miles below the mouth of Abercorn Creek was Joseph's-Town where Scotch gentlemen had selected plantations. Journeying from this place towards Savannah in the early days of the colony the visitor would pass, in succession, Sir Francis Bathurst's plantation, Walter Augustin's settlement, Captain Williams' plantation, Mrs. Matthews' place, the Indian school-house Irene, the Horse Quarter, and the lands reserved by the Indians just west of Yamacraw. A strange fatality attended all these early attempts at colonization in the swamp region of the lower Savannah. Born of the subjugation of the forests and the exhalations from the rich, dank soil were miasmatic fevers and fluxes which engendered lassitude and death. Short-lived were these little settlements, and it was only after the introduction of slave labor that these plantations bordering upon the Savannah River became permanent and productive. The Europeans who strove to bring them into a state of cultivation failed in the effort and quickly passed away. Others who endeavored to complete their labors experienced similar misfortune and disappointment.

Of the ten families assigned to Abercorn in 1733, all were gone within a period of four years. Mr. John Brodie, with twelve servants, then occupied the settlement, but, after an experiment of three years, he abandoned the place, leaving its improvements to fall down piecemeal. Many of the servants who cultivated the lands of the Scotch gentlemen at Joseph's-Town died, and that plantation for a while reverted to the dominion of nature.

For the defense of Skidoway Narrows, a Mancheolas Fort was erected, and it was garrisoned by detachments from Captain Noble Jones' company of marines quartered near his residence, called Wormsloe, on the Isle of Hope.

A lighthouse, to rise ninety feet above the ground, was commenced near the northern end of Great Tybee Island, and here a guard was posted.

As the number of immigrants multiplied, plantations were formed on Augustine Creek, on Wilmington Island, on the Isle of Hope, on the Little Ogeechee, at Bewlie, and even as far south as the Great Ogeechee River.

Several accessions to its population having occurred, and sufficient progress having been made in clearing the bay, the square, and the streets, in erecting a crane, in planting a battery of cannon, in palisading the town, in the preparation of a commodious garden, and in uncovering the general outlines of Savannah, Oglethorpe, on the 7th of July, 1733, convened the colonists that they might be definitely advised of the precise plan of the village, learn the names which he proposed to bestow upon the square, streets, wards, and tithings, and participate in the assignment of town lots, gardens, and farms. The convocation occurred early in the morning, and the business of the day was preceded by an invocation of the Divine blessing.

Four wards, each containing four tithings, were marked and named, viz. : *Percival Ward*, so named in honor of John, Lord Percival, the first Earl of Egmont, and president of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America ; *Heathcote Ward*, so named in honor of George Heathcote, M.P., an alderman of London, and one of the most active and influential members of the board of trustees ; *Derby Ward*, so called in compliment to the Earl of Derby, who was one of the most

generous patrons of the colonization ; and *Decker Ward*, so named in honor of Sir Matthew Decker, whose benefactions to the charitable design had been conspicuous. The tithings embraced in *Percival Ward* were called, respectively, *Moore, Hucks, Holland, and Sloper*, in honor of Robert Moore, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, and William Sloper, members of parliament all, and influential trustees. *Heathcote Ward* was composed of *Eyles, Laroche, Vernon, and Belitha* tithings, so named to perpetuate the pleasant memories of Sir Francis Eyles, Bart., one of the commissioners of the navy and a member of Parliament, John Laroche, also a member of parliament, James Vernon, Esqr., and William Belitha, all members of the trust. The four tithings constituting *Derby Ward* were *Wilmington, Jekyll, Tyrconnel, and Frederick*. These were named in compliment to the Earl of Wilmington, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, who, with his lady, had contributed six hundred pounds in furtherance of the laudable design of the trustees, Lord John Tyrconnel, and Thomas Frederick, M.P., both members of the board of trustees. The tithings into which *Decker Ward* was divided were named *Digby, Carpenter, Tower, and Heathcote*, in honor of Edward Digby, George, Lord Carpenter, Thomas Tower, M.P., and George Heathcote, M.P., trustees all.

The first and only public square then designated, and which was to serve as a model for all others which should be called into existence by the expansion of the town, was *Johnson Square*. It was so named in compliment to his excellency Robert Johnson, governor of South Carolina, who cordially welcomed Oglethorpe and his companions upon their advent, and contributed generously to the comfort and advancement of the colony.

The streets then laid out were *Abercorn, Drayton, Bull, and Whitaker*, running north and south, and the *Bay, Bryan, and St. Julian* streets, intersecting them at right angles. In naming these also Oglethorpe sought, in an enduring manner, to express the gratitude of the colony and its founder. Thus, the principal street bore the name of Colonel William Bull, who accompanied Oglethorpe when he selected Yamacraw Bluff as a suitable site for Savannah, and on various occasions rendered the plantation services disinterested and valuable. The liberality of Mr. Joseph Bryan, of Mr. St. Julian, of Mrs. Ann Drayton, of Mr. Whitaker,

of South Carolina, and of the Earl of Abercorn was in this manner publicly acknowledged.

In the middle of Johnson Square a large sun-dial was erected for the convenience of the inhabitants. It perished long ago, and the spot where it stood is now dignified by a shaft dedicated to the memory of General Nathanael Greene, which testifies to the ages the enduring gratitude cherished for him who, in the primal struggle for independence, next to Washington engaged the affections and excited the admiration of the Georgia patriots.

Christ Church occupies to-day the trust lot then designated as a site for a house of worship, and the general plan of the lots, streets, and square, established at this time, served for a guide in the subsequent years. The wisdom of Oglethorpe in conserving open spaces, at regular and near intervals, that free ventilation might be enjoyed in this warm latitude, was manifest; and the town lots, which the luxurious demands of the present may pronounce too small, then amply sufficed for the needs of the colonists. It will not be forgotten that these lots were intended simply as sites for private dwellings. Appurtenant to them were gardens and farms, situated on the outskirts of the town, so that each male inhabitant of full age participating in the allotment became possessed of a *town lot* containing sixty feet in front and ninety feet in depth, a *garden lot* embracing five acres, and a *farm* containing forty-four acres and one hundred and forty-one poles. The grant, therefore, aggregated fifty acres, thus conforming to the instructions of the trustees and supplying land sufficient for the support of the colonist who came at the charge of the trust and brought no servants with him. The entire plan of Savannah having been fully shown, there followed an allotment, to each inhabitant, of his town lot, garden lot, and farm. This done, at noon all the colonists partook of a bounteous dinner provided by Oglethorpe. Fresh beef, turkeys, venison, and vegetables from the public garden were supplemented by a liberal supply of English beer.

"Hitherto," says Mr. Wright,¹ "Mr. Oglethorpe had retained to himself undivided authority over his people, but finding, from their increasing numbers, that the task of disposing the new settlers to the reciprocal offices of a social state and of keeping the troublesome in subordina-

¹ *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, p. 73. London. 1867.

tion was more than he could longer individually accomplish, he now determined to delegate to others a portion of the powers with which he was invested." Accordingly, in the afternoon a town court for the determination of causes both civil and criminal was established. Magistrates, a recorder, constables, and tithing-men¹ were appointed and inducted into office. A jury was drawn and empaneled, and a case tried. "Conservators to keep the peace"² were named, and Thomas Causton was selected as the keeper of the public stores.

Shortly after the conclusion of this important business a vessel arrived from England having on board forty Hebrew colonists. They came to Savannah without the sanction of the trustees, although the expenses incident to their transportation had been defrayed with moneys collected under commissions granted by the common council. It appears from the journal of the trustees that among the commissions empowering the holders to solicit and receipt for contributions in aid of the colonization were three in favor of Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador, jr., and Anthony Da Costa.

It was understood that all moneys which they might collect were to be transmitted to the trustees, to be by them applied in furtherance of the objects specified in the charter. Acting under their commissions Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa did secure benefactions to a considerable amount. Instead, however, of paying these funds over to the

¹ On the 8th of November, 1732, the trustees had commissioned George Symes, Richard Hodges, and Francis Scott as bailiffs, Noble Jones as recorder, Richard Cannon and Joseph Coles as constables, and Francis Magridge and Thomas Young as tithing-men, for the then unlocated town of Savannah. The following persons composed the first jury empaneled in Georgia: Samuel Parker, Thomas Young, Joseph Cole, John Wright, John West, Timothy Bowling, John Millidge, Henry Close, Walter Fox, John Grady, James Carwell, and Richard Cannon.

² The persons named as such by the trustees on the 8th of November, 1732, were Peter Gordon, William Waterland, Thomas Causton, Thomas Christie, George Symes, Richard Hodges, Francis Scott, and Noble Jones. For the village of Thorpe, which was included within the precincts of Savannah, the trustees commissioned, on the 18th of October, 1733, Robert Parker, sr., as chief constable, George Buckmar and William Johnson as constables, and Arthur Ogle Edgecombe and William Riley as tithing-men. Two days before they had sealed a commission for Thomas Causton as second bailiff of the town of Savannah, in the room of Richard Hodges, deceased, and had selected Henry Parker as third bailiff.

trustees, or lodging them in the Bank of England to the credit of the trust, as they should have done, they busied themselves with collecting Hebrew colonists to the number of forty and, without the permission of the common council, appropriated the moneys which they had collected to chartering a vessel and defraying the expenses requisite for the conveyance of these Israelites to Savannah. Receiving an intimation that Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa were exceeding their authority and acting in violation of the instructions which accompanied the delivery of the commissions, and apprehending that the purposes of these individuals, if consummated, would prove prejudicial to the best interests both of the trust and of the colony, the trustees, as early as the 31st of January, 1733, instructed their secretary, Mr. Martyn, to wait upon them and demand a surrender of the commissions which they held. With this demand Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa refused to comply and, as we have stated, persisted in appropriating the funds they had collected in the manner indicated.

Mr. Oglethorpe had not been advised of the coming of these colonists, and was somewhat at a loss to determine what disposition should be made of them. As the charter guaranteed freedom of religious opinion and observance to all, save Papists, he wisely concluded to receive them, and in due course notified the trustees of their arrival and of his action in the premises. Those gentlemen did not hesitate to avow their disapproval of the whole affair. They declared that such irregular and unauthorized conduct on the part of Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa was prejudicial to the good order and scheme of the colonization, and that the sending over of these people had turned aside many intended benefactions. A committee was appointed to prepare for publication a statement of the matter, and to assure the public that they did not propose "to make a Jew's colony of Georgia." To Mr. Oglethorpe they wrote that they had heard with grave apprehension of the arrival of these Israelites in Georgia, and that they hoped "they would meet with no sort of encouragement." They counseled him to "use his best endeavors that they be allowed no kind of settlement with any of the grantees," and expressed the fear that their presence in Savannah would prove injurious to the trade and welfare of the colony.

The following extracts from the journal of the trustees evidence their

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The following extracts from the journal of the trustees evidence their

feeling and action in a matter which for some time attracted no little attention both in England and in Georgia :

“PALACE COURT, *Saturday, December 22, 1733.*

“At a meeting of Trustees, assembled by summons, Ordered That the Secretary do wait on Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r and Anthony Da Costa with the following message in writing:

“Whereas a message, dated Jan^y 31, 1732-3, was sent for the re-delivery of their Commissions with which they did not think proper to comply, and which on the said Refusal were vacated by the Trustees: And Whereas the Trustees are inform’d that by monies rais’d by virtue of their commission (which monies ought to have been transmitted to the Trustees) certain Jews have been sent to Georgia contrary to the intentions of the Trustees, and which may be of ill consequence to the Colony; the Trustees do hereby require the said Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r, and Anthony Da Costa immediately to redeliver to M^r Martyn, their Secretary, the said Commissions and to render an account in writing to the Trustees of what monies have been raised by virtue thereof; and if they refuse to comply with this demand that then the Trustees will think themselves obliged not only to advertise the world of the demand and refusal of the said Commissions and Account, and of the misapplication before mentioned, in order to prevent any further impositions on his Majesty’s Subjects under pretence of an authority granted by those vacated Commissions; but likewise to recover those commissions and demand an account of the monies collected in such manner as their Counsel shall advise.”

“PALACE COURT. *Saturday Janry 5th, 1733-4.*

“Ordered. That the Secretary do wait on Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r and Anthony Da Costa with the following Message in writing:

“The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America having receiv’d a letter from Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r, and Anthony Da Costa, in answer to a message sent for their Commissions, which letter does not appear satisfactory to the said Trustees, they think themselves oblig’d not only to insist on the redelivery of their Commissions, but as they conceive the settling of Jews in Georgia will

be prejudicial to the Colony, and as some have been sent without the knowledge of the Trustees, the Trustees do likewise require that the said Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jr. and Anthony Da Costa, or whoever else may have been concerned in sending them over, do use their endeavors that the said Jews be removed from the Colony of Georgia, as the best and only satisfaction they can give to the Trustees for such an indignity offer'd to Gentlemen acting under his Majesty's Charter."

"PALACE COURT. *Saturday, Janry 19th, 1733-4.*

"The Secretary acquainted the Board that pursuant to their order of Jan^{ry} 5th instant he had waited on Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r, and Anthony Da Costa, and left with them the message of the Trustees in writing, and that he had receiv'd the Commissions formerly given to them; and then he delivered the said Commissions to the Board.

"Resolved that the said Commissions be laid by, and the further consideration of this affair be postponed till M^r Oglethorpe comes home."

There the record ends; and, so far as we can learn, no further action was taken. Ignoring the suggestions of the trustees, Oglethorpe furnished ample accommodation and encouragement for these Hebrew colonists, who by their peaceable behavior, orderly conduct, and industry commended themselves to the favorable consideration of the governor. In communicating with the trustees he took occasion to express the opinion that this accession had not proved a detriment to the colony. He specially invites the attention of his associates to the good offices of Dr. Nunis. In acknowledging his kindness, the trustees request Mr. Oglethorpe to offer him a gratuity for his medical services, but insist that all grants of land within the limits of the province should be withheld from these Israelites. With these instructions, however, as we shall presently see, the founder of the colony of Georgia did not comply. In the general conveyance of town lots, gardens, and farms, executed on the 21st of December, 1733, some of these Hebrews are mentioned as grantees.

That the trustees were justified in condemning and rebuking the irregularity, disobedience and contumacy of Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa, cannot be questioned. That it was entirely prudent and proper in them to claim and exercise the right of selecting colonists for the planta-

feeling and action in a matter which for some time attracted no little attention both in England and in Georgia :

“PALACE COURT, *Saturday, December 22, 1733.*

“At a meeting of Trustees, assembled by summons, Ordered That the Secretary do wait on Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r and Anthony Da Costa with the following message in writing:

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be prejudicial to the Colony, and as some have been sent without the knowledge of the Trustees, the Trustees do likewise require that the said Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jr. and Anthony Da Costa, or whoever else may have been concerned in sending them over, do use their endeavors that the said Jews be removed from the Colony of Georgia, as the best and only satisfaction they can give to the Trustees for such an indignity offer'd to Gentlemen acting under his Majesty's Charter."

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There the record ends; and, so far as we can learn, no further action was taken. Ignoring the suggestions of the trustees, Oglethorpe furnished ample accommodation and encouragement for these Hebrew colonists, who by their peaceable behavior, orderly conduct, and industry commended themselves to the favorable consideration of the governor. In communicating with the trustees he took occasion to express the opinion that this accession had not proved a detriment to the colony. He specially invites the attention of his associates to the good offices of Dr. Nunis. In acknowledging his kindness, the trustees request Mr. Oglethorpe to offer him a gratuity for his medical services, but insist that all grants of land within the limits of the province should be withheld from these Israelites. With these instructions, however, as we shall presently see, the founder of the colony of Georgia did not comply. In the general conveyance of town lots, gardens, and farms, executed on the 21st of December, 1733, some of these Hebrews are mentioned as grantees.

That the trustees were justified in condemning and rebuking the irregularity, disobedience and contumacy of Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa, cannot be questioned. That it was entirely prudent and proper in them to claim and exercise the right of selecting colonists for the planta-

tion is equally certain. That they alone possessed the power of determining who should seek homes in Georgia, and of binding applicants in advance to a due observance of prescribed rules, was a privilege conferred by the terms of the charter. That they should, under the circumstances, have entertained some apprehension of the effect which would be produced upon the public mind by this unauthorized introduction, within the limits of the colony, of this considerable body of Hebrews, excites no surprise. That they were fully justified in recalling the commissions sealed in favor of Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa, all will admit. And yet Oglethorpe was right in receiving these people and according them homes in Savannah. The excitement, in the end, entirely subsided. These Hebrews proved, orderly and useful citizens. Many of them removed to South Carolina, but others remained in Savannah, and their descendants may this day be found in the city of Oglethorpe.

Although the formal allotment of lands within the confines of Savannah was made in July, the requisite deed assuring the cessions then specified was not executed until several months afterwards. It will be remembered that prior to the embarkation of the first colonists the trustees conveyed to three of their number, viz.: Thomas Christie, William Calvert, and Joseph Hughes, five thousand acres of land to be utilized in parceling out homes for the early settlers in Georgia. Out of this tract were the Savannah lands carved, and the original deed carrying into effect and confirming the allotments made on the 7th of July, 1733,¹ may now be seen in the office of the secretary of State of Georgia. It is an instrument of the highest interest and value, and has withstood in a remarkable degree the obliterating influences of time and dust which, in the case of many contemporaneous documents, have "eaten out the letters," and "made a parenthesis betwixt every syllable." Unfortunately, the "Plan of Savannah" which accompanied it, and to which reference is therein made, has been lost. All efforts for its recovery have thus far proved futile.

Preserving as it does the names of many of the earliest colonists, indi-

¹Other allotments, made subsequently to this date, are also included in this deed. Additional colonists had arrived, among whom may be mentioned one hundred and thirty-two persons conveyed in the *Savannah*, which sailed from England on the 12th of September, 1733. See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1733, p. 493.

cating the estates granted, and designating the parcels then conveyed, we make no apology for introducing the following abstract of that important document :

“To all to whom these Presents shall come; We, Thomas Christie and William Calvert, send greeting. Whereas by Indentures of Lease and Release made between the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America on the one part; and us the said Thomas Christie and William Calvert and Joseph Hughes, deceased, on the other part, bearing date the twenty-fifth day of October Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred thirty and two, under the common seal of the said Trustees, they the said Trustees did for the considerations therein mentioned Grant and convey unto us the said Thomas Christie and William Calvert and the said Joseph Hughes, deceased, and to the Survivors of us and our Assigns, Five Thousand Acres of Land lying and being in the Province of Georgia in America, being part and parcel of the Land which his Majesty graciously granted to the said Trustees by his Letters Patent bearing date the Ninth day of June Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred thirty and two, to be set out in such parts of the said Province as should be thought convenient and proper by such Person as should be appointed by the Common Council for that purpose, under such limitations and in trust for such uses and purposes as are therein mentioned, as in and by the said Indentures, relation being to them had, may more fully appear: And Whereas the said Common Council did by deed, under the Common Seal of the said Trustees, bearing Date the Twenty Sixth day of October Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred thirty and two authorize and appoint James Oglethorpe Esquire, of Westbrook Place in the County of Surry, to set out and limit the said Five Thousand Acres in such part of the said Province as he should think most convenient; and Whereas the said James Oglethorpe hath set out and limited the said Five thousand Acres in such a regular manner as is most convenient for the support of a Town and the Inhabitants thereof, and hath set out part of the said Five Thousand Acres for a Town called Savannah, with Lotts for Houses, and left a Common round the Town for convenience of Air; And, adjoining to the Commons, hath set out Garden Lotts of Five Acres each, and beyond such Garden Lotts hath set out Farms of Forty Four Acres, and One hundred forty and one Pole each, and hath drawn a Plan of the

Town and Plot of the Garden Lots and Farms respectively, with proper Numbers, References, and Explanations for the more easy understanding thereof, which Plan and Plot are hereunto annexed and set forth in Folio One and Folio Nine of this Book :

“ Now Know Ye, that we, the Said Thomas Christie and William Calvert, pursuant to the said Deed, and in performance of the said Trust, do Grant and Enfeoff unto John Goddard one House Lot in Wilmington Tything in Derby Ward, expressed in the said Plan by Number One, containing Sixty feet in front and Ninety feet in depth, and one Garden Lot containing Five Acres, expressed on the said Plot by Number Eleven, lying South East from the Center of the said Town, and one Farm expressed in the said Plot by Number Five and Letter A in the said Ward and Tything, containing Forty Four Acres and One Hundred Forty and One Pole, making together Fifty Acres of Land: To Have and To Hold the said Fifty Acres of Land unto him the said John Goddard during the term of his natural life, and after his decease to the Heirs Male of his Body forever, Upon the Conditions and under the express Limitations hereinafter mentioned.”

Upon similar conditions, town lots in the various tithings and wards in Savannah, garden lots, and farms were conveyed in and by this deed to Walter Fox, John Grady, James Carwall, Richard Cannon, Francis Cox, relict of William Cox, William Cox, jr., George Sims, Joseph Fitzwalter, Mary Samms, relict of John Samms, Elizabeth Warren, relict of John Warren, William Warren, son of the said John Warren, Mary Overend, relict of Joshua Overend, Francis Mugridge, Robert Johnson, William Horn, John Penrose, Elizabeth Hughes, relict of Joseph Hughes, Mary Hodges, relict of Richard Hodges, Mary Hodges, Elizabeth Hodges, and Sarah Hodges—daughters of the said Richard Hodges,—James Muir, Thomas Christie, Joseph Cooper, John West, James Willson, Thomas Pratt, William Waterland, Elizabeth Bowling, relict of Timothy Bowling, Mary Bowling, daughter of the said Timothy Bowling, Elizabeth Millidge, relict of Thomas Millidge, Heirs Male of the said Thomas Millidge, William Little, Jane Parker, relict of Samuel Parker, Thomas Parker, son of the said Samuel Parker, Mary Magdalene Tibbeau, relict of Daniel Tibbeau, Heirs Male of the said Daniel Tibbeau, Hannah Close, relict of Henry Close, Ann Close, daughter of the said Henry Close, Joseph Stan-



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Charles C. Jones, Jr.

ley, Robert Clark, Peter Gordon, Thomas Causton, John Vanderplank, Thomas Young, Joseph Coles, Thomas Tebbitt, John Dearn, John Wright, Noble Jones, Ann Hows, relict of Robert Hows, John Clark, William Gough, William MacKay, Thomas Ellis, Edward Johnson, Isaac Nunez Henriquez, William Mears, Moses le Desma, Paul Cheeswright, Samuel Nunez Ribiero, John Musgrove, Noble Wimberly Jones, Daniel Ribiero, Charles Philip Rogers, Moses Nunez Ribiero, Robert Gilbert, Edward Jenkins, Senior, Jacob Lopez d'Olivera, William Savory, Edward Jenkins, Junior, Isaac de Val, David Cohen del Monte, Benjamin Shaftell, Bearsley Gough, Robert Hows, Abraham Nunez, Monte Santo, John Millidge, Jacob Yowel, Samuel Parker, junior, Abraham Minis, Jacob Lopez de Crasto, and David de Pas; the said grantees "yielding and paying for such Town Lott, Garden Lott, and Farm, containing together Fifty Acres as aforesaid, to the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, and to their Successors, yearly and every year, the Rent or Sum of two Shillings of lawful Money of Great Britain, the same to be paid to such person or persons and at such place in the said Town of Savannah in the said Province of Georgia as by the Common Council (for the time being) of the said Trustees shall be appointed. The first Payment to be made on the first Day of the Eleventh year to be computed from the Day of the date of these Presents; provided always, and these Presents are upon these conditions, that if it shall happen that the said yearly Rent, of Two Shillings or any part thereof be unpaid by the space of Twelve Kalendar Months next after the day of Payment, on which the same ought to be paid as aforesaid, And if the said several persons or their respective Heirs above mentioned shall not within the space of Eighteen Kalendar Months from the date hereof erect one House of Brick, or framed, square timber work, on their respective Town Lotts, containing at the least Twenty four feet in length, upon Sixteen in breadth, and eight feet in height, and abide, settle, and continue in the said Province for and during the full term of three years to be computed from the date hereof, and if the said several Persons and each of them respectively shall not, within the space of ten years, to be likewise computed from the date hereof, clear and cultivate Ten Acres of the said Land herein before to them respectively granted; And if the said several persons aforesaid shall not plant or cause to be planted, One Hundred plants of the White

Mulberry Tree which are to be delivered unto them respectively by the said Trustees, so soon as the same or sufficient part thereof be cleared, and sufficiently fence and preserve the same from the bite of Cattle, and in stead of such Trees as shall happen to die or be destroyed shall not set other Trees of the same sort, And if any or either of the said several persons above mentioned who shall by virtue of these Presents, or of the Grant and Enfeoffment hereby made or intended to be made, now or at any time or times hereafter become possessed of the said Fifty Acres of Land, or any part or parcel thereof respectively, at any time or times alien, transfer, or convey the same or any part thereof for any term of years, or any estate or interest in the same, to any Person or Persons whatsoever without special leave and license of the said Common Council (for the time being) or of such Officer as the said Common Council shall from time to time authorize to Grant such licence; And if the said Person or Persons or any other Person who shall by virtue of these Presents and of the Grant in Tail Male hereby made from time to time become possessed of the said Fifty Acres of Land shall do or commit any Treason, Misprison of Treason, Insurrection, Rebellion, Counterfeiting the Money of Great Britain, or shall commit Murder, Felony, Homicide, Killing, Burglary, Rape of women, unlawful Conspiracy or Confederacy, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted; and if any of the said Person or Persons hereinbefore mentioned or any other Person or Persons who shall by virtue of these Presents and of the Grant hereby made, from time to time become possessed of any of the said Fifty Acres of Land shall at any time hire, keep, lodge, board, or employ within the limits of the said Province of Georgia any person or persons being Black or Blacks, Negro or Negroes, or any other Person or Persons being a Slave or Slaves, on any account whatsoever without the special leave and license of the said Common Council (for the time being) of the said Trustees, that then and from thenceforth in any or either of the aforesaid cases it shall be lawful to and for the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America and their Successors into and upon the said Fifty Acres of Land hereby granted of such person so offending, and upon any and every part thereof in the name of the whole to reënter and the same to have again, retain, repossess and enjoy as if this present grant had never been made; And all and every such Person or Persons so neglecting, or mis-

behaving him or themselves in any or either of the cases aforesaid, and all other the occupiers and possessors of the said Fifty Acres of Land (to such person so misbehaving as aforesaid belonging) or any part or parcel thereof, thereout and from thence utterly to expel, put out and amove; And also upon the Entry in any of the cases before mentioned of such Officer or Officers who shall by the said Common Council (for the time being) be for that purpose authorized and appointed, the Grant hereby made of the said Fifty Acres of Land unto such Person so misbehaving as aforesaid shall cease, determine, and become void.

"In Witness Whereof the said Thomas Christie, and William Calvert have hereunto set their Hands and Seals this twenty-first day of December in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred Thirty and Three.

"THOS. CHRISTIE [L S].

"WM. CALVERT [L S]."

Attached to the foregoing conveyance is the following schedule exhibiting the names of the Grantees and the numbers and locations of their respective gardens and farms:

	Gardens.	Farms.		Gardens.	Farms.
PERCIVAL WARD.			John Graham,		3
MORE TYTHING.	No.	I.	Samuel Marcer,		4
James Willoughby,			William Brownjohn.		8
Robert More,			HOLLAND TYTHING.		L.
Robert Potter,			SLOPER TYTHING.		M.
Robert Hanks,			Henry Parker,		7
Thomas Egerton,			Thomas Gapen,		
John Desborough,			Francis Delgrass,		
Lewis Bowen,			Jeremiah Papot,		
John Kelly,			Peter Baillou,		
John Lawrence,			James Papot.		
Thomas Chenter,			HEATHCOTE WARD.		
HUCKS TYTHING.		K.	EYLES TYTHING.	No.	N.
John Millidge,	45 E.	10	LAROCHE TYTHING.		O.
Jacob Yowel,	65 W.	1	Jacob Lopez de Crasto.	42 W.	
Samuel Parker, Junr.,	32 W.	7	David de Pas.	27 W.	
Abraham Minis,	51 W.	6	VERNON TYTHING.		P.
James Turner,		9	BELITHA TYTHING.		Q.
Thomas Atwell,		2			
Hugh Frazier,		5			

	Gardens.	Farms.		Gardens.	Farms.
DERBY WARD.			Thomas Causton,	8 E.	10
WILMINGTON TYTHING.	No.	A.	John Vanderplank,	5 E.	9
John Goddard.	33 E.	5	Thomas Young,	38 E.	4
Walter Fox,	12 E.	4	Joseph Coles,	65 E.	3
John Grady,	53 E.	8	Thomas Tibbit,	51 E.	8
James Carwall,	61 E.	6	John Dearn,	24 E.	2
Richard Cannon,	62 E.	5	John Wright.	1 E.	5
Francis, Relict of Dr.			DECKER'S WARD		
William Cox,	52 E.	7	DIGBY TYTHING.	No.	E.
George Sims,	41 E.	10	John Clark,	34 E.	5
Joseph Fitzwalter,	37 E.	9	William Gough,	36 W.	2
Relict of John Samms,	7 E.	3	William Mackay,	97 W.	
Elizabeth, Relict of John			Thomas Ellis,	35 E.	9
Warren.	64 E.	2	Edward Johnson,	36 E.	1
JEKYLL TYTHING.		B.	Isaac Nunez Henriquez	33 W.	7
Mary, Relict of Joshua			William Mears,	23 E.	6
Overend,	51 E.	9	Moses le Desma.	41 W.	10
Francis Mugridge,	37 E.	2	CARPENTER TYTHING.		F.
Robert Johnson,	42 E.	6	Noble Jones,	29 E.	6
William Horn,	59 E.	5	Paul Cheeswright,	40 E.	5
John Penrose,	30 E.	1	Samuel Nunez Ribiero,	63 W.	3
Joseph Hughes,	26 E.	4	John Musgrove,	45 E.	9
Mary, Relict of Richard			Noble Wimberly Jones,	25 E.	8
Hodges,	36 E.	10	Daniel Ribiero,	43 W.	2
James Muir,	48 E.	7	Charles Philip Rogers,	47 E.	10
Thomas Christie,	3 E.	8	Moses Nunez Ribiero,	64 W.	4
Joseph Cooper.	27 E.	3	Robert Gilbert.	2 E.	1
TYRCONNEL TYTHING.		C.	TOWER TYTHING.		G.
John West,	13 E.	3	Edward Jenkins, Senr.,	40 W.	2
James Wilson,	63 E.	8	Jacob Lopez d'Olivero,	30 W.	7
Thomas Pratt,	57 E.	5	William Savory,	33 W.	3
William Waterland,	22 E.	4	Edward Jenkins, Junr,	68 W.	9
Timothy Bowling,	4 E.	2	Isaac de Val.	70 W.	
Elizabeth, Relict of			HEATHCOTE TYTHING.		H.
Thomas Millidge,	66 E.	6	David Cohen del Monte,	61 W.	30
Elizabeth, Relict of Will-			Benjamin Shaftell,	72 W.	6
iam Little,	60 E.	7	Bearsley Gough,		
Samuel Parker, Senr.,	49 E.	9	Robert Hows,	23 E.	5
Daniel Tibbeau,	39 E.	1	— Hows,	44 E.	
Henry Close.	6 E.	10	Abraham Nunez Mont-		
FREDERICK TYTHING.		D.	Santo,	34 W.	
Joseph Stanley,	34 E.	6	Peter Tondee.		
Robert Clark,	9 E.	3			
Peter Gordon,	10 E.	7			

After the surrender of their charter by the trustees, and upon the establishment of a royal government for Georgia, the early cession of lots within the corporate limits of Savannah, although signed by the colonial governor, were made in the name of the King of England, of his "special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion." The grantee took in free and common socage, with a rent reservation of one pepper-corn payable yearly, if demanded. He also covenanted to erect a house upon the lot within two years from the date of the grant. Should he fail to build within the two years, he further stipulated, upon the expiration of that period, to pay annually to the Crown the sum of £1. If no building was placed upon the lot within ten years from the date of the grant, it was then to revert to the crown.¹

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Oglethorpe Visits the Southern Confines of the Province—Arrival of the Saltz-burgers and their location at Ebenezer—Baron Von Reck's Impressions of Savannah—Oglethorpe Visits England and is Accompanied by Tomo-chi-chi and other Indians—Influence of this Visit upon the Native Population—Acts Passed Prohibiting the Introduction of Rum and Negro Slaves—Silk Culture—Arrival of the Moravians and of the Highlanders—Settlements at Darien, at Frederica, and at New Ebenezer—Progress of Colonization—Beacon on Tybee Island—Francis Moore's description of Savannah.

DESIRING to obtain a personal acquaintance with the southern boundary of Georgia, and to ascertain its capabilities for defense against the Spaniards, Mr. Oglethorpe, on the morning of the 23d of January, 1734, accompanied by Captain Ferguson and sixteen attendants—among whom were two Indian guides—set out in a large row-boat on a tour of observation. He was followed by a yawl laden with provisions and ammunition. It was during this reconnoissance that he selected those sites which were subsequently peopled and known as Frederica and New Inverness.

The funds hitherto collected by the trustees had been well nigh ex-

¹See *History of Georgia*. C. C. Jones, Jr., vol. i., chap. x. Boston. 1883.

	Gardens.	Farms.		Gardens.	Farms.
DERBY WARD.			Thomas Causton,	8 E.	10
WILMINGTON TYTHING.	No.	A.	John Vanderplank,	5 E.	9
John Goddard.	33 E.	5	Thomas Young,	38 E.	4
Walter Fox,	12 E.	4	Joseph Coles,	65 E.	3
John Grady,	53 E.	8	Thomas Tibbit,	51 E.	8
James Carwall,	61 E.	6	John Dearn,	24 E.	2
Richard Cannon,	62 E.	5	John Wright.	1 E.	5
Francis, Relict of Dr.			DECKER'S WARD		
William Cox,	52 E.	7	DIGBY TYTHING.	No.	E.
George Sims,	41 E.	10	John Clark,	34 E.	5
Joseph Fitzwalter,	37 E.	9	William Gough,	36 W.	2
Relict of John Samms,	7 E.	3	William Mackay,	97 W.	
Elizabeth, Relict of John			Thomas Ellis,	35 E.	9
Warren.	64 E.	2	Edward Johnson,	36 E.	1
JEKYLL TYTHING.		B.	Isaac Nunez Henriquez	33 W.	7
Mary, Relict of Joshua			William Mears,	23 E.	6
Overend,	51 E.	9	Moses le Desma.	41 W.	10
Francis Mugridge,	37 E.	2	CARPENTER TYTHING.		F.
Robert Johnson,	42 E.	6	Noble Jones,	29 E.	6
William Horn,	59 E.	5	Paul Cheeswright,	40 E.	5
John Penrose,	30 E.	1	Samuel Nunez Ribiero,	63 W.	3
Joseph Hughes,	26 E.	4	John Musgrove,	45 E.	9
Mary, Relict of Richard			Noble Wimberly Jones,	25 E.	8
Hodges,	36 E.	10	Daniel Ribiero,	43 W.	2
James Muir,	48 E.	7	Charles Philip Rogers,	47 E.	10
Thomas Christie,	3 E.	8	Moses Nunez Ribiero,	64 W.	4
Joseph Cooper.	27 E.	3	Robert Gilbert.	2 E.	1
TYRCONNEL TYTHING.		C.	TOWER TYTHING.		G.
John West,	13 E.	3	Edward Jenkins, Senr.,	40 W.	2
James Wilson,	63 E.	8	Jacob Lopez d'Olivero,	30 W.	7
Thomas Pratt,	57 E.	5	William Savory,	33 W.	3
William Waterland,	22 E.	4	Edward Jenkins, Junr.	68 W.	9
Timothy Bowling,	4 E.	2	Isaac de Val.	70 W.	
Elizabeth, Relict of			HEATHCOTE TYTHING.		H.
Thomas Millidge,	66 E.	6	David Cohen del Monte,	61 W.	30
Elizabeth, Relict of Will-			Benjamin Shaftell,	72 W.	6
iam Little,	60 E.	7	Bearsley Gough,		
Samuel Parker, Senr.,	49 E.	9	Robert Hows,	23 E.	5
Daniel Tibbeau,	39 E.	1	— Hows,	44 E.	
Henry Close.	6 E.	10	Abraham Nunez Monte		
FREDERICK TYTHING.		D.	Santo,	34 W.	
Joseph Stanley,	34 E.	6	Peter Tondee.		
Robert Clark,	9 E.	3			
Peter Gordon,	10 E.	7			

After the surrender of their charter by the trustees, and upon the establishment of a royal government for Georgia, the early cession of lots within the corporate limits of Savannah, although signed by the colonial governor, were made in the name of the King of England, of his "special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion." The grantee took in free and common socage, with a rent reservation of one pepper-corn payable yearly, if demanded. He also covenanted to erect a house upon the lot within two years from the date of the grant. Should he fail to build within the two years, he further stipulated, upon the expiration of that period, to pay annually to the Crown the sum of £1. If no building was placed upon the lot within ten years from the date of the grant, it was then to revert to the crown.¹

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Oglethorpe Visits the Southern Confines of the Province—Arrival of the Salt-burgers and their location at Ebenezer—Baron Von Reck's Impressions of Savannah—Oglethorpe Visits England and is Accompanied by Tomo-chi-chi and other Indians—Influence of this Visit upon the Native Population—Acts Passed Prohibiting the Introduction of Rum and Negro Slaves—Silk Culture—Arrival of the Moravians and of the Highlanders—Settlements at Darien, at Frederica, and at New Ebenezer—Progress of Colonization—Beacon on Tybee Island—Francis Moore's description of Savannah.

DESIRING to obtain a personal acquaintance with the southern boundary of Georgia, and to ascertain its capabilities for defense against the Spaniards, Mr. Oglethorpe, on the morning of the 23d of January, 1734, accompanied by Captain Ferguson and sixteen attendants—among whom were two Indian guides—set out in a large row-boat on a tour of observation. He was followed by a yawl laden with provisions and ammunition. It was during this reconnoissance that he selected those sites which were subsequently peopled and known as Frederica and New Inverness.

The funds hitherto collected by the trustees had been well nigh ex-

¹ See *History of Georgia*. C. C. Jones, Jr., vol. i., chap. x. Boston. 1883.

hausted by expenditures in behalf of the colonization when their treasury was handsomely replenished through the munificence of the general government. Of the moneys realized from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher, the sum of ten thousand pounds was, in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Commons adopted on motion of Sir Charles Turner, paid over to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, to be by them applied "towards defraying the charges of carrying over and settling foreign and other Protestants in said colony." This timely relief enabled the trustees to accomplish a purpose from the execution of which they had been prevented by a want of money. Rightly had they, in the administration of the trust, given a preference to English Protestants desirous of seeking homes in the New World. Now, however, they were justified in enlarging the scope of their charity because the resolution, in obedience to which this liberal benefaction was made, contemplated in terms the colonization of foreign Protestants.

The trustees were thus enabled to equip and send out the colony of Saltzburgers which, in March, 1734, reached Savannah. These pious, industrious, and honest emigrants, under the conduct of Baron Philip George Frederick Von Reck, and accompanied by their religious teachers—the Rev. John Martin Bolzius, and Israel Christian Gronau—were full of joy as their ships cast anchor "in fine, calm weather, under the shore of our beloved Georgia, where we heard the birds sing melodiously." The inhabitants of Savannah united in extending a hearty welcome. "They fired off some cannons, and cried Huzzah! which was answered by our Sailors and other English People in our ship in the same manner. Some of us were immediately fetch'd on Shore in a Boat, and carried about the City, into the woods, and the new Garden belonging to the Trustees. In the meantime a very good Dinner was prepared for us and the Saltzburgers, . . . when they came on shore, got very good and wholesome English strong Beer." After this fashion does Mr. Commissary Von Reck¹ chronicle the arrival of these colonists. He adds that the inhabitants "shewed them a great deal of Kindness; and the Country pleasing them, they were full of Joy and praised God for it."

¹ Extract of the *Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck*, etc., p. 132. London. 1734.

Of the town of Savannah the Baron favors us with the following impressions:

“I went to view this rising Town, *Savannah*, seated upon the Banks of a River of the same Name. The Town is regularly laid out, divided into four Wards, in each of which is left a spacious Square for holding of Markets and other publick Uses. The Streets are all straight, and the Houses are all of the same Model and Dimensions, and well contrived for Conveniency. For the Time it has been built it is very populous, and its Inhabitants are all White People. And indeed the Blessing of God seems to have gone along with this Undertaking; for here we see Industry honored and Justice strictly executed, and Luxury and Idleness banished from this happy Place where Plenty and Brotherly Love seem to make their Abode, and where the good Order of a Nightly Watch restrains the Disorderly and makes the Inhabitants sleep secure in the midst of a Wilderness. There is laid out near the Town, by Order of the Trustees, a Garden for making Experiments for the Improving Botany and Agriculture; it contains 10 Acres and lies upon the River; and it is cleared and brought into such Order that there is already a fine Nursery of Oranges, Olives, white Mulberries, Figs, Peaches, and many curious Herbs: besides which there are Cabbages, Peas, and other European Pulse and Plants which all thrive. Within the Garden there is an artificial Hill, said by the Indians to be raised over the Body of one of their ancient Emperors. I had like to have forgot one of the best Regulations made by the Trustees for the Government of the Town of *Savannah*. I mean the utter Prohibition of the Use of Rum, that flattering but deceitful Liquor which has been found equally pernicious to the Natives and new Comers, which seldom fails by Sickness or Death to draw after it its own Punishment.”

Having assigned a location to the Saltzburgers, about four miles below the present town of Springfield in Effingham county and assisted them in establishing a settlement there, Mr. Oglethorpe, after an absence of some fifteen months, resolved to visit England that he might in person submit a full report of the progress of the colonization, and enlist public sympathy even more strongly in behalf of the benevolent scheme. The pine-covered bluff at Yamacraw had been already transmuted into a town, regularly laid out, and containing forty completed houses and

many others in process of construction. A battery of cannon and a palisade proclaimed its capabilities for self-protection. An organized town court was open for the enforcement of rights and the redress of wrongs. From a tall flagstaff floated the royal colors, and a substantial crane on the bluff facilitated the unburthening of vessels in the river below. A public garden and private farms evidenced the thrift of the community, and gave promise of a liberal harvest. An ample storehouse sheltered supplies against a season of want. This little mother town—miniature metropolis of the province—had already sent out her sons; some of them to dwell along the line of the Savannah, others to watch by the Ogeechee, others to build homes upon the islands and guard the approaches from the sea, others to warn the mariner as he entered the mouth of the Savannah, and others still to convert the neighboring forests into pleasant fields. Planters, too, at their own charge, and bringing articulated servants with them, were already seeking out and subduing fertile tracts. Thus the colony enlarged its domains and multiplied its settlements.

During his contemplated absence the general conduct of the affairs of the town and plantation was entrusted to Thomas Causton, the trustees', store-keeper, and a bailiff. In cases of doubt and difficulty he was to take counsel of Mr. James St. Julian, of South Carolina, and of Mr. Francis Scott, gentleman, of Georgia.

Rightly judging that the advantage and security of the province would be materially promoted by taking with him some of the most intelligent of his Indian neighbors, in order that they might, by personal observation, acquire a definite conception of the greatness and the resources of the British Empire, and, moved by the kindnesses and attentions which he was quite sure would be extended to them on every hand while in England, bring back with them memories which would surely tend to cement the alliances and perpetuate the amicable relations which had been so auspiciously inaugurated, Mr. Oglethorpe invited Tomo-chi-chi and some of the leading members of his tribe to accompany him on his intended visit. The old mico gladly accepted the invitation, and resolved to take with him his wife Scenawki and Toonahowi, his adopted son and nephew. Hillispilli, the war chief of the Lower Creeks, four other chiefs of that nation, to wit, Apakowtski, Stimalchi, Sintouchi, and Hinguithi, and Umphichi, a Uchee chief from Palachocolas, with their

attendants and an interpreter, constituted the retinue. Leaving Savannah they reached Charleston on the 27th of March, and sailed from that port for England on board his majesty's ship *Aldborough* on the 7th of April, 1734. After a voyage of seventy days that vessel arrived safely at St. Helens in the Isle of Wight.

Upon his return to Savannah on the 27th of December, 1734, Tomo-chi-chi¹ freely imparted to his tribe, and to the Creek nation, the impressions he had formed, during his recent visit, of the power of the British Empire, of the magnificence of London, and of the marked courtesies, kindness, and hospitality with which he and his companions had everywhere been entertained during their sojourn in England. He exhorted them to continue in friendship with their neighbors—the colonists—and to observe the obligations of existing treaties. The beautiful and novel presents which he and his companions brought home with them were accepted as proofs, most potent, of the liberality of the English, and evoked the admiration of the natives. This visit of Tomo-chi-chi and his companions, and the interest awakened by their personal presence in London, materially assisted Mr. Oglethorpe and the trustees in enlisting the renewed and earnest sympathy of the public, and in securing substantial aid not only for the colonists, but also for the education of the natives and their instruction in religious knowledge. Widely disseminated among the Indian nations was the report of this sojourn of the mico of the Yamacraws in the home of the white men. Grateful were the Creeks for the kindness and consideration extended to one of their race. The beneficial results flowing from, and the sentiments of good will engendered by this visit tended most decidedly to perpetuate the amicable relations existing between the races, and to confirm the security of Savannah.

While in England Mr. Oglethorpe resumed his seat in Parliament and was instrumental in procuring the passage of two bills for the conjectured benefit of Georgia. One of these was an act to prohibit the importation and sale of rum, brandy, and other distilled liquors within the limits of that province.

In August, 1733, several persons had died at Savannah, as was sug-

¹ For an account of his visit to London see *History of Georgia*, vol. i, pp. 175-186. C. C. Jones, jr. Boston. 1883.

gested, from the too free use of rum. Mr. Oglethorpe so notified the common council, and the members of that body, on the 21st of the following November, "Resolved that the drinking of rum in Georgia be absolutely prohibited, and that all which shall be brought there be staved." Although the founder of the colony endeavored to enforce the observance of this regulation, traders from Carolina supplied both the settlers and the Indians with smuggled spirits, which, as was alleged, "produced disease among the former, and disorderly conduct on the part of some of the latter." In South Carolina no prohibition existed, and the importation of rum, both from New England and the West Indies, was constant and heavy. Upon the moderate use of English beer and the wines of Maderia the Georgia authorities placed no restriction. With these the trustees' store at Savannah was regularly supplied, and the magistrates there were empowered to grant licenses for retailing beer both of foreign manufacture and of home brewing.

The other act forbade the introduction of slavery, and was entitled "An act for rendering the Province of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the importation of black slaves or negroes into the same."

If suffered to rely upon the aid of negroes, the trustees feared that the colonists would fail to acquire "habits of labour, industry, economy, and thrift by personal application." Both these statutes received royal sanction. In commenting upon this legislation Burke sagely remarked that while these regulations and restrictions were designed to bring about wholesome results, they were promulgated without a sufficient appreciation of the nature of the country and the disposition of the people to be affected by them. Long and earnestly did many of the colonists petition for the removal of these prohibitions, which placed the province at a disadvantage when its privileges were contrasted with those of sister settlements, and, beyond doubt, so far at least as the employment of slave labor was concerned, retarded its development.

During Mr. Oglethorpe's absence the charge of the colony devolved upon Thomas Causton, storekeeper and chief bailiff, assisted by the other bailiffs and by the recorder of Savannah. He was cautioned by the trustees to keep them fully advised of everything of moment which transpired within the province; to have a care that no one traded with the Indians without special license; to draw all bills for account of the colony

upon the trustees at thirty days' sight; to see to it that the sick and indigent, incapable of supporting themselves, and orphans of an age so tender that they could not be articulated as apprentices, should, as occasion required, be assisted at the expense of the trust; to have the glebe land in Savannah inclosed by a substantial fence; to be zealous in the rigid enforcement of the laws against tippling; to lose no opportunity in encouraging the people to fence and cultivate their lands, as, upon the products thence derived, depended their subsistence; to forward an estimate of the cost of constructing a church in Savannah, of brick or timber, sixty feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty feet high within; to promote settlements on Vernon River; to favor "the setting up of Brew-Houses," thus leading the people away from the use of distilled liquors; to allow the Saltzburger another year's full allowance from the public store; to urge on to completion the lighthouse which was being built on Tybee Island; and to compel the town court in Savannah to hold a session once in every six weeks for the trial of civil causes, and to convene for the disposal of criminal cases as often as occasion demanded. No fees were to be exacted by officers issuing warrants.

The encouragement extended by the trustees and the board of trade to the production of raw silk in Georgia was not without some palpable results. From time to time samples were received. In May, 1735, the trustees, accompanied by Sir Thomas Lombe, exhibited a specimen to the queen, who desired that it should be wrought into a fabric. This was done, and her majesty was so much pleased with the manufactured silk that she ordered it to be made up into a costume in which she appeared at court on her birthday.¹

In 1735 the Moravians, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Gottlieb Spangenberg, and under the patronage of Count Zinzendorf, arrived in Georgia and settled along the line of the Savannah River between the Saltzburger and the town of Savannah. Soon after came the Highlanders from Inverness, with their pastor, the Rev. John McLeod. Transported on periaguas to the southward, and ascending the Alatomaha River to a point on its left bank some sixteen miles above the island of St. Simon, they there landed, erected a fort, mounted four pieces of cannon, builded a guard-house, a store, a chapel, and cabins for temporary occupancy,

¹ *Political State of Great Britain*, vol. i., pp. 242, 469.

and formed a permanent settlement which they named New Inverness. These Scotts were a brave, hardy race, just the men to occupy this advanced post. In their plaids, and with their broadswords and firearms they presented "a most manly appearance." The districts which they were to hold and cultivate they called Darien.

Previous to their departure from Savannah some Carolinans endeavored to dissuade them from going to the South by telling them that the Spaniards, from their houses in their forts, would shoot them upon the spot selected by the trustees for their future home. Nothing daunted, these doughty countrymen of Bruce and Wallace responded: "Why then we will beat them out of their fort, and shall have houses built ready to live in."¹

This valiant spirit found subsequent expression in the efficient military service rendered by these Highlanders during the wars between the colonists and the Spaniards, and by their descendants in the American Revolution. To John Moore McIntosh, Captain Hugh Mackay, Ensign Charles Mackay, Colonel John McIntosh, General Lachlan McIntosh, and their gallant comrades and followers, Georgia, both as a colony and a State, owes a large debt of gratitude. This settlement was subsequently augmented from time to time by fresh arrivals from Scotland. Although located in a malarial region, it maintained its integrity, and increased in wealth and influence. Its men were prompt and efficient in arms, and when the war cloud descended upon the Southern confines of the province no defenders were more alert or capable than those found in the ranks of these Highlanders.

At an early date a passable road, located by Captain Hugh Mackay, was constructed to connect New Inverness with Savannah. For the preliminary survey Indian guides were furnished by Tomo-chi-chi. This route constitutes to this day the highway leading from Savannah to Darien.

Then followed in quick succession the return of Mr. Oglethorpe to Georgia, accompanied by the brothers John and Charles Wesley, the Rev. Mr. Ingham, and two hundred and two colonists conveyed on the Trust's account in the *Symond* and the *London Merchant*, having on board large quantities of provisions, small arms, cannon, ammunition,

¹ See letter of Mr. Oglethorpe to the trustees, under date February 27, 1735.

agricultural tools and articles for domestic use, conveyed by H. M. sloop of war *Hawk*, commanded by Captain Gascoigne—the transfer of these emigrants to the South, and their location at Frederica, on St. Simon's Island, destined soon to become the Thermopylæ of the Lower Anglo-American colonies—the reinforcement of the Moravian settlement—the change of residence by the Salzburgers from their pine barren home to "Red Bluff," near the Savannah River, surrounded by a territory gently undulating and covered with a fine growth of forest trees—the jasmine, the woodbine, and the beautiful azulea adding to the attractions of the picturesque scene—the establishment of a town at Augusta—the composition of certain disagreements which had arisen between some of the colonists and their Indian neighbors—and the erection of a lighthouse on the upper end of Tybee Island designed for the guidance of vessels entering the Savannah River. This beacon was to be twenty-five feet square at the base, ninety feet high, and ten feet each way at the top. It was to be constructed of "the best pine, strongly timber'd, raised upon Cedar Piles, and Brick-work round the Bottom." When finished it would prove of "great service to all shipping, not only to those bound to this port,¹ but also to Carolina for the land of all the Coast for some hundred miles is so alike, being all low and woody, that a distinguishing Mark is of great consequence."² To Mr. Oglethorpe's surprise and annoyance unpardonable delay had occurred, during his absence, in the erection of this important structure. Blythman, the carpenter in charge, had neglected his work, and his assistants had been idle, addicted to drink, and disobedient. Rum was so cheap in Carolina that at this isolated point they found no difficulty in supplying themselves with it. A day's pay would purchase liquor sufficient to keep a workman drunk for a week. Mr. Oglethorpe reformed matters, and appointed "Mr. Vanderplank to see that the work advanced according to the agreement; and not to pay but proportionably to what should be done."

To Mr. Francis Moore—appointed by the trustees keeper of the stores—are we indebted for the following account of the little metropolis of Georgia.

"Savannah is about a mile and a quarter in Circumference; it stands

¹ Savannah.

² *Moore's Voyage to Georgia*, p. 18. London. 1744.

upon the flat of a Hill; the Bank of the River (which they in barbarous *English* call a Bluff) is steep, and about 45 Foot perpendicular, so that all heavy Goods are brought up by a Crane, an Inconvenience designed to be remedied by a bridged Wharf, and an easy Ascent, which in laying out the Town, care was taken to allow room for, there being a very wide Strand between the first Row of Houses and the River. From this Strand there is a very pleasant prospect; you see the River wash the Foot of the Hill which is a hard, clear, sandy Beach a mile in Length; the Water is fresh, and River 1000 Foot wide. Eastward you see the River increased by the Northern Branch which runs round *Hutchinson's Island*, and the *Carolina* Shore beyond it, and the *Woody Islands* at the Sea, which close the Prospect at 10 or 12 Miles Distance. Over against it is *Hutchinson's Island*, great part of which is open Ground, where they mow Hay for the Trust's Horses and Cattle. The rest is Woods, in which there are many Bay-trees 80 Foot high. Westward you see the River winding between the Woods, with little Islands in it for many Miles, and *Toma-chi-chi's Indian* Town standing upon the Southern Banks, between 3 and 4 Miles distance.

“The town of *Savannah* is built of Wood; all the Houses of the first 40 Freeholders are of the same size with that Mr. *Oglethorpe* lives in, but there are great Numbers built since, I believe 100 or 150, many of these are much larger, some of 2 or 3 Stories high, the Boards plained and painted. The Houses stand on large Lotts, 60 Foot in Front, by 90 Foot in Depth; each Lott has a fore and back Street to it; the Lotts are fenced in with split Pales; some few People have Pallisades of turned Wood before their Doors, but the Generality have been wise enough not to throw away their Money which, in this Country, laid out in Husbandry, is capable of great improvements, though there are several People of good Substance in the Town who came at their own Expence, and also, several of those who came over on the Charity, are in a very thriving way; but this is observed that the most substantial People are the most frugal, and make the least Shew, and live at the least Expence. There are some also who have made but little or bad Use of the Benefits they received, idling away their Times, whilst they had their Provisions from the publick Store, or else working for Hire, earning from 2 Shillings, the Price of a Labourer, to 4 or 5 Shillings, the Price of a Carpenter, *per diem*,

and spending that Money in Rum and good Living, thereby neglecting to improve their Lands, so that when their Time of receiving their Provisions from the Publick ceased, they were in no Forwardness to maintain themselves out of their own Lands. As they chose to be Hirelings when they might have improved for themselves, the Consequence of that Folly forces them now to work for their daily Bread. These are generally discontented with the Country; and if they have run themselves in Debt, their Creditors will not let them go away till they have paid. Considering the Number of People there are but very few of these. The Industrious ones have throve beyond Expectation; most of them that have been there three Years, and many others, have Houses in the Town, which those that Let have, for the worst, £10 *per annum*, and the best let for £30.

“Those who have cleared their 5 Acre Lotts have made a very great Profit out of them by Greens, Roots, and Corn. Several have improv'd the Cattle they had at first, and have now 5 or 6 tam: Cows; others, who to save the Trouble of Feeding them, let them go into the Woods, can rarely find them, and when they are brought up, one of them will not give half the quantity of Milk which another Cow fed near Home will give.

“Their Houses are built at a pretty large Distance from one another for fear of Fire; the Streets are very wide, and there are great Squares left at proper Distances for Markets and other Conveniences. Near the Riverside there is a Guard-house inclosed with Palisades a Foot thick, where there are 19 or 20 Cannons mounted, and a continual Guard kept by the Free-holders. This Town is governed by 3 Bailiffs, and has a Recorder, Register, and a Town Court which is holden every six weeks, where all Matters Civil and Criminal are decided by grand and petty Juries as in *England*; but there are no Lawyers allowed to plead for Hire, nor no Attornies to take Money, but (as in old times in *England*) every man pleads his own Cause. In case it should be an Orphan, or one that cannot speak for themselves, there are Persons of the best Substance in the Town appointed by the Trustees to take care of the Orphans, and to defend the Helpless, and that without Fee or Reward, it being a Service that each that is capable must perform in his turn.

“They have some Laws and Customs peculiar to Georgia; one is

that all Brandies and distilled Liquors are prohibited under severe Penalties; another is that no Slavery is allowed, nor Negroes; a Third, that all Persons who go among the *Indians* must give Security for their good Behaviour; because the *Indians*, if any Injury is done to them and they cannot kill the man who does it, expect Satisfaction from the Government, which, if not procured, they break out into War by killing the first white Man they conveniently can.

“No Victualler or Ale-house Keeper can give any Credit, so consequently cannot recover any Debt.

“The Free-holds are all entailed which has been very fortunate for the Place. If People could have sold, the greatest part, before they knew the Value of their Lotts, would have parted with them for a trifling Condition, and there were not wanting rich Men who employed Agents to Monopolize the whole Town: And if they had got Numbers of Lotts into their own Hands, the other Free holders would have had no Benefit by lettin^g their Houses, and hardly of Trade, since the Rich, by means of a large Capital, would underlet and undersell, and the Town must have been almost without Inhabitants as *Port Royal* in *Carolina* is, by the best Lotts being got into a few Hands.

“The mentioning the *Laws* and *Customs* leads me to take notice that *Georgia* is founded upon Maxims different from those on which other Colonies have been begun. The Intention of that Colony was an *Asylum* to receive the distressed. This was the charitable Design, and the governmental View besides that was with Numbers of free white People, well settled, to strengthen the southern Part of the *English* Settlements on the Continent of *America*, of which this is the Frontier. It is necessary therefore not to permit Slaves in such a Country, for Slaves starve the poor Labourer. For, if the Gentleman can have his Work done by a Slave who is a Carpenter or a Bricklayer, the Carpenters or Bricklayers of that country must starve for want of Employment, and so of other Trades.

“In order to maintain many People it was proper that the Land should be divided into small Portions, and to prevent the uniting them by Marriage or Purchase. For every Time that two Lotts are united, the Town loses a Family, and the Inconvenience of this shews itself at *Savannah*, notwithstanding the Care of the Trustees to prevent it. They suffered

the Moiety of the Lotts to descend to the Widows during their Lives: Those who remarried to Men who had Lotts of their own, by uniting two Lotts made one to be neglected; for the strength of Hands who could take care of one, was not sufficient to look and improve two. These un-cleared Lotts are a Nuisance to their neighbors. The Trees which grow upon them shade the Lotts, the Beasts take shelter in them, and for want of clearing the Brooks which pass thro' them, the Lands above are often prejudiced by Floods. To prevent all these Inconveniences the first Regulation of the Trustees was a strict *Agrarian* Law, by which all the Lands near Towns should be divided, 50 Acres to each Free-holder. The Quantity of Land by Experience seems rather too much, since it is impossible that one poor Family can tend so much Land. If this Allotment is too much, how much more inconvenient would the uniting of two be? To prevent it, the Trustees grant the Lands in Tail Male, that on the expiring of a Male-Line they may regrant it to such Man, having no other Lott, as shall be married to the next Female Heir of the Deceased, as is of good Character. This manner of Dividing prevents also the Sale of Lands, and the Rich thereby monopolizing the Country.

“Each Freeholder has a Lott in Town 60 Foot by 90 Foot, besides which he has a Lott, beyond the Common, of 5 Acres for a Garden. Every ten Houses make a Tything, and to every Tything there is a Mile Square, which is divided into 12 Lotts, besides Roads; Each Freeholdes of the Tything has a Lott or Farm of 45 Acres there, and two Lotts are reserved by the Trustees in order to defray the Charge of the Publick. The Town is laid out for two hundred and forty Freeholds; the Quantity of Lands necessary for that Number is 24 Square Miles; every 40 Houses in Town make a Ward to which 4 Square Miles in the Country belong; each Ward has a Constable, and under him 4 Tything Men. Where the Town-Lands end, the Villages begin; four Villages make a Ward without, which depends upon one of the Wards within the Town. The use of this is, in case a War should happen that the Villages without may have Places in the Town, to bring their Cattle and Families into for Refuge, and to that Purpose there is a Square left in every Ward big enough for the Out-Wards to encamp in. There is Ground also kept round about the Town ungranted, in order for the Fortifications whenever Occasion shall require. Beyond the Villages commence Lotts of

500 Acres; these are granted upon Terms of keeping 10 Servants, etc. Several Gentlemen who have settled on such Grants have succeeded very well, and have been of great Service to the Colony. Above the Town is a Parcel of Land called *Indian Lands*; these are those reserved by King Toma-chi-chi for his People. There is near the Town to the East, a Garden belonging to the Trustees, consisting of 10 Acres; the situation is delightful, one half of it is upon the Top of a Hill, the Foot of which the River *Savannah* washes, and from it you see the *Woody Islands* in the Sea. The Remainder of the Garden is the Side and some plain low Ground at the Foot of the Hill where several fine Springs break out. In the Garden is variety of Soils; the top is sandy and dry, the Sides of the Hill are Clay, and the Bottom is a black rich Garden Mould, well watered. On the North-part of the Garden is left standing a Grove of Part of the old Wood as it was before the arrival of the Colony there. The Trees in the Grove are mostly Bay, Sassafras, Evergreen Oak, Pellitory, Hickary, *American Ash*, and the Laurel Tulip.¹ This last is looked upon as one of the most beautiful Trees in the World; it grows straight-bodied to 40 or 50 Foot high; the Bark smooth and whitish, the Top spreads regular like an Orange-tree in *English Gardens*, only larger; the Leaf is like that of common Laurel, but bigger, and the under-side of a greenish Brown: It blooms about the Month of *June*; the Flowers are white, fragrant like the Orange, and perfume all the Air around it; the Flower is round, 8 or 10 Inches diameter, thick like the Orange-Flower, and a little yellow near the Heart; As the Flowers drop, the Fruit, which is a Cone with red berries, succeeds them. There are also some Bay-trees that have Flowers like the Laurel, only less.

“The Garden is laid out with Cross-walks planted with Orange-trees, but the last Winter a good deal of Snow having fallen, had killed those upon the Top of the Hill down to their Roots, but they being cut down, sprouted again, as I saw when I returned to *Savannah*. In the Squares between the Walks were vast Quantities of Mulberry trees, this being a Nursery for all the Province, and every Planter that desires it, has young Trees given him *gratis* from this Nursery. These white Mulberry trees were planted in order to raise Silk, for which Purpose several *Italians* were brought, at the Trustees' Expence, from *Piedmont* by M^r

¹ *Magnolia grandiflora*, the queen of the Southern forests.

Amatis; they have fed Worms and wound Silk to as great Perfection as any that ever came out of *Italy*; but the *Italians* falling out, one of them stole away the Machines for winding, broke the Coppers, and spoiled all the Eggs which he could not steal, and fled to *South Carolina*. The others, who continued faithful, had saved but a few Eggs, when M^r Oglethorpe arrived; therefore he forbade any Silk should be wound, but that all the Worms should be suffered to eat through their Balls in order to have more Eggs against next Year. The Italian Women are obliged to take *English* Girls Apprentices, whom they teach to wind and feed; and the Men have taught our *English* Gardeners to tend the Mulberry-trees, and our Joyners have learned how to make the Machines for winding. As the Mulberry-trees increase, there will be a great Quantity of Silk made here.

“ Beside the Mulberry-trees there are in some of the Quarters in the coldest part of the Garden, all kinds of Fruit-trees usual in *England*, such as Apples, Pears, &c. In another Quarter are Olives, Figs, Vines, Pomegranates and such Fruits as are natural to the warmest Parts of *Europe*. At the bottom of the Hill, well-sheltered from the North-wind, and in the warmest part of the Garden, there was a Collection of *West-India* Plants and Trees, some Coffee, some Cocoa-Nuts, Cotton, Palma-Christi, and several *West India* physical Plants, some sent up by M^r *Eveliegh* a publick-spirited Merchant at Charles-Town, and some by D^r *Houstoun* from the Spanish West Indies, where he was sent at the Expence of a Collection raised by that curious Physician, Sir Hans Sloan, for to collect and send them to *Georgia* where the Climate was capable of making a Garden which might contain all kinds of Plants; to which Design his Grace the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Peters*, and the Apothecary's Company contributed very generously, as did Sir *Hans* himself.¹ The Quarrels among the *Italians* proved fatal to most of these Plants, and they were labouring to repair that loss when I was there, Mr. *Miller* being employ'd in the room of D^r *Houstoun* who died in *Jamaica*. We heard he had wrote an Account of his having obtain'd the Plant from whence the true *Balsamum Capivi* is drawn; and that he was in hopes

¹ On the 20th of February, 1734, the death of William Houstoun was reported to the trustees, whereupon, on the recommendation of Sir Hans Sloane, Robert Millar was appointed to succeed him as botanist to the Colony of *Georgia*, at a salary of £ 150 per annum.

of getting that from whence the *Jesuit's Bark* is taken, he designing for that Purpose to send to the *Spanish West Indies*.

"There is a plant of Bamboo Cane brought from the East Indies, and sent over by Mr. *Towers*, which thrives well. There was also some Tea seeds which came from the same Place; but the latter, though great Care was taken, did not grow.

"There were no publick Buildings in the Town, besides a Storehouse; for the Courts were held in a Hut 36 Foot long and 12 Foot wide, made of split Boards, and erected on M^r *Oglethorpe's* first Arrival in the Colony. In this Hut also Divine Service was perform'd; but upon his Arrival this time, M^r *Oglethorpe* ordered a House to be erected in the Upper Square, which might serve for a Court House and for Divine Service till a Church could be built, and a Work-house over against it; for as yet there was no Prison here."¹

CHAPTER VI.

THE BROTHERS JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY IN GEORGIA.

AFTER a short sojourn in Savannah, the Reverend Charles Wesley repaired to Frederica where he entered upon the discharge of his duties as private secretary to General Oglethorpe. It will be remembered that he also held from the trustees the commission of Secretary of Indian Affairs for the colony of Georgia.

Unfortunately, at an early date an estrangement ensued between the general and his secretary. In addition to his official duties, Mr. Wesley assumed the spiritual guidance of the inhabitants at Frederica. He was thus brought into personal contact and confidential relations with the entire population. Among the dwellers there were some whose reputations were not without reproach, and whose manner of life did not command the approbation of the young ecclesiastic who carried ever with him a standard of morality and religious excellence inculcated in the school

¹ Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, pp. 23-33. London. 1744.

of the divines, yet seldom realized in the walk and conversation of ordinary mortals. Youthful and inexperienced, confiding in his disposition, unsuspecting, and liable to be imposed upon by the designing and the unscrupulous, his sympathies were not infrequently warmly enlisted where the mature judgment of one better informed and not unacquainted with the wiles of his fellow-men, and women too, would have suggested caution and reflection. Fresh from the shades of scholastic life he was, without preparation, transplanted into the midst of a community heterogeneous in its character and, from the very nature of its composition and situation, largely insensible to the restraining influences of civilization. Deeply imbued with religious sentiments, and intent upon the execution of his evangelical mission, he regarded all the business of life as wholly subordinate to an observance of the rules of the church and the exhibition of Christian virtues. Wherever he detected a deviation from what he conceived to be the true path of rectitude he did not hesitate to rebuke the wanderer. Fastidious in his notions of right and wrong, with ample time and inclination to listen to the disagreements existent among the settlers, often misinformed as to the genuine merits of the quarrel, ignorant of the true mode of adjusting it, busying himself with matters which properly did not concern him, sometimes interfering where he should have stood aloof, and again espousing causes which, upon a narrower inspection, should not have enlisted his sympathies, in his efforts to promote peace and advance the Christianity of the community he signally failed, and drew down upon himself the ill-will of not a few.

Oglethorpe, on the other hand, burdened with the cares and the responsibilities of his station, commissioned to develop and guard the life of the colony, confronting engagements, exposures, and dangers enough to oppress the stoutest heart, and familiar with the management of men and weighty affairs, had no leisure for the exhibition of idle sentiment or the discussion of questions of casuistry. With trifling evils and imaginary wrongs he could not pause to deal.

These two men viewed the situation from standpoints widely different. Oglethorpe strove to fortify the hearts and the homes of his people so that they might constitute an insurmountable barrier to the threatened incursion of the Spaniards. While not indifferent to the social and

moral tone of Frederica, and while solicitous that religion should be upheld and the ordinances of the church supported, he was deeply engrossed in the building of houses, the construction of batteries, the accumulation of supplies, and the enforcement of police and military regulations. At this remote and exposed point he exacted and commanded prompt obedience from all. Clothed with the amplest powers to direct, his measures may at times have seemed to the clergyman, accustomed to question, arbitrary and perhaps dictatorial. The situation was novel, and the ecclesiastic brought no experience to assist him in learning the lesson of the hour.

As has been suggested, Mr. Wesley attempted the difficult task of reforming what he regarded as improprieties in the conduct of the inhabitants of Frederica, and of reconciling the petty jealousies and occasional disputes in which they indulged. The consequence was just what might reasonably have been anticipated. He failed in his object and incurred the enmity of both parties at variance. Many went so far as to form plans to rid the town of his presence. Complaints were lodged against him with General Oglethorpe, who, instead of discountenancing them and demanding for his secretary and clergyman the deference and respect due to his station, listened too readily to the charges preferred and suffered them to prejudice his mind against "the truly amiable, ingenuous, and kind-hearted minister." Failing to interpret leniently his well-meant but injudiciously conducted purposes, and omitting to caution him in a friendly way against the commission of acts prompted by inexperience and the lack of worldly wisdom, he treated him with disdain and neglect.

The apology suggested by Mr. Southey for this conduct on the part of Oglethorpe is, perhaps, the most plausible which can be offered. The general, who had causes enough to disquiet him, arising from the precarious state of the colony, was teased and soured by the complaints urged against Mr. Wesley, and regretted that he had not brought with him one possessing a calmer temper and a more practical turn of mind. "I know not how to account for his increasing coldness," writes Welsey in speaking of his intercourse with Oglethorpe. His accusers noted the change which had been produced by their insinuations, and taking advantage of it manifested more openly than before their animosity toward

the clergyman. His situation was now most unpleasant. His usefulness was gone. Little respect was extended by the inhabitants of Frederica. Even his personal safety was threatened. All friends, except Mr. Ingham, had seemingly deserted him. He was even charged by the general with mutiny and sedition, and with stirring up the people to desert the colony. This Wesley stoutly denied and demanded that he should be confronted face to face with his accusers. Upon further examination the grave suggestions proved to be unfounded. This Oglethorpe practically admitted, and yet outwardly declined to come to a reconciliation with his secretary, who still continued to wait upon him and to discharge the duties of his position.

Mr. Wesley was totally unprepared for the rough mode of life he experienced on the southern frontier. He had brought with him nothing save his clothes and books, and was mortified and incensed at the failure and neglect to supply him with necessary comforts. In the midst of his distresses he was seized with a fever which so unnerved him that he envied the quiet grave of a scout-boatman who had just died.

In an hour of calm reflection, becoming convinced of the injustice shown to Mr. Wesley, General Oglethorpe, then on the eve of setting out upon a dangerous expedition, sent for his secretary and thus addressed him: "You will soon see the reasons for my actions. I am now going to death. You will see me no more. Take this ring and carry it from me to Mr. V——. If there is a friend to be depended upon, he is one. His interest is next to Sir Robert's. Whatever you ask within his power he will do for you, your brother, and your family. I have expected death for some days. These letters show that the Spainards have long been seducing our allies, and intend to cut us off at a blow. I fall by my friends:—Gascoigne whom I have made, the Carolina people upon whom I depended to send their promised succors. But death is to me nothing. T—— will pursue all my designs, and to him I recommend them and you." "He then gave me," says Mr. Wesley, "a diamond ring. I took it and said 'If as I believe,

Postremum fato quod te alloquor, hoc est.

hear what you will quickly know to be true as soon as you are entered upon a separate state. This ring I shall never make any use of for myself. I have no worldly hopes. I have renounced the world. Life is

bitterness to me. I came hither to lay it down. You have been deceived as well as I. I protest my innocence of the crimes I am charged with, and take myself to be now at liberty to tell you what I thought I should never have uttered.' [Then follow in the MS. Journal some lines in cipher.] When I finished this relation he seemed entirely changed, and full of his old love and confidence in me. After some expressions of kindness, I asked him 'Are you satisfied?' He replied 'Yes, entirely.' 'Why then Sir, I desire nothing more upon earth, and care not how soon I follow you.' . . . He then embraced and kissed me with the most cordial affection.

I attended him to the scout-boat where he waited some minutes for his sword. They brought him first, and a second time, a mourning sword. At last they gave him his own which had been his father's. 'With this sword,' said he, 'I was never yet unsuccessful.' 'I hope, sir,' said I, 'you carry with you a better, even the sword of the Lord and of Gideon.' 'I hope so too,' he added. When the boat put off, I ran before into the woods to see my last of him. Seeing me and two others running after him, he stopped the boat and asked whether we wanted anything. Captain McIntosh, left commander, desired his last orders. I then said 'God be with you. Go forth, *Christo duce et auspice Christo.*' You have' says he, 'I think, some verses of mine. You there see my thoughts of of success.' His last words to his people were 'God bless you all.' The boat then carried him out of sight."¹

Thus came a rift in the angry skies through which the sunlight of mutual confidence and restored friendship descended to dispel the doubts and gladden the hearts of the general and his secretary.

Upon Oglethorpe's return Wesley met him at the bluff; and, in the evening, they walked together. The general then informed him of the dangers which had recently threatened the colony. Upon giving him back his ring Wesley remarked, "I need not, Sir, and indeed I can not tell you how joyfully and thankfully I return this." "When I gave it to you," responded Oglethorpe, "I never expected to receive it again, but thought it would be of service to your brother and you. I had many omens of my death, particularly their bringing me my mourning sword; but God has been pleased to preserve a life which was never valuable to me, and yet

¹ *Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley*, vol. i. p. p. 19, 20.

in the continuance of it, I thank God, I can rejoice." I am now glad," replied Wesley, "of all that has happened here, since without it I could never have had such a proof of your affection as that you gave me when you looked upon me as the most ungrateful of Villains." While Wesley was speaking, the general appeared full of tenderness toward him. He condemned himself for his late anger, which he imputed to want of time for consideration.

"The next day," continues Wesley, "I had some farther talk with him. He ordered me everything he could think I wanted, and promised to have a house built for me immediately. He was just the same to me he formerly had been." Finding that the secretary was restored to the general's favor, the people of Frederica became on the instant civil and courteous.

In May, 1736, Mr. Wesley took leave of the general, having been deputed by him to repair to Savannah and there grant licenses to the Indian traders. In alluding to this departure from Frederica he writes: "I was overjoyed at my deliverance out of this furnace, and a not a little ashamed at myself for being so." Persuaded that his days of usefulness in the colony were ended, and purposing a return to England, Mr. Wesley, in June, resigned his commission. In discussing this matter with him General Oglethorpe said: "I would you not let the trustees know your resolution of resigning. There are many hungry fellows ready to catch at the office; and, in my absence, I cannot put in one of my own choosing. The best I can hope for is an honest Presbyterian, as many of the Trustees are such. Perhaps they may send me a bad man, and how far such a one may influence the traders and obstruct the reception of the Gospel among the heathen, you know. I shall be in England before you leave it. Then you may either put in a deputy or resign."

Charged with dispatches from the general to the government, the trustees, and the board of trade, Wesley bade adieu to Savannah, and, after a tedious and dangerous voyage interrupted by a deviation to Boston, at which port the vessel, the *London Galley*, was compelled to put in for repairs and provisions, went ashore at Deal on the 3d of December. He had been accompanied to Charlestown, South Carolina, whence he sailed, by his brother John. At the time of his departure he was greatly enfeebled by a bloody flux and a fever.

It was his intention to return to Georgia; and with this object in view he retained his office until April, 1738. While then recovering from an attack of pleurisy he was notified to embark for the province. His physicians forbade him to undertake the journey. He accordingly renewed his resignation, but General Oglethorpe, "unwilling to loose so honest and faithful an officer," still urged him to retain his place, promising to supply it with a deputy until he was "sufficiently recovered to follow." This flattering invitation he felt constrained to decline. In the ensuing month his resignation was accepted, and his connection with the affairs of the colony terminated.

It is worthy of remembrance that the idea of founding and maintaining an orphan house in Georgia was first suggested to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield by the Rev. Charles Wesley.

Upon his arrival in Georgia the Rev. John Wesley, then unknown to fame, but at a later period regarded as the "greatest figure that has appeared in the religious world since the Reformation," accompanied by his friend Delamotte, became a resident of Savannah. Although commissioned as a spiritual adviser to the inhabitants of that town, he preferred to announce and to regard himself rather as a missionary to the Indians than as a minister to the colonists. Chafing under the confinement incident to the discharge of his clerical duties in Savannah, he declared, "I never promised to stay here one month. I openly stated, both before and ever since my coming hither, that I neither would nor could take charge of the English any longer than till I could go among the Indians." His ambition was to convert the heathen. With Tomochi-chi he had an interview on the 14th of February, 1736. The mico assured him that although the Indians were perplexed by the French on the one hand, by the Spaniards on the other, and by traders in their midst, and that while their ears were now shut and their tongues divided, he would call his chiefs together and persuade the wise men of his nation to hear the Great Word. He cautioned the missionary against making Christians after the fashion in which they were manufactured by the Spaniards, and counseled instruction before baptism. Well did he understand that, for the time being, the presentation of a string of beads or of a silver cross would suffice to seduce the native from the primitive faith in which he had been reared, but in such conversion he reposed no

confidence. The conduct of white Christians impressed him unfavorably. Nevertheless he was willing to afford the missionary every facility for the prosecution of his contemplated labors, and by influence and example to induce others to hearken to his teachings. There lurked, however, in the breast of the mico a grave doubt as to the success of the mission. Mr. Wesley's reply,¹ while perhaps just in the abstract, was little calculated to win the confidence or encourage the sympathy of the chief; "There is but one:—He that sitteth in Heaven,—who is able to teach man wisdom. Tho' we are come so far, we know not whether He will please to teach you by us or no. If He teaches you, you will learn Wisdom, but we can do nothing."

On another occasion, when urged by Mr. Wesley to hearken to the doctrines of Christianity and become a convert, the old man scornfully responded: "Why these are Christians at Savannah! Those are Christians at Frederica! Christians drunk! Christians beat men! Christians tell lies! Me no Christian."

Upon the termination of a public audience with the Indians, Mr. Wesley and Tomo-chi-chi dined with Mr. Oglethorpe. The meal concluded, the clergyman asked the aged mico "what he thought he was made for." "He that is above," replied the Indian, "knows what He made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much, and yet white men build great houses as if they were to live forever. But white men cannot live forever. In a little time white men will be dust as well as I." Wesley responded, "If red men will learn the Good Book they may know as much as white men. But neither we nor you can understand that Book unless we are taught by Him that is above; and He will not teach unless you avoid what you already know is not good." "I believe that," said the chief. "He will not teach us while our hearts are not white, and our men do what they know is not good. Therefore, He that is above does not send us the Good Book." In these sentiments of the native we recognize a strange commingling of satire, irony, and candor, which indicated strength in an apparent confession of weakness, evinced knowledge by an admission of ignorance, and pointed the self-satisfied clergyman to the contemplation of that stern decree which levels both small and great, wise and foolish, civilized and

¹ An Extract of the *Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, etc., p. 11. Bristol, n. d.

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¹ An Extract of the *Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, etc., p. 11. Bristol, n. d.

savage, remanding the mightiest as well as the lowliest to one common grave.

In Spence's "Anecdotes"¹ we are informed that in a conversation between General Oglethorpe and Tomo-chi-chi in regard to prayer, the latter said the Indians never prayed to God but left it with Him to do what He thought best for them: "that the asking for any particular blessing looked to him like directing God; and, if so, that it must be a very wicked thing. That for his part he thought everything that happened in the world was as it should be; that God of Himself would do for every one what was consistent with the good of the whole; and that our duty to him was to be content with whatever happened in general, and thankful for all the good that happened in particular."

In this conviction the Indian was not singular. Apollonius frequently asserted that the only supplication which ought to be offered by worshippers in the temples of the gods was: "O gods! grant us those things which you deem most conducive to our well-being." Socrates, that oracle of human wisdom, because the gods who were accustomed to bestow favors were best able to select such gifts as were most fit, warned his disciples against the danger and impropriety of offering petitions for specific things. The prayer, "O Jupiter, ea quæ bona sunt nobis orantibus, aut non orantibus tribue; quæ vero mala, etiam orantibus ne concede," has been more than once in the school of the philosophers commended as most appropriate. In that wonderful satire in which Juvenal, by apt examples, portrays the ruinous consequences which have ensued where the gods complied with the expressed desires of men, it will be remembered that in answer to the inquiry,

"Nil ergo optabunt homines?"

he responds,—

. . . "Si consilium vis,
Permites ipsis expendere numinibus quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nobis."²

Epicurus believed that invocations, prayers, and sacrifices were superfluous; that in all the accidents and difficulties of life there was no propriety in having recourse to the gods, or in prostrating ourselves before

¹ London edition of 1820, p. 318.

² Tenth Satire, line 346 *et seq.*

their altars ; but that we ought, in perfect tranquility, to contemplate all the vicissitudes of life, and, without emotion, confront the changing fortunes which might befall us.

“ On Tuesday, the 20th day of July,” says Mr. Wesley in his Journal, “ five of the Chicasaw Indians (twenty of whom had been in Savannah several days) came to see us, with Mr. Andrews, their interpreter. They were all warriors ;—four of them Head-men. The two chiefs were Paustoobee and Mingo Mattaw. Our conference was as follows :

“ *Q.* Do you believe there is One above who is over all things ?

Paustoobee answered : “ We believe there are four Beloved Things above ; the Clouds, the Sun, the Clear Sky, and He that lives in the Clear Sky.

“ *Q.* Do you believe there is but One that lives in the Clear Sky ?

“ *A.* We believe there are two with him,—three in all.

“ *Q.* Do you think He made the Sun and the other Beloved Things ?

“ *A.* We cannot tell. Who hath seen ?

“ *Q.* Do you think he made you ?

“ *A.* We think He made all men at first.

“ *Q.* How did he make them at first ?

“ *A.* Out of the ground.

“ *Q.* Do you believe He loves you ?

“ *A.* I don't know. I cannot see him.

“ *Q.* But has He not often saved your life ?

“ *A.* He has. Many bullets have gone on this side and many on that side, but he would not let them hurt me. And many bullets have gone into these young Men, and yet they are alive.

“ *Q.* Then, can't He save you from your enemies now ?

“ *A.* Yes ; but we know not if He will. We have now so many enemies round about us that I think of nothing but death. And if I am to die, I shall die, and I will die like a man. But if He will have me to live, I shall live. Tho' I had ever so many enemies, he can destroy them all.

“ *Q.* How do you know that ?

“ *A.* From what I have seen, When our enemies came against us before, then the Beloved Clouds came for us. And often much rain and sometimes hail has come upon them, and that in a very hot day. And

I saw when many French and Choctaws and other nations came against one of our towns. And the ground made a noise under them, and the Beloved Ones in the air behind them. And they were afraid and went away, and left their meat and drink and their guns. I tell no lie. All these saw it, too.

“ Q. Have you heard such noises at other times ?

“ A. Yes, often ; before and after almost every battle.

“ Q. What sort of Noises were they ?

“ A. Like the noise of drums and guns and shouting.

“ Q. Have you heard any such lately ?

“ A. Yes, four days after our last battle with the French.

“ Q. Then you heard nothing before it ?

“ A. The night before I dream'd I heard many drums up there, and many trumpets there, and much stamping of feet and shouting. Till then I thought we should all die. But then I thought the Beloved Ones were come to help us. And the next day I heard above a hundred guns go off before the fight begun. And I said when the Sun is there the Beloved Ones will help us, and we shall conquer our Enemies. And we did so.

“ Q. Do you often think and talk of the Beloved Ones ?

“ A. We think of them always, wherever we are. We talk of them and to them, at home and abroad, in peace, in war, before and after we fight, and indeed whenever and wherever we meet together.

“ Q. Where do you think your souls go after death ?

“ A. We believe the Souls of Red Men walk up and down near the place where they died, or where their bodies lie. For we have often heard cries and noises near the place where any prisoners had been burnt.

“ Q. Where do the Souls of White Men go after death ?

“ A. We can't tell. We have not seen.

“ Q. Our belief is that the souls of bad men only walk up and down : but the souls of good men go up.

“ A. I believe so too. But I told you the talk of the nation.

“ (*Mr. Andrews.* They said at the burying¹ they knew what you were

¹ Some days previously a young woman had been buried in Savannah, and these Indians were present at the funeral.

doing. You were speaking to the Beloved Ones above to take up the soul of the young woman.)

"Q. We have a Book that tells us many things of the Beloved One above. Would you be glad to know them?

"A. We have no time now but to fight. If we should ever be at peace we should be glad to know.

Q. Do you expect ever to know what the White Men know?

"(Mr. Andrews. They told Mr. O. they believe the time will come when the Red and the White Men will be one.)

"Q. What do the French teach you?

"A. The French Black-Kings¹ never go out. We see you go about. We like that. That is good.

"Q. How came your nation by the knowledge they have?

"A. As soon as ever the Ground was found and fit to stand upon, it came to us, and has been with us ever since. But we are young men. Our old men know more. But all of them do not know. There are but a few whom the Beloved One chuses from a child, and is in them, and takes care of them, and teaches them. They know these things: and our old men practice: therefore they know: But I don't practice. Therefore I know little."²

So far as we can ascertain, further conferences between Mr. Wesley and the Indians were infrequent and unaccompanied by any valuable results. Ignorant of their language, and unable to command an interpreter through whom the mysteries of his faith might be intelligently communicated, Mr. Wesley found his cherished scheme for the conversion of the Indians impracticable. He was forced to abandon it and to devote himself to clerical labors among the Europeans.

His first impressions of Savannah were happy. Writing to his mother he says, "The place is pleasant beyond imagination, and by all I can learn, exceeding healthful even in Summer for those who are not intemperate." He desires that some of the poor and religious persons of Epworth and Wroote would come over to him. Although his parishioners

¹ Priests.

² An Extract of the *Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, pp. 26-28. Bristol, n. d.

numbered some seven hundred,¹ there being no church edifice, religious services were held in the court-house. His scholarly attainments, earnest manner, and well-considered discourses at first attracted the favorable notice of the community. So popular was he then as a preacher that, a public ball and religious exercises being announced for the same hour, "the church was full, while the ball-room was so empty that the entertainment could not go forward."

Contrasting his agreeable surroundings with the trials which his brother Charles was experiencing at Frederica, he exclaims, "How different are the ways wherein we are led; yet I hope toward the same end. I have hitherto had no opposition at all; all is smooth and fair and promising. Many seem to be awakened; all are full of respect and commendation. We cannot see any cloud gathering; but this calm cannot last; storms must come hither too; and let them come when we are ready to meet them."

His friend Delamotte had organized a school of between thirty and forty children whom he taught to "read, write, and cast accounts." Every Saturday afternoon, and on the Lord's day before the evening service, Mr. Wesley catechised these pupils. Thus was inaugurated the first Sunday-school in the province of Georgia.

As many of his parishioners as desired to do so met at his house after the evening service, and also on every Wednesday afternoon to "spend about an hour in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortation." This was the earliest series of prayer-meetings held in the colony; and here, in the modest and scantily furnished reception room of the parsonage in Savannah, was cradled the Methodist Episcopal Church, destined to become one of the most potent societies among the Protestant denominations of the world.²

¹ In July, 1737, Mr. Wesley took a census of Savannah by going from house to house, and computed the number of inhabitants at 518, of whom 149 were under sixteen years of age. The rest of his parishioners dwelt in the neighborhood of the town.

² Mr. Wesley thus interprets the rise of Methodism: "The first rise of Methodism was in 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford. The second was at Savannah in 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at my house. The last was at London on this day, May 1st, 1738, when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together every Wednesday Evening."

With the Moravian bishop, Nitschman, he associated on terms of the closest and tenderest intimacy. Truly did he admire his simple faith, unostentatious piety, his quiet demeanor, his stern integrity, his irreproachable character. It was most agreeable to him to commune with the members of that sect and to minister to them in seasons of sickness and distress. His clerical engagements at Savannah were occasionally interrupted by visits to Frederica. There he found "so little either of the form or power of religion" that he expresses his joy in being "removed from it."

Despite his earnestness and regularity in the discharge of his priestly ministrations, his labors ceased to be crowned with the success which at the outset of his career waited upon them, and he clearly perceived that his popularity both as a preacher and as a spiritual adviser was manifestly on the wane. Persuaded that his whole heart was in his work, he was at a loss to account for these distressing indications, which daily grew more decided.

Observing much coolness in the behavior of one who had professed friendship for him, Mr. Wesley demanded the reason, and was answered on this wise: "I like nothing you do; all your sermons are satires upon particular persons. Therefore I will never hear you more: and all the people are of my mind, for we won't hear ourselves abused. Besides, they say they are Protestants, but as for you they can't tell what religion you are of. They never heard of such a religion before. They do not know what to make of it. And then your private behavior: all the quarrels that have been here since you came have been long of you. Indeed there is neither man nor woman in the town who minds a word you say; and so you may preach long enough, but nobody will come to hear you."

Many took offense at his rigid adherence to the custom of baptism by immersion. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper he would admit no Dissenter to the Communion unless he consented to be re-baptized. He insisted upon dividing the public prayers "according to the original appointment of the Church;" beginning the morning prayers at five, the litany, Communion office, and sermon at eleven, and the evening service at three. He was also charged with a design to establish auricular confession as a prerequisite to admission to the privileges of the Holy Com-

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munion. Forgetting the injunctions of the Rev. Dr. Burton, so excessive was his zeal in the advocacy of favorite doctrinal views and in the denunciation of evil, that he moulded his discourses so that they became caustic satires not only upon the condition of affairs but upon the conduct of individuals. His rebukes and corrections were pungently administered alike in private and in public. He was on all occasions a *censor morum*, and his criticisms were passed equally upon magistrate, citizen, and church member. Instead of drawing men by the cords of love, he alienated them by his denunciations and applied strictures. In the language of another, he "drenched them with the physic of an intolerant discipline." Overstepping the limits which should be observed at all times by a clergyman, he busied himself with the quarrels and complaints of the town, and in open court counseled the inhabitants to oppose the magistrates in the execution of justice.¹

Such unusual conduct angered the people, and gradually they discontinued their attendance upon divine worship. Wesley lost the power which he at first exerted over the consciences of the populace. He alienated the affections of his hearers, and in the end became convinced that he was accomplishing little in the service of his Master. Not long afterwards, in reviewing this period of his life, so unsatisfactory in its efforts and so replete with trials and disappointments, he freely confessed that he who went to America to convert others was then himself unconverted to God;² that all the time he was in Savannah he was "beating the air," "fighting continually but not conquering," and failing to appreciate the loving kindness of the Lord.

He who at subsequent period

"Filled the earth with golden fruit,
With ripe millennial love,"

was the prolific cause of unrest, and almost an object of hatred in the community.

Meanwhile Mr. Wesley enjoyed wonderful health. His constitution seemed to improve under hardships and labors which would have impaired the stoutest physical powers. Of the three hundred acres set

¹ Stephen's *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. i., p. 15. London. MDCCXLII.

² Extract of the *Journal of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley*, p. 73. Bristol, n. d.

apart in Savannah for glebe land, he cut off what he deemed sufficient for a good garden, and there he frequently worked with his own hands. He ate moderately, slept little, and left not a moment of his time unemployed. To the changing seasons, and in all kinds of weather, he exposed himself with the utmost indifference. His journeys into South Carolina were sometimes performed on foot, and with no shelter at night save the friendly boughs of a tree. His energy, resolution, self-denial, and endurance were at all times conspicuous.

The circumstances which brought the usefulness and services of Mr. Wesley as a clergyman in Savannah to an abrupt and a notorious conclusion may be thus briefly narrated. With Mr. Causton, the chief bailiff and keeper of the public stores, and with the members of his family, the missionary associated on friendly terms. Miss Sophia Hopkins, a niece of Mrs. Causton, and a young woman of uncommon personal and intellectual charms, had been his pupil. He gave her French lessons. Under his religious ministrations she became a professed convert and united herself with the church. It would appear that this constant association with a pretty, fascinating maiden eventually excited tender emotions in the breast of the youthful and susceptible ecclesiastic. He was evidently on the eve of declaring his affection when his friend, Mr. Delamotte, excited his apprehensions by expressing doubts in regard to the sincerity of Miss Hopkin's religious convictions. He also cautioned him against cherishing or avowing too fond an attachment for her. Taking counsel of the Moravian elders, they advised him not to contemplate a matrimonial alliance with her. Thus admonished, Mr. Wesley became more guarded in his conduct and more reserved in his intercourse. Perceiving the change in his deportment, Miss Hopkins was piqued, mortified, and angered. Something closely resembling a rupture ensued; and, not long afterwards, this charming and coquettish young lady gave her hand to a Mr. Williamson.

A few months subsequent to her marriage Mr. Wesley "observed some things which he thought reprobable in her behavior." He mentioned them to her. "At this," writes that clergyman in his Journal, "She appeared extremely angry and said she did not expect such usage from me." The next day Mrs. Causton made excuses for her niece, and expressed much regret at what had transpired.

Having after the lapse of a few weeks, "repelled Mrs. Williamson from the Holy Communion," Mr. Wesley was arrested under the following warrant issued by the recorder:

"GEORGIA. SAVANNAH. S. S.

"To all Constables, Tythingmen, and others whom these may concern :

"You and each of you are hereby required to take the body of John Wesley, Clerk : and bring him before one of the Bailiffs of the said Town to answer the complaint of William Williamson and Sophia his wife, for defaming the said Sophia, and refusing to administer to her the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in a publick Congregation without cause, by which the said William Williamson is damaged One Thousand Pounds Sterling. And for so doing this is your Warrant, certifying what you are to do in the premises.

"Given under my hand and seal the 8th day of Aug: Anno. Dom : 1737.

TH^o CHRISTIE."

By Jones, the constable, he was carried before the recorder and bailiff Parker. Williamson was there. To the charge that he had defamed his wife, Mr. Wesley entered a prompt and emphatic denial. As to the other allegation, he answered that "the giving or refusing the Lord's Supper being a matter purely ecclesiastical," he would not acknowledge any power in the magistrate to interrogate him in regard to it. Mr. Parker informed him that he must appear before the next court to be holden for Savannah. Mr. Williamson then said, "Gentlemen, I desire Mr. Wesley may give bail for his appearance." But Mr. Parker immediately refused the application, with the remark, "Sir, Mr. Wesley's word is sufficient."

Causton required that the reasons which induced Mr. Wesley to repel Mrs. Williamson from the Holy Communion should be assigned in open court. To this demand the clergyman declined to accede. On the second day after the arrest Mr. Causton visited Mr. Wesley at his house, and after some sharp words said, "Make an end of this matter. Thou hadst best. My Niece to be used thus! I have drawn the sword and I will never sheath it till I have satisfaction." "Soon after," so runs Mr. Wesley's diary, "he added, 'Give the reasons of your repelling her before the whole congregation.' I answered, 'Sir, if you insist upon it I will, and so you may be pleased to tell her.' He said 'write to her and tell her so yourself.' I said, 'I will,' and after he went I wrote as follows :

“TO MRS. SOPHIA WILLIAMSON.

“At Mr. Causton’s request I write once more. The Rules whereby I proceed are these :

“So many as intend to be Partakers of the Holy Communion shall signify their names to the Curate at least some time the day before. This you did not do.

“And if any of these — have done any wrong to his Neighbors, by word or deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended, the Curate shall advertise him that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord’s Table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented. If you offer yourself at the Lord’s Table on Sunday, I will advertise you (as I have done more than once) wherein you have done wrong. And when you have openly declared yourself to have truly repented, I will administer to you the Mysteries of God.

JOHN WESLEY.

“Aug. 11, 1737.

“Mr. Delamotte carrying this Mr. Causton remarked, among other warm sayings, ‘I am the person that am injured. The affront is offered to me, and I will espouse the cause of my Niece. I am ill-used, and I will have satisfaction if it is to be had in the world.’

“Which way this satisfaction was to be had, I did not yet conceive. But on Friday and Saturday it began to appear; Mr. Causton declaring to many persons that Mr. Wesley had repelled Sophy from the Holy Communion purely out of revenge, because he had made proposals of marriage to her which she rejected and married Mr. Williamson.”

Having thoroughly espoused the cause of his niece, Mr. Causton set about stirring up the public mind and endeavored to create a general sentiment adverse to Mr. Wesley. He even busied himself with the selection of jurors whose sympathies were in unison with his own. Persuaded by him, Mrs. Williamson made an affidavit, full of insinuations, in which she asserted “that Mr. Wesley had many times proposed marriage to her, all which proposals she had rejected.”

When the grand jury was impaneled, it was manifest that Causton had much to do with its composition. Forty-four members were present, and among them Wesley noted one Frenchman, who did not understand the English language, a Papist, a professed infidel, three Baptists, sixteen or seventeen Dissenters, and several persons who had quarreled with him and openly vowed revenge.

The court being organized on Monday the 22d, Mr. Causton delivered a long and earnest charge, in which he cautioned the jurymen "to beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new and illegal authority which was usurped over their consciences." The chief bailiff, uncle by marriage to the complainant, was playing the double role of judge and prosecuting attorney. Mrs. Williamson's affidavit having been read, Causton delivered to the grand jury a paper entitled "A List of Grievances presented by the Grand Jury for Savannah, this — day of Aug., 1737." It had evidently been prepared under his direction, and was designed to mould in advance the finding of that body. After holding this document under advisement for more than a week, and after the examination of sundry witnesses, the jury on the 1st of September returned that paper into court. As modified by a majority, it read as follows:

"That John Wesley, Clerk, hath broken the Laws of the Realm, contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity:

"1. By speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson against her husband's consent;

"2. By repelling her from the Holy Communion;

"3. By not declaring his Adherence to the Church of England;

"4. By dividing the Morning Service on Sundays;

"5. By refusing to baptize Mr. Parker's child otherwise than by dipping, except the parents would certify it was weak and not able to bear it;

"6. By Repelling Wm. Gough from the Holy Communion;

"7. By refusing to read the Burial-service over the body of Nathaniel Polhill;

"8. By calling himself Ordinary of Savannah;

"9. By refusing to receive Wm. Aglionby as a God-father only because he was not a communicant;

"10. By refusing Jacob Matthews for the same reason, and baptizing an Indian Trader's Child with only two sponsors."

Nine of these charges being purely ecclesiastical in their character, Mr. Wesley insisted that the present court could take no cognizance of them. As to the rest of the indictment he pleaded not guilty and demanded an immediate trial. Again and again did he press for a hearing, which was denied upon some frivolous pretext or other, such, for exam-

ple, as that "Mr. Williamson was gone out of town." So malevolent was the spirit moving the parties preferring these charges against Mr. Wesley that with a view to damaging his clerical reputation far and near they caused the indictment found by a majority of the grand jury to be published in various newspapers in America.

Mr. Wesley had openly avowed a desire to answer directly to the trustees. Twelve of the jurors, three of them being constables and six tithing-men, who would constitute a majority had that body been properly constituted of four constables and eleven tithing-men, signed the following document which was transmitted in due course :

"To the Honorable the Trustees for Georgia.

"Whereas two Presentments have been made, the one of August 23rd, the other of August 31st, by the Grand Jury for the Town and County of Savannah in Georgia, against John Wesley, Clerk :

"We, whose names are underwritten, being Members of the said Grand Jury, do humbly beg leave to signify our dislike of the said Presentments, being by many and divers circumstances thro'ly persuaded in ourselves that the whole charge against Mr. Wesley is an artifice of Mr. Causton's, design'd rather to blacken the character of Mr. Wesley than to free the Colony from Religious Tyranny as he was pleased in his charge to us to term it. But as these circumstances will be too tedious to trouble your Honors with, we shall only beg leave to give the Reasons of our Dissent from the particular Bills.

"With regard to the First Bill we do not apprehend that Mr. Wesley acted against any laws by writing or speaking to Mrs. Williamson, since it does not appear to us that the said Mr. Wesley has either spoke in private or wrote to the said Mrs. Williamson since March 12 [the day of her marriage] except one letter of July the 5th, which he wrote at the request of her aunt, as a Pastor, to exhort and reprove her.

"The Second we do not apprehend to be a true Bill because we humbly conceive Mr. Wesley did not assume to himself any authority contrary to Law: for we understand every person intending to communicate should 'signify his name to the Curate at least some time the day before,' which Mrs. Williamson did not do: altho' Mr. Wesley had often, in full congregation, declared he did insist on a compliance with that Rubrick, and had before repell'd divers person for non-compliance therewith.

“The Third we do not think a True Bill because several of us have been his hearers when he has declared his adherence to the Church of England in a stronger manner than by a formal Declaration; by explaining and defending the Apostles’, the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds, the Thirty Nine Articles, the whole Book of Common Prayer, and the Homilies of the said Church: and because we think a formal Declaration is not required but from those who have receiv’d Institution and Induction.

“The Fact alleged in the Fourth Bill we cannot apprehend to be contrary to any law in being.

“The Fifth we do not think a true Bill, because we conceive Mr. Wesley is justified by the Rubrick, viz: ‘If they (the Parents) certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it’: intimating (as we humbly suppose) it shall not suffice if they do not certify.

“The Sixth cannot be a true Bill because the said William Gough, being one of our members, was surprized to hear himself named without his knowledge or privity, and did publickly declare ‘It was no grievance to him, because the said John Wesley had given him reasons with which he was satisfied.’

“The Seventh we do not apprehend to be a true Bill, for Nathaniel Polhill was an Anabaptist, and desir’d in his life-time that he might not be interr’d with the Office of the Church of England. And further, we have good reason to believe that Mr. Wesley was at Frederica, or on his return thence, when Polhill was buried.

“As to the Eighth Bill we are in doubt, as not well knowing the meaning of the word Ordinary. But, for the Ninth and Tenth we think Mr. Wesley is sufficiently justified by the Canons of the Church which forbid any person to be admitted Godfather or Godmother to any child before the said person has received the Holy Communion; whereas William Aglionby and Jacob Matthews had never certified Mr. Wesley that they had received it.”

Perceiving that he could obtain neither justice nor even a hearing from the town court in Savannah, persuaded that there was no possibility of instructing the Indians, being under no engagement to remain a day longer in Savannah than he found it convenient, and believing that his ministry would prove more acceptable in England than in Georgia, he consulted his friends as to the propriety of his returning home. They agreed that it was best for him to do so, but not at that time.



A. R. Sawton

On the 3d of November he again appeared in court, and also on the 22d of that month. On the last occasion Mr. Causton exhibited to him sundry affidavits filed in his case, all of which Wesley pronounced false and malicious. No trial was, on either date, accorded to him. Upon conferring a second time with his friends they were of the opinion that he might now set out immediately for England. The next evening he called upon Mr. Causton and acquainted him with his purpose to leave the colony at an early day. He also put up in the public square the following notice: "Whereas John Wesley designs shortly to set out for England, this is to desire those who have borrowed any books of him to return them, as soon as they conveniently can, to John Wesley."

There was nothing concealed about this determination; and he quietly, and with the full knowledge of the community, prepared for his journey. On the 2d of December, the tide serving about noon, he proposed to bid farewell to Savannah and start for Charlestown, whence he was to sail for England. "But about ten," says Mr. Wesley, "the Magistrates sent for me and told me I must not go out of the Province, for I had not answer'd the Allegations laid against me. I replied I have appeared at six or seven Courts successively in order to answer them, but I was not suffer'd to do so when I desired it time after time. They then said, however, I must not go unless I would give security to answer those allegations at their Court. I asked, what security? After consulting together about two hours the Recorder shew'd me a kind of bond, engaging me, under a penalty of fifty pounds, to appear at their Court when I should be required. He added, But Mr. Williamson too has desired of us that you should give bail to answer his action. I then told him plainly, Sir, you use me very ill, and so you do the Trustees. I will give neither any bond nor any bail at all. You know your business and I know mine.

"In the afternoon the Magistrates publish'd an Order requiring all the Officers and Centinels to prevent my going out of the Province, and forbidding any person to assist me in doing so. Being now only a prisoner at large in a place where I knew by experience every day would give fresh opportunities to procure evidence of words I never said and actions I never did, I saw clearly the hour was come for leaving this place: and, as soon as Evening Prayers were over, about eight o'clock,

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the tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my feet and left Georgia after having preached the Gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able) one year and nearly nine months."¹

Stephens² informs us that Mr. Wesley was accompanied on this occasion by three obnoxious characters: Coates a busybody, a mischief-maker, and heavily indebted both to the trust and to the citizens of Savannah; Gough, an idle fellow, impudent in his behavior, leaving behind him many unpaid obligations, and a wife and child whom he more frequently beat than fed; and Campbell, a barber, an insignificant, loose fellow, fit for any leader who would make a tool of him.

Landing at Purrysburgh the next morning, Mr. Wesley and his companions pursued their journey on foot to Beaufort, whence he proceeded by boat to Charlestown. Taking passage on board the *Samuel*, Captain Percy, he departed from America on the 24th of December, 1737, never more to revisit the scene of his early labors, conflicts, trials and disappointments.

We make no apology for having dwelt at this length upon the incidents connected with the life and ministrations in Georgia "of a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness [to borrow the language of Lord Macaulay] might have made him eminent in literature, whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu, and who, whatever his errors may have been, devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered as the highest good of his species."

Whatever shadows and doubts gathered about him in the morning of his ministerial career were all quickly dispelled by the glorious beams of the Sun of Righteousness. Then, in the plenitude of intellectual and moral power, he proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation to the nations, gathering about him tens of thousands, founding a sect of strong virtue and stern religious sentiment, and closing one of the most remarkable lives in English history with the triumphant cry, "The best of all is, God is with us. He giveth his servants rest. We thank Thee, O Lord! for these and all Thy mercies. Bless the Church and King, and grant us truth and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord forever and ever. The

¹ Extract of the *Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, etc., 55, 56. Bristol, n. d.

² *Journal of Proceedings*, etc., vol. i., pp. 45-47. London. MDCCXLII.

clouds drop fatness. The Lord is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge. Farewell."

CHAPTER VII.

Causton's Defalcation—Depressed Financial Condition of the Province—Industries of the Colonists at Savannah—Composition of Disagreements with the South Carolina Indian Traders, and with the Creeks—Petition from the Bailiffs and Inhabitants of Savannah for an Enlargement of Land Tenures, and for the Introduction of Negro Slaves—Opposition on the Part of General Oglethorpe—Malcontents at Savannah.

HAVING fortified the southern boundary of the province, and provided for its defense against the anticipated assaults of the Spainards as far as the means at command would allow, Mr. Oglethorpe resolved to make a second visit to England in the interest of the plantation. The finances of the trust were again in a depressed condition, and he had found it necessary to draw largely upon his private fortune and to pledge his individual credit in provisioning the settlers and conducting such operations as were necessary for the security of the province. The defalcation of Thomas Causton, the first magistrate of Savannah and the keeper of the public stores, added much to his embarrassment. Alarmed at the unexpected increase in the number of certified accounts, and perplexed at the manifest irregularities in the execution of the important trust committed to his keeping, the common council, on the 7th of June, 1738, "sealed the removal" of Mr. Thomas Causton from his office of first bailiff in Savannah, and appointed Mr. Henry Parker in his room. In forwarding these documents to Oglethorpe they desired him to use, or to refrain from using them in compliance with the suggestions contained in their letter of the 2d inst. They further insisted that Causton should be arrested in any event, and that his books and papers should be secured. To those books and papers access was to be accorded him so that he might enjoy ample opportunity for making up his accounts from Lady Day, 1734, to date. All the trustees' effects were to be promptly withdrawn from his possession; and during the period consumed in making out his accounts and neces-

sary for their careful examination when submitted, he was to be retained in safe custody or placed "upon sufficient security." Mr. Thomas Jones was designated as the proper party to make an examination and submit a full report. Copies of all accounts and of Mr. Jones's report upon them, accompanied by Mr. Oglethorpe's opinion, were to be forwarded to the trustees at the earliest practicable moment. Until further instructions Causton was not to be sent to England, but was to be detained in safe custody or under bond.

Fortified with these documents, and acting under these orders, Oglethorpe proceeded at once to their proper execution. Ignorant of what was in store for him, Causton, with a bold front, appeared at the head of the magistrates to welcome the general on his arrival from Frederica. He was accompanied by others, participants in his peculations, who, having reason to dread an investigation into their conduct during the general's absence, joined in public salutations, hoping thereby to conciliate his favor. He was soon informed that the grand jury in Savannah had prepared a presentation of the "grievances, hardships, and necessities" of the inhabitants, in which they complained bitterly of the misconduct of Mr. Causton, alleging that he had expended much larger sums than were authorized by the trustees, that he had brought the colony into debt, that he had exceeded his powers, that he was arbitrary and oppressive in the discharge of his official duties, and that he was partial in the distribution of the public stores. It was suggested by not a few that as the commercial agent of the trustees and the keeper of the public stores he had utilized his position for his own advancement and the benefit of special friends. It was believed that the funds of the trustees had been by him appropriated to the improvement of his plantation at Ockstead, where he and his family resided in comfort and plenty beyond the reach of his neighbors. That he was arrogant in his behavior, that he had rendered the other magistrates subservient to his will, that he had played the part of a petty tyrant in the community, and that he ruled the people through their necessities, taking advantage of their daily wants and making these the means of keeping them in subjection to his pleasure, could not be doubted. It was evident also that he had perverted the due administration of the law, and had sedulously suppressed from the knowledge of the trustees many just complaints preferred by the colonists at Savannah.

After a patient examination into the condition of affairs, which established on the part of Causton a woeful mismanagement of the trust funds sent for the support of the province, General Oglethorpe on the 17th of October "called all the Inhabitants together at the Town-House, and there made a pathetic Speech to them, setting forth how deeply the Trust was become indebted by Mr. Causton's having run into so great Exceedings beyond what they had ordered, which Debts the Trust had nothing left at present to discharge besides what Goods and Effects they had in the Store, which must in a great Measure be applied to those Purposes, especially first to all such as the Stores were owing anything to, by which Means there would be a Necessity of retrenching the ordinary Issues that something might remain for the necessary Support of Life among the industrious People who were not to be blamed. This had such an Effect that many People appeared thunder-struck, knowing not where it would end; neither could the most knowing determine it."¹

The next day Causton was dismissed from office and required to deliver into the hands of Mr. Thomas Jones all books, papers, and accounts connected with the public stores. General Oglethorpe also demanded of him bond, with ample security, to appear and answer any charges which might be preferred against him. It being impossible to procure in Savannah bondsmen of means sufficient to respond to the sums in which Causton would probably be found indebted to the trust, General Oglethorpe was content with Causton's individual bond, coupled with an "assignment of all his improvements at Ockstead or elsewhere."

After weeks and months consumed in the examination, Mr. Jones informed Mr. Stephens "that after so much Time spent about making up Mr. Causton's Accounts, there was so little Progress made in it that he could hardly say it was begun; so many Intricacies appeared more and more every Day, such Inconsistencies, many Things wrongly charged, abundance omitted which ought to have been brought to Account, and several Day-books said to be lost (which he could not believe but were concealed), that the Rate they went on he defied any Man living to adjust it; and for his Part he was quite tired looking into such Confusion which he was confident was by Art and Cunning made inextricable; insomuch that he was positive the Balances, formerly made, were framed at

¹ Stephens's *Journal of Proceedings*, etc., vol. i, p. 305. London. MDCCXLII.

Will and sent to the Trustees so ; for unless he (Mr. Causton) kept copies of them distinctly, it was impossible for him to make out the same from the Books now before him."

On the other hand Mr. Causton complained of the treatment he received at Mr. Jones's hands, and protested against being called a villain and a knave. He declared he had served the trust well, and was prepared to defend his character from all aspersions.¹

It being impracticable to adjust these accounts in Savannah, Causton was ordered to London, where he appeared before the common council. Failing there to produce proper vouchers, he was permitted to depart for Georgia, where he stated he would be able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of the trustees. Sailing for Savannah he died at sea,² and, in the bosom of the ocean, found rest from all his troubles.

The vacancy caused by the deposition of Causton was filled by the appointment of Colonel William Stephens, who was then in Savannah occupying the position of secretary of the trustees in the province of Georgia.

The mismanagement in the disbursement of the funds and supplies which had been sent over for the support of the colony and the depleted condition of the trustees' treasury rendered a retrenchment of the ordinary issues most imperative.

In a letter written by General Oglethorpe on the 19th of October, 1738, and addressed to the trustees, after alluding to the careless manner in which Causton had "trifled away the public money" and squandered the resources of the colony, he discloses the alarming fact that the scout-boatmen, rangers, and others upon whose active service and watchfulness the province relied for protection, were unpaid and actually starving. "When I told them," says the general, "the Trustees' circumstances, their affection was so great that they offered to serve on until the Trustees' affairs mended ; I thanked them but reduced the Rangers since I could not feed them with hopes of what I could not make good. The Scout Boats I have for this month paid out of my own money, since they are absolutely necessary, and I will not charge the Trustees with new debts.

" There is a worse circumstance than any above, viz.: the Industrious

¹ Stephens's *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. i., pp. 362, 406. London. MDCCXLII.

² Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 222. New York. MDCCCXLII.

Poor People, who have saved something by frugality, have lodged their little all in the Store, hoping to have provisions from thence in their Necessity ; and now if the Store cannot pay they must perish for want ; the like misery must befall all the Trustees' servants as well as many of the inhabitants whom sickness and misfortunes have prevented from having a crop this year. . . .

"I can see nothing but destruction to the Colony unless some assistance be immediately sent us. I support things for a while by some money I have in my hands, and the rest I supply with my own money, for I will not incur Debts nor draw Bills upon you. . . .

"If this (I know not what name to give it) had not happened, the Colony had overcome all its difficulties and had been in a flourishing condition."

He advises the trustees that the Italians are pleased with their new home, and that Camuse and the members of his family had wound some silk as fine as that made in Georgia during the past year. The mulberry trees in the public garden were again growing luxuriantly, and promised a foliage which would soon subsist "a great quantity of worms." Clay had been found from which a potter was manufacturing excellent ware. Several yokes of oxen and several carts with horses were employed by the inhabitants of Savannah. The trustees' saw-mill was turning out seven hundred feet of boards *per diem*; and, if managed properly, would "bring an income." The idle people had run away and "a spirit of industry seemed to be stirring." He hopes with his own money to "make shift to support the most valuable part of the people."

"I have already expended a great deal," writes this noble and generous man, "and, as far as the income of my estate and employments for this year will go, I shall sooner lay it out in supporting the Colony (till I can hear from you) than in any other diversion."

After payment of outstanding debts, he estimates £5,000 as the lowest sum practicable for carrying on the civil concerns of the colony, "if any success is to be expected in the production of wine and silk, and a form of government is to be maintained."

Existing orders for the erection of churches and the cultivation of lands for religious uses, both in Savannah and Frederica, could not be obeyed unless the requisite funds were supplied.

Recurring to the Causton defalcation, he concludes as follows: "I examined him to know what could be the meaning that he dare to exceed so excessively your Orders, thereby plunging the Colony into its present difficulties. He answered that he made no expenses but what necessity forced him to, and that he could prove that necessity. He entered into several particulars; That the Multitude forced him to build a Fort for fear of the Spainards; That the charge of Saltzburghers and other charges were not provided for in the Establishment sent over by the Trustees; That he received the Establishment too late to comply with it. He did not pretend to justify himself in not sending over the Balance of his accompts. His negligence to bring his Acco^{ts} to a Balance half yearly, or every year at least, has been the occasion of the melancholy situation he has put us in. Some things he alleged that had weight. That the prices of Provisions were treble to what they were at my first arrival here, from whence we calculated the Estimate. That the Spanish Alarms obliged him to comply with the humour of the people here, for which reason he was forced to give any prices to Sloops to bring down provisions to the Colony. He said farther that he had not been guilty of any fraud, nor converted any of the Trustees' money to his own use. He at first seemed pretty stubborn, but upon a second examination he was more submissive. When I was about to comit him he pleaded that it was not usual here to comit Freeholders for any but Capital Crimes. That Watson, who was accused of killing a man and had been found guilty by a jury, was bail'd upon his own Recognizance. That he submitted to the Trustees, and that all he had acquired in his six years' service, and that all he had in the world, was laid out in improvements on his Lot in the Colony, and that he would give all as security to abide and justify his acco^{ts}. He has accordingly given security. He has delivered the Stores, Books, &c., unto Mr. Jones according to your appointment. I have not been able to enter into the rest of the affairs of the Colony. The Saltzburghers thrive and so do the people at Hampstead and Highgate. There are abundance of Good Houses built in this Town. I desire to know in what manner you would have me proceed in Causton's affair."¹

¹ *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii., pp. 57-62. Savannah 1873. Compare *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739, pp. 22, 23.

This defalcation of Causton, and his prodigal waste of the moneys and stores of the trust committed to his keeping, brought the plantation to the verge of ruin. Appalled at the situation, not a few of the colonists seriously contemplated abandoning the province and seeking subsistence in Carolina. Sensible of the hardships they would be called upon to endure before ample relief could be afforded, the general did not undertake to dissuade any, who were so minded, from attempting to better their fortunes elsewhere. Upon reflection, however, they concluded to remain; trusting to favoring seasons and the good disposition of the trustees to repair at the earliest moment the losses which had been so unexpectedly and causelessly entailed.

But for the immediate and generous aid extended by Oglethorpe, but for the magnetism of his presence and example, but for his just administration of affairs, his encouraging words, and his charitable deeds, the effect produced upon the colonists in Savannah by this crisis in their affairs would have proved most disastrous. This is not the only occasion upon which, as the sequel will show, the founder of Georgia proved himself also her savior.

With a certain matter threatening an interruption of the friendly relations existing between Georgia and South Carolina Mr. Oglethorpe was much annoyed. Augusta being conveniently located for commerce with the Indian nations, some Carolina traders were induced to open stores at that place. Land carriage proving tedious and expensive they resolved to transport their goods by water from Charlestown. As the boats were passing Savannah, the magistrates, mindful of the law prohibiting the introduction of distilled liquors into the province, and regarding the Savannah flowing between Hutchinson's Island and Yamacraw Bluff as a part of Georgia, ordered them to be stopped and searched. A considerable quantity of rum was found on board. The casks containing it were staved, and the persons in charge of the boats were arrested and confined. At this proceeding the Carolinans were greatly incensed, and demanded of the Georgia magistrates "by what authority they presumed to seize and destroy the effects of their traders, or to compel them to submit to their code of laws." Apprehending that they had acted precipitately, and that they had perhaps transcended their powers, the authorities at Savannah made immediate concessions to the deputies from Carolina.

The confined were set at liberty, and the goods destroyed were returned as far as practicable in kind; the Carolinians engaging on their part to smuggle no more strong liquors within the limits of Georgia.¹

The matter, however, did not end here, but was eventually brought to the notice of the Board of Trade. After examining into the facts and hearing argument, the commissioners concluded that while the navigation of Savannah was open alike to the inhabitants of both colonies, and while it was incumbent upon the Georgians to render the Carolinians all friendly assistance in their power, it was not lawful for Carolina traders to introduce ardent spirits among the settlers in Georgia.

Another difficulty arose in the following manner: A Salzburger had indiscreetly cleared and planted four acres of land beyond the boundary of Ebenezer, thus encroaching upon the reserved territory of the Uchees. Other Salzburgers permitted their cattle to stray away and eat up the growing corn of those Indians at a point some twenty miles above that village. But what vexed the Uchees most, as we are informed by Oglethorpe, was that some people from Carolina swam a great herd of cattle over the Savannah, and, bringing negroes with them, formed a plantation near the Uchee town. Taking advantage of the irritation of the Indians, Captain Green advised them to fall upon the Salzburgers, and to declare war against the English. So soon as he was informed of these occurrences, Mr. Oglethorpe compelled the Carolinians to recross the Savannah with their negroes and cattle, and ordered the Salzburgers to confine themselves and their cattle within the limits which had been prescribed for their occupancy.

Instead of taking Green's advice, the Uchees sent their king and twenty warriors to Mr. Oglethorpe to thank him for having redressed their wrongs even before they had requested him to do so. Such conduct on his part, they added, made them love him; and that so far from entering upon a war against the English they were now ready to "help them against the Spaniards." They also offered Oglethorpe the services of one hundred warriors for a year if he should require their aid.²

It was during this second visit to England that Mr. Oglethorpe was

¹ *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 48. London. MDCCLXXIX.

² See letter of Oglethorpe to the trustees, *Colonial Documents*, vol. i., p. 31.

advanced to the grade of colonel. He was soon afterwards complimented with the position of "General and Commander-in-Chief of all and singular the forces employed and to be employed in the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia in America." He returned to the plantation bringing with him a large accession both of colonists and of supplies.

Busied with the military affairs of the southern part of the province, and personally supervising the conduct of his regiment, General Oglethorpe found it necessary to spend most of his time on St. Simon's Island and in that vicinity. The government of Savannah was consequently largely entrusted to the bailiffs.

The impoverished condition of the province, the scarcity of supplies, Causton's defalcation, the spasmodic and unsatisfactory nature of the agricultural operations near Savannah, the enervating character of the climate, the disappointments which had been experienced in the effort to compass a comfortable support and accumulate wealth, the departure of not a few colonists, who, crossing the river, sought better fortunes in South Carolina where lands were granted in fee and the ownership of slaves was permitted by law, and the ruinous outlook, coupled with much dissatisfaction and lack of industry on the part of some of the settlers, induced the magistrates to unite with the freeholders dwelling in Savannah and its vicinity in a petition to the trustees in which, after expressing their disappointment that the hopes held out to them in England of pleasant and profitable homes in Georgia had not been realized; after asserting that their best exertions in tilling the soil had failed to procure sufficient provisions and the means requisite for purchasing clothing and medicines; after declaring that, in the absence of cheap slave labor, they were unable to compete successfully with their neighbors in Carolina; after expressing the conviction that the cultivation of silk and wine could never be made remunerative so long as white servants only were employed; after assuring the trustees that commerce languished because, not being possessed of the fee in their lands and improvements, they were incapable of offering them as security to merchants in procurement of goods as was frequently done in other English provinces; after alluding to the numbers who had left the plantation because of the precarious land titles existent therein, and the small accessions which had of late been made to the population of the province; and after referring to other causes

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which retarded the progress of the settlement, they invoked serious and immediate consideration by the trustees of the "two following chief causes of their misfortunes:"

"First. The Want of a free Title or Fee Simple to our Lands, which, if granted, would both occasion great Numbers of new Settlers to come amongst us, and likewise encourage those who remain here chearfully to proceed in making further Improvements, as well to retrieve their sunk Fortunes, as to make Provision for their Posterity.

"Second. The Want of the Use of Negroes with proper Limitations, which, if granted, would both induce great Numbers of White People to come here, and also render us capable to subsist ourselves by raising provisions on our Lands until we could make some Produce fit for Export, and in some measure to balance our Importation. We are very sensible of the Inconveniencies and Mischiefs that have already, and do daily arise from an unlimited Use of Negroes; but we are as sensible that these may be prevented by a due Limitation, such as so many to each White Man, and so many to such a Quantity of Land; or in any other manner which your Honours shall think most proper. By granting us, Gentlemen, these two Particulars, and such other Privileges as his Majesty's most dutiful Subjects in America enjoy, you will not only prevent our impending Ruin, but, we are fully satisfied, also will soon make this the most flourishing Colony possessed by his Majesty in *America*, and your Memories will be perpetuated to all future Ages, our latest Posterity sounding your Praises as their first Founders, Patrons and Guardians; but if, by denying us those Privileges, we ourselves and Families are not only ruined, but even our Posterity likewise, you will always be mentioned as the cause and Authors of all their Misfortunes and Calamities; which we hope will never happen."¹

This petition was dated at Savannah on the 9th of December, 1738, and was signed by one hundred and twenty-one of the male inhabitants.

When advised of the submission of this memorial, the Scots at New Inverness and the Salzburgers of Ebenezer united in decided protests which were promptly forwarded to his excellency General Oglethorpe. The colonists were divided in sentiment upon the question of the expe-

¹ Account shewing the progress of the colony of Georgia in America, etc., pp. 59, 63. London. MDCCXLI.

diency of introducing negro slaves into the province. General Oglethorpe's views on the subject are embodied in a letter to the trustees written from Savannah on the 12th of March, 1739. In it he states that Mr. Williams, to whom many of them were deeply indebted, had induced the poor people of Savannah "to sign the petition for the Negroes which affirms that white men cannot work in this Province." This assertion he declares he can disprove by hundreds of witnesses, by all Salzburgers, by the people of Darien, by many at Frederica and Savannah, and by all in the province who were industriously inclined. "The idle ones," he adds, "are indeed for Negroes. If the Petition is countenanced the Province is ruined. Mr. Williams and Dr. Tailfeur will buy most of the lands at Savannah with Debts due to them, and the Inhabitants must go off and be succeeded by Negroes. Yet the very Debtors have been weak enough to sign their Desire of Leave to sell."¹

In another communication² to the trustees, written at Frederica on the 4th of July in the same year, he protests against any material change in the existing land tenures, advising the trustees that the "Titles are at present upon a very good Footing, and that those who made most noise about their Lands were such as had taken no care to make any use of them."

Twelve days afterwards, in reporting the status of affairs to the trustees, he again refers to this subject in the following manner: "There is one Tailfeur, an Apothecary Surgeon who gives Physick, and one Williams, of whom I wrote to you formerly, a Merchant, who quitted planting to sell rum. To these two almost all of the Town [Savannah] is in debt for Physick and Rum, and they have raised a strong spirit to desire that Lands may be alienable, and then they would take the Lands for the Debts, monopolize the Country, and settle it with Negroes. They have a vast deal of Art, and if they think they cannot carry this, they would apply for any other alteration since they hope thereby to bring confusion, and you cannot imagine how much uneasiness I have had here. I hope, therefore, you will make no alterations."³

Robert Williams, to whom allusion is made, was open and violent in

¹ *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 70. Savannah. 1873.

² *Idem*, pp. 72-79.

³ *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii., p. 79. Savannah. 1873.

his denunciation of the policy pursued by the trustees in regard to the tenure by which lands in the province were holden of them, and kept the public mind at Savannah in a constant ferment on this subject.¹

Possessing some means and a valuable commercial correspondence, he desired to utilize them in the accumulation of wealth. Hence his anxiety to have the fee simple to lands vested in the colonists so that they might either pledge or sell them. In either event he would be able to secure his loans, and finally to become possessed of much of the landed estate.

Doctor Patrick Tailfer was scarcely less pronounced in his criticisms upon the conduct of the colony, and in his representations of existing grievances. He was a thorn in the side of General Oglethorpe, to whom, under the *nom de plume* of *The Plain Dealer*, he addressed a communication upon colonial affairs full of condemnation, complaint, and sarcasm. He was the chief of a club of malcontents whose conduct became so notorious that they were forced, in September, 1740, to quit the province and take refuge in South Carolina. When thus beyond the jurisdiction of the Georgia authorities, in association with Hugh Anderson, David Douglass, and others, he published a scurrilous tract entitled "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America,"² which they dedicated to General Oglethorpe. In the epistle dedicatory, which may be accepted as a specimen of the entire production, the authors say: "Under the Influence of our Perpetual Dictator we have seen something like *Aristocracy*, *Oligarchy*, as well as the *Triumvirate*, *Decemvirate*, and *Consular Authority* of famous Republicks which have expired many Ages before us. What Wonder then we share the same Fate? Do their Towns and Villages exist but in Story and Rubbish? We are all over Ruins. Our Publick-works, Forts, Wells, Highways, Lighthouse, Store, Water Mills, &c., are dignified like theirs with the same venerable Desolation. The Log-house indeed is like to be the last forsaken Spot of your Empire; yet even this, thro' the Death or Desertion of those who should continue to inhabit it, must suddenly decay; the bankrupt Jailor himself

¹ Stephens's *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. i. pp. 8, 27, 57, 149, 289. London, MDCCXLII.

² Charles-Town, South Carolina, p. 118. Printed by P. Timothy for the authors, MDCCXLI.

shall be soon denied the Privilege of human Conversation, and when this last Moment of the Spell expires, the whole shall vanish like the Illusion of some *Eastern Magician*.

“—Like Death you reign
O'er silent subjects and a desert Plain.”

Craving rum, negro slaves, and fee-simple titles to lands, such disaffected colonists hesitated not to malign the authorities, disquiet the settlers, and belie the true condition of affairs. Georgia was certainly in an embarrassed and an impoverished situation. Her population was increasing but slowly. Labor was scarcely remunerative, and the Spanish war-cloud was looming up along her southern borders; but the impression which Dr. Tailfer and others sought to convey of the status of the colony was exaggerated, spiteful, and without warrant.

Having duly considered the petition of the magistrates and freeholders of Savannah, and taken counsel of General Oglethorpe and other influential inhabitants of the province, the trustees returned the following answer:

“To the Magistrates of the Town of Savannah in the Province of Georgia.

“The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America have received by the Hands of Mr. Benjamin Ball of London, Merchant, an attested Copy of a Representation signed by you the Magistrates, and many of the Inhabitants of Savannah on the 9th of December last, for altering the Tenure of the Lands, and introducing Negroes into the Province, transmitted from thence by Mr. Robert Williams.

“The Trustees are not surprized to find unwary People drawn in by crafty Men to join in a Design of extorting by Clamour from the Trustees an Alteration in the fundamental Laws framed for the Preservation of the People from those very Designs.

“But the Trustees cannot but express their Astonishment that you, the Magistrates, appointed by them to be the Guardians of the People, by putting those Laws in Execution, should so far forget your Duty as to put yourselves at the Head of this Attempt.

“However, they direct you to give the Complainants this Answer

from the Trustees : That they should deem themselves very unfit for the Trust reposed in them by his Majesty on their Behalf, if they could be prevailed upon by such an irrational attempt to give up a Constitution, framed with the greatest caution, for the Preservation of Liberty and Property, and of which the Laws against the Use of Slaves, and for the Entail of Lands are the surest Foundations.

‘ And the Trustees are the more confirmed in their Opinion of the Unreasonableness of this Demand that they have received Petitions from the Darien and other Parts of the Province, representing the Inconvenience and Danger which must arise to the good People of the Province from the Introduction of Negroes: and as the Trustees themselves are fully convinced that besides the Hazard attending of that Introduction, it would destroy all Industry among the White Inhabitants; and that, by giving them a Power to alien their Lands, the Colony would soon be too like its neighbours, void of White Inhabitants, filled with Blacks, and reduced to be the precarious Property of a Few, equally exposed to domestick Treachery and foreign Invasion : And therefore the Trustees cannot be supposed to be in any Disposition of granting this Request ; and if they have not, before this, signified their Dislike of it, their Delay is to be imputed to no other Motives but the Hopes they had conceived that Time and Experience would bring the Complainants to a better Mind. And the Trustees readily join Issue with them in their Appeal to Posterity, who shall judge between them, who were their best Friends, those who endeavoured to preserve for them a Property in their Lands by tying up the Hands of their unthrifty Progenitors: or they who wanted a Power to mortgage or alien them ; who were the best Friends to the Colony, those who with great Labour and Cost had endeavored to form a Colony of his Majesty’s Subjects, and persecuted Protestants from other Parts of Europe ; had placed them on a fruitful soil, and strove to secure them in their Possessions by those Arts which naturally tend to keep the Colony full of useful and industrious People capable both to cultivate and defend it, or those who, to gratify the greedy and ambitious views of a few Negro Merchants, would put it into their Power to become sole owners of the Province by introducing their baneful Commodity which, it is well known, by sad Experience, has brought our Neighbour Colonies to the Brink of Ruin by driving out their White Inhabitants, who were their

Glory and Strength, to make room for Blacks who are now become the Terror of their unadvised Masters.

“ Signed by order of the Trustees this Twentieth day of June, 1739.

BENJ. MARTYN, *Secretary*. [L. S.]”¹

On the 20th of October General Oglethorpe informed the trustees that their reply had been received and published, and that the effect produced by it upon the colonists was good. Accompanying this response came orders dismissing from office the magistrates in Savannah who had signed the petition, and appointing others in their stead. Perceiving that their agitation of the question of the introduction of negro slavery into the province had only confirmed the trustees in their opinions and orders, the leading malcontents, headed by Dr. Tailfer, who by their clubs, horse-racing, idleness, and lawless conduct had done much to debauch the community at Savannah, deserted the colony.

This was the second time that the trustees had been importuned to sanction the employment of slave labor within the limits of Georgia. Twice did they positively refuse the desired permission. Although such was their determination, and although the effect of their resolution was pronounced salutary by General Oglethorpe, it may well be questioned whether the adoption of a different policy, permitting the introduction of negro slaves under wholesome restrictions, would not have materially advanced the prosperity of the plantation. Such labor was demanded by the nature of the soil and climate. The prohibition upon Georgia placed her at a disadvantage when her situation in this regard was contrasted with that of her sister colonies. Indented white servants had been tried, and the experiment was unsatisfactory. The clearing and cultivation of malarial lands originated fevers and various disorders far more prejudicial to the European than the African constitution. The potent rays of the summer's sun enfeebled the white servant, while they shone harmlessly above the head of the negro laborer. During the heated term it was the general experience that many of the whites were incapable of performing half their allotted tasks. The expenses incident to the employment of white servants were considerably greater than those con-

¹*An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, etc.*, pp. 70, 71, London. MDCCXLI.

nected with the maintenance of negro operatives. The exclusion of slave labor and the refusal to grant estates in fee did turn aside many planters from the attractive swamp lands of Southern Georgia, and retard the development of the colony.

Although in their reply of the 20th of June, 1739, the trustees refused to enlarge the tenures of land, in a few months they concluded to modify their views upon this important subject. Accordingly, in August of that year they passed a set of ponderous resolutions which they caused to be published in the *London Gazette* on the 8th of September, and ordered to be inserted also in the columns of the *Charlestown, South Carolina, Gazette*. Without reproducing them, we give their purport as condensed by Benjamin Martyn, secretary of the trustees.¹ With a view to enlarging the tenure on failure of issue male, and in order to provide for the widows of grantees, it was ordained that lands already granted, and such as might thereafter be granted, should, on failure of issue male, descend to the daughters of the grantees. In case there should be no issue male or female, then the grantees might devise such lands. In the absence of any devise, the lands were to descend to the heirs at law of the original grantees. The possession of the devisee could not exceed five hundred acres. Widows of grantees were declared entitled "for and during the term of their natural lives," to hold and enjoy the dwelling-house, garden, and one moiety of the lands of which their respective husbands died seized.

All persons desiring to avail themselves of the benefit of this enlargement were notified to present their claims in order that proper grants might be forthwith, and without charge, prepared and executed.

While this modification inured to the benefit of the grantee and confirmed the ownership of the land in his heirs, it permitted only a qualified alienation by way of devise. It did not fully comply with the request preferred in the petition which we have just considered.

These resolutions were published by paragraphs in the *Charlestown Gazette*; but, as they were not well understood, Colonel William Stephens was requested on a certain day to read them at the court-house in Sa-

¹ *Account of the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, etc., p. 30. London. MDCCXLI. Compare McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 132, *et seq.* Savannah. 1811.

vannah and to explain them. "After he had finished his task," says Captain McCall,¹ "and exerted his utmost abilities in giving an explanation, one of the settlers ludicrously remarked that the whole paper consisted of *males* and *tails*; that all the lawyers in London would not be able to bring the meaning down to his comprehension; and that he understood as little of its meaning then as he had when Stephens began. Others wished to know how often those two words had occurred in the resolutions, that the number ought to be preserved as a curiosity, and that the author ought to be lodged in bedlam for lunacy."

CHAPTER. VIII.

General Oglethorpe Addresses the Citizens of Savannah—Military Strength of the Town in 1739—Death and Burial of Tomo-chi chi—A Monument Should be Erected to his Memory—General Oglethorpe Returns to England—Colonel William Stephens Designated as President of the Colony—Disappointment Experienced in all Efforts to Promote Silk Culture and the Growth of the Vine.

UPON the conclusion of his labors at Coweta-Town, which resulted in a renewal on the part of the Creeks of their fealty to the English Crown and the confirmation of existing grants of territory, General Oglethorpe returned to Frederica by the way of Augusta and Savannah. While in the latter place he received dispatches announcing a declaration of war between England and Spain. On the 3d of October he assembled all the freeholders under arms. At noon there was a general convocation at the court-house. The magistrates in their gowns took their seats upon the bench, and Oglethorpe sat with them. He then addressed the multitude, acquainting the citizens of Savannah with the fact that in the present emergency they need entertain no fears of the Indian nations as they had all been brought into closer alliance by the recent convention at Coweta-Town. Although the province lay open to the sea, he assured them that English frigates would cruise along the coast for its protection,

¹ *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 140. Savannah. 1811.

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¹ *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 140. Savannah. 1811.

and that additional land forces might soon be expected. The instructions he had received from his majesty's secretary of State in reference to the opening war with Spain were then communicated, and the inhabitants were exhorted to an exhibition of becoming activity, watchfulness, and bravery. Upon the conclusion of his address the cannons of the fort were discharged, and the freeholders "fired three handsome vollies with their small arms as it were in defiance, without the appearance of any dread of the Spainards."¹

Observing that the common, from which the trees had been cut, was now overgrown with bushes, and that the squares and some of the streets were filled with weeds, the general ordered the entire male population out on police duty, and caused these spaces to be properly cleared and cleaned. A plenty of bread and beer put them all in good heart. By actual count it was then ascertained that there were in Savannah about two hundred men capable of bearing arms. Two days afterwards the colony was called upon to mourn the demise of its true friend, the venerable Tomo-chi-chi. His final illness was protracted, and he passed away in the full enjoyment of his mental faculties. The following letter conveys an interesting account of the last moments and sepulture of this noted Indian king:

"SAVANNAH IN GEORGIA, *Oct.* 10, 1739.

"King Toma-chi-chi died on the 5th, at his own town, 4 miles from hence, of a lingering illness, being aged about 97. He was sensible to the last Minutes, and when he was persuaded his death was near he showed the greatest Magnanimity and Sedateness, and exhorted his People never to forget the favours he had received from the King when in England, but to persevere in their Friendship with the English. He expressed the greatest Tenderness for Gen. Oglethorpe, and seemed to have no Concern at dying but its being at a Time when his Life might be useful against the Spainards. He desired his Body might be buried amongst the English in the Town of Savannah, since it was he that had prevailed with the Creek Indians to give the Land, and had assisted in the founding of the Town. The Corpse was brought down by Water. The General, attended by the Magistrates and People of the Town, met it upon the Water's Edge. The Corpse was carried into Percival Square. The

¹ Stephens's *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. ii., p. 150. London. MDCCLXIII.

pall was supported by the General, Colⁿ Stephens, Colⁿ Montaigut, M^r Carteret, M^r Lemon, and M^r Maxwell. It was followed by the Indians and Magistrates and People of the Town. There was the Respect paid of firing Minute Guns from the Battery all the time during the Burial, and Funeral—firing with small Arms by the Militia, who were under arms. The General has ordered a Pyramid of Stone, which is dug in this Neighbourhood, to be erected over the Grave, which being in the Centre of the Town, will be a great Ornament to it, as well as testimony of Gratitude.

“Tomo-chi-chi was a Creek Indian, and in his youth a great Warrior. He had an excellent Judgment and a very ready Wit, which showed itself in his Answers on all Occasions. He was very generous, giving away all the rich presents he received, remaining himself in a wilful Poverty, being more pleased in giving to others, than possessing himself; and he was very mild and good natured.”¹

Nearly one hundred and fifty years have elapsed since these funeral honors were paid, and the monument ordered by General Oglethorpe has never been erected. Over the spot² where this Indian chief was interred rises a stately monumental structure commemorative of the life and services of the Hon. W. W. Gordon. Neither street nor public square perpetuates the name of this mico, and his memory dwells only in occasional recollection. This should not be. May we not hope for the sake of her reputation, in response to the wish of the founder of the colony of Georgia, and in glad acknowledgement of the debt of gratitude she owes to this noted Indian, that Savannah—herself a living witness of the enterprise, courage, and taste of General Oglethorpe, a city which has rendered such conspicuous tribute to the memories of Greene, and Pulaski, and Jasper, and the Confederate dead—will, at no distant day, cause to be lifted up in one of her high places a suitable monument in just and honorable appreciation of the friendship and worthy deeds of the venerable Tomo-chi-chi?

After his astonishing defeat of the Spaniards in their formidable at-

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. x., p. 129. Compare Stephens's *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. ii., pp. 152, 153. London. MDCCXLII.

² For the precise place of Tomo-chi-chi's sepulture, see DeBrahm's *History of the Province of Georgia*, “Plan of the City of Savannah and Fortifications,” facing page 36. Wormsloe. MDCCCXLIX.

tempt to possess themselves of the southern defenses of the colony, and upon the consummation of the deliverance of Georgia from perils which threatened utter annihilation, a deliverance which, in the language of the Rev. George Whitefield, can be "paralleled but by some instances out of the Old Testament"—General Oglethorpe—"the Romulus, father, and founder of Georgia" who, for full ten years, with no end in view save the enlargement of his majesty's dominion in America, the propagation of the Christian religion, the promotion of the trade of the realm, and the relief of the indigent and the deserving, had voluntarily banished himself from the pleasures of court and metropolis, postponed his parliamentary duties, strained his private fortune, and exposed himself to vexations, privations, and dangers incessant and exhausting, resolved to return to England in fulfillment of a desire earnestly entertained, but long repressed because of the necessitous condition of the province, and in response to a leave of absence sanctioned by the home authorities. Georgia was now established upon a sure basis. The natives were in amity with the English, and the Spaniards had learned a lesson they were not likely soon to forget. His separation from the colony he then regarded as only temporary, but it proved to be final.

Upon the settlement and fortification of the southern frontier of the province a new county was carved out and named Frederica. Hitherto Georgia had contained but one county, and that was known as Savannah. In April, 1741, Colonel William Stephens, who for several years been acting in the colony as secretary to the trustees, was by them appointed president of the county of Savannah. In the administration of public affairs he was aided by four assistants. As General Oglethorpe spent most of his time in Frederica, the designation of a presiding officer for that division of the province was regarded as superfluous. Bailiffs were constituted whose duty it was, under the immediate supervision of the general, to attend to the concerns of that county.

At Augusta, Captain Richard Kent was, in November, 1741, commissioned as "Conservator to keep the peace in that town and in the precincts thereof."

In anticipation of the return of General Oglethorpe to England, and in order to provide for the government of the entire colony, the trustees decided that the president and assistants who had been appointed for the

county of Savannah should be proclaimed president and assistants for the whole province, and that the bailiffs at Frederica should be considered simply as local magistrates; their powers being subordinate to those conferred upon the president and assistants. They further advised that the salary of the recorder of Frederica be raised, and that he correspond regularly with the president and assistants at Savannah, and transmit to them from time to time the proceedings of the town court, and an account of such transactions and occurrences in the southern part of the province as it might be necessary for them to know.¹

Thus, upon the departure of General Oglethorpe, he was succeeded in the office of colonial governor by the honest minded and venerable Colonel William Stephens, whose devotion to the welfare of the colony and fidelity to the instructions of the trustees had been for more than five years well approved.² In association with his members of council or assistants, he was directed to hold in Savannah, each year, four terms of the general court for the regulation of public affairs and the accommodation of all differences affecting person or property. Public moneys could be distributed only under warrant signed and sealed by the president and a majority of his assistants in council assembled. Monthly accounts were to be exhibited to the board of trustees, showing the amounts disbursed and the particular purposes to which they had been applied.

Although General Oglethorpe's regiment was retained for the defense of the colony, the militia of the province was organized, and all citizens capable of bearing arms were regularly trained and disciplined. Major William Horton remained in command of the troops in Georgia, with his headquarters at Frederica. In the administration of the civil affairs of the province he did not intervene, except where his assistance was invoked to enforce the measures of the president and council. On all occasions he acted with prudence, calmness, and humanity, winning the esteem, confidence, and friendship of law-abiding citizens.

Bailiffs or magistrates were commissioned in various and remote parts of the province whose duty it was to act as "conservators of the peace," hear and determine "petit causes," and commit, for trial by the general court, offenders whose transgressions exceeded their limited jurisdiction.

¹ *Journal of the Trustees*, 1736-1745, pp. 239, 243, 244.

² See *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, vols. i., ii., iii. London MDCCXLII.

The colony was still at low ebb. The distractions caused by Spanish incursions, the refusal of the trustees to permit the importation and sale of rum, to sanction the introduction of slave labor, and to enlarge the tenure of land, and the failure of crops, disheartened many and induced them to avail themselves of the greater privileges offered in South Carolina where similar restrictions were unknown. Intent upon the cultivation of silk and wine, the home authorities discouraged the tillage of rice, cotton, and indigo, from which profit might more readily have been realized. The trouble lay chiefly with the English colonists; not a few of whom, unaccustomed to agricultural pursuits and manual occupations, were easily discouraged and could illy suppress their feelings of disappointment.

Except among the Salzburgers, silk culture, from which so much was expected by the trustees, proved a failure in Georgia. The Filature at Savannah was never operated to advantage, and all expenditures in behalf of this industry were futile. The efforts of the authorities to encourage the cultivation of the grape were even less successful than those expended in the production of silk. No practical results were reached except such as entailed loss and disappointment. From the experiment of Abraham De Lyon, who procured vines from Portugal and planted them upon his garden lot in Savannah, much good was anticipated. Although encouraged by the trustees the business did not expand into proportions sufficient to claim public attention, and the colony both as a wine-producing and a silk-growing community disappointed every expectation.

As illustrating the early hopes entertained, and as presenting the only picture of a Savannah vineyard in colonial days which has been handed down to us, we reproduce the following from Colonel William Stephens's *Journal of Proceedings* in Georgia:¹

"Tuesday, December 6th, 1737. After dinner walked out to see what Improvement of Vines were made by one Mr. Lyon a *Portugese Jew*, which I had heard some talk of; and indeed nothing had given me so much Pleasure since my Arrival as what I found here; though it was yet (if I may say it properly), only a Miniature, for he had cultivated only for two or three Years past about half a Score of them which he received from Portugal for an Experiment; and by his Skill and Management in

¹ Vol i., p. 48. London, MDCCXLII.

pruning &c. they all bore this Year very plentifully a most beautiful, large Grape as big as a Man's Thumb, almost pellucid, and Bunches exceeding big; all which was attested by Persons of unquestionable Credit (whom I had it from) but the Season now would allow me only to see the Vines they were gathered from, which were so flourishing and strong that I saw one Shoot, of this last Year only, which he allowed to grow from the Root of a bearing Vine, as big as my Walking-Cane, and run over a few Poles laid to receive it, at least twelve or fourteen Foot, as as near as I could judge. From these he has raised more than a Hundred, which he has planted all in his little Garden behind his House at about four Foot Distance each, in the Manner and Form of a Vineyard: They have taken Root and are about one Foot and a half high; the next Year he says he does not doubt raising a Thousand more, and the Year following at least five Thousand. I could not believe (considering the high Situation of the Town upon a Pine Barren, and the little Appearance of such Productions in these little Spots of Ground annexed to the House) but that he had found some proper Manure wherewith to improve the sandy Soil; but he assured me it was nothing but the natural Soil, without any other Art than his Planting and Pruning which he seemed to set some Value on from his Experience in being bred among the Vineyards in *Portugal*; and, to convince the World that he intends to pursue it from the Encouragement of the Soil proving so proper for it, he has at this Time hired four Men to clear and prepare as much Land as they possibly can upon his forty-five Acre Lot, intending to convert every Foot of the whole that is fit for it into a Vineyard: though he complains of his present Inability to be at such an Expence as to employ Servants for Hire. From hence I could not but reflect on the small Progress that has been made hitherto in propagating vines in the publick Garden where, the Soil being the same, it must be owing to the Unskilfulness or Negligence of those who had undertaken that Charge."

CHAPTER IX.

Mary and Thomas Bosomworth—Hostile Demonstrations by the Creek Indians in Savannah in Support of Mary Bosomworth's Pretensions—Settlement of her Claim.

THE deeply laid scheme of the German Jesuit, Christian Priber, employed by the French to alienate the affection of the Cherokees, interrupt their affiliation with the English, and compass the destruction of the Georgia settlements, had fortunately been wholly frustrated. His sudden death, while a captive at Frederica, relieved the public mind of the intense anxiety which had pervaded it, and put an end to machinations of the most dangerous character.

During the administration of President Stephens trouble arose with the Creek Indians, so formidable and violent in its nature, that the continuance of the settlement at Savannah was seriously imperiled.

In his earliest intercourse with Tomo-chi-chi and his followers Mr. Oglethorpe secured the services of Mary Musgrove, the wife of an Indian trader, as an interpreter. Finding that she possessed considerable influence with the Creeks, and that her inclinations toward the English were friendly, he retained her in that capacity, allowing her, as compensation for her services, one hundred pounds sterling per annum.

She afterwards became Mary Matthews, and subsequently married the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, at one time chaplain to General Oglethorpe's regiment. The year after his marriage Bosomworth, who had previously accepted a grant of lands from the common council and taken up his residence in the colony, returned to England where he informed the trustees that he did not purpose a return to Georgia. In 1746 he came again to Savannah and indicated his contempt for the established regulations of the province by introducing six negro slaves on the plantation of his wife on the south side of the forks of the Alatamaha River, known as Mount Venture. This affront the trustees promptly resented, and instructed President Stephens and his assistants to cause the immediate removal of those slaves. The execution of this order provoked the wrath of Bosomworth. He resolved upon revenge. Having first conciliated

the Indians, with much cunning and caution he began to develop his plans, which embraced not only compensation from the general government for the losses sustained and the services rendered by his wife, but also absolute possession of Ossabaw, St. Catherine, and Sapelo islands, and of a tract of land near Savannah which the Indians had reserved for themselves in former treaties with the colonists.

That something was still due to Mrs. Bosomworth for losses sustained and labors performed in the service of the colony could not be doubted; but, moved by her avaricious and unscrupulous husband, she magnified her claim beyond all reasonable measure. By his address Bosomworth enlisted the sympathy of several of the officers of Ogletherpe's regiment resident at Frederica; and, on the 10th of August, 1747, prepared and caused his wife to sign a memorial, addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Heron commanding his majesty's forces in Georgia, in which, after claiming royal descent, and narrating the services she had rendered and the losses she had sustained in the service of the colony, Mary Musgrove demanded payment from the authorities of the sum of £5,714,17.11.

Not content with prevailing upon his wife to take the step just indicated, the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth resorted to an additional expedient to compass his ambitious, grasping, and sordid purposes. On the 14th of December, 1747, an Indian king, Malatche by name, of the Creek nation, and sixteen companions, chiefs of various towns composing that confederacy, chanced to be on a visit to Frederica. Bosomworth, who was very friendly to Malatche, was also there. Exerting his influence with this mico he persuaded him to have himself then and there formally acknowledged as the head of the Creek nation, with full power to cede lands, conclude treaties, and transact any other business connected with the kingly administration of the affairs of his people.

This suggestion meeting with the approval of his companions, appropriate ceremonies were performed wherein Malatche was proclaimed and saluted as the supreme chief of the Muscogulgee confederacy. At the suggestion of Bosomworth the following document was prepared and signed:

“ FREDERICA IN GEORGIA, *December 14th, 1747.*

“ Know all men by these presents that we Simpeopy, war-king of the Cowetas, Thlockpalahi, head warrior of the said town, Moxumgi, king of

the Etchitas, Iswige, head warrior of the Etchitas, and Actithilki, beloved man of the said town, Ciocoliche, king of Osuchees, Appalya and Ischa-boagy, beloved men of Nipky, and Himmopacohi, warriors of said town, Tokeah, war-king of the Chehaws, Whyanneachi and Etowah, warriors of the said town, Mahelabbi, beloved man of the Cusetas, and Scheyah, warrior of the said town, and Estchothalleachi Yahulla, Mico of the Tiskugas, having full power by the laws of the nation to conclude everything for the towns we represent, do hereby acknowledge Malatche Opiya Mico to be our rightful and natural prince. And we likewise further acknowledge that by the laws of our nation we think ourselves obliged to stand by, ratify, and confirm every act and deed of his as much as if we ourselves were present, and we therefore make this public declaration to all subjects of the Crown of Great Britain that Malatche Opiya Mico has full power and authority, as our natural prince, to transact all affairs relating to our Nation as firmly and fully to all intents and purposes as we the whole nation might or could do if present. In confirmation of which presents we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals in behalf of the different towns we represent, the day and date above written."¹

Of this document, signed and sealed by the declarants, and witnessed by Colonel Heron, Sir Patrick Houstoun, and four others, Malatche requested that a copy should be sent over to the king of England, and that due record should be made of the original. Having thus far succeeded in his design, Bosomworth next prepared, and prevailed upon Malatche to execute a deed by which, as emperor of the Upper and Lower Creek nations, he conveyed to Thomas and Mary Bosomworth, of the colony of Georgia, the three islands on the coast, known as Hussoope or Ossabaw, Cowleggee or St. Catharine, and Sapelo. The consideration mentioned was "ten pieces of stroud, twelve pieces of duffles, two hundred weight of powder, two hundred weight of lead, twenty guns, twelve pairs of pistols, and one hundred weight of vermilion." It was an absolute conveyance, with full covenant of warranty, to Bosomworth and his wife, their heirs, and assigns, so long as the sun should shine or the waters run in the rivers. This transaction followed hard upon the other. In fact the first was simply a prelude to the second. In the existing treaties

¹ See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 367. Savannah. 1811.

with the Creek Indians these three beautiful and extensive islands had always been reserved by the natives as their special property for the purposes of hunting, fishing, and bathing.

The reverend gentleman having thus acquired title to this attractive and princely domain proceeded to utilize it by stocking these islands with cattle purchased in Carolina. To the planters in that province he became largely indebted. His stock raising not proving as remunerative as he anticipated, this ambitious clergyman, with a view to attaining greatness and acquiring a fortune rapidly, encouraged his wife to announce herself as a sister of Malatche, descended in a maternal line from an Indian king who held from nature the entire territories of the Creeks. He persuaded her also to assert her right to them as superior both to that of the trustees and of the king. Mary accordingly assumed the title of an independent empress, disavowing all allegiance or subjection to the British Crown, and summoned a general convocation of the Creeks, to whom, in a long speech prepared for the occasion, she explained the justice of her claim, the great injury which they, her beloved subjects, had sustained at the hands of the English by the loss of their territories, and the necessity which was laid upon them to regain them by force of arms. Inflamed by her harangue, the assembled Indians admitted her claims, and pledged themselves to defend to the last extremity her royal person and lands. Putting herself at the head of a large body of warriors, she set out for Savannah to demand from the president and council a formal acknowledgment of her assumed rights. A messenger was dispatched to convey in advance to the president of the colony a notification of her approaching visit, and to acquaint him with the fact that she had assumed the sovereignty over the entire territory of the Upper and Lower Creeks. This notification was accompanied with a demand for the immediate evacuation by the whites of all lands lying south of the Savannah River, and was coupled with a threat that, in case of refusal, every settlement within the specified limits should be extirpated.

Alarmed at these bold pretensions, and sensible of her influence over the Creeks, President Stephens ordered the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march to Savannah upon shortest notice, and at once proceeded to put the town in the strongest attitude of defense. Its whole force amounted to only one hundred and seventy men capable of bear-

ing arms. A messenger, dispatched to meet Mary while she was still several miles from the town to inquire whether she was serious in her intentions, and to endeavor to persuade her to dismiss her followers and abandon her pretensions, found her resolute and inflexible.

Nothing remained but to receive the Indians boldly. The militia was ordered under arms, and, as the Indians entered the town, Captain Noble Jones, at the head of a troop of horse, stopped them and demanded whether their visit was of a friendly or a hostile character. Receiving no reply, he commanded them to ground their arms, declaring that his instructions were not to suffer an armed Indian to set foot in the town, and that he was determined to enforce those orders at every hazard. The Indians reluctantly submitted. Thomas Bosomworth in his canonical robes, with his queen by his side, followed by the kings and chiefs according to their respective rank, marched into Savannah on the 20th of July, making a formidable appearance. The citizens were terror-stricken at the sight. Advancing to the parade they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them. They were saluted with fifteen cannon, and conducted to the president's house.

Bosomworth being commanded to withdraw, the Indian chiefs in a friendly manner were required to declare their object in paying this visit in so large a body without being convened by any person in authority. Having been previously taught what reply to make, they responded that Mary would speak for them, and that they would abide by what she said. They further stated that they heard she was to be sent captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to lose their queen; that they intended no harm, and wished that their arms might be restored to them. They gave the assurance that, after consulting with Bosomworth and his wife, they would amicably settle all public affairs. Their guns were accordingly returned to them, and strict orders issued to allow them no ammunition until the council should see more clearly into their dark designs. The day following, the Indians, having had some private conferences with Mary, with sullen countenances marched about the streets in a tumultuous manner, apparently determined on mischief. All the men being obliged to mount guard, the women and children, afraid to remain in their houses by themselves, were greatly terrified, expecting every moment to be murdered

and scalped. During this period of confusion a false rumor was circulated that the Indians had cut off President Stephens's head with a tomahawk. So exasperated were the inhabitants that it was with great difficulty the officers could restrain the troops from firing upon the savages. Bosomworth was arrested and made to understand that in the event of hostilities he should be marked as the first victim. So soon as he was carried into close confinement Mary became frantic, threatening vengeance against the magistrates and the entire colony, ordering all white persons to depart immediately from her territories, cursing Oglethorpe, and pronouncing his treaties fraudulent. Furiously stamping her foot upon the earth, she swore by her Maker that the whole globe should know the ground she stood upon was her own. To prevent the whites from acquiring any ascendancy over the chiefs and warriors, she kept the leading men constantly under her eye, and would not suffer them to utter a sentence on public affairs except in her presence.

Finding it utterly impossible to pacify the Indians while under the baleful influence of their pretended queen, President Stephens privately laid hold of her and put her in close confinement with her husband. In order to facilitate a reconciliation, a feast was prepared for all the chiefs and leading warriors, at which they were informed that Bosomworth had involved himself in debts which he was unable to pay; that he wanted not only their lands but also a large share of the presents which the king had sent over for chiefs and warriors as a compensation for their useful services and firm attachment to him during the war against the common enemy; that Bosomworth wished to obtain these presents to satisfy, at their expense, his creditors in Carolina; that the lands adjoining Savannah had been reserved for them to encamp upon when they should visit their beloved white friends, and the three maritime islands for them to fish and hunt upon when they came to bathe in the salt waters; that neither Mary nor her husband had any right to those lands, but that they were the common property of the whole Creek nation, and that the great King George had ordered the president to defend their right to them, expecting that all his subjects, both white and red, would live together like brethren.

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Many of the chiefs, convinced that Bosomworth had deceived them, declared they would no longer be controlled by his advice. Even Mal-

atche, the leader of the Lower Creeks, appeared for the moment satisfied, and was greatly delighted to hear that presents were to be distributed. Taking advantage of this favorable change in their sentiments, President Stephens determined to make immediate distribution of the royal bounty and to dismiss the Indians. While preparations were being made to carry this intention into effect, Malatche, whom the Indians compared to the wind because of his fickle and variable temper, having sought and intermediately obtained a personal interview with Bosomworth and his wife, rose up in the midst of the chiefs and warriors assembled to receive their respective shares of the king's gifts, and, with frowning countenance and in a violent manner, delivered an inflammatory speech abounding in dangerous insinuations and threats, asserting the paramount claims of Mary, as queen of the Creeks, to all the lands in question; declaring that her words were the voice of the nation, that three thousand warriors were prepared to maintain with their lives her rights; and finally concluding by drawing from his pocket a document which he delivered to President Stephens in confirmation of what he said. This paper had evidently been prepared by Bosomworth, and was an ambitious and violent assertion of the pretensions and designs of Mary. When the paper was read in council the members were struck with astonishment. Perceiving the effect which had been produced, Malatche became uneasy and begged a return of the paper that he might hand it back to the party from whom he received it. President Stephens discerning more clearly than ever how sadly the Indians had been duped by the ambitious, mercenary, and designing Bosomworth, addressed the chiefs and warriors in the following language:

"Friends and brothers: When Mr. Oglethorpe and his people first arrived in Georgia they found Mary, then the wife of John Musgrove, living in a small hut at Yamacraw; he had a license from the governor of South Carolina to trade with the Indians. She then appeared to be in a poor, ragged condition, and was neglected and despised by the Creeks; but General Oglethorpe, finding that she could speak both the English and Creek languages, employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed her, and made her a woman of the consequence she now appears. The people of Georgia always respected her until she married Bosomworth, but from that time she has proved a liar and a deceiver. In fact, she was no relation of

Malatche, but the daughter of an Indian woman of no note, by a white man. General Oglethorpe did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia for she had none, but with the old and wise leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily surrendered their territories to the king. The Indians at that time having much waste land which was useless to themselves, parted with a share of it to their friends, and were glad that white people had settled among them to supply their wants." He further told them that the present discontents had been artfully infused into the minds of the Creeks by Mary, at the instigation of her husband who demanded a third part of the royal bounty in order to rob the naked Indians of their rights; that he had quarreled with the president and council of Georgia for refusing to answer his exorbitant demands, and had filled the heads of the Indians with wild fancies and groundless jealousies in order to ferment mischief and induce them to break their alliance with their best friends who alone were able to supply their wants and defend them against their enemies.

At this point the Indians acknowledged that their eyes were opened and that they were ready and anxious to smoke the pipe of peace. Pipes and rum were brought, and all, joining hand in hand, drank and smoked in friendship. The distribution of the royal presents—except the ammunition, with which it was deemed imprudent at this moment to entrust them—was made, and even Malatche seemed fully satisfied with the share he received.

While an amicable adjustment of existing difficulties had thus been effected, and while all were rejoicing in the re-establishment of friendly intercourse, Mary, drunk with liquor, rushed like a fury into the midst of the assembly, telling the president that these were her people and that he had no business with them. The president calmly advised her to retire to her lodgings and to forbear poisoning the minds of the Indians, as otherwise he would order her again into close confinement. Turning to Malatche in a great rage, she repeated to him, with some ill-natured comments, what the president had said. Malatche thereupon sprang from his seat, laid hold of his arms, called upon the rest to follow his example, and dared any man to touch his queen. In a moment the whole house was filled with tumult and uproar. Every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the president and council expected nothing but instant death.

During this confusion Captain Jones, who commanded the guard, with wonderful courage interposed and ordered the Indians immediately to surrender their arms. This they reluctantly did. Mary was conveyed to a private room where a guard was placed over her, and all further communication with the Indians was denied her during their stay in Savannah.

The natives were finally persuaded to leave the town peaceably and to return to their settlements. Mary and her husband were detained until about the first of August, when, having fully confessed their errors and craved pardon, they were allowed to depart.¹

Reprehensible as had been the conduct of Bosomworth and his wife, Mary's demand was still pressed in London, and her claim to the islands of Ossabaw, St. Catharine, and Sapelo proved a source of constant annoyance to the colonists. After years of negotiation the affair was finally adjusted in 1759 by paying to Mrs. Bosomworth £450 for goods alleged to have been expended by her in his majesty's service during the years 1747 and 1748, by allowing her a back salary at the rate of £100 per annum for sixteen years and a half, during which she acted in the capacity of government agent and interpreter, and by confirming to her and her designing husband full right and title to St. Catharine Island where they had fixed their home and were then cultivating the soil.

CHAPTER X.

Rev. George Whitefield—Bethesda Orphan House—Hon. James Habersham—Scheme to Convert the Bethesda Orphan House into a "Seminary of Literature and Academical Learning."—Death of Mr. Whitefield—His Will—Lady Huntingdon.

AMONG the prominent names associated with the colonial history of Georgia few, if any, are more widely known than that of the Rev. George Whitefield. Among the charitable schemes devised for the sup-

¹ *Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 152 *et seq.* London. MDCCLXXIX. McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 214 *et seq.* Savannah. 1811. Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 227 *et seq.* New York. MDCCCXLVII. *Letter of Wm Stephens and Others to the Trustees*, dated Savannah, September 8, 1749.

port and the education of the penniless and bereaved children of the province, none acquired a more permanent reputation or served a more valuable purpose than the Bethesda Orphan House. Natural and most fitting was it that the beneficent capabilities of a plantation, itself the offspring of benevolence, should have enlisted the sympathies and secured the co-operative labors of a noted philanthropist. Since the days of Luther and Calvin no one has appeared better qualified than Whitefield to bear messages of mercy to suffering humanity. None more eloquent in utterance, or powerful in commending his convictions to the apprehension of the thousands who flocked to hear him, has attracted the attention of English-speaking peoples.

Above medium stature, slender, finely formed, graceful in every movement, of fair complexion and regular features, with dark blue eyes lively and expressive, possessing a voice excelling alike in melody and compass,—its modulations accompanied by gestures most appropriate and impressive,—with an intellect quick and strong, a memory very retentive, and a courageous deportment which evinced no fear in the discharge of duty: such is the pen-portrait of the fellow of Pembroke College, the chosen companion of the Wesleys and of Ingham, and one of the Oxford club of fifteen, the originators and first champions of Methodism.

To him, a young clergyman in London, earnestly laboring and yet “waiting to see what Providence would point out,” came letters from John Wesley written from Savannah. “Only Mr. Delamotte is with me till God shall stir up the hearts of some of His Servants who, putting their lives in His hands, shall come over and help us where the harvest is so great and the laborers are so few. What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield? Do you ask me what you shall have? Food to eat and raiment to put on; a house to lay your head in such as your Lord had not, and a crown of glory that fadeth not away.” Upon reading these lines his heart leaped within him and echoed to the call. Neither the tears of an aged mother nor the hope of preferment at home swerved him from his purpose. Accepted by Oglethorpe and the trustees, he embarked for Georgia in December, 1737. The ship which bore him and his companion, the Hon. James Habersham, one of the sweetest, purest, most useful, and noblest characters in the long line of colonial worthies, touched

at Gibraltar to take in a detachment of troops for the province. And now the vessel proceeded on her voyage filled with soldiers caring little for spiritual things.

Colonel Cochrane, the commanding officer, and Captain Mackay were polite to the missionary and afforded him every opportunity for preaching, and holding religious conferences. Incessant were his ministrations and eloquent his discourses. Before the ship reached Charlestown, swearing had well-nigh ceased, cards were exchanged for Bibles, oaths were supplanted by prayers, and the great cabin had been converted into a Bethel.

Arriving in Savannah he was, in the absence of Mr. John Wesley, entertained at the parsonage by Mr. Delamotte, the schoolmaster.

Prior to his departure from London the idea of founding an orphan house in Georgia had been suggested to Mr. Whitefield by the Rev. Charles Wesley. Upon an inspection of the condition of the colony, becoming firmly convinced of the necessity for and the utility of such an institution, he resolved at once and in earnest to compass its foundation. Reflecting upon the laws which denied to the colonists the use of rum and negro slaves and declined to invest them with a fee simple title to land, he expressed the opinion that while such regulations were well meant at home and were designed to promote the good order and integrity of the plantation, they were incapable of enforcement in so hot a country. To locate people in Georgia on such a footing, he declared, was little better than tying their legs and bidding them walk. Thus early was he persuaded that one of the chief causes which retarded the development of the colony was the prohibition placed upon the introduction of negro labor. That restraint he sought to remove; and, at a later period, was largely instrumental in securing such a modification of existing laws that the employment and ownership of African slaves were allowed within the province. The experience of Wesley and Ingham taught him there was small hope of converting the Indians. With the discharge of the priestly duties which devolved upon a clergyman in Savannah he was not content. A visit to the Salzburgers' orphan house at Ebenezer, a short sojourn at Frederica and Darien, and a personal acquaintance with the resources of the colony convinced him that aid for the erection and support of his contemplated orphan house must come from abroad. He therefore sailed for London on the 6th of September, 1738.

Upon unfolding his project to the trustees, they were pleased to grant five hundred acres of land in Georgia as a home for his purposed institution. Funds were needed for the erection of buildings, and Whitefield went abroad in the land to solicit them. Although many churches were closed against him, in imitation of his Divine Master, "who had a mountain for His pulpit and the Heavens for a sounding board," he commenced preaching in the fields. So wonderful were these open-air ministrations, so eloquent was he in utterance, and so powerful in thought and argument, that multitudes flocked to hear him. His audiences not infrequently numbered twenty thousand. Their singing could be heard for two miles, and his magnificent voice often reached nearly half that distance. Lord Chesterfield said of him, "He is the greatest orator I ever heard, and I cannot conceive of a greater." From the common people who came to listen to him at Moorfields, Kennington Common, Blackheath, and elsewhere, he collected for his orphan house more than £1,000. The willingness with which his hearers gave, and the prayers they offered when throwing in their mites, were very encouraging to him.

Accompanied by a family of eight men, one boy, two children, and his friend Mr. Seward, he sailed for America on the 14th of August, 1739. His fame had preceded him. Upon his landing in Philadelphia invitations to preach were extended in all directions. So occupied was he in responding to them that he did not reach Savannah until the 11th of January, 1740.

Previous to his arrival, his friend Mr. Habersham had located the grant of five hundred acres about ten miles from Savannah, and had begun to clear and stock the land. Meanwhile, such orphans as he had collected were entertained and instructed in a house hired for that purpose. Years afterwards, in reviewing his conduct in connection with the inception of the institution, Mr. Whitefield remarked: "Had I proceeded according to the rules of prudence I should have first cleared the land, built the house, and then taken in the orphans; but I found their condition so pitiable and the inhabitants so poor, that I immediately opened an infirmary, hired a large house at a great rent, and took in, at different times, twenty-four orphans. To all this I was encouraged by the example of Professor Franck. But I forgot to recollect that Professor Franck built in Glaucha, in a populous country, and that I was building in the very tail

of the world, where I could not expect the least supply, and which the badness of its constitution, which every day I expected would be altered, rendered by far the most expensive part of his majesty's dominions. But had I received more and ventured less, I should have suffered less, and others more."

The first collection made in America in aid of the orphan house was at the church of the Rev. Mr. Smith, in Charlestown, early in March, 1740. Mr. Whitefield was on a visit to that place, having gone there to meet his brother, who was a ship captain. He was invited to deliver a public address in behalf of his Georgia orphans, and the contribution amounted to £70. On the 25th of that month, with his own hand he "laid the first brick of the great house which he called *Bethesda*, i. e. house of mercy." At this time the orphans under his charge numbered forty. Besides them, there were about sixty servants and workmen to be paid and fed. Having but little to his credit in bank, he again departed to influence subscriptions of money and provisions. By the 5th of June he was welcomed in Savannah, bringing for Bethesda money and supplies valued at more than £500. His family, as he termed them, now numbered one hundred and fifty, and their subsistence and compensation depended entirely upon his exertions. He could take no rest, and in a little while was off for Charlestown on his way to the populous Northern provinces. While in this town the Rev. Alexander Garden, a man of learning and an Episcopal clergyman, took occasion to denounce Whitefield for what he termed his wild doctrines and irregular manner of life. To keep his flock from straying after this migratory and brilliant shepherd, Mr. Garden discoursed from the passage, "Those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." In his reply, which was delivered with abundant wit and humor, Whitefield selected as his text, "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works." "In short," says the Rev. Mr. Hewitt, "the pulpit was perverted by both into the mean purposes of spite and malevolence, and every one, catching a share of the infection, spoke of the clergymen as they were differently affected."¹ Whitefield carried the day in the popular esteem, and made a clever collection too.

¹ *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 167. London. MDCCLXXIX.

The rest of the year was consumed in preaching in the northern provinces, whence he returned to the orphan house on the 14th of December, having, during his absence, delivered one hundred and seventy-five discourses in public, and secured "upwards of seven hundred pounds sterling in goods, provisions, and money for the Georgia Orphans." Having spent a happy Christmas with his charge, committing the management of the temporal affairs to Mr. Habersham, and leaving Mr. Jonathan Barber as superintendent of spiritual concerns at Bethesda, he departed early in January, 1741 for England.

With the dispute which about this time waxed warm between Whitefield and John Wesley, wherein the former declared himself a Calvinist and the latter an Arminian, we have no present concern. Debts to the amount of £1,000 were outstanding against Whitefield. They had been incurred in the construction of buildings at Bethesda, in clearing lands, in the employment of servants, and in the support of orphans. He "had not £20 in the world." Many of his white servants deserted to South Carolina, and the trustees would not permit him to bring in slave labor for the cultivation of his plantation. Sore perplexed, yet not despairing, his appeals for aid were more potent than ever. Seward, the wealthiest and the most devoted of his disciples, was dead. In dying he left no legacy to Bethesda. To add to Whitefield's distresses, he was threatened with arrest. "Many, very many of my spiritual children who, at my last departure for England, would have plucked out their own eyes for me, are so prejudiced by the dear Messrs. Wesleys dressing up the doctrine of election in such horrible colors that they will neither hear, see, nor give me the least assistance; yea, some of them send threatening letters that God will speedily destroy me." These are his own words. He appealed to Scotland, to England, to America, to the Bermudas, to Ireland, and they all contributed at the hands of the common people. In 1747 he purchased a plantation of six hundred and forty acres of excellent land in South Carolina, and placed several negro slaves upon it. The profits and products of this investment were applied to the support of the orphan asylum at Bethesda.

The next year he advises the trustees that, although he had expended more than five thousand pounds upon Bethesda, very little progress had been made in clearing and cultivating the lands appurtenant to it. This

he attributes to the inefficiency of white labor, and confidently asserts that if he had been allowed the use of negroes the plantation would long since have been self-supporting. Alluding to his interests in Carolina, he continues: "Blessed be God, this plantation has succeeded; and though at present I have only eight working hands, yet, in all probability, there will be more raised in one year, and with a quarter the expense, than has been produced at Bethesda for several years last past. This confirms me in the opinion I have entertained for a long time that Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed."

While Mr. Habersham attended to the disbursement of the sums remitted, and administered the temporal affairs of the settlement, the entire burden of Bethesda's support rested upon Mr. Whitefield's shoulders. The routine of duties observed by the orphans is thus described by an eye-witness: "The bell rings in the morning at sunrise to wake the family. When the children arise they sing a short hymn, pray by themselves, go down to wash, and by the time they have done that, the bell calls to public worship, when a portion of Scripture is read and expounded, a psalm sung, and the exercises begin and end with prayer. They then breakfast, and afterwards some go to their trades and the rest to their prayers and schools. At noon they all dine in the same room, and have comfortable and wholesome diet provided. A hymn is sung before and after dinner. Then, in about half an hour, to school again; and between whiles they find time enough for recreation. A little after sunset the bell calls to public duty again, which is performed in the same manner as in the morning. After that they sup, and are attended to bed by one of their masters who then prays with them, as they often do privately."

That this orphan house, in the face of many disappointments connected with its advancement to the stage of usefulness and prosperity anticipated and predicted for it, was an institution of great benefit to the colony, and that its sheltering arms ministered to the comfort of many homeless orphans and pointed the way to future industry, respectability, and independence, cannot be questioned. True it is that several persons who exercised a controlling influence over Georgia affairs during the last quarter of the eighteenth century were wards of this charity.¹

¹ Among them may be mentioned Milledge, Ewen, and Langworthy.



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George A. Mercer

Mr. Whitefield's energy surpassed his prudence. In his enthusiasm he lost sight of his better judgment. Thus, so eager was he to complete the construction of his orphan house that he engaged the services of all the bricklayers and sawyers and of most of the carpenters in Georgia, when he was not in funds to pay for their labor, and when a smaller number might have been employed to greater advantage. His zeal was so great that he collected orphans long before his premises were ready for occupation, in the meantime engaging David Douglass's house, at an exorbitant rent, for their reception. So eager was he to multiply the objects of charity under his charge that he, on more than one occasion, undertook to transfer to Bethesda lads of considerable age who were already employed in satisfactory positions. Conceiving the design of converting the Bethesda orphan house into "a seminary of literature and academical learning" Mr. Whitefield, on the 18th of December, 1764, submitted a memorial which evoked from his excellency Sir James Wright and from both houses of Assembly "fervent wishes for the accomplishment of so useful, so beneficent, and so laudable an undertaking." That he might obtain from the Crown the necessary sanction and assistance, Mr. Whitefield made a special journey to England. In his memorial submitted to the privy council, and subsequently referred to his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, he prayed for a charter upon the plan of the college of New Jersey, and expressed his readiness to give up his present trust and make a free gift of all lands, negroes, goods, and chattels which he then stood possessed of in the province of Georgia for the present founding and toward the future support of a college "to be called by the name of Bethesda College in the province of Georgia." The presidency of the proposed institution Mr. Whitefield did not crave for himself. His shoulders he did not regard as well suited to the support of such an academical burden. His capacity he pronounced too limited for a scholastic trust of this dignity. To be a presbyter-at-large he deemed his proper mission. His wish was to obtain a college charter "upon a broad bottom," to provide proper masters to instruct and prepare for literary honors youths who, in Georgia and the adjacent provinces, were desirous of superior educational advantages, to inaugurate a liberal trust which would endure long after he was gathered to his fathers, and to know that his beloved Bethesda would not only be continued

as a house of mercy for the poor orphans, but would also be confirmed to the latest posterity "as a seat and nursery of sound learning and religious education."

Pleasing as were these anticipations, they were never realized. Early on the morning of the 30th of September, 1770, he, whose voice had so long and so eloquently filled the land, died of an acute attack of asthma in the village of Newburyport, Mass; and shortly afterwards the buildings at Bethesda were consumed by fire. So rapid was the conflagration that only a little of the furniture and a few of the books were saved. "Happy was it," exclaims Captain McCall,¹ "for the zealous founder of this institution that he did not survive the ruins of a fabric on which his heart was fixed, and to the completion of which he had devoted so much time and labor." Profound was the impression produced in Savannah by the intelligence of his death. Church and State House were draped in black, and the governor and council arrayed themselves in the habiliments of mourning. Funeral discourses were pronounced, and the entire population bemoaned his loss.

In his will, now of file in the office of the secretary of State at Atlanta, appears the following devise: "In respect to my American concerns, which I have engaged in simply and solely for His great name's sake, I leave that building commonly called the Orphan House, at Bethesda, in the province at Georgia, together with all the other buildings lately erected thereon, and likewise all other buildings, lands, negroes, books, furniture, and every other thing whatsoever which I now stand possessed of in the Province of Georgia aforesaid, to that elect Lady, that Mother in Israel, that Mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honorable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon: desiring that as soon as may be after my decease, the plan of the intended Orphan-House Bethesda College may be prosecuted: if not practicable or eligible, to pursue the present plan of the Orphan-House Academy on its old foundation and usual channel; but if her Ladyship should be called to enter her glorious rest before my decease, I bequeath all the buildings, lands, negroes, and everything before mentioned which I now stand possessed of in the Province of Georgia aforesaid, to my dear fellow-traveller and faithful, invariable friend, the Honorable James Habersham, Presi-

¹ *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 162. Savannah. 1811.

dent of His Majesty's honorable Council; and should he survive her Ladyship I earnestly recommend him as the most proper person to succeed her Ladyship, or to act for her during her Ladyship's lifetime in the Orphan-House Academy."

In pursuance of this devise Lady Huntingdon sent over a house-keeper to manage the domestic affairs of the institution, continued the Rev. Mr. Crosse as teacher, and constituted Mr. Percy president and general manager. Her plans, however, were violently frustrated by the fire to which reference has already been made.

With her private means she erected new buildings sufficient to accommodate the few pupils in attendance upon the school. Moribund was the condition of the institution during her life, and still more unsatisfactory its administration under the board of trustees appointed by the State when Georgia exercised dominion over this property. Another devastating fire occurred, which converted into ashes the greater portion of the main structure; and a hurricane, uplifting the tides, desolated the rice fields. The trustees were powerless to make the needed repairs, and the Legislature, by an act assented to on the 22d day of December, 1808,¹ directed the sale of the estate and provided for the distribution of its proceeds among certain eleemosynary institutions in the city of Savannah.

In 1854 the board of managers of the Union Society purchased a part of the original Bethesda tract, and upon the very spot formerly occupied by Whitefield's orphan house erected buildings for the accommodation and instruction of the boys committed to their charitable care. Thus happily is the philanthropic scheme of the most noted of English pulpit orators, who "loved to range in the American woods," who was never happier than when "holding a levee of wounded souls," and whose generous arms were ever open to succor the poor and the orphan, perpetuated in the living present.

¹ *Clayton's Digest*, p. 463.

CHAPTER XI.

Georgia Divided into two Counties—Colonel William Stephens Appointed President—His Death at Bewlie—Mr. Parker Succeeds to his Office—Negro Slavery and the Importation of Spirituous Liquors Permitted—Land Tenures Enlarged—Commercial House of Harris & Habersham—First Provincial Assembly—Qualification for Membership—First General Muster—The Trustees Surrender their Charter—Patrick Graham Succeeds Mr. Parker as President of the Colony

FOR the convenience of the inhabitants, and in the interest of good government, the trustees, on the 15th of April 1741, divided the province of Georgia into two counties—Savannah and Frederica. The former included all settlements along the line of the Savannah River and upon both banks of the great Ogechee, and such additional territory south of the latter stream as should be designated when a proper map of the country could be prepared. Within the latter were embraced Darien, Frederica, and the entire region lying south of the Alatomaha River. Over each a president and four assistants were to bear rule, constituting a civil and judicial tribunal for the administration of political affairs and the adjudication of all controversies. For the county of Savannah Colonel William Stephens was selected as president, with a salary of $\text{\$}80$ per annum. Henry Parker, Thomas Jones, John Fallowfield, and Samuel Marcer were named as his assistants. No nominations were made for Frederica, although General Oglethorpe was requested to suggest a suitable president. The local bailiffs there remained in charge. So long as General Oglethorpe continued to reside in Georgia all disagreements between county officials could be readily settled, because he exercised a controlling influence throughout the entire province.

In anticipation of his return to England, and to avoid the erection of separate governments, the trustees, on the 18th of April 1743, abrogated so much of the constitution as provided for the appointment of a board for Frederica, and empowered the president and assistants at Savannah to administer the civil and judicial affairs of the whole colony. Thus, upon the departure of General Oglethorpe, Colonel Stephens became president of Georgia. Prior to his promotion to the presidency of Savannah county he had, for several years, occupied the position of secretary in Georgia to the trustees. In discharging the duties appertaining

to this office his industry, his loyalty, and his prompt obedience were conspicuous. Although his experience, attainments, good judgment, and probity of character, admirably fitted him for the execution of the important trust, so advanced was he in years, and so great were his physical infirmities, that he was sometimes incapable of dispatching, with necessary rapidity, the public business. As the years rolled on he became quite sensible of his feebleness, and, in 1750, consented that his assistants should, in the main, proceed without him. On the 19th of March, in that year, Henry Parker was appointed vice-president, and subsequently attended to the duties of the president, although Colonel Stephens continued to hold the office until April or May of the following year when he was succeeded by Mr. Parker. He then carried into effect his intention of retiring from Savannah—the capital of the province—into the country where he would “be at liberty to mind the more weighty things of a future state, not doubting but the trustees would enable him to end his few remaining days without care and anxiety.” In this expectation he was not disappointed, for the Common Council, “in consideration of his great age and infirmities and his past services,” granted him a comfortable annuity.

The evening of his days was peacefully spent at his plantation near Savannah which he named Bewlie because of a fancied resemblance which it bore to the manor of his grace the Duke of Montague in the New Forest: a locality in after years rendered memorable by the debarkation of Count d'Estaing on the 12th of September, 1779, and by the erection of formidable batteries for the protection of this water approach to the city of Savannah during the war between the States. Here he lingered until about the middle of August, 1753, when, at the tea table, having just tasted the proffered cup, he remarked with great composure, “I have done eating and drinking in this world.” Conducted to his bedroom, he lay upon his couch, unable either to speak or to receive nourishment until the next day, when this venerable servant of the trust and firm friend of the colony rested from his labors and entered into peace.

During the early part of President Stephens's administration Georgia did not prosper. The trustees still enforced their regulations regarding land tenures, slaves and rum. Failing to appreciate the true difficulties of the situation, they sacrificed the material interests of the plantation to

their notions of policy and propriety. The present was utterly unsatisfactory, and the future appeared devoid of hope. The acres planted in mulberries were so neglected that they scarcely evinced any token of their former cultivation. Offered bounties failed to stimulate the production of silk, and of vines there were none. Rice was planted only in small quantities; cotton was a curiosity; indigo seldom seen; and the corn crop was insufficient for home consumption. The malaria of the swamps poisoned the white laborer, and the hot sun robbed him of all energy. As a general rule the articulated servants, upon the expiration of their terms, deserted the colony, and none appeared to supply their places. Immigration had almost ceased. Money was scarce and labor high. Farms were neglected, and the inhabitants were dejected. The only commercial house in Savannah of any repute was that of Harris & Habersham, and its shipments at first were chiefly confined to deer-skins, lumber, cattle, hogs, and poultry.

At the request of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, Mr. James Habersham, who then possessed and exerted a decided political, moral, and commercial influence in the colony; prepared a letter in which he carefully reviewed the condition of the province, commented upon the chimerical plans of the trustees, and suggested wise changes in their policy. Contrary to his expectations, this communication found its way into the hands of the Common Council. When he ascertained this fact Mr. Habersham feared all hope of favor and countenance from that honorable body was at an end, and that, taking umbrage at the views he had expressed and the strictures in which he had indulged, the trustees would be disposed to visit upon him their displeasure. On the contrary, his forcible presentation of the case and his cogent reasoning attracted their particular notice, and gave rise to deliberate discussion. Instead of incurring their wrath, he was, to his surprise, appointed by them as an assistant in Savannah in the place of Samuel Marcer who had proved faithless to his trust.

Although frequently memorialized on the subject, the trustees uniformly refused to sanction the introduction of negro slavery into the province. They could not be persuaded to allow the Georgia colonists even to hire negroes owned in Carolina. The impolicy of an adherence to this course of administration had long been apparent to many. It was now

more evident than ever that if the employment of the African laborer was not permitted the development of the province would be fatally obstructed. The colonists determined, therefore, to disregard the injunctions of the trustees. The terms for which European servants had been engaged had generally expired, and there was no way of remedying this deficiency in labor except by hiring negro slaves from their masters in South Carolina, with the proviso that if any attempt was made on the part of the Georgia authorities to enforce the regulations of the trustees the owner of the slave should be promptly notified so that he might come forward and claim his property. Finding that this evasion of the law succeeded, the colonists went one step further and hired negro slaves for a hundred years, or during life, paying in advance the full value of the slaves; the former owners covenanting to intervene and claim them in case such action was rendered necessary by any proceedings on the part of the Georgia authorities.

Finally, purchases from negro traders were openly concluded in Savannah. "Some seizures," says Captain McCall, "were made by those who opposed the principle, but as a majority of the Magistrates favored the introduction of slaves into the Province, legal decisions were suspended from time to time, and a strong disposition was evidenced by the courts to evade the operation of the law. So great was the majority on that side of the question that anarchy and confusion were likely to be kindled into civil war. Several negro servants had been purchased for the Orphan House, and Mr. Habersham declared that the institution could not be supported without them. The servants sent over from England by Mr. Whitefield, after a few months, refused to yield to the menial duties assigned to them. Many ran away, and were supported and secreted in Carolina by their countrymen until an opportunity offered to escape further north, where they were secured against a compliance with the conditions of their indentures. The few who remained were too old, too young, or too much afflicted with disease to render services equal to a compensation for their clothing and subsistence. Those who had fled soon found that they could procure land in the other colonies on easy terms, and engage in employments less degrading and more advantageous."

These violations and evasions of the regulations in regard to the em-

ployment of negroes within the colony having been brought to the notice of the trustees, the Common Council sharply reprimanded the president and assistants, and ordered them at once to put an end to these encroachments. In their response those gentlemen expressed a fear that the trustees had been misinformed in regard to their conduct. They confidently asserted that the board had always discouraged the use of black slaves in the province, and had charged those to whom lands were granted not to attempt the introduction or use of negroes. It is more than hinted, however, that while the president and his assistants were indulging in these protestations to the trustees they stimulated popular clamor and secretly connived at the accession of negroes. They were charged by Mr. Dobell with duplicity and dissimulation, and Colonel Alexander Heron boldly averred: "It is well known to every one in the Colony that Negroes have been in and about Savannah for these several years past: that the magistrates knew and winked at it, and that their constant toast is 'the one thing needful,' by which is meant Negroes."

Those who supported the plans of the trustees in this regard were denounced, "and the leading men both of New Inverness and Ebenezer were traduced, threatened, and persecuted" for their opposition to the introduction of negro slavery. Such was the excitement on this subject that the opponents of the scheme for the employment of African labor shrunk from further contest with its advocates. The magistrates were intimidated; and even good Mr. Bolzius, who, with his followers, had always protested against the admission of negro slaves, wrote to the trustees on the 3d of May, 1748: "Things being now in such a melancholy state, I must humbly beseech your Honors not to regard any more our or our friends' petitions against Negroes."

No two individuals were so instrumental in prevailing upon the trustees to relax this prohibition as the Rev. Mr. Whitefield and the Honorable James Habersham. The former boldly asserted that the transportation of the African from his home of barbarism to a Christian land, where he would be humanely treated and be required to perform his share of toil common to the lot of humanity, was advantageous, while the latter affirmed that the colony could not prosper without the intervention of slave labor.

On the 10th of January, 1749, the president and assistants and a con-

siderable number of the inhabitants of Georgia forwarded to the trustees a petition, to which the town seal was affixed, suggesting certain restrictions and regulations under which they prayed that negro slaves might be admitted into the colony. This petition having been read and considered by the trustees, it was resolved to memorialize his majesty in council for a repeal of the act prohibiting the importation and use of black slaves within the province of Georgia. A committee, of which the Earl of Shaftesbury was appointed chairman, was raised to prepare an act repealing the former act on this subject.

The result of all this agitation was that the trustees yielded to the petition of the colonists, and Georgia, after a struggle of sixteen years, acquired the right, long enjoyed by her sister English colonies in America, of owning and employing negro slaves.

Soon another regulation, to which the trustees tenaciously clung, was abrogated. By a vote of the House of Commons they were directed to repeal the act which prohibited the introduction of rum and other distilled liquors.¹ And, finally, a resolution was adopted by the trustees on the 25th of May, 1750 which provided; "That the Tenures of all Grants of Land whatsoever already made to any person within the Province of Georgia be enlarged and extended to an absolute Inheritance, and that all future Grants of Land shall be of an absolute Inheritance to the Grantees, their Heirs and Assigns."

Thus had the trustees been constrained, by force of circumstances, to abrogate, one after another, several fundamental regulations which they at first promulgated for the government of the colony, and which they long esteemed essential to its moral and political welfare. Lands in Georgia were now held in fee simple: and the power of alienation was unrestricted. The ownership and employment of negro slaves were free to all, and the New England manufacturer and the Santa Cruz merchant here found an open market for their rum.

The trustees also misinterpreted the capabilities of the climate and soil

¹ President Stephens, in writing to the trustees, expressed the opinion that less rum was consumed in the colony after its use was permitted than when it was obtained and drunk clandestinely. He further stated that "a beverage compounded of one part of rum, three parts of water, and a little brown sugar, was very fit to be taken at meals," and that it was, "during the warm season, far more wholesome than malt liquors."

of Georgia. Although substantial encouragement had been afforded to Mr. Amatis, to Jacques Camuse, to the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, to Mr. Pickering Robinson, to Mr. Habersham, and to Mr. Lloyd; although copper basins and reeling-machines had been supplied and a filature erected; although silk-worm eggs were procured and mulberry trees multiplied, silk culture in Georgia yielded only a harvest of disappointment. The vine too languished. The olive trees from Venice, the barilla seeds from Spain, the kali from Egypt, and other exotics, obtained at much expense, after a short season withered and died in the public garden. The hemp and flax, from the cultivation of which such rich yields were anticipated, never warranted the charter of a single vessel for their transportation, and indigo did not commend itself to general favor. Exportations of lumber were infrequent. Cotton was then little more than a garden plant, and white labor had been unable to compete successfully with Carolina negroes in the production of rice. Up to this point the battle had been with nature for life and subsistence; and upon the stores of the trust did many long rely for food and clothing. Of trade there was little, and that was confined to necessaries. With the exception of occasional shipments of copper money for circulation among the inhabitants, sola bills¹ constituted the currency of the province. These were issued by the trustees and placed in the hands of their Georgia agents to be by them paid out

¹The following is a copy of one of these bills, with its indorsement :

“ Georgia Bill of Exchange }
payable in England. }

A. No. 13,464. Westminster 29th May, 1749. Thirty days after sight hereof, we the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America Promise to pay this our Sola Bill of Exchange to W^m Stephens Esq., Henry Parker, W^m Spencer, and Ja^s Habersham or the order of any two of them, the Sum of One Pound Sterling at our Office in Westminster, to answer the like value received in Georgia on the Issue hereof, as testified by Indorsement hereon, sign'd by the said two who shall Issue this Bill.

£ 1.

Sealed by order of the Common Council of the said Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America. HARMAN VERELIST, Acco^{tant}.

(Endorsed)

Georgia, October 13th, 1749.

This Bill was then Issued to William Stephens Esq^r for value received. Therefore Please to Pay the Contents to him or order.

HENRY PARKER,
WM SPENCER.

WILL STEPHENS.

1749.”

as occasion required. They were redeemable in England, and, when not specially indorsed, passed current as any Bank of England notes. When presented for payment and redeemed they were canceled in the presence of one Common Council man and two trustees. A careful record was preserved of all bills issued and redeemed. While General Oglethorpe remained in Georgia, to him was confided the issuing of them, and after his departure this duty devolved upon the president and assistants. The trustees required that specific report should be made of the purpose for which each bill was issued. More than one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars were thus sent over to the colony at different times and disbursed in payment of salaries and in discharge of other expenses connected with the execution of the trust. At the expiration of their charter the accountant reported to the trustees that sola bills to the amount of £1,149 had not been returned for payment. Whereupon, the Common Council placed that sum in the hands of Mr. Lloyd, a reputable silk merchant, who engaged to redeem them when presented. Public notice was also inserted in the American gazettes requiring their presentation before the 1st of January, 1756.¹

In their administration of the financial affairs of the colony the trustees exhibited the utmost prudence, care, and economy. In all their labors they were exact. No body of men could have executed a trust with greater fidelity or in a manner further removed from personal gain or the hope of private emolument. They were philanthropists all, and in the consciousness of duty discharged, in the scrupulous distribution of blessed charities, in honest efforts for the amelioration of the condition of their own unfortunate fellow citizens and of the oppressed Protestants of Europe, in the dissemination of the truths of Christianity upon distant shores, and in the patriotic extension of British dominion did they find honor and reward. Commercial, industrial, and governmental mistakes they did commit, but their errors were all of the head and not of the heart. For more than a century and a quarter has their record been made up, and it stands to-day without a single stain.

To the house of Harris & Habersham is Georgia indebted for the establishment of her earliest commercial relations not only with Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, but also with London. They were the first mer-

¹See Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 315. New York. MDCCCLXVII.

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¹ See Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 315. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

chants here engaged in exporting and importing. By them was the first ship chartered for a Georgia cargo. This was in 1749, and the articles exported consisted chiefly of pitch, tar, staves, rice, and deer-skins. Liberal in their dealings, possessing a commercial credit and correspondence beyond any others in the province engaged in mercantile pursuits, and eager to promote the prosperity of the metropolis of Georgia, these gentlemen sought to stimulate the inhabitants to such a degree of industry that their home products would suffice not only for consumption within the plantation but also for exportation. Their effort was, by an accumulation of needed supplies, to secure the trade of the Carolina planters and sell their crops for them. By attracting English shipping to the port they increased the growth and importance of Savannah and furnished a direct outlet for all articles seeking a foreign market. So successful were the operations of this enterprising firm that the colony materially increased in wealth and in the enjoyment of comforts to which its inhabitants had hitherto been strangers. Within a very few years after the establishment of its relations with England, and after the introduction of negro slaves, a member¹ of this house thus writes: "My present thoughts are that the colony never had a better appearance of thriving than now. There have been more vessels loaded here within these ten months than have been since the Colony was settled. Our exportations for a year past are an evident proof that if proper labouring hands could have been had years before, this Colony before now would have demonstrated its utility to the Mother Country and the West India Islands. Two days ago a large ship arrived here addressed to my partner and myself, which is the fifth sea vessel which has been here to load within a year; more, I may affirm, than has ever been loaded in this Colony before since its first settlement, with its real produce,"

On the 8th of April, 1751 Mr. Henry Parker was appointed president of the colony in the room of Colonel William Stephens. Pickering Robinson and Francis Harris were named as his assistants, and Mr. Noble Jones was commissioned as register of the province.

In pursuance of the resolution adopted by the trustees in June, 1750, writs of election had been issued for the selection of delegates to a provincial assembly to convene at Savannah on the 15th of the following

¹ The Hon. James Habersham.

January. Sixteen delegates composed that assembly, and they were "proportioned to the population of the different parishes or districts." For the convocation, apportionment, and qualification of these assemblymen, the following regulations were established by the Common Council.

The assembly was to convene in the town of Savannah once a year, at such time as should be designated as most convenient by the president of the colony and his assistants, and remain in session not longer than one month.

Every town, village, or district in the province, containing a population of ten families, was empowered to send one deputy. Any settlement embracing thirty families could appoint two delegates. To the town of Savannah four deputies were allowed; to Augusta and Ebenezer two each; and to Frederica two, provided there were thirty families resident there.

As the privilege of enacting laws was, by charter, vested solely in the trustees, this assembly could not legislate. Its powers were limited to discussing and suggesting to the trustees such measures as they might deem conducive to the welfare of particular communities and important for the general good of the province.

Within three days after their assembling these deputies were required to submit in writing a statement showing the number of inhabitants, both white and black (specifying sex and age in every instance), the quantity of land cultivated by each inhabitant and in what crop planted, the number of negroes owned and employed, the quantity of mulberry trees standing and fenced on each plantation, and the progress made by each man or family in the culture of silk, indigo, cotton, etc., in the several towns or parishes represented by them.

These accounts, and also the suggestions of the assembly when signed by its presiding officer, were to be delivered to the president and assistants for prompt transmission to the trustees.

The presiding officer was to be chosen by the delegates. When selected by them, he must be presented for the approval or disapproval of the president of the colony. Should the president decline to sanction the choice of the assembly, if demanded by any three of the members, he was required to give his reasons for such disapproval and to transmit the same in writing for the consideration of the trustees.

For delegates to the first assembly, which was convened at the earliest practicable moment, no qualifications were prescribed; but after the 24th of June, 1751, no inhabitant could be elected a deputy who had not one hundred mulberry trees planted and properly fenced upon every tract of fifty acres which he possessed. From and after the 24th of June, 1753, no one was capable of being a delegate who had not strictly conformed to the prescribed limitation of the number of negro slaves in proportion to his white servants, who had not in his family at least one female instructed in the art of reeling silk, and who did not annually produce fifteen pounds of silk for every fifty acres of land owned by him.

Such were the curious qualifications prescribed for membership of the first quasi-deliberative, quasi-legislative body which ever assembled in Georgia. They were evidently intended to stimulate the production of silk, that commodity which blinded the eyes of the trustees and warped their judgment in directing the industrial pursuits of the colonists.

The assembly convened at Savannah on the day appointed, and organized by the election of Francis Harris as speaker. Among the members who appeared, and, having taken the "oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration" were duly seated were:

From the *Savannah District*: Francis Harris, speaker, John Milledge, William Francis, and William Russel.

The proceedings of this assembly were unimportant. It was a day of small things, and there was little to attract notice, save such trival matters as the want of a pilot boat, the lack of a boat-house under the bluff, of standard weights, scales, and measures, of a survey of the Savannah River, of a commissioner to regulate pilotage, of a clerk of the market, and needs of a kindred character.

The first general muster of the militia of the lower districts was held in Savannah on Tuesday, the 13th of June, 1751. About two hundred and twenty men,—infantry and cavalry,—armed and equipped, paraded under the command of Captain Noble Jones. In the language of the record of the day, they "behaved well and made a pretty appearance."

Although the charter granted by his majesty, King George II., to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America did not by its terms expire until the 9th of June, 1753, persuaded that the proper administration of the affairs of the province and the defrayal of the ex-

penses connected with the suitable maintenance of the civil and military establishments transcended their capabilities, the Common Council, on the 25th of April, 1751, appointed a committee, with the Earl of Shaftesbury as its chairman, to adjust with the general government "proper means for supporting and settling the colony for the future, and to take from time to time all such measures as they should find necessary for its well being." Various conferences were held which resulted in the formal execution of the deed of surrender on the 23d of June in the following year. Georgia thereupon ceased to exist as the ward of the trustees. Until clothed with the attributes of State sovereignty by the successful results of the American Revolution, she was recognized as one of the daughters of the Crown under the special charge of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. By the terms of surrender of the charter her integrity as a province,—separate from and independent of South Carolina,—was fully assured, and all grants of land hitherto made to the inhabitants were recognized and protected.

Early in July, 1752, the lords justices, with the advice of the Privy Council, issued a proclamation to the effect that until his majesty in his royal wisdom should see fit to establish another form and order of government for Georgia all officers of that colony, both civil and military, holding appointments from the trustees, should continue in their respective places of trust, and receive such emoluments, salaries, and fees as had been incident thereto respectively. Such officers were admonished to be diligent and faithful in the discharge of their duties, and it was enjoined upon the inhabitants of the province to render them every obedience and assistance.

Benjamin Martyn was appointed agent of the colony in England.

Upon the death of Mr. Parker, Patrick Graham succeeded to the presidency of Georgia. His assistants were James Habersham, Noble Jones, Pickering Robinson, and Francis Harris. In a letter from these gentlemen to the board of trade, dated Savannah in Georgia, April 11, 1753, we are informed that the population of Georgia, by recent count, consisted of two thousand three hundred and eighty-one whites and one thousand and sixty-six blacks.¹ This estimate did not include his ma-

¹The population of the town of Savannah was then between seven and eight hundred.

jesty's troops and boatmen then in the colony, or a congregation of two hundred and eighty whites, with negro slaves, aggregating five hundred and thirty-six, coming from South Carolina and partially located in the Midway settlement, or Butler's colony, with sixty slaves. Six vessels were reported as then lying at the wharves in Savannah loading for London and American ports. Joseph Ottolenghe who, in Italy, had acquired a knowledge of the best method of conducting filatures, was about to succeed Mr. Pickering Robinson in charge of the silk culture. Remittances were requested in support of this industry, and also in aid of the friendly Indians who were craving additional presents.

CHAPTER XII.

Captain John Reynolds, the First Royal Governor of Georgia—His Report upon the Condition of the Province and of Savannah in 1754—Recommends the Removal of the Seat of Government to Hardwicke—Courts Established in Savannah—Population and Military Strength of the Province—Governor Reynolds's Representation for the Defense of Savannah—Governor Henry Ellis—His Admirable Administration of Public Affairs Georgia Divided into Parishes—Christ Church—Act favoring the Erection of Churches in Sympathy with the Tenets of the Established Church of England—Legislation with Regard to Savannah—Conference with the Creek Indians—Heat in Savannah—Retirement of Governor Ellis.

WITH the plan submitted by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on the 5th of March, 1754, "for establishing a civil government in his majesty's colony of Georgia," his majesty, King George II., was well pleased. On the 6th of August he appointed Captain John Reynolds governor of the province, William Clifton, esq., attorney-general, James Habersham, esq., secretary and register of the records, Alexander Kellet, esq., provost-marshal, and William Russell, esq., naval officer. Mr. Henry Yonge and Mr. John Gerar William DeBrahm were commissioned as "joint surveyors of land in Georgia," at a salary each of £50 per annum, and Sir Patrick Houstoun, Bart., was selected as register of grants and receiver of quit rents, with like salary. Patrick Graham, Sir Patrick Houstoun, Bart., James Habersham, Alexander Kellet, William Clifton, Noble Jones, Pickering Robinson, Francis Harris, Jonathan Bryan,

and William Russell were confirmed as members of council. To their number Clement Martin was subsequently added.

The device submitted by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations for a public seal for the colony was, on the 21st of June, 1754, approved by his majesty, and the chief engraver of seals was ordered forthwith to engrave one of silver for the use of the province. It was to be of equal size with those sent to North and South Carolina. The design was as follows: On one face was a figure representing the Genius of the colony offering a skein of silk to his majesty, with the motto "Hinc laudem sperate Coloni," and this inscription around the circumference, "Sigillum Provinciæ Nostræ Georgiæ in America." On the other side appeared his majesty's arms, crown, garter, supporters, and motto, with the inscription "Georgius II., Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Brunsvici et Luneburgi Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi Thesaurarius et Princeps Elector."

From the time of the surrender of the charter until the arrival of Governor Reynolds in Georgia the government of the province was administered, according to the plan inaugurated by the trustees, by a president and four assistants who received their instructions from and made report to the Lords Justices, and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Sailing in the man-of-war *Port Mahon*, Governor Reynolds landed at Savannah on the 29th of October, 1754. He was received with every demonstration of respect and joy. Bonfires at night supplemented the general delight which was manifested during the day. After a formal introduction to the president and assistants in council assembled, his commission was read. He was then conducted to the president's chair, whence he announced the dissolution of the old board and the formation of a royal council under letters-patent from the Crown. The next morning the members of council took the oath of office and completed their organization. Other officers, named by his majesty, were sworn to faithfully perform the duties devolving upon them. His commission as captain-general and vice-admiral of the province was "read and published at the head of the militia under arms before the council chamber. It was listened to with profound attention and saluted with several rounds of

musketry and shouts of loyalty.”¹ A public dinner, given by the members of council and the principal inhabitants of Savannah in honor of the governor, closed the public exercises of the occasion, and the province passed thus simply and joyously from the hands of the trustees into the direct keeping of the Crown.

Governor Reynolds's earliest impressions of the condition and needs of the province are conveyed in a letter and two memorials to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, dated “at Savannah, in Georgia, December 5th, 1754.” After announcing his arrival on the 29th of October, and his pleasant reception by the inhabitants, he proceeds to give an account of the commercial metropolis and capital of Georgia. “The town of Savannah is well situated and contains about a hundred and fifty houses, all wooden ones, very small and mostly very old. The biggest was used for the meeting of the President and Assistants, wherein I sat in Council for a few days, but one end fell down whilst we were all there, and obliged us to move to a kind of shed behind the Court-house, which being quite unfit, I have given orders, with the advice of the Council, to fit up the shell of a house which was lately built for laying up the silk, but was never made use of, being very ill-calculated for that purpose as Mr. Ottolenghe informs me, wherefore he says he has no further use for it, but it will make a tolerable good house for the Council and Assembly to meet in, and for a few offices besides.” The prison being a small wooden structure and entirely insecure, he ordered it to be strengthened and supplied with bolts and bars. With the advice of the council a proclamation was published, continuing all officers in their present employments until further notice. Writs of election were issued for selecting representatives to serve in a general assembly to convene in Savannah on the 7th of January, 1755. The erection of “Courts of Justice and Judicature,” in accordance with his majesty's instructions, was receiving consideration. Some Indians had already come down to salute the new governor. They stated that so soon as the hunting season was over numbers would appear to receive the presents which were subject to distribution. The necessity for additional troops to garrison the southern frontier of the province and to prevent the desertion of negro slaves to the Spaniards in St. Augustine, who were constantly encouraging them to run away from their masters, was strongly urged upon the immediate and

¹ See Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. i., p. 386. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

favorable notice of the home government. Liberal presents were requested for the Chickasaws, Creeks, Uchees, Choctaws, and Cherokees, whom, as he was advised by Mr. McGillivray and other Indian traders of repute, the French at Mobile were endeavoring to excite to hostilities against South Carolina and Georgia. For the further protection of the colony demand was made for an infantry force of one hundred and fifty men, and requisitions were filed for cannon, small arms, and ammunition.

While upon a tour of inspection of the southern portions of the province, Governor Reynolds was so favorably impressed with the location of Hardwicke, on the Great Ogeechee River, he represented to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations that it was the only place within the limits of Georgia "fit for the capital." A removal of the seat of government from Savannah to this point was earnestly recommended. In this suggestion Governor Ellis subsequently sympathized, but the change was never sanctioned by the home authorities, and the little town of Hardwicke—named in honor of the lord high chancellor of England—deprived of its anticipated dignity and importance, developed into simply a small trading village adapted to the convenience of the few who there resided and cultivated the lands in the vicinity.

The attorney-general of the province, having arrived in Savannah on the 12th of December, submitted his report designating the best method of putting into practical operation his majesty's pleasure with regard to the organization and conduct of courts within the colony. The council thereupon proceeded at once to establish them so that there might be no delay in the orderly administration of justice. The General Court, of which Noble Jones and Jonathan Bryan were constituted justices, was organized in Savannah where it was permanently located. Four regular terms were to be holden in each year, to wit, on the second Tuesday of January, April, July, and October. Its province was to take cognizance of all actions, real, personal, and mixed, where the amount in controversy exceeded forty shillings. Criminal matters were also subject to its jurisdiction; its powers and authority being similar to those inherent in the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Court of Exchequer in England. If the amount involved exceeded £300, an appeal lay to the governor and council; and if the judgment was for more than £500, a further appeal could be prosecuted to his majesty in council, provided the appellant entered into proper security to press his appeal and respond to

the final condemnation. Notice of such appeal was to be given within fourteen days after the rendition of the judgment.

A Court of Chancery for hearing equity causes was organized. In it the governor sat as chancellor, and its other officers were a master, a register, and an examiner. Its doors were to be open after each session of the General Court, if business required.

For the trial of criminal matters a special court of Oyer and Terminer, with two terms a year, was at first provided. But the business of this court having been soon transferred to the General Court, the court of Oyer and Terminer was discontinued.

For the punishment of violations of the Acts of Trade, and for the adjudication of claims concerning salvage, the wages of mariners, and other maritime affairs, a Court of Admiralty was established. Over this the governor presided as vice-admiral, and the other officers were James Edward Powell, judge-advocate; William Clifton, advocate-general; Alexander Kellet, marshal; and William Spencer, register. An appeal lay to the High Court of Admiralty in England.

Justices were appointed for the several districts of the province, and they were authorized to hear and determine causes where the amount involved did not exceed forty shillings.

For punishing slaves committing capital crimes a commission of Oyer and Terminer might, upon an emergency, be issued to the justice of the district in which the offense was committed, to try the accused without a jury. If found guilty and sentenced to death, the justice might award execution, and set upon the slave a value which was afterwards to be paid to the owner by the General Assembly, "as an encouragement to the people to discover the villainies of their slaves."

True to his military instincts, Governor Reynolds apparently was more concerned in regard to the defenses of the province than about any other matters connected with its civil administration and commercial development. The population of Georgia aggregated scarcely sixty-four hundred souls. Of these, seven hundred and fifty-six, capable of bearing arms, were enrolled in the militia and officered. Badly equipped, and organized into eight companies, they were drilled six times each year. Widely separated, their concentration on an emergency was quite difficult. There was not a fortification in the colony which could be regarded as being in even a tolerable condition. In Savannah eleven old cannon

—three and four-pounders—without carriages, twenty-seven antiquated swivel guns, and sixty-one dilapidated muskets, — “most of them with broken stocks and many without locks,” — constituted the entire show of armament. The fort in the town was rotting down, and that on Cockspur island was in no better plight.

Summoning to his assistance John Gerar William DeBrahm — one of the royal surveyors and a captain of engineers of high repute— Governor Reynolds matured, and, on the 5th of January, 1756, submitted an elaborate “Representation of the Forts and Garrisons necessary for the defence of Georgia.” In it the following provision was made with regard to Savannah :

“Cockspur is to be a Triangular Fort, i. e. three Poligons, a. 132 feet, with three Semi Bastions or a Block House with a Redoubt of 4 Poligons, each 100 feet, without any Bastion, being only to defend the Mouth of Savannah River.

ARTILLERY.			
6	24	18	Pounders
3	12		Pounders
2	9		Pounders
2	8		Pounders
2	10		Pounders. Haubices.
15			
The Garrison is			30 Regulars.
The Reinforcement	70 men		{ 35 Militia. 35 Indians.
100			

“Savannah is to be a Square, i. e. four Poligons, each 448 feet, with four Bastions, 3 upon the Bluff to command the Town, and one below the Bluff: besides a Battery upon the Bluff to command the River, being only a Citadel to command both the River and Town.

ARTILLERY.			
8	24	18	Pounders
4	12		Pounders
10	1, 2, 3,	8, 9	Pounders
2	12	10	Haubices.
2	100	50	Mortars.
26			
The Garrison is			150 Regulars.
The Reinforcement	300 Men		{ 150 Militia. 150 Indians.
450"			

This expensive project of the governor did not receive the sanction of the commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and the defenses of Georgia remained in a deplorable condition. Fortunately their protective powers were not called into requisition.

The administration of Governor Reynolds was arbitrary, partial, and provocative of unrest. That of his successor, Mr. Ellis, presented a most fortunate and pleasing contrast. Among those, who, in an organized capacity, tendered a cordial welcome upon his arrival in Savannah on the 16th of February, 1757, to assume the reins of government, was a band of school boys associated together as a military company. Having paraded before his excellency and secured his commendation of their soldiery appearance and well executed manœuvres, these boys, through their captain, presented the following address:

“SIR.—The youngest militia of this Province presume, by their captain, to salute your Honour on your arrival. Although we are of too tender years to comprehend the blessing a good governor is to a province, our parents will doubtless experience it in its utmost extent, and their grateful tale shall fix your name dear in our memories.”

This episode Governor Ellis cherished among the most pleasing incidents connected with his early sojourn in the colony.

He found the colonists dissatisfied, discontented, and provoked at the manner in which the affairs of the plantation had been recently administered. They clamored for changes in the case of not a few of the officeholders, and cited acts of omission and of commission by public servants which merited condemnation. His conduct under the circumstances, calm, conservative, self-reliant, deliberate, dispassionate, and statesmanlike, soon created an effect most beneficial. The tool of no faction, the instrument of no party, he sought only the public good. The colonists quickly recognized his merit, his impartiality, his integrity, his zeal for the common weal, and accorded to him a place high in their respect and affection.

During the administration of Governor Ellis harmony and good will obtained between the executive and the houses constituting the General Assembly. Even the efforts of Little, who had so long disturbed the public tranquility, to poison the minds of some of the legislators and to excite a prejudice against the new chief magistrate, failed to engender any distrust or to cause a division in the sentiments of the assembly.

He had been unmasked. The day of his influence and power was over. Those who had of late fattened by the favor of Governor Reynolds deserted the cause of the deposed chief magistrate, and Governor Ellis was soon able to report the "hydra faction which had long preyed upon the happiness of the people seems at present expiring."

One of the most interesting acts passed by the Legislature during this administration was that dividing the several districts of the province into parishes, providing for the establishment of religious worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and empowering the churchwardens and vestrymen of the respective parishes to assess rates for the repair of churches, the relief of the poor, and for other parochial services. This act was approved on the 17th of March, 1758. According to its provisions the "Town and District of Savannah extending up the Savannah River, and including the islands therein, as far as the southeast boundary of Goshen, from thence in a southwest line to the river Great Ogeechee, and from the town of Savannah eastward as far as the mouth of the river Savannah, including the sea islands to the mouth of the river Great Ogeechee, and all the settlements on the north side of the said river to the western boundaries thereof," constituted the parish of Christ Church.

The church¹ already erected in Savannah, and the ground appurtenant thereto used as a burial place were, in and by the act, designated

¹ Christ church stands upon the identical lot first designated for ecclesiastical uses within the province of Georgia. The original structure was small and builded of wood. After various changes, and having suffered total demolition by fire in 1796, prior edifices were succeeded by the present religious temple which was completed and dedicated in 1840. The following is believed to be a correct list of the clergymen who ministered to the worshippers at Christ church during the eighteenth century: Rev. Dr. George Herbert, 1733; Rev. Samuel Quincy, 1733-1736; Rev. John Wesley, 1736-1737; Rev. George Whitefield, occasionally from 1738 to 1770; he was assisted by the Hon. James Habersham as a reader, and by Rev. William Norris, 1739, Rev. Christopher Orton, 1741-1742; Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, 1743-1745; Rev. Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, 1745-1765, and by Rev. Samuel Frink, 1767-1771. The Rev. Mr. Metcalf was appointed rector in 1740, but he did not enter upon his labors. Then followed: Rev. Timothy Lowton, 1771-1773; Rev. Haddon Smith, 1774-1775; Rev. Edward Jenkins, 1779-1782; Rev. Mr. Lucas, 1785; Rev. Mr. Nixon, 1786-1788; Rev. Benjamin Lindsay, 1788-1791; Rev. Edward Ellington, 1792-1795, and Rev. Dr. Best, 1796. During Dr. Best's incumbency the church edifice was consumed by fire; and, until the installation of the Rev. Dr. Theodore B. Barton in 1811, religious ministrations were quite irregular.

as the Parish Church and Cemetery of Christ Church. It was further provided that "Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, clerk, the present minister of Savannah, shall be the rector and incumbent of the said Christ Church, and he is hereby incorporated and made one body politick and corporate by the name of the rector of Christ Church in the town of Savannah; and shall be and he is hereby enabled to sue and be sued by such name in all Courts within this Province, and shall have the cure of souls within the said Parish, and shall be in the actual possession of the said Church with its cemetery and appurtenances, and shall hold and enjoy the same to him and his successors, together with the glebe land already granted to him, and the messuage or tenement near to the said Church, with all and singular the buildings and appurtenances thereunto belonging; and also all other lands, tenements, and hereditaments as shall or may hereafter be given and granted to the said Church, or the incumbent thereof."

For the purpose of keeping church edifices in repair, for the care of the respective cemeteries, sacred utensils and ornaments, to provide bread and wine for the Holy Eucharist, to pay the salaries of clerk and sexton, and to make provision for the poor and the impotent of the several parishes, the rector, churchwardens, and vestrymen were authorized to levy a tax on the estate, real and personal, of all the inhabitants within the respective parishes sufficient to yield in the parishes of Christ Church and St. Paul £30 each, and in the parishes where no churches had been as yet erected £10 each. The method of assessing and collecting this tax is distinctly pointed out.

With the rector, churchwardens, and vestrymen rested the power of appointing sextons, and of fixing their salaries and fees. The rector was to form one of the vestry, and the churchwardens in each parish were directed to procure, at the charge of the parish, a well-bound paper or parchment book wherein the vestry clerk of the parish was to register the "births, christenings, marriages, and burials of all and every person and persons that shall from time to time be born, christened, married, or buried within the said parish, under the penalty of five pounds sterling on failure thereof." For each entry the vestry clerk was entitled to receive, as a fee, one shilling sterling. These registers were to be adjudged and accepted in all courts of record in the province as furnishing suffi-

cient proof of the births, marriages, christenings, and burials therein mentioned; and if any party was convicted of wilfully making or causing to be made any false entry therein, or of maliciously erasing, altering, or defacing an entry, or of embezzling any entry or book of record, he was to be adjudged guilty of a felony, and to be punished with death without benefit of clergy. Each vestry was instructed to nominate a proper person to keep a record of its proceedings, and to act as the custodian of its books and papers. No authority was conferred upon rectors to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction or to administer ecclesiastical law.

Such are the leading provisions of the act dividing Georgia into the parishes of Christ Church, Saint Matthew, Saint George, Saint Paul, Saint Philip, Saint John, Saint Andrew, and Saint James, and erecting churches in sympathy with the tenets of the established Church of England. While the patronage of the Crown and of the Colonial Assembly was extended in this special manner in aid of churches professing the Episcopal faith, it was not, as we conceive, designed to favor them by an exclusive recognition. The idea appeared to be to accord to that denomination within the limits of Georgia a prestige akin to that which the church of England enjoyed within the realm, to create certain offices for the encouragement of that religious persuasion and the extension of the gospel in accordance with its forms of worship and mode of government, and to provide a method by which faithful registers of births, marriages, christenings and deaths might be made and perpetuated. Numerous were the dissenters then in the province. They were represented by Presbyterians, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and Hebrews. To all sects, save Papists, was free toleration accorded, and whenever a dissenting congregation organized and applied for a grant of land whereon to build a church, the petition did not pass unheeded. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, but that it was the intention of the government, both royal and colonial, to engraft the Church of England upon the province, and, within certain limits, to advance its prosperity and insure its permanency. At the same time allegiance to its rubrics was in no wise made a condition precedent to political preferment.¹

¹ On the 16th of January, 1756, by grant from his majesty, King George II., a public lot in Savannah, known by the letter K, and situate in Decker ward, containing 60 feet

At the hands of the General Assembly Savannah claimed and received much attention. Among the acts passed may be mentioned one establishing a watch in that town; two regulating taverns, punch houses, and the sale of spirituous liquors; two more for the proper conduct of the market; a sixth establishing further rules for the conduct of the watch; a seventh forbidding the erection of wooden chimneys; an eighth empowering trustees to purchase a residence for the use of the present and future governors of the province; a ninth regulating the assize of bread; a tenth for the construction of a public magazine; an eleventh for the repair of Christ Church; and a twelfth for the general regulation of the town. Tybee light-house was not forgotten. Provision was made for the support of the courts of oyer and terminer, and for the defrayal of expenses connected with the administration of the government. Masters of vessels were prevented from conveying debtors from the province, and frauds in lumber were pointed out and denounced. Nearly fifty acts passed by the general assemblies convened during Governor Ellis's administration received royal sanction. Their deliberations were characterized by hon-

in front and 180 feet in depth, was conveyed to Jonathan Bryan, James Edward Powell, Robert Bolton, James Miller, Joseph Gibbons, William Gibbons, Benjamin Farley, William Wright, David Fox, jr., and John Fox, "in trust nevertheless and to the intent and purpose that a Meeting-House, or place of Public Worship for the service of Almighty God, be thereupon erected and built for the use and benefit of such of our loving subjects now residing, or that may at any time hereafter reside within the District of Savannah in our said Province of Georgia, as are or shall be professors of the doctrines of the Church of Scotland, agreeable to the Westminster Confession of Faith."

Upon this designated lot, between Bryan and St. Julian streets, facing west on Market square, and extending east to Whitaker street, a brick church was erected. The first pastor, regularly installed, was the Rev. Dr. John J. Zubly, of St. Gall, Switzerland, a clergyman of education, public spirit, and ability. He ministered to the congregation until compelled, by reason of his political defection, to take his departure in 1778.

During the occupation of Savannah by the British forces a chimney was erected in the middle of this meeting-house, and the structure was used as a hospital.

After the war the Rev. Mr. Phillips supplied the pulpit until 1790, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Johnston who, for three years, performed the duties of pastor. Rev. Mr. McCall became the clergyman in 1794. He died in 1796. This year witnessed the destruction of the church edifice by fire, and until a new meeting-house was builded on St. James square, between York and President streets, the congregation worshipped in the Baptist Church; the Rev. Walter Monteith leading in such religious services as were observed during the years 1797 and 1798.

Of the new church, which was a wooden structure, the Rev. Robert Smith was in-

esty of purpose, unity of sentiment, and laudable devotion to the best interests of the colony. All dissensions had ceased, and the attitude maintained by this legislative body toward the governor was in all respects deferential and conciliatory. Under the wise, conservative, and gentle rule of Governor Ellis, Georgia was rapidly lifting herself above the shadows which gathered so darkly about her during the administration of Governor Reynolds, and was already entering upon that era of development and prosperity which was so signally confirmed under the able guidance of Governor Wright.

Although the king's vessels of war, with their headquarters at Charlestown, South Carolina, were ordered to guard the coast of Georgia, then infested with privateers, they responded only spasmodically and very inefficiently to this duty. They preferred rest in the harbor to active exercise at sea. Finding his remonstrances ineffectual to elicit greater activity on their part, Governor Ellis, on his own motion, fitted out a ship mounting a battery of fourteen carriage and an equal number of swivel

stalled pastor in 1800. Without pursuing the history of this congregation beyond the close of the eighteenth century, we may be pardoned for adding that the corner-stone of the present Independent Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Bull and South Broad streets, was laid on the 13th of January, 1817, and that imposing structure, having immediately been completed, was, with appropriate ceremonies, dedicated "To Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," under the pastoral care of the Rev. Henry Kollock, D.D., in May 1819.

As early as 1759 a Lutheran Church was established in Savannah, but the congregation was too feeble to support a pastor.

In 1795 the Baptists, aided by Christians of other denominations, erected in Savannah "a house of worship, 50 by 60 feet, with galleries and a steeple." Ebenezer Hills, John Millen, Thomas Polhill, John Hamilton, Thomas Harrison, and John H. Roberds were named as trustees. As no preacher was at hand to fill the pulpit, the edifice was, for several years, rented to the Presbyterians who had lost their church by fire. Under the pastorate of the Rev. Henry Holcombe, commencing in 1800, this congregation multiplied, and the church grew rapidly in religious fervor and influence.

In 1788 a congregation of colored Baptists, consisting of sixty-nine members, was organized in Savannah under the joint pastorate of Andrew Bryan and Jesse Peters.

In 1771 the Rev. Mr. Frink submitted the following estimate of the strength of the several religious denominations in Savannah:

Church of England.....	1,185
Lutherans.....	193
Presbyterians and Independents.....	499
Hebrews.....	49

guns, placed her under the command of experienced officers, and for six weeks kept her busily cruising up and down the Georgia coast. The effect was most wholesome both upon the enemy and the slothful marine guard at Charlestown.

The intrigues of the French with the Indians dwelling beyond the northern borders of the provinces of Carolina and Georgia necessitated the adoption of unusual precautions to retain their friendship. At a conference between Governors Ellis of Georgia and Lyttleton of South Carolina and Colonel Bouquet, commanding the king's forces in the southern department, it was agreed that the Indians should be invited to Charlestown and afterwards to Savannah, where by hospitable entertainment, a liberal distribution of gifts, and an exhibition of military strength on the part of the colonists, the red warriors might be induced to refrain from violating their amicable relations. Influenced by the earnest representations of Governor Ellis, Colonel Bouquet detailed one hundred troops of the Virginia Provincials to take post at Savannah, and placed the Georgia Rangers upon the king's establishment.

The conference between the governor and council and the chiefs and head men of the Upper and Lower Creeks occurred at Savannah on the 25th of October, 1757. Anxious to impress these savages with the highest possible conception of the military strength of the town, Governor Ellis ordered that they should be received by the first regiment of militia, commanded by Colonel Noble Jones, that sixteen cannon should be mounted in the different batteries around Savannah,¹ and that seven field-pieces should be placed in position in front of his dwelling. As the Indians approached, escorted by Captain Milledge and the Rangers, they were met beyond the lines by Captain Bryan and a cavalcade of the principal inhabitants, who welcomed them in the name of the governor and regaled them in a tent pitched for that purpose. This preliminary reception concluded, preceded by the citizens on horseback, the Rangers bringing up the rear, the procession of Indians advanced to the town gate where salutation was made with three cannon from the King's battery, three from the Prince's, five from Fort Halifax, and five from Loudoun's bastions. Pausing at the gate, the citizens opened to the right and left, facing inwards, and the Indians, marching between them, entered the town,

¹ This town had been fortified by Captain De Brahm.

where they were received by Colonel Jones at the head of the regiment, and conducted, with drums beating and colors flying, to the council chamber. While passing the governor's residence the column was saluted by the battery there stationed, and this compliment was repeated by the guns in the water battery and by cannon on vessels in the river.

At the council house the regiment filed to the right and left, and, in parallel lines facing the chiefs and warriors as they advanced, presented arms. At the steps of the council chamber they were saluted by the Virginia Blues; and upon entering the house they were met by the governor, who, with outstretched arms, welcomed them thus: "My friends and brothers, behold my hands and my arms! Our common Enemies, the French, have told you they are red to the elbows. View them. Do they speak the truth? Let your own eyes witness. You see they are white, and could you see my heart, you would find it as pure, but very warm and true to you, my friends. The French tell you whoever shakes my hands will immediately be struck with disease and die. If you believe this lying, foolish talk, don't touch me. If you do not, I am ready to embrace you."

This speech, so well adapted to the comprehension of the natives, and so much in unison with their favorite style of utterance, completely captivated their hearts. Approaching the governor they shook his hand warmly, and declared that the French had often sought to deceive them. Friendly greetings followed, and the ceremonies of the day were concluded by a dinner at which the head men of the twenty-one towns represented were kindly and pleasantly entertained. During their stay in Savannah these red men were complimented with many presents, and were bountifully feasted. On the following Thursday, having been honored with another military parade and by martial salutes, they assembled in the council chamber, which was thronged to its utmost capacity by the citizens. There they were again addressed by Governor Ellis. "Observe, my friends," said he, "how serene and cloudless this day appears! I cannot but consider it as a good omen of the success of this interview; and I hope that you are all come with hearts resembling it, unclouded by jealousies, and with dispositions suitable to the good work of tightening the chain and making the path straight forever between us." He then read in their hearing, with great solemnity, a communication which he had

guns, placed her under the command of experienced officers, and for six weeks kept her busily cruising up and down the Georgia coast. The effect was most wholesome both upon the enemy and the slothful marine guard at Charlestown.

The intrigues of the French with the Indians dwelling beyond the northern borders of the provinces of Carolina and Georgia necessitated the adoption of unusual precautions to retain their friendship. At a conference between Governors Ellis of Georgia and Lyttleton of South Carolina and Colonel Bouquet, commanding the king's forces in the southern department, it was agreed that the Indians should be invited to Charlestown and afterwards to Savannah, where by hospitable entertainment, a liberal distribution of gifts, and an exhibition of military strength on the part of the colonists, the red warriors might be induced to refrain from violating their amicable relations. Influenced by the earnest representations of Governor Ellis, Colonel Bouquet detailed one hundred troops of the Virginia Provincials to take post at Savannah, and placed the Georgia Rangers upon the king's establishment.

The conference between the governor and council and the chiefs and head men of the Upper and Lower Creeks occurred at Savannah on the 25th of October, 1757. Anxious to impress these savages with the highest possible conception of the military strength of the town, Governor Ellis ordered that they should be received by the first regiment of militia, commanded by Colonel Noble Jones, that sixteen cannon should be mounted in the different batteries around Savannah,¹ and that seven field-pieces should be placed in position in front of his dwelling. As the Indians approached, escorted by Captain Milledge and the Rangers, they were met beyond the lines by Captain Bryan and a cavalcade of the principal inhabitants, who welcomed them in the name of the governor and regaled them in a tent pitched for that purpose. This preliminary reception concluded, preceded by the citizens on horseback, the Rangers bringing up the rear, the procession of Indians advanced to the town gate where salutation was made with three cannon from the King's battery, three from the Prince's, five from Fort Halifax, and five from Loudoun's bastions. Pausing at the gate, the citizens opened to the right and left, facing inwards, and the Indians, marching between them, entered the town,

¹ This town had been fortified by Captain De Brahm.

where they were received by Colonel Jones at the head of the regiment, and conducted, with drums beating and colors flying, to the council chamber. While passing the governor's residence the column was saluted by the battery there stationed, and this compliment was repeated by the guns in the water battery and by cannon on vessels in the river.

At the council house the regiment filed to the right and left, and, in parallel lines facing the chiefs and warriors as they advanced, presented arms. At the steps of the council chamber they were saluted by the Virginia Blues; and upon entering the house they were met by the governor, who, with outstretched arms, welcomed them thus: "My friends and brothers, behold my hands and my arms! Our common Enemies, the French, have told you they are red to the elbows. View them. Do they speak the truth? Let your own eyes witness. You see they are white, and could you see my heart, you would find it as pure, but very warm and true to you, my friends. The French tell you whoever shakes my hands will immediately be struck with disease and die. If you believe this lying, foolish talk, don't touch me. If you do not, I am ready to embrace you."

This speech, so well adapted to the comprehension of the natives, and so much in unison with their favorite style of utterance, completely captivated their hearts. Approaching the governor they shook his hand warmly, and declared that the French had often sought to deceive them. Friendly greetings followed, and the ceremonies of the day were concluded by a dinner at which the head men of the twenty-one towns represented were kindly and pleasantly entertained. During their stay in Savannah these red men were complimented with many presents, and were bountifully feasted. On the following Thursday, having been honored with another military parade and by martial salutes, they assembled in the council chamber, which was thronged to its utmost capacity by the citizens. There they were again addressed by Governor Ellis. "Observe, my friends," said he, "how serene and cloudless this day appears! I cannot but consider it as a good omen of the success of this interview; and I hope that you are all come with hearts resembling it, unclouded by jealousies, and with dispositions suitable to the good work of tightening the chain and making the path straight forever between us." He then read in their hearing, with great solemnity, a communication which he had

prepared, entitled "A Letter from the Great King to his Beloved Children of the Creek Nation." Its conciliatory terms were pleasing to the Indians, and their response promised peace and amity.

The result of this convention was all that could have been desired. It was shown in the treaty of the 3d of November following, by which friendly relations between the province of Georgia and the Creek confederacy were firmly pledged.¹

Governor Ellis was seriously affected by the climate of Georgia. The potent rays of the summer sun he found very debilitating in their influence. In July, 1758, writing in his piazza, open at each end and completely shaded, with a breeze blowing from the southeast and no houses near to reflect the heat, he says Fahrenheit's thermometer registered 102°. Twice before, to wit, on the 28th of June and the 11th of July, had the mercury attained that height, and for days it rose to 98°. That summer he regarded as unusually hot, and imagined that the weather betokened the advent of a hurricane. Savannah being situated upon a sandy eminence, shut in by tall woods, he thought the heat more intense than in other parts of the colony. Although he deemed it highly probable that the inhabitants of Savannah breathed "a hotter air than any other people on the face of the earth," he concludes with the admission, "but few people die here out of the ordinary course."²

Captain McCall, in commenting upon this letter of Governor Ellis, comes thus loyally and truthfully to the rescue: "As Governor Ellis was a man of sense and erudition, and no doubt made his observations with accuracy, I shall not presume to call in question the facts which he relates, but I feel bound to assert, under the authority of the oldest inhabitants now living in Savannah, that there have been but few instances in which the mercury has risen above 96°, and none in which it has risen above 100° in the shade within the last thirty years. The trade winds prevail on the sea coast of Georgia with great uniformity in the summer, particularly on the southern part of it; and it is not unworthy of remark that I resided at Point Peter, near the mouth of St. Mary's River, eighteen months, and the garrison consisted of near one hundred troops, and that

¹ See *M.S. Minutes of Council*. Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. i., pp. 440-443. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

² See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1759, p. 314.

I do not recollect, after the first fortnight, to have seen three men in bed with the fever, and only one died during that period, and his disease was a consumption. Indeed the seashore is healthy, except in the vicinity of stagnant fresh water.

“I have annexed these remarks because Governor Ellis asserts that the maritime parts of Georgia are the most unhealthy and unpleasant.”¹

Beyond controversy, during the period of its early occupancy when it was closely fenced about by forests forbidding a free circulation of air, when little attention was bestowed upon drainage, when the inhabitants were in large measure unacclimated, and when alluvial lands, dank and reeking with the decayed vegetable mould of unnumbered centuries, were first exposed to the action of the sun's rays, the health of Savannah was much inferior to that which it now enjoys, and the temperature unquestionably more intolerable. With the exception of occasional epidemics, this city, under existing sanitary regulations, despite the fact that it dwells in a malarial region, must be regarded as not unhealthy; and no one familiar with the delightful influences of the southeast breezes which, during the hot months, prevail with the regularity of trade-winds, will deny that many climatic pleasures are here enjoyed, even in the heart of summer.

Governor Ellis's health became so feeble that, in November, 1759, he solicited a recall. His hope was that his successor would be speedily selected, and that he would avoid the debilitating influences of another warm season in Georgia. Although his request was granted, and James Wright, esq. was commissioned as lieutenant-governor of the province on the 13th of May, 1760, he did not arrive in the colony to relieve Governor Ellis until the following October.

Upon the expiration of his official duties the province of Georgia possessed a population of some six thousand whites and three thousand five hundred and seventy-eight blacks.

Having turned over the affairs of State to his successor, the Honorable James Wright, Governor Ellis departed from Georgia on the 2d of November, 1760. The address of the assembly expressed the general

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regret. The inhabitants of the province were deeply moved at the retirement of the governor whose kind and paternal administration, whose honesty of purpose and unwearied exertions for the advancement of the welfare of the colony, whose integrity and personal worth had produced the most favorable impression upon all. The Georgia Society, the merchants of Savannah, the citizens of Augusta, and others presented him with affectionate and complimentary addresses, regretting his departure, extolling his administration of public affairs, commending his character, and praying for his welfare. As a token of the gratitude entertained by the citizens of Savannah, the Union Society requested his acceptance of a handsome piece of plate.¹

Few were the regrets which accompanied Governor Reynolds when he bade farewell to distracted and unhappy Georgia; but now the good will and the blessings of a sorrowing people clustered about their retiring chief magistrate. The apple of discord had been supplanted by the olive of peace. Happy in the confidence and the love of those over whom he ruled, fortunate and just in his intercourse with the Indian nations, successful in the conduct of the affairs of the colony, and secure in the esteem of the home government, pleasant and honorable is the memory which Governor Ellis has bequeathed to the colonial annals of Georgia.

Subsequently commissioned as governor of Nova Scotia, he occupied that position for two years and a half. Warned by feeble health, he dismissed all public cares and sought repose in the south of France. Finally, having attained a venerable age, and to the last intent upon the prosecution of some favorite physical researches, he fell on sleep, as did Pliny the elder, within sight of Vesuvius and upon the shore of the beautiful Bay of Naples.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Governor James Wright—His Admirable Qualifications for Office—Population and Military Strength of the Province—Occupations of the Colonists—Condition of Savannah—Fortifications of the Town—Construction of its Wharves—Health of Savannah—Four Additional Parishes Created—Improvement in the Condition of Affairs—Representation in the Provincial Assembly—Improper Conduct of Chief Justice Grover.

THE selection of James Wright, esq., to succeed Mr. Ellis as governor of Georgia was in every respect wise, appropriate, and acceptable. Born in South Carolina,—the son of a chief-justice of that colony, and having himself for twenty-one years filled the office of attorney-general of that province,—he was not only loyal to the traditions of an ancient and honorable English family and unswerving in his allegiance to the British Crown, but thoroughly acquainted with the sentiments, industries, and needs of the Southern plantations. Possessing ample means, a liberal education, and a practical knowledge of the best method of cultivating the lands of this marish region, trained to the legal profession, of excellent business habits, familiar with the conduct of colonial affairs, with an honesty of purpose and a courageous conception of duty which neither threats nor the offers of personal advantage could influence, and of unquestioned probity, he was admirably qualified for the discharge of the responsibilities appertaining to the gubernatorial office.

Although assuming the reins of government in the sunlight of peace, he was destined to encounter the storms of the Revolution, and, in a brave adherence to the cause of his royal master, suffer arrest, banishment from the colony, mortification, and loss. It was his lot to preside at an epoch full of doubt and trouble. During his administration the political ties which united Georgia to the mother country were violently sundered, and a union of American colonies was formed which in after years developed into a republic than which there now exists no more puissant government in the sisterhood of nations. Throughout his official career, despite the difficulties which environed, he was at all times faithful to his trust, courageous in the performance of his duties, wise in the administration of governmental affairs, and sagacious in his political views and suggestions. The more closely it is scanned and the more in-

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telligently it is comprehended, the more praiseworthy, from a loyal standpoint, appears his conduct. Georgia may well be proud of the capabilities and reputation of the third and last of her royal governors.

Through the conciliatory and prudent course adopted by Governor Ellis the province had escaped collision with the Indian nations, and avoided participation in the controversy between the Virginians and the Carolinians on the one hand and the Cherokees on the other, which culminated in bloodshed and ruin.

At the inception of Governor Wright's administration, the white population of Georgia amounted to barely six thousand souls, and there were three thousand five hundred and seventy-eight negro slaves owned and employed within the province. The military force of the colony consisted of sixty men belonging to his majesty's independent companies, two troops of rangers, numbering each five officers and seventy privates, and the militia,—organized as infantry,—and aggregating one thousand and twenty-five. But thirty-four hundred pounds of rice had been exported in 1760, and the entire commerce of the colony was conducted by forty-two vessels, most of them of light burthen.

While some of the poorer members of the community wove a coarse home-spun cloth, and knit cotton and woolen stockings for their own use, all silks, linens, and woolens were imported. There were some tanners and shoemakers, and of blacksmiths there was no lack. All articles of iron, fictile ware, and ornamental furniture came from abroad, and chiefly from England. Occasionally a snow, a brigantine, or a schooner was built, and saw-mills of primitive construction and limited capacity were scattered here and there throughout the land. The cultivation of rice was beginning to attract attention, but the energies of the colonists were expended upon planting corn, pease, wheat, and rye, in making pitch, tar, and turpentine, in riving shingles and staves, in sawing lumber, and in raising cattle, mules, horses, hogs, and sheep.

The town of Savannah at this time contained between three and four hundred houses, nearly all of them small and builded of wood. The most imposing structures were Christ Church, an Independent meeting-house, a council-house, a court-house, and a filature. Using the present names of the streets, Savannah was then bounded on the north by the Bay, on the east by Lincoln street, on the south by South Broad street, and on the west

by Jefferson street. Its extreme length from east to west was two thousand one hundred and fifteen feet, and it extended from north to south one thousand four hundred and twenty-five feet. Six squares, or Market places, were included within these limits. Outside these boundaries were scattering settlements.

After a pleasant interchange of courtesies between the governor and the council, and the General Assembly, attention was bestowed upon the completion of the fortifications of Savannah. It had been "proposed with a well palisadoed intrenchment to envelop the city so as to make it a receptacle and shelter for all the planters, their families, slaves, etc.," and considerable progress had been made in this labor which was mapped out and supervised by Captain DeBrahm. Properly environed on the south, the east, and the west, and being open to the north where the river afforded facile communication with South Carolina, whence, upon an emergency, supplies of food and ammunition could be obtained, the Indians, it was thought, would never be able to do more than burn the dwellings in the circumjacent country, and kill such cattle and steal such horses as might be left upon the plantations. Their families being secure within the intrenchments of Savannah, where they would be supplied with requisite stores and could enjoy the protection of the governor and council, the male inhabitants would be free to operate in the field and devote their energies to the expulsion of the marauders. Savannah,—the commercial metropolis and capital of Georgia,—was thus to be rendered the walled-town and place of security for the region in seasons of peril. DeBrahm's system of fortification embraced "two Poligons with three Bastions" for the protection of the southern exposure of the town. "With four Poligons more (two on the east and two others on the west side of the city, each ending with a demi-Bastion)"—the eastern and western intrenchments terminating northwardly at the river,—he proposed to complete the environment of the town. The soil of Savannah being very sandy, in order to preserve the breastwork the outside talus was faced with pine logs set in the ground. Wooden towers were erected in the corner bastions, with strong platforms in their first stories to support twelve-pounder cannons. These fortifications were in an incomplete condition when Governor Wright assumed the reins of government. That they might be finished at the earliest practicable moment, the Governor, James

DeVeaux, Lewis Johnson, William Francis, Joseph Gibbons, James Read, and Edmund Tannatt were nominated by the Commons House of Assembly as a supervising committee. To this board were added from the Upper House, the Honorable James Habersham, Colonel Noble Jones, James Edward Powell, and William Knox. The work progressed rapidly, and Savannah soon afforded within its intrenchments an asylum whither the adjacent planters, upon occasions of alarm, might betake themselves with their families and personal property, and find refuge from the rifle and scalping-knife of the Indian.

Governor Wright discountenanced the project, which had been favorably entertained by his predecessors, of transferring the seat of government from Savannah to Hardwicke. In this he acted most wisely. Pending the question of removal, Savannah had suffered much. Her public buildings had been neglected, and her citizens, ignorant of the future, grew careless of their homes. As soon, however, as it was definitely ascertained that the little city of Oglethorpe was to remain the capital and commercial metropolis of the province, a new impulse was imparted which conduced most materially to the general prosperity and encouragement of the town.

The light-house on Tybee Island was repaired, a lazaretto was established, and the wharves along the Savannah River were rendered convenient and permanent. These wharves were constructed upon a plan furnished by DeBrahm to Thomas Eaton in 1759. His suggestion was "to drive two rows of Piles as far asunder as he desired his Wharf to be wide, and as far towards the River as low Water Mark; secure their tops with plates, and to trunnel Planks within on the Piles; this done, then to brace the insides with dry Walls of Stones intermixed with willow Twigs, and in the same manner to shut up the Ends of the two Rows with a like Front along the Stream; to build inside what Cellars he had occasion for; then to fill up the Remainder with Sand nearest at hand out of the Bluff or high shore of the Stream under the Bay."¹

This method was adopted and observed for many years. It was abandoned only when heavy freights and larger vessels rendered the construction of more substantial landing-places a matter of commercial necessity.

¹ *History of the Province of Georgia, etc.*, p. 45. Wormsloe. MDCCCLXIX.

For nearly thirty years after its settlement, Savannah was regarded as a healthy town. Thither did the rice planters from the adjacent lowlands in South Carolina resort during the summer and autumn of the year that they might escape the fevers incident to the swamps. The dense forests growing upon Hutchinson's Island and in the low grounds to the east and west of the town shielded it from the noxious vapors and malarial influences of the fields beyond, which were cultivated in rice. So soon, however, as these trees were felled, and the regions they formerly covered were converted into rice plantations, the miasmatic exhalations thence arising were, by north and east winds, rolled in upon the town to the prejudice of the health of its inhabitants.¹ At a later period it was found necessary to guard Savannah against the unwholesome effects to which we have alluded, by the rigid enforcement of a dry-culture system within specified limits.

So tardy was the communication between the colony and the mother country that intelligence of the demise of his majesty George II. was not received in Savannah until February, 1761. The assembly was thereupon immediately dissolved and writs of election were issued for a new assembly to convene on the 24th of the following March.

Funeral honors were rendered to his late majesty, and George III. was saluted as king with all the pomp and ceremony of which the province was capable. Then for the first and only time was a king proclaimed upon Georgia soil.

Out of the lands lying between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary which, by royal proclamation dated at St. James on the 7th of October, 1763, his majesty King George III. was pleased to annex to the province of Georgia, four additional parishes were laid off, viz.: St. David, St. Patrick, St. Thomas, and St. Mary. No longer plagued by the French and Spaniards, at peace with the circumjacent Indian nations, her boundaries widened and guarded on the south and west by two new English plantations erected in Florida,—Georgia now occupied a position of security never before enjoyed. With an increasing population and an expanding commerce, and presided over by a chief magistrate eager for the promotion of its best interests, the province day by day rose in impor-

¹ See DeBrahm's *History of the Province of Georgia*, etc., pp. 47, 48. Wormsloe. MDCCCXLIX.

tance, and was fast realizing the expectations which its illustrious founder had conceived for it. Christ Church Parish now had the following representation:

From Savannah: Joseph Ottolenghe, Grey Elliott, Lewis Johnson, and Joseph Gibbons.

From Acton: William Gibbons.

From Vernonburg: Edmund Tannatt.

From the Sea Islands: Henry Yonge, and

From Little Ogeechee: James Read.

Alluding to the condition of Georgia at this epoch Captain McCall¹ says: "No province on the continent felt the happy effects of this public security sooner than Georgia which had long struggled under many difficulties arising from the want of credit from friends, and the frequent molestations of enemies. During the late war the government had been given to a man who wanted neither wisdom to discern nor resolution to pursue the most effectual means for its improvement. While he proved a father to the people and governed the province with equity and justice, he discovered at the same time the excellence of its low-lands and river swamps, by the proper management and diligent cultivation of which he acquired in a few years a plentiful fortune. His example and success gave vigor to industry and promoted a spirit of emulation among the planters for improvement. The rich lands were sought for with zeal and cleared with that ardor which the prospect of riches naturally inspired. The British merchants, observing the province safe and advancing to a hopeful and promising state, were no longer backward in extending credit to it, but supplied it with negroes, and goods of British manufacture with equal freedom as other provinces on the continent. The planters no sooner got the strength of Africa to assist them than they labored with success, and the lands every year yielded greater and greater increase. The trade of the province kept pace with its progress in cultivation. The rich swamps attracted the attention not only of strangers but even of the planters of Carolina who had been accustomed to treat their poor neighbors with the utmost contempt; several of whom sold their estates in that colony and removed with their families and effects to Georgia. Many settlements were made by the Carolinians about Sunbury and upon the

¹ *History of Georgia*, vol i., p 288. Savannah. 1811.

Alatamaha. The price of produce at Savannah increased as the quality improved,—a circumstance which contributed much to the prosperity of the country. The planters situated on the opposite side of Savannah River found in the capital of Georgia a convenient and excellent market for their staple commodities. In short, from this period the rice, indigo, and naval stores arrived at the markets in Europe of equal excellence and perfection and, in proportion to its strength, in equal quantities with those of its more powerful and opulent neighbors.”

So rapid had been the development of the Midway District, and such importance had the town of Sunbury attained, that in September, 1762, Governor Wright,¹ with the assent of council, constituted it a port of entry, and appointed Thomas Carr, collector; John Martin, naval officer; and Francis Lee, searcher.

Much attention was bestowed upon the public roads of the province, upon the maintenance of ferries at important points, and upon establishing easy communication, by direct lines, between the principal towns. To Captain De Brahm is great credit due for the intelligence and industry exhibited in the location and construction of these highways. As late as December, 1764, the road from Charlestown to Savannah terminated at Purrysburg, whence the conveyance was down the river by boat. Soon afterwards, however, a new highway was opened which rested upon the Savannah River less than two miles below the town of Savannah, and there a ferry was established which greatly facilitated travel and the transmission of postal matter.²

One of the earliest annoyances experienced by Governor Wright in the administration of the affairs of the colony arose from the extraordinary conduct of William Grover. He was the chief justice of this province and perverted his office, ignoring its responsibilities, disregarding its obligations, prostituting its functions, and proving recreant to its trusts. When held to account for his maladministration, he grew insubordinate and even went so far as to publish a scandalous libel upon the governor. Prompt action on the part of the Executive and the general assembly resulted in a suspension of the chief justice from office.

¹ See *Letter to the Earl of Halifax*, dated Savannah 8th of December, 1763.

² See *Letter of Governor Wright to the Earl of Halifax*, dated Savannah in Georgia, 24th Dec., 1764.

CHAPTER XIV.

Stamp Act of 1765.—Profound Impression Created in Savannah—Convention of the 2d of September—Governor Wright's Letters of the 31st of January and the 7th of February, 1776—Declaration of Rights—Stamps Issued in Savannah—Joy upon the Repeal of the Act.

THE passage by both houses of Parliament, in the teeth of all protests entered by the agents of the Colonies, of the Stamp Act of 1765, produced a profound impression in Savannah. Being a commercial town, its inhabitants were most nearly concerned in the practical operation of this legislation which evoked the unqualified denunciation of the impassioned Barré and his friends, encountered the opposition of the eloquent Otis, elicited from the calm Habersham the emphatic rejoinder—"it is an insult on the most common understanding to talk of our being virtually represented in Parliament,"—banded the "Sons of Liberty" into associations all over the land, intent upon retaliation or redress,—and touched in Virginia that alarum bell which "gave the signal for the continent."

Upon receipt of the circular letter forwarded by the general Assembly of Massachusetts, soliciting the formation of a congress to assemble in New York in October, 1765, Mr. Wylly, speaker of the Commons House of Assembly of Georgia, issued a call to the members, requesting a convention at Savannah at an early day. Sixteen members responded, and on the 2d of September came together at the place named. Through the strenuous influence of Governor Wright they were prevailed upon not to send delegates to the proposed congress. They did, nevertheless, prepare and transmit a response to the Massachusetts invitation, intimating their readiness to coöperate heartily in every measure devised for the support and protection of the common rights of the colonies.

So satisfied was the governor with his loyal exertions and with the apparent tranquillity of the province that as late as the 20th of September he informed the Earl of Halifax that everything was well and doing well. Far otherwise was the tenor of his communication addressed to Mr. Secretary Conway on the 31st of January, 1766:



The Hon. Edmund 1877

Yours truly
Edmund

“SIR,—Yesterday I had the honour to receive the duplicates of your Excellency’s letter of the 24th of October, and it is with the utmost concern that I am to acquaint your Excellency that the same spirit of sedition, or rather rebellion, which first appeared at Boston has reached this Province, and I have for three months past been continually reasoning and talking with the most dispassionate and sensible people in order to convince them of the propriety of an acquiescence, and submission to the King’s authority and that of the British Parliament, until they could point out their grievances, if any, and apply for redress in a constitutional way. I have also Sir, pointed out the dangerous consequences, distresses, and misery they must inevitably bring upon themselves by following the example of the Northern Colonies. This I have done in the strongest and most striking point of view I could place it in, and exactly agreeable to the sense and spirit of your Excellency’s letter I had the honor to receive yesterday. At other times I have had recourse to such little force as is in my power, and have in some measure preserved and supported his Majesty’s authority and prevented the Stamp papers from being destroyed; but Sir, I must at the same time declare that I have had the great mortification to see the reins of government nearly wrested out of my hands, his Majesty’s authority insulted, and the civil power obstructed. But that your Excellency may be more clearly enabled to judge of the true state of affairs in this Province, and to lay the same before his Majesty, I humbly beg leave to state a brief narrative of some transactions here, and which I from time to time have acquainted the Lords of Trade with.

“On the 26th of October, the day of his Majesty’s accession, I had ordered a general Muster: and in the evening, a little after night, there was a very great tumult in the streets, and some effigies burnt, and a day or two after several incendiary threatening letters were wrote on which I issued a proclamation as your Excellency will see by the enclosed newspaper. I also issued another proclamation against riots and tumultuous and unlawful assemblies, and from that time the spirit of faction and sedition took place and increased, and those persons who falsely call themselves the Sons of Liberty began to have private cabals and meetings, and I was informed that many had signed an Association to oppose and prevent the distribution of Stamped papers, and the act

from taking effect. But it was impossible to come at such proof as would enable me to support any legal proceedings against them, and I found they had determined on attacking the distributor as soon as he arrived, and compelling him to resign or promise not to act, as had been done in the Northern Colonies. I had also been informed that they intended to seize upon and destroy the papers whenever they should come. In the mean time Sir, every argument I could suggest was used to convince them of the rashness of such attempts and the dangerous consequences that must attend them, and every method, both public and private, was pursued by me to bring them to a right way of thinking, and which I frequently thought I had effected, and am sure I should have done but for the inflammatory papers, letters, and messages continually sent to the people here from the Liberty Boys, as they call themselves, in Charlestown, South Carolina, and by whom I am very clear all our disturbances and difficulties have been occasioned.

“And thus matters rested Sir, till the 5th of December, when his Majesty’s ship *Speedwell* arrived here with the stamped papers on board. I had used every precaution necessary to prevent either papers or officers from falling into the hands of those people, which they were not ignorant of. And when it was known that the *Speedwell* was in the river with the papers, several of the principal inhabitants came to me and gave me the strongest assurances possible that there was then no intention to seize upon or destroy the papers. And they were landed without any appearance of tumult and lodged in the King’s store or warehouse under the care of the Commissary. But notwithstanding these assurances with respect to the papers, I still found there was a design against the Officer.

“From the 5th of November everything remained pretty quiet, but I found cabals were frequently held and inflammatory letters sent from Charlestown, and on the 2d of January, about 3 in the afternoon, I was informed that the Liberty Boys in town had assembled together to the number of about 200 and were gathering fast, and that some of them had declared they were determined to go to the Fort and break open the Store and take out the stamped papers and destroy them; on which I immediately ordered the officers to get their men together, but appearances and threats were such that in three days I had not less than 40

men on duty every night to protect the papers, or I am confident they would have been destroyed.

“On the 3d of January Mr. Angus, the distributor for this Province, arrived, of which I had the earliest notice in consequence of measures concerted for that purpose, and immediately sent the scout boat with an officer and a party of men to protect him and suffer no body to speak to him, but conduct him safely to my house, which was done the next day at noon when he took the State oaths and oath of office, and I had the papers distributed and lodged in all the different offices relative to the shipping and opening our ports, which had been shut for some time. But here the people in general have agreed not to apply for any other papers till his Majesty's pleasure be known on the petitions sent from the Colonies. I kept the Officer in my house for a fortnight, after which he went into the Country, to avoid the resentment of the people for awhile. No pains have been spared in the Northern Colonies to spirit up and inflame the people, and a spirit of faction and sedition was stirred up throughout the Province, and parties of armed men actually assembled themselves together and were preparing to do so in different parts, but by sending expresses with letters to many of the most prudent I had the satisfaction to find that my weight and credit was sufficient to check all commotions and disturbances in the Country at that time, and everything was quiet again and remained so till a few days ago when some incendiaries from Charlestown came full fraught with sedition and rebellion, and have been about the Country and inflamed the people to such a degree that they were again assembling together in all parts of the province and, to the number of about 600, were to have come here on yesterday, all armed, and these people, as I have been informed, were to have surrounded my house and endeavoured to extort a promise from me that no papers should be issued till his Majesty's pleasure be known on the petitions sent home, and if I did not immediately comply, they were to seize upon and destroy the papers and commit many acts of violence against the persons and property of those gentlemen that have declared themselves friends of Government. On this last alarm I thought it advisable to remove the papers to a place of greater security, and accordingly ordered them to be carried to Fort George, on Cockspur Island, where they are protected by a Captain, two Subalterns, and fifty private men of the Rangers.

“ But I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency that I have, with the assistance of some well disposed Gentlemen, taken off and got a great many dispersed who were actually on their way down here, but many are still under arms and I can't yet say how the affair will end.

“ This Sir, is a wretched situation to be in, and it's clear that further force is necessary to support his Majesty's authority from insults, and reduce the people to obedience to the civil power. My task is rendered much more difficult by the people in the next Province going the lengths they have done, and to this day do, and it's said, and I believe it may be true, (although Sir, I will not aver it for a fact), that the Carolinians have offered to assist the people here with 500 men to prosecute their vile attempts.

“ Upon the whole Sir, there is still a possibility of bringing the people to reason and restoring the peace and tranquillity of the Province, on which, your Excellency so justly observes, their welfare and happiness depend. A few days will determine this point, and if not, then, agreeable to your Excellency's letter, I shall write to General Gage and Lord Colville for assistance. I have only to add that notwithstanding every threat and attempt, your Excellency may be assured I will firmly persevere to the utmost of my power in the faithful discharge of my duty to his Majesty ; but really Sir, such of the King's Servants in America as are firm in their opposition to the present seditious spirit have a very uncomfortable time of it.

“ The whole military force in this Province, Sir, is two troops of Rangers, consisting in the whole of 120 effective men, which occupy 5 forts or posts in different parts of the Province, and 30 of the Royal Americans,—20 of them at fort Augusta 150 miles from hence, and 10 at Frederica about the same distance. And on the first appearance of faction and sedition I ordered in some of the Rangers from each post and made up the number here at Savannah 56 privates and 8 officers, with which, and the assistance of such gentlemen as were of a right way of thinking, I have been able in some measure to support his Majesty's authority, but I have been obliged to send two officers and 35 of those men with the papers to Fort George.”

On the 7th of February Governor Wright acquaints Secretary Conway with what had further transpired in the colony in relation to the contemplated enforcement of the Stamp Act :

“ On the 2nd inst. I had the pleasure to hear of the arrival of his Majesty's ship *Speedwell*, Capt. Fanshawe, who had promised me when he went from hence, after bringing the papers, that he would return again soon. I assure your Excellency he came at a very reasonable time, as by his taking the papers on board the King's ship I was enabled to order up the Officers and Rangers to town, and then mustered 70 Officers and men. Capt. Fanshawe brought his ship up, and several gentlemen and others also promised to join me if the Villains should come into town. For notwithstanding I had been able to dispose of a great number, yet two hundred and forty of them were within 3 miles, and, being much exasperated against me for sending the papers away, agreed to come to me and demand that I would order the papers to be delivered up to them, and if I did not, they were to shoot me. This Sir, was avowedly declared by some of them; and on Thursday, the 4th instant, they actually had the insolence to appear at the Town Common with their arms and colours, but finding I had near 100 men I could command and depend upon, and being told that many would join me as volunteers, after staying about 3 hours I was informed they differed among themselves and began to disperse, and I have now the great satisfaction to acquaint your Excellency that they are all dispersed; but Sir, some of them declared they were offered the assistance of from 4 to 500 men from Carolina, and if they came, would be ready to return again. If none come from thence I hope to remain quiet. I shall see some of the most dispassionate people and of the most considerable property amongst them, and endeavour to restore the peace of the Province, but even if I succeed in this so far as to obtain promises of submission, yet Sir, some troops will nevertheless be absolutely necessary, for I fear I cannot have entire confidence in the people for some time, and your Excellency sees the insults his Majesty's authority has received, and which I am still liable to. Possibly your Excellency may be surprized that I have not mentioned calling out the militia, but I have too much reason to think I should have armed more against me than for me, and that volunteers were the only people I could have any confidence in or dependence upon.”

Led by the fearless Gadsden, the eloquent Rutledge, and the patriotic Lynch, the delegates from South Carolina were the first to respond

to the call for an American congress. During its session in New York they gave shape to its deliberations and moulded its conclusions. So potent was their influence at home that upon their return to Charlestown the General Assembly of South Carolina, on the 29th of November, 1765, was moved to the adoption of a series of resolutions entirely in unison with those promulgated by the congress. In them it was declared that his majesty's subjects in the province of Carolina owed the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that was due from his subjects there born; that they were entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of natural born subjects; that it was inseparably essential to the freedom of a people and the undoubted right of Englishmen that no taxes should be imposed on them but with their own consent given personally or by their representatives; that the people of Carolina from their local circumstances could not be represented in the House of Commons of Great Britain, and that the several powers of legislation in America were constituted in some measure upon the apprehension of this impracticability; that the only representatives of the people of the province were persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever had been or ever could be constitutionally imposed on them but by the legislature of the province; that all supplies to the Crown being the free gifts of the people, it was unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution for the people of Great Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the people of Carolina; that the trial by jury was the inherent and valuable right of every British subject in the province; that the late act of Parliament entitled "An Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties and other duties of the British Colonies and Plantations in America," etc., by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of Carolina, and other acts by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond their ancient limits, had a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the people of the province; that the duties imposed by several late acts of Parliament on the people of Carolina would prove extremely burthensome and grievous, and, from a scarcity of gold and silver, the payment of them would be absolutely impracticable; that as the profits of the trade of the people of the province ultimately centred in Great Britain to pay for the manufactured articles they were obliged to take from thence, they eventually

contributed very largely to all the supplies there granted to the Crown, and that as every individual in South Carolina was as advantageous to Great Britain as if he were a resident there and paid his full proportion of taxes for the support of his majesty's government, it was unreasonable for him to be called upon to pay any additional part of the charges of the general government.

This declaration of rights, disseminated through the public prints, was read everywhere both in Carolina and Georgia, and evoked earnest sympathy from most of the inhabitants on both sides of the Savannah. Because Georgia had not been fully represented in the New York Congress, Carolina was inclined to question her determination to resist, by every means, the enforcement of the Stamp Act. Because Governor Wright was bolder than Governor Bull in his efforts to carry into effect the expressed will of Parliament, Georgia was taunted with being a pensioned government. In the South Carolina *Gazette* of February 11, 1756, it was scurrilously hinted that "her inhabitants were looked upon as a fair purchase and therefore to be treated as slaves without ceremony;" that they had been "deluded and bullied out of their rights and privileges;" and that "like Esau of old they had sold their birthright for a mess of pottage." The truth was, the resistance offered by Georgia to the enforcement of the Stamp Act within her borders was much more determined and pronounced than that exhibited by South Carolina, and for the reason that Sir James Wright resolutely upheld the act by every means at command, while Lieutenant-Governor Bull, yielding to pressure, lodged the stamp papers in Fort Johnson and suffered Charlestown to be used as a free port.¹ Certain it is that although Governor Wright, at all times a brave man and loyal to his king, summoned all his energies and exerted his every influence to support the act, so thoroughly was the province of Georgia aroused, and so closely did her inhabitants watch the stamp papers and the officer designated for their issue, that none of them found their way into use. Georgians did not remain passive under those exactions. They resisted with arms in their hands, and triumphed in the contest. Even the gentle, self-poised, and influential James Habersham, president of his majesty's council, confessed openly,

¹ See Governor Wright's letter to the Board of Trade, under date Savannah in Georgia, 10th February, 1766.

to the call for an American congress. During its session in New York they gave shape to its deliberations and moulded its conclusions. So potent was their influence at home that upon their return to Charleston the General Assembly of South Carolina, on the 29th of November, 1765, was moved to the adoption of a series of resolutions entirely in unison with those promulgated by the congress. In them it was declared that his majesty's subjects in the province of Carolina owed the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that was due from his subjects there born; that they were entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of natural born subjects; that it was inseparably essential to the freedom of a people and the undoubted right of Englishmen that no taxes should be imposed on them but with their own consent given personally or by their representatives; that the people of Carolina from their local circumstances could not be represented in the House of Commons of Great Britain, and that the several powers of legislation in America were constituted in some measure upon the apprehension of this impracticability; that the only representatives of the people of the province were persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever had been or ever could be constitutionally imposed on them but by the legislature of the province; that all supplies to the Crown being the free gifts of the people, it was unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution for the people of Great Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the people of Carolina; that the trial by jury was the inherent and valuable right of every British subject in the province; that the late act of Parliament entitled "An Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties and other duties of the British Colonies and Plantations in America," etc., by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of Carolina, and other acts by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond their ancient limits, had a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the people of the province; that the duties imposed by several late acts of Parliament on the people of Carolina would prove extremely burthensome and grievous, and, from a scarcity of gold and silver, the payment of them would be absolutely impracticable; that as the profits of the trade of the people of the province ultimately centred in Great Britain to pay for the manufactured articles they were obliged to take from thence, they eventually

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¹ See Governor Wright's letter to the Board of Trade, under date Savannah in Georgia, 10th February, 1766.

“ The annual tax raised here for the support of our internal policy is full as much as the inhabitants can bear : and suppose the stamps produce only one-eighth of what they would in South Carolina, it would amount to as much in one year as our tax laws will raise in three ; and perhaps we have not five thousand pounds in gold and silver come into the Province in five years, though the act requires it in one. If this is really the case, as I believe it is, how must every inhabitant shudder at the thought of the act taking place, which, according to my present apprehension, must inevitably ruin them.”

The only stamps issued in Georgia were those employed in clearing between sixty and seventy vessels which were congregated in the port of Savannah fearing to depart without them. The emergency was pressing. Yielding to the urgency of the situation, the citizens consented in this instance, and in this alone, to relax the prohibition they had forcibly placed upon the use of stamp papers and the payment of stamp duties. Violent was the umbrage which South Carolina took at this act. It was resolved in Charlestown that no provisions should be shipped to Georgia, which was denounced as an “ infamous Colony ; ” that “ every vessel trading there should be burnt,” and that all persons who should traffic with the Georgians “ should be put to death.” These were not idle threats, for two vessels, clearing for Savannah, were captured before they crossed Charlestown bar, were brought back to the city, condemned, and, with their cargoes, were destroyed.¹ Sincerely, however, did the Carolinians repent of this behavior which was unneighborly, lawless, and wholly unjustified by the circumstances of the case. True to the common cause of the colonies, Georgia, in this emergency, was not unmindful of the equities of the moment, and did not, in a whirlwind of passion, lose sight of her better judgment. Overawed by the popular uprising, Governor Bull did not pretend to stem the current, and Carolina achieved a comparatively easy victory. Georgia, on the contrary, prevailed in defiance of an executive who pertinaciously brought every influence and power to bear in behalf of the enactments of Parliament and in direct opposition to the will of the province.

It was at one time reported that the failure of Governor Wright to sustain the provisions of the Stamp Act within the limits of the colony

¹ See Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii. p. 48. Philadelphia, 1859.

had incurred royal displeasure, and that he was to be removed from office. Eventually, however, he was comforted with the assurance that his conduct was approved by the king, and that there was "no thought of recalling or superseding him." Perilous and perplexing was his situation. He acquitted himself like a brave man and a faithful servant of his royal master.

The joy of the American colonies upon the repeal of the Stamp Act was universal. To Pitt—foremost statesman of England and the Apostle of freedom,—came a message from across the ocean: "To you grateful America attributes that she is reinstated in her former liberties. . . . America calls you over and over again her father. Live long in health, happiness, and honor. Be it late when you must cease to plead the cause of liberty on earth."

Upon the official announcement in Savannah of the repeal of this act, Governor Wright convened the General Assembly and tendered his congratulations upon the fortunate issue out of impending difficulties. The response of the members—not a few of whom were recently almost in arms against the Crown and Parliament,—breathed nothing but loyalty to the king and firm attachment to the mother country.

Rejoicing in their deliverance from the turmoils which had of late robbed the colony of its wonted repose, and happy in the thought that the province was no longer annoyed by the presence of either stamp papers or distributing officers, both Houses on the 22nd of July united in a most conciliatory and grateful address to his most gracious Majesty. That address was signed by James Habersham,—President of the Upper House,—and by Alexander Wylly,—Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly.

Notwithstanding these protestations of loyalty and this proclamation of abiding devotion to the Crown and its fortunes, a new spirit of liberty was abroad in the land, and thoughts of political freedom already possessed the minds of the people. The sentiment that colonies, separated by a wide ocean from the mother country and united by kindred interests, possessed an inalienable right to fashion and sustain their own institutions without paying tribute to the home government, was fast developing into a cherished principle. Less than ten years afterwards it was asserted with the "consonant thunders of so many cannon that

even the lands across the Atlantic were shaken and filled with the long reverberation." The calm consequent upon the repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act was only temporary. Sir James Wright did not fail to interpret the signs of the times: for, in transmitting to Secretary Conway a copy of the address, so loyal and even subservient, he intimates that while many Georgians seemed just then to entertain a grateful sense of the "special grace and favours received," and appeared disposed to exhibit a dutiful acquiescence in and obedience to the legislative authority of Great Britain, there were nevertheless not a few who still retained "the late avowed sentiments and strange ideas of liberty," and insisted that no power save representatives of their own choosing could subject them to the payment of internal taxes.

CHAPTER XV.

Marked Improvement in the Condition of the Province—Silk-Culture—Convention of the 3rd of September, 1768—Benjamin Franklin Appointed the Agent of Georgia—Meeting of Savannah Merchants on the 16th of September, 1769—Patriotic Resolutions adopted in Savannah—Non-importation Agreement—Suspension of the Hon. Jonathan Bryan as a Member of Council—Revolutionary Temper of the Lower House of Assembly—Dr. Noble Wymerly Jones—Governor Wright Visits England—The Hon. James Habersham Governor of Georgia During his Absence.

UNDER the wise administration of Governor Wright, Georgia was now prospering. In six years her white population had increased four thousand; and four thousand two hundred and twenty-two slaves had been added to the negro laborers at work in her fields. During that period the export of rice had been trebled, and the production of corn, indigo, and wheat wonderfully augmented. The trade in lumber, shingles, staves, and naval stores became each year more important, and both Savannah and Sunbury prospered in their commercial adventures. Strenuous exertions were still made to promote silk-culture: and, although the Filature in Savannah was still open, the operations there conducted did not yield any income or justify the expenditures requisite for its maintenance. There was something in the climate which apparently caused the worms to degenerate. It was only when stimulated by a bounty that the industry was prosecuted, and even then the cost of pro-

duction was ruinous. The following table exhibits the amount realized in the colony from this source during thirteen years.

In 1755,	5,458	lbs. of cocoons made	438	lbs.	of silk.
1756,	3,667	" " "	268	"	"
1757,	4,994	" " "	358	"	"
1758,	burnt	" " "	358	"	"
1759,	10,136	" " "	734	"	"
1760,	7,983	" " "	839	"	"
1761,	5,307	" " "	332	"	"
1762,	15,186	" " "	1,047	"	"
1763,	15,486	" " "	953	"	"
1764,	15,212	" " "	898	"	"
1765,	12,514	" " "	712	"	8 ozs. "
1766,	20,350	" " "	1,084	"	4 " "
1767,	10,768	" " "	671	"	9 " "

A killing frost on the 19th and 20th of April, 1769, and a reduction of the bounty previously offered by Parliament, materially diminished the production of silk in the province. The inhabitants of Ebenezer were the last to abandon this industry. In 1772 the operations at Savannah were wholly suspended, and two years after the Filature, which was in a ruinous condition, was repaired and used as an assembly room. Societies there held their meetings, and occasionally divine service was conducted within its walls. In consideration of his long and faithful labors, Ottolenghe, still styling himself "Superintendent of Silk Culture in Georgia," was complimented with a pension of £100.

The following was, at this time, the annual cost of maintaining the civil establishment of his majesty's province of Georgia :

The Salary of the Governor	£1,000
" " Chief Justice	500
" " Secretary of the Province	100
" " Clerk of the Assembly	20
" " Surveyor-General	150
" " Receiver-General of Quit Rents	100
" " Attorney-General	150
" " Provost Marshal	100
Allowance for 2 Ministers of the Church of England and 2 Schoolmasters	116
Salary of the Agent for the Affairs of the Colony	200
" " Pilot, with the Expenses of the Boat, etc.	500
Allowance for the encouragement of Silk Culture	100

£3,036

On the 3rd of September, 1768, an important convention was held in the Council Chamber in Savannah for the determination of the boundary lines which separated the English possessions in the colony from the territory reserved by the Creeks. On the part of the Whites his Excellency James Wright and members of council James Habersham, Noble Jones, James Mackay, Grey Elliott, and James Read were present. The Indians were led by Emisteseegoe, the most noted and influential head man of the Creek Confederacy. Lachlan McGillivray acted as interpreter. The conference was fairly conducted, lasted three days, resulted in the adjustment of all existing disagreements, and proved satisfactory to all parties in interest.

With the repeal of the Stamp Act of 1765 George III. was thoroughly dissatisfied. He did not hesitate to characterize the proceeding as "a fatal compliance" which had placed thorns under his pillow and wounded the majesty of England. Although Parliament receded from the position at first taken in regard to stamp duties in America, the "Sugar" and the "Quartering" Acts still remained of force. Townshend's bill, specifying paints, paper, glass, lead, and all articles of British fabrication as subjects for custom-house taxation in the Colonies, and other statutes, clearly evinced to the Colonists a determination on the part of the British Government to raise a parliamentary revenue in America, and united them in the opinion, advanced by Otis, "that taxes on trade, if designed to raise a revenue, were just as much a violation of their rights as any other taxes." John Dickinson clearly demonstrated the danger of allowing any precedent of parliamentary taxation on grounds no matter how specious, or to any extent no matter how trifling;" and Benjamin Franklin gave expression to the growing resolution of the colonists to deny the power of the British legislature to intervene in their affairs when he said: "I will freely spend nineteen shillings in the pound to defend my right of giving or refusing the other shilling."

In 1768 Georgia secured the services of Dr. Franklin as an agent "to represent, solicit, and transact its affairs in Great Britain," and a committee consisting—on the part of the Council—of James Habersham, Noble Jones, James Edward Powell, Lewis Johnson, Clement Martin, and, in behalf of the Commons House of Assembly, of John

Mullryne, John Smith, Noble Wimberley Jones, John Milledge, John Simpson, Archibald Bulloch, William Ewen, and Joseph Gibbons was appointed to correspond with him, "and give him such orders and instructions from time to time as they should judge to be for the service of this province."

Parliament being still intent upon an enforcement of the acts of which the American colonies complained, and all petitions for redress having proved fruitless, the provinces resolved to take the matter in their own hands, and, by a suspension of commercial dealings with England, to work that change in the purposes of the administration which their remonstrances had failed to effect. Upon her colonial trade did the prosperity of England largely depend. Commercial non-intercourse, therefore, could not do otherwise than seriously affect the well being of the mother country. The appeal to sentiment, affection, and right was abandoned. The argument was now addressed to the pockets of the English people. The proposition was to import no articles whatever which could be manufactured or produced at home, and to abandon the use of luxuries. To the merchants of Boston does the credit belong of suggesting this plan, "but the Assembly of Virginia, in June 1769, was the first Legislative Body which adopted resolves of non-importation which ere long were sanctioned by the other Colonies."

Georgians quickly recognized the advisability of the scheme, and earnestly sympathized in its consummation.

On the 16th of September, 1769, at a meeting of merchants convened at the residence of Mr. Alexander Creighton, in Savannah, it was agreed that the late acts of Parliament, against which the Northern Colonies had so unanimously remonstrated, "were unconstitutional, and that the taxes therein contemplated were inconsistent with the abilities of the American Provinces." Full sympathy was expressed with the other colonies upon the question of non-importation. Speaking for the interests of Georgia, the gentlemen then present affirmed that the sterling current money of the province, which, by act of the General Assembly, assented to by his majesty, was declared equal in value to the coin of the realm and a lawful tender for the payment of all dues, having been refused when offered in payment of the duties imposed by the acts of Parliament, had been thereby greatly depreciated in value; that in conse-

quence of this refusal all the citizens of the province had suffered injury; and that Georgia having been excluded from the benefit of the Spanish trade, by means of which specie was most readily procurable, and the recent acts imposing duties which were solvable only in gold or silver, the inhabitants of the province were, from the nature of the case, rendered incapable of responding to any call which the mother country might constitutionally make.

It was therefore resolved "That any person or persons whatsoever importing any of the articles subject to such duties, after having it in their power to prevent it, ought not only to be treated with contempt but deemed enemies to their country: it being a circumstance that need only be mentioned to any person inspired with the least sense of liberty, that it may be detested and abhorred."

Not long afterwards, at a called public meeting, the Honorable Jonathan Bryan being in the chair, the following resolutions, reported by a special committee, were agreed to and ordered to be published in the next issue of the *Gazette*:¹

"We, inhabitants of Georgia, finding ourselves reduced to the greatest distress and most abject condition by the operation of several acts of the British Legislature by means whereof our property is arbitrarily wrested from us contrary to the true spirit of our Constitution and the repeatedly confirmed birthright of every Briton, under all these oppressions finding that the most dutiful and loyal petitions from the Colonies for redress of these grievances have not answered the salutary purpose we intended, and being destitute of all hope of relief from our multiplied and increasing distresses but by our industry, frugality, and economy, are firmly resolved never to be in the least accessory to the loss of any privilege we are entitled to:

"Therefore, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do solemnly agree and promise to and with each other that until the said acts are repealed, we will most faithfully abide by, adhere to, and fulfill the following resolutions.

"I. That we will encourage and promote American manufactures, and of this Province in particular.

"II. That as the raising of Sheep for the benefit of wool will be of

¹ This was the only newspaper then printed within the limits of the province.

the utmost utility, we do therefore engage not to kill or sell any lambs that shall be yeaned, before the first of May in every year, to any butcher or other person who, we may have reason to think, intends to kill the same.

“ III. That we will promote the raising of cotton and flax, and encourage spinning and weaving.

“ IV. That we will upon no pretence, either upon our own account or on commission, import into this Province any of the manufactures of Great Britain, or European or East India goods, other than may be shipped in consequence of former orders, except only cloth, not exceeding 1^s 4^d pr yard, osnabrigs, canvass, cordage, drugs, and hardware of all sorts, paper not exceeding 10^s pr ream, fire arms, gunpowder, shot, leads, flints, salt, saltpetre, coals, printed books and pamphlets, white and striped flannels, not above 9^s pr yard, white linen not above 1^s 8^d pr yard, woollen and thread hose not exceeding 24^s pr doz: striped cotton not exceeding 1^s 4^d pr yard, checks not above 1^s 3^d pr yard, felt hats not above 48^s pr doz: bolting cloths, mill and grind stones, cotton and wool cards, and wire, thread not above 8^s pr lb., shoes not above 48^s per doz: as also the following goods necessary for the Indian Trade, viz. strouds, vermilion, beads, looking glasses and paint. And exclusive of these articles do we solemnly promise and declare that we will immediately countermand all orders to our correspondents in Great Britain for shipping any goods, wares, and merchandize other than hereinbefore excepted, and will sell and dispose of the goods we now or hereafter may have at the same rates and prices as before.

“ V. That we will neither purchase nor give mourning at funerals.

“ VI. That from and after the 1st June 1770 we will not import, buy, or sell, any negroes that shall be brought into this Province from Africa, nor, after the 1st of January next, any negroes from the West Indies or any other place excepting from Africa aforesaid. And if any goods or negroes be sent to us contrary to our agreement in this subscription, such goods shall be reshipped or stored, and such negroes reshipped from this Province and not by any means offered for sale therein.

“ VII. That we will not import on our own account or on commission, or purchase from any masters of vessels, transient persons, or non-subscribers, any wines after the 1st March next.

"VIII. That we will not purchase any negroes imported, or any goods, wares, or merchandize, from any resident of this Province, or transient person, that shall refuse or neglect to sign this agreement within 5 weeks from the date thereof, except it appear he shall have been unavoidably prevented from so doing. And every person signing and not strictly adhering to the same according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and also every non-subscriber, shall be looked upon as no friend to his country."

Mr. Bryan, who presided at the meeting, was at the time a member of his majesty's council for the province of Georgia. These non-importation resolutions produced a decided effect upon the public mind, and were generally endorsed. The estrangement between Great Britain and her colonies was rapidly becoming more manifest, and but little effort was made on the part of England to conciliate her disaffected provinces. When informed of the action of the Savannah meeting the king was much incensed. Manifesting his disapprobation of the combination then formed, he was pleased, on the 9th of December, 1769, through the Earl of Hillsborough, to order that Mr. Bryan "should be immediately suspended from his seat at the Council Board, and removed from any office he might hold in Georgia:" it being the determination of his majesty to discountenance "every measure that tended to violate the Constitution and excite opposition to the laws."¹ Thus, in the person of the Honorable Jonathan Bryan, a pure patriot, an influential citizen, and a brave man, do we record the first instance of political martyrdom in Georgia. His deposition,² so far from intimidating the "Liberty Boys," caused their numbers to multiply and their hearts to grow stronger.

Constant now became the struggle, and frequent were the disagreements between the Governor and Council on the one hand, and the Commons House of Assembly on the other.

Of the eight thousand slaves at this time owned and employed in the province of Georgia, nine hundred and fifty-four were the property of the governor and council. The members of the Common Council being

¹ See *Letter of the Earl of Hillsborough to Governor Wright*, dated Whitehall, 9th December, 1769.

² His removal from his seat at the Council Board was reported by Governor Wright in a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated Savannah, 1st March, 1770.

men of substance, character, and influence, holding their positions by direct appointment from the Crown, and acting as the special advisers of the governor, were, as might reasonably be expected, more conservative in their views and more frequently in sympathy with the wishes of Parliament than the members of the Lower House, who, drawn from and elected by the people, naturally reflected the temper and sentiments of their constituents. This latter body was always aggressive during this period of political unrest. From its deliberations and declarations of rights sprang the main opposition to the acts of Parliament.

Reflecting the revolutionary sentiments of the masses, its members were tenacious of their rights, intolerant of executive interference, and aggressive in their assertion of legislative power and political freedom. Although time and again dissolved because, in the judgment of the Crown officers, the Lower House of Assembly was arrogating to itself the prerogatives of Parliament, defying the laws of England, and exercising privileges beyond those accorded by royal instructions, each new House of Assembly surpassed its predecessor in an exhibition of independent thought and action, and manifested signs more emphatic of a determination to control the political fortunes of the province.

Upon the convocation of the General Assembly of 1770, Dr. Noble W. Jones,—the son of Colonel Noble Jones whose name and services had been intimately and honorably associated with the Colony of Georgia since its inception under Oglethorpe,—was elected speaker of the Lower House. So pronounced and influential had been his views and conduct in opposition to some of the objectionable acts of Parliament that Governor Wright, exercising the power vested in him, refused to sanction this choice and ordered the House to elect another speaker.

Incensed at the affront offered to him who has been aptly styled "one of the morning stars of Liberty in Georgia," and resenting what they deemed an unwarrantable interference with the power resting solely with them to nominate their own presiding officer, the members of the House passed resolutions complimentary to Dr. Jones, and declared "that the sense and approbation this House entertain of his conduct can never be lessened by any slight cast upon him in opposition to the unanimous voice of the Commons House of Assembly in particular and the Province in general." Criticising the action of the executive they re-

solved "that this rejection by the Governor of a Speaker, unanimously elected, was a high breach of the privileges of the House, and tended to subvert the most valuable rights and liberties of the people and their representatives." This bold assertion the council was pleased to stigmatize as "a most indecent and insolent denial of his Majesty's authority;" and the governor, wielding the only punitive weapon at command, dissolved the assembly on the 22d of February, 1770.¹

Having purchased valuable lands, introduced negro slaves, and settled several plantations in the province, anxious to devote some time to the advancement of his private affairs, and wishing to visit England, Governor Wright, on the 3d of July, 1769, applied for a leave of absence for a year; that leave to become operative not sooner than the spring of 1770.² In submitting this application he remarked to the Earl of Hillsborough: "Mr. Habersham, the Secretary of the Province, who is the President, or eldest Councillor, is a gentleman of property, *no Liberty Boy*, but a firm friend to the Government, and a very worthy, honest man. He has been in the Province from nearly its first settling, and must therefore know the people, and I think him of sufficient ability to fill up a short vacancy, especially when things are in an orderly way."

This request was granted, and a royal license issued on the 2d of November, 1769.³ In forwarding it to Governor Wright the Earl of Hillsborough said: "I hope that Mr. Habersham's conduct in the administration of Government during your absence will justify the favorable report you made of him, and that it will not be found necessary to send out a Lieutenant Governor." No better selection could have been made on the part of the Crown.

It was not until the 10th of July, 1771, that Governor Wright availed himself of his leave of absence.⁴ Three days afterwards Mr. Habersham took the usual oaths of office and entered upon the discharge of the gubernatorial duties. His official title was "President and Com-

¹ See Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 71. Philadelphia. 1859.

² See *Letter of Governor Wright to the Earl of Hillsborough*, dated Savannah, July 3, 1769.

³ *Letter of the Earl of Hillsborough to Governor Wright*, dated Whitehall, 2d November, 1769.

⁴ See *Letter of James Habersham to the Earl of Hillsborough*, dated Savannah in Georgia, 3d August, 1771.

mander-in-chief of his Majesty's Province of Georgia, Chancellor, Vice-Admiral, and Ordinary of the same for the time being." His personal acquaintance with the inhabitants, his thorough knowledge of the history, development, and wants of the colony, his long experience in the conduct of its public affairs, the purity of his character, and the high esteem in which he was held, admirably fitted him for this responsible position. He was also the firm friend of law, order, and of the British Constitution. Of his loyalty to the king there could be no doubt, and all his avowed affiliations were, at the time, with those who obeyed the acts of Parliament and maintained their allegiance to the throne of England.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Eighth Provincial Assembly Dissolved by Governor Habersham—Governor Wright Complimented with a Baronetcy—Convention of the 20th of October, 1773—Effect produced in Savannah by the Passage of the Boston Port Bill—Meeting of Leading Citizens at Tondee's Tavern on the 27th of July, 1774—Governor Wright Alarmed at the Revolutionary Movements—Admirable Resolutions of the 10th of August, 1774—Division of Political Sentiment in Georgia—The *Georgia Gazette*—Protests from Several Parishes—Parish of St. John—Meeting of the 8th of December, 1774—Provincial Congress of January 18th, 1775—Independent Action of St. John's Parish—Dr. Lyman Hall—Embarrassing Position of Governor Wright.

SAVANNAH prospered. Good order prevailed throughout the province of Georgia. Person and property were secure. An occasional alarm on the confines, or a quarrel now and then in the Indian territory between some avaricious trader and the natives, was all that disturbed the apparent calm. And yet the heart of town and province was deeply stirred. Although couched in terms most respectful, the protests against the encroachments of Parliament were earnest and emphatic. There still lingered, especially in the breasts of the older inhabitants, a love for the home government, an affection for the king, and a strong hope that the grievances complained of would be speedily and effectually redressed by England. Many there were who believed that the ministry did not seriously contemplate the distress and oppression of America. Even the

most violent in their strictures and resolves did not yet anticipate an open rupture, or prophesy a separation from the mother country. Retaliatory measures were at first devised and supported not so much with a view to an assertion of independence, as with the intention of forcing the ministry to a reconsideration of obnoxious acts, and of preserving, unimpaired, rights which were esteemed inviolable. The idea of a distinct nationality, however, was expanding. The spirit of freedom from kingly rule was abroad in the land: and as revolutions never turn backward, agencies and sentiments were already at work which were destined, at no distant day, to rob the British Crown of some of its fairest jewels.

Because the eighth General Assembly of the Province, convened at Savannah in April, 1772, persisted, in the face of gubernatorial remonstrance, in electing Dr. Noble Wimberley Jones as its Speaker, his Excellency, Governor James Habersham, acting in obedience to royal command, peremptorily dissolved that assembly. Although this act was approved by the king, its effect upon Georgia was perplexing and deleterious. The treasury was empty and no tax-bill had been digested. Important statutes were expiring by their own limitations, and no new laws were framed for the orderly conduct of the province. The people viewed the dissolution as an arbitrary exercise of imperial power, as a violent suppression of the general preference, as an unjustifiable interference with legislative privilege. From across the sea there came no redress of grievances. At home the shadows multiplied, and the waves of popular unrest, disquietude, and passion chafed more sullenly than ever against the barriers which the ministry had erected.

The services of Governor Wright were specially recognized by the king who, on the 8th of December, 1772, was pleased to compliment him with a baronetcy. He returned to Savannah and resumed his gubernatorial office about the middle of February, 1773. For some time trouble had been brewing with the Creeks, and acts of violence had been perpetrated at several points. It became necessary to convene a congress of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Thirteen head-men of the former, and seven kings and head-warriors of the latter, met Governor Wright and his members of Council in Savannah on the 20th of October, 1774. The Honorable John Stuart,—superintendent of Indian affairs in the Southern District,—

was also present. After some discussion and mutual explanations a treaty of amity was happily concluded.

Georgia now claimed a population of rather more than eighteen thousand whites and about fifteen thousand negro slaves. Her imports and exports were annually increasing, and the indications of prosperity,—commercial, agricultural, and industrial,—were multiplying on every hand.

The passage of the Boston Port Bill was the first step in a series of coercive measures which the British ministry had now determined to pursue with regard to the American colonies. It was quickly followed by other acts which were regarded in America as forming a complete system of tyranny. A knowledge of this legislation and an appreciation of its pernicious influence inflamed the minds of the patriots in Savannah and elsewhere.

On the 20th of July, 1774, the following invitation, signed by Noble W. Jones, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, and John Walton, appeared in the *Georgia Gazette*.

"The critical situation to which the British Colonies in America are likely to be reduced from the arbitrary and alarming imposition of the late acts of the British Parliament respecting the town of Boston, as well as the acts that at present exist tending to the raising of a perpetual revenue without the consent of the people or their representatives, is considered an object extremely important at this juncture, and particularly calculated to deprive the American subjects of their constitutional rights and liberties as a part of the English Empire. It is therefore requested that all persons within the limits of this Province do attend at the Liberty Pole, at Tondee's tavern in Savannah, on Wednesday, the 27th instant, in order that the said matters may be taken under consideration and such other constitutional measures pursued as may then appear to be most eligible."

Responding to this call, a respectable number of the freeholders and inhabitants of the province assembled at the Watch House in Savannah on the day appointed. The meeting was organized by the selection of John Glen as chairman. Sundry communications and resolutions from committees of correspondence at Boston, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, Charlestown, and elsewhere, were read and considered. It

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Responding to this call, a respectable number of the freeholders and inhabitants of the province assembled at the Watch House in Savannah on the day appointed. The meeting was organized by the selection of John Glen as chairman. Sundry communications and resolutions from committees of correspondence at Boston, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, Charlestown, and elsewhere, were read and considered. It

was moved and carried that a committee should be raised to prepare resolutions, similar to those adopted by the northern colonies, expressive of the sentiments and determination of this province. The following gentlemen were constituted members of that committee: John Glen, John Smith, Joseph Clay, John Houstoun, Noble Wimberley Jones, Lyman Hall, William Young, Edward Telfair, Samuel Farley, George Walton, Joseph Habersham, Jonathan Bryan, Jonathan Cochran, George McIntosh, Sutton Bankes, Willam Gibbons, Benjamin Andrew, John Winn, John Stirk, Archibald Bulloch, James Screven, David Zubly, Henry Davis Bourquin, Elisha Butler, William Baker, Parmenus Way, John Baker, John Mann, John Benefield, John Stacy and John Morel. A more intelligent, responsible, and manly committee could not have been nominated from out the entire circuit of the colonial population. While the resolutions were under consideration, it was wisely suggested that inasmuch as the inhabitants of some of the more distant parishes had not been advised of the present meeting in time sufficient to allow them to attend, the adoption of the resolutions should be postponed to a future occasion. It was therefore determined that the meeting "stand adjourned" until the 10th of August. The chairman was requested to communicate with the different parishes and districts, and to request that delegates be sent to unite with the committee in framing the contemplated resolutions. It was the sense of the meeting that those delegates should be equal in number to the representatives usually elected to the General Assembly, and that the resolutions, as sanctioned by the meeting in August, should be regarded as expressing the sentiments of the inhabitants of the province.

In obedience to the will of the meeting, Mr. Glen, the chairman, caused notice to be published and widely distributed requesting the respective parishes to elect delegates to attend on the committee at Savannah at the time agreed upon.

Alarmed at the proceeding, Governor Wright convened his council and consulted with the members in regard to the best method of placing a check upon proceedings which he deemed unconstitutional and revolutionary. A motion was made to expel Mr. Bryan from council because his name appeared among the committee men. That gentleman, says Captain McCall,¹ "with patriotic indignation, informed them in a style

¹ *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 20. Savannah. 1816.

peculiar to himself for its candour and energy, that he would 'save them the trouble,' and handed his resignation to the governor."

In direct opposition to the will of his Excellency, Sir James Wright, and in utter disregard of his proclamation, a general meeting of the inhabitants of the province was held at Tondee's tavern in Savannah on the 10th of August, 1774.

The following resolutions, reported by the committee raised for the purpose at the former convocation, were adopted and given to the public as an expression of the sentiments of Georgia with respect to the important questions which were then agitating the minds of the American colonists:

"*Resolved, nemine contradicente*, 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.

"*Resolved, nemine contradicente*, That as protection and allegiance are reciprocal, and under the British Constitution correlative terms, his Majesty's subjects in America have a clear and indisputable right, as well from the general laws of mankind, as from the ancient and established customs of the land, so often recognized, to petition the Throne upon every emergency.

"*Resolved, nemine contradicente*, That an Act of Parliament, lately passed for blockading the port and harbour of Boston, is contrary to our idea of the British Constitution: First, for that it in effect deprives good and lawful men of the use of their property without judgment of their peers: and Secondly for that it is in the nature of an *ex post facto* law, and indiscriminately blends as objects of punishment the innocent with the guilty; Neither do we conceive the same justified upon a principle of necessity, for that numerous instances evince that the laws and executive power of Boston have made sufficient provision for the punishment of all offenders against person and property.

"*Resolved, nemine contradicente*, That the Act for abolishing the Charter of Massachusetts Bay tends to the subversion of *American* rights; for, besides those general liberties, the original settlers brought over with them as their birthright particular immunities, granted by such Charter, as an inducement and means of settling the Province: and we apprehend the said Charter cannot be dissolved but by a voluntary surrender of the people representatively declared.

“ *Resolved, nemine contradicente*, That we apprehend the Parliament of Great Britain hath not, nor ever had any right to tax his Majesty's American subjects: for it is evident, beyond contradiction, the Constitution admits of no taxation without representation: that they are coeval and inseparable: and every demand for the support of government should be by requisition made to the several houses of representatives.

“ *Resolved, nemine contradicente*, That it is contrary to natural justice and the established law of the land, to transport any person to Great Britain or elsewhere to be tried under indictment for a crime committed in any of the Colonies, as the party prosecuted would thereby be deprived of the privilege of trial by his peers from the vicinage, the injured perhaps prevented from legal reparation, and both lose the full benefit of their witnesses.

“ *Resolved, nemine contradicente*, That we concur with our Sister Colonies in every constitutional measure to obtain redress of *American* grievances, and will, by every lawful means in our power, maintain these inestimable blessings for which we are indebted to God and the Constitution of our Country—a Constitution founded upon reason and justice and the indelible rights of mankind.

“ *Resolved, nemine contradicente*, That the committee appointed by the meeting of the inhabitants of this Province on Wednesday, the 27th of July last, together with the deputies who have appeared here on this day from the different parishes, be a general Committee to act, and that any eleven or more of them shall have full power to correspond with the committees of the several Provinces upon the Continent: and that copies of these Resolutions, as well as of all other proceedings, be transmitted without delay to the Committees of Correspondence in the respective Provinces.”

A committee consisting of William Ewen, William Young, Joseph Clay, John Houstoun, Noble Wimberley Jones, Edward Telfair, John Smith, Samuel Farley, and Andrew Elton Wells was appointed to solicit, receive, and forward subscriptions and supplies for the suffering poor in Boston. Within a short time five hundred and seventy-nine barrels of rice were contributed and shipped to that town. This donation came principally from Savannah and the Parish of St. John.

While this meeting was most respectably constituted, while its delib-

erations were harmonious and its conclusions perhaps unanswerable, it must not be supposed that there was no division of sentiment in Georgia upon the political questions of the day. On the contrary, the royalist party was rich, influential, strong, and active, and it required no little effort on the part of the "Liberty Boys" to acquire the mastery and, in the end, to place the province fairly within the lists of the Revolutionists. The line of demarkation was sometimes so sharply drawn that father was arrayed against son, and brother against brother. Thus, not to multiply instances, the Honorable James Habersham and Colonel Noble Jones maintained their allegiance to the Crown, while their sons were among the earliest and foremost champions of the rights of the Colony. The brothers Telfair were divided in sentiment upon the momentous issues then involved. The cruel effects of such disagreements, experienced during the progress of the Revolution were, not infrequently, projected even beyond the establishment of the Republic. No calamities are so appalling as those engendered in a strife between peoples of the same race and claiming privileges emanating from the same fountain head. Polybius was right when he said that such dissensions were to be dreaded much more than wars waged in a foreign country or against a common enemy.

The only paper published at this time in the Province was the *Georgia Gazette*. It was printed in Savannah, was largely under the control of Governor Wright, and its official utterances were in support of the royal cause. In its issue of Wednesday, September 7, 1774,¹ appeared a card signed by James Habersham, Lachlan McGillivray, Josiah Tattnall, James Hume, Anthony Stokes, Edward Langworthy, Henry Yonge, Robert Botton, Noble Jones, David Montaignut and some ninety-three others,—inhabitants and freeholders chiefly of the town and district of Savannah,—criticising the meeting of the 10th of August, and protesting that the resolutions then adopted should not be accepted as reflecting the sentiments of the people of Georgia. "The important meeting of the 10th of August in defence of the constitutional rights and liberties of the American Subjects," these gentlemen affirmed, "was held at a tavern, with the doors shut for a considerable time: and it is said 26 persons answered for the whole Province, and undertook to bind them

¹ No 570.

by resolutions: and when several Gentlemen attempted to go in, the Tavern Keeper, who stood at the door with a list in his hand, refused them admittance because their names were not mentioned in that list. Such was the conduct of these pretended advocates for the Liberties of America. Several of the inhabitants of St. Paul and St. George—two of the most populous Parishes of the Province—had transmitted their written dissents to any Resolutions, and there were Gentlemen ready to present these dissents, had not the door been shut for a considerable time and admittance refused. And it is conceived the shutting of the door and refusing admittance to any but resolutioners was calculated to prevent the rest of the Inhabitants from giving their dissent to measures that were intended to operate as the unanimous sense of the Province. Upon the whole the world will judge whether the meeting of the 10th of August, held by a few persons in a tavern, with doors shut, can, with any appearance of truth, or decency, be called a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Georgia.”

Such is one side of the story as told by a pen dipped in the king's ink.

Captain McCall,¹ who was himself an eye-witness of the occurrences, and who wrote while many of the actors were still in life, asserts that a few days after the meeting of the 10th of August Governor Wright called a convention to test the strength of his party. About a third of the inhabitants in and near Savannah, including his council and other civil and military officers, met at the court-house, signed a dissent from the republican proceedings, and entered a protest against the late assemblage as being unconstitutional. Documents of similar import were prepared and placed in the hands of influential friends of the governor with instructions to procure signatures to them from various parishes in the province. To the parties having charge of these papers moneys were allowed, “proportioned to the number of subscribers they obtained,” as compensation for their services. Under such advantageous circumstances these royal agents were successful in procuring signatures from many timid men who sympathized with the American cause. Fraud too was practiced. In some instances the number of subscribers exceeded the population of the parish from which the protest purported to come. Signatures of dead men were forged. Thus was earnest effort made to

¹ *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 24. Savannah, 1816.

overestimate the strength of the king's party in Georgia and to belittle the power of such as were resolved to resist an enforcement of the recent tyrannical Parliamentary enactments. Several protests, obtained in this manner and intended not only to influence public sentiment in Georgia but also to reach the ear and confirm the purposes of the home authorities, were published in the *Georgia Gazette*. We instance one from the inhabitants of the parish of St. Matthew and town of Ebenezer, which appeared on the 21st of September;¹ another on the 28th of the month,² signed by sundry parties in the parish of St. George, and from the town of Queensborough; and a third on the 12th of October,³ subscribed by a number of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Paul and town of Augusta, and also by citizens of Wrightsboro, Kyoka, and the Broad River settlements. In his communication⁴ to the Earl of Dartmouth Governor Wright alludes to the preparation of these protests, and ventures the opinion that when they are all received it will be apparent that the resolutions of the 10th of August "were not the voice of the People, but unfairly and insolently made by a Junto of a very few only."

The two parties in the province were already counting noses, and marshaling their forces for the coming contest. His excellency, with that political sagacity which distinguished him in a remarkable degree, foresaw the danger and confessed the inability of the colonial government to sustain itself in the face of the gathering storm.⁵ He frankly admitted that it required the interposition of a power greater than that possessed by the executive to rectify abuses, remedy existing evils, and subdue the flame of independence which was each year burning more fiercely in the province.

In the meeting of the 10th of August the expediency of sending six deputies to the proposed general congress of the American colonies was discussed. The proposition did not, however, receive the sanction of the assemblage.

Of all the parishes composing the province none was more patriotic or resolute, none more public-spirited or anxious to form a league against

¹ *Georgia Gazette*, No. 572.

² *Georgia Gazette*, No. 573.

³ *Georgia Gazette*, No. 575.

⁴ Dated Savannah, 24th of August, 1774.

⁵ See his *Letter to the Earl of Dartmouth*, dated Savannah, the 24th of August, 1774.

British oppression, than the parish of St. John. Of the five hundred and seventy-nine barrels of rice contributed by Georgia for the relief of the suffering poor of Boston two hundred were given by the inhabitants of this parish. Brave, intelligent, generous, and most intolerant of the semblance of oppression, they were prepared "to exert themselves to the utmost, and to make every sacrifice that men impressed with the strongest sense of their rights and liberties, and warm with the most benevolent feelings for their oppressed brethren, can make to stand firmly or fall gloriously in the common cause." Dissatisfied with the action of the meeting in Savannah, which declined to commission delegates to the General Congress, they called a convention of their own on the 30th of August, 1774. By invitation, deputies from St. George and St. David were also present. It was then resolved "that if a majority of the Parishes would unite with them, they would send deputies to join the General Congress and faithfully and religiously abide by and conform to such determination as should be there entered into, and come from thence recommended."

Georgia, however, was not represented in the first general congress of the colonies.

To the "Sons of Liberty" the position now occupied by Georgia was distressful and mortifying. From her isolated situation, from her apparent indifference to the compact into which the other American colonies had entered, and from the ban under which she was placed by her failure to participate in the deliberations of and to be bound by the conclusions reached by the Continental Congress, they determined to liberate her at the earliest practicable moment.

A Provincial Congress was determined upon as the surest and best method of accomplishing this desirable result, and the 18th of January, 1775, was suggested for the convocation. Savannah was named as the most suitable place for the session. On the 8th of December, 1774, many of the leading citizens of that town and of Christ Church parish convened at the market-place, and, having summoned John Glen, esq., to the chair, proceeded to an election of delegates to the Provincial Congress. Upon closing the polls at six o'clock in the afternoon, "the following gentlemen were declared duly elected, viz. : Joseph Clay, George Houston, Ambrose Wright, Thomas Lee, Joseph Habersham, Edward

Telfair, John Houstoun, Peter Tondee, Samuel Farley, William Young, John Smith, Archibald Bulloch, John McCluer, Noble Wimberley Jones, and John Morel."

In commenting upon this action of Christ Church parish a writer in the *Georgia Gazette*¹ says: "It cannot surely at this time admit of a doubt but every Parish and District throughout the Province will, as soon as possible, follow so laudable an example.

"Every thinking man must be convinced how much the honour, welfare, and happiness of us and our posterity depend upon a vigorous assertion and claim of our just and natural rights which the arbitrary system of politicks adopted by the Administration is undeniably calculated to deprive us of."

This anticipation was not realized: for, as we shall see, upon the assembling of the Provincial Congress it was found that only five of the twelve parishes composing the province sent delegates. Governor Wright and the supporters of the Crown were most earnest in discountenancing all these preliminary meetings, and the home authorities assured him that in his efforts to "suppress such unwarrantable proceedings" he should have every support. The Lords of the Admiralty were instructed to direct Admiral Graves to station one of his small cruisers in Savannah River, and General Gage was ordered to send to Governor Wright a detachment of one hundred men from the garrison at St. Augustine.²

Although not yet thoroughly republican, Georgia was rapidly becoming so, and neither the persuasions of the king's officers nor the threats of a resort to military force to compel submission to the will of Parliament were sufficiently potent to silence the voice of the protestants or to prohibit public demonstrations in favor of Colonial rights.

Christ Church, St. John, and St. Andrew were the strongest and most intelligent parishes within the limits of the province, and in their primary meetings they all declared themselves in favor of the resolutions adopted by the Continental Congress, and appointed delegates to the contemplated Provincial Congress.

It was the expectation of Governor Wright, by convening the Gen-

¹ No. 584, Wednesday, December 14, 1774.

² See *Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to Governor Wright*, dated Whitehall, 1st February, 1775.

eral Assembly of the province on the same day which was named for the meeting of the Provincial Congress, either to prevent a session of the latter body or to neutralize the effect of its deliberations. In this anticipation he was doomed to disappointment. The Provincial Congress assembled in Savannah simultaneously with the Legislature and perfected its organization by calling John Glen to the chair. Of the twelve parishes composing the Colony only five were represented by delegates, and some of them were hampered by restrictions which materially interfered with their freedom of expression and action.

Chagrined at the inaction of a majority of the parishes, the delegates to this congress essayed to accomplish through the Commons House of Assembly that which of themselves they were not strong enough to perform. Laying before that body the papers and resolutions which were then engaging their attention, they hoped by securing the sanction of the representatives to announce those resolutions, which were akin to such as had been adopted by the Continental Congress, as embodying the general sentiments of the province. After a conference with the Upper House, finding it impossible to bring about unity of thought and action, the members of the Lower House proceeded to a consideration of various communications received from other provinces on the subject of American grievances, and entered upon a discussion of the resolutions of the Provincial Congress which were submitted for their approval. These resolutions were substantially the same as those which had been adopted on the 14th of October, with the addition of three other ones: rendering grateful acknowledgment to the noble, honorable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty who had so generously and powerfully espoused and defended the cause of America both in and out of Parliament; another giving thanks to the members of the late American congress for their wise and able exertions in behalf of American liberty; and a third urging that deputies should be sent from Georgia to the Continental Congress which was to convene on the 10th of May next in the city of Philadelphia.

Pending the deliberations upon these important matters, and in order to prevent any authoritative and final action in the premises, the governor, on the 10th of February, adjourned the General Assembly until the 9th of the following May. This action completely thwarted the designs

of the liberty party and utterly prevented the nomination, by the representatives, of delegates to the Philadelphia congress.

Embarassed by this unexpected event; perplexed by the paucity of the representation present, which, in all honesty, forbade that the conclusions and recommendations of the Provisional Congress should be promulgated as expressive of the will of even a majority of the parishes of Georgia; hampered by the restrictions under which some of the delegates labored, and weakened by the withdrawal of the deputies from St. John's Parish who would listen to nothing short of an emphatic indorsement of all the measures and resolutions suggested by the Continental Congress, the Provisional Congress adjourned on the 25th of January. Before doing so, however, it elected Noble W. Jones, Archibald Bulloch, and John Houston to represent the province in the Philadelphia congress. Having failed to indorse all the resolutions entered into by her sister colonies, Georgia, to the delight of the governor and council and the sincere mortification of the lovers of American liberty, still remained outside of the Continental association.

Disappointed, and yet not despondent, the inhabitants of St. John's Parish, with surprising unanimity, "resolved to prosecute their claims to an equality with the Confederated Colonies." This parish then possessed nearly one-third of the aggregate wealth of Georgia, and its citizens were remarkable for their thrift, courage, honesty, intelligence and determination. Having adopted certain resolutions by which they obligated themselves to hold no commerce with Savannah or other places except under the supervision of a Committee, and even then only with a view to procuring the necessaries of life, and having avowed their entire sympathy with all the articles and declarations promulgated by the General Congress, the inhabitants of St. John's Parish elected Dr. Lyman Hall to represent them in the Continental Congress. This appointment was made on the 21st of March, and no more suitable selection could have been suggested. Among the prominent citizens of this parish none occupied a position superior to that accorded to Dr. Hall. A native of Connecticut, a gentleman of education and refinement, he had long been identified with the region, and was a member of the Midway Congregation. Owning and cultivating a rice-plantation on the Savannah and Darien road only a few miles from Midway meeting-house, he resided

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in Sunbury and was the leading physician in that community. When departing for the Continental Congress he carried with him, as a present from his constituents to the suffering republicans in Massachusetts, one hundred and sixty barrels of rice and fifty pounds sterling. Upon presenting his credentials Dr. Hall was unanimously admitted to a seat in Congress "*as a delegate from the Parish of St. John in the Colony of Georgia*, subject to such regulations as the Congress should determine relative to his voting."

Rightly judging that they could not properly be regarded as representing the entire province, Messrs. Jones, Bulloch, and Houstoun did not take their seats in the Continental Congress to which they had been accredited by the Provincial Congress of the 18th of January, 1775.

The patriotic spirit of its inhabitants, and this independent action of St. John's Parish in advance of the other Georgia parishes, were subsequently acknowledged when all the parishes were in accord in the Revolutionary movement. As a tribute of praise, and in token of general admiration, by special act of the Legislature the name of LIBERTY COUNTY was conferred upon the consolidated parishes of St. John, St. Andrew, and St. James.

Sir James Wright was not far from the mark when he located the head of the rebellion in the parish of St. John, and advised the Earl of Dartmouth that the rebel measures there inaugurated were to be referred mainly to the influence of the "descendants of New England people of the Puritan Independent sect who, retaining "a strong tincture of Republican or Oliverian principles, have entered into an agreement amongst themselves to adopt both the resolutions and association of the Continental Congress." On the altars erected within the Midway District were the fires of resistance to the dominion of England kindled at an early period of the struggle, and of all the dwellers there Dr. Lyman Hall, by his counsel, exhortations, and determined spirit, added stoutest fuel to the flames. Between the immigrants from Dorchester and the distressed Bostonians existed not only the ties of a common lineage, but also sympathies begotten of the same religious, moral, social, and political education. This Puritan element—cherishing and proclaiming intolerance of Established Church and of the divine right of kings, impatient of restraint, accustomed to independent thought and action, and without as-

sociations which encouraged tender memories of and love for the mother country—asserted its hatreds, its affiliations, and its hopes, with no uncertain utterance, and appears to have controlled the action of the entire parish.

Since its settlement Georgia had received from the royal treasury nearly £200,000. In addition, generous bounties had been expended in aid of special industries. Governor Wright,—mindful of this benefaction,—in the present disturbed condition of the province sought every opportunity to inculcate gratitude towards a government the parental care of which had been so kindly manifested.

Other colonies possessed charters upon which to base claims for redress. Georgia had none. Upon the surrender by the Trustees of the charter granted to them by King George II. all chartered rights became extinct. After its erection into a royal province, the commission of the governor and the instructions of his majesty—communicated through the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations and the Privy Council—constituted the supreme measure of privilege, and the rules of government.

For fourteen years Sir James Wright had presided over the colony with wisdom, firmness, and impartiality. Through his zeal and watchfulness the province had been delivered from the horrors of Indian warfare, and guided into the paths of peace and plenty. By his negotiations the Indian title to millions of acres of the ceded domains had been amicably extinguished. Diligent in the discharge of his official duties, firm in his resolves, just in the exercise of his powers, loyal in his opinions and acts, courteous in his intercourse, thrifty in the conduct of his private affairs, and exhibiting the operations of a vigorous and well-balanced judgment, he proved himself a model colonial governor, securing the respect and challenging the affection of his people.

Although differing from many of the inhabitants upon the political questions which were now dividing the public mind, and always intent upon maintaining the binding force of the acts of Parliament, he never suffered himself to be betrayed into acts of violence, of meanness, or of revenge. He preferred to counsel, to enlighten, to exhort. Georgia was prospering under his administration. Her development year by year became more marked. Her position was peculiar, and it excites no

surprise that at the outset there should have existed a division of sentiment upon the momentous political issues presented for her consideration. The period of doubt, however, was short in its duration. Before Jefferson framed the declaration of independence Georgia had cast her lot with her sister American colonies, and, through her delegates, was participating in the adoption of those measures which brought about the War of the Revolution. Of all the English provinces in America, Georgia had least cause to take arms against the mother country.

CHAPTER XVII.

News of the Affairs at Lexington and Concord—The Powder Magazine in Savannah Broken Open and Much of the Powder Removed by the Liberty Boys—The King's Cannon Dismounted—First Liberty Pole in Savannah—Meeting of the 22d of June—Mob Law—Capture of Captain Maitland's Powder Ship—Memorable Provincial Congress of July 4, 1775—Delegates Appointed to the Continental Congress—Article of Association—Council of Safety—The Militia Purged of its Loyal Element—Pitiable Plight of Governor Wright—Battalion Raised and Officered on the Continental Establishment.

THE news of the affairs at Lexington and Concord reached Savannah on the evening of the tenth of May, and created an excitement most profound. The blood then shed cemented the union of the colonists. The thunders of the nineteenth of April awoke the Georgia parishes from their lethargy, and turned the tide in favor of resistance to parliamentary rules.

The magazine at the eastern extremity of Savannah, built of brick and sunk some twelve feet under ground, contained a considerable supply of ammunition. So substantial was the structure that Governor Wright deemed it useless to post a guard for its protection. The excited Revolutionists all over the land cried aloud for powder. Impressed with the necessity of securing the contents of this magazine for future operations, quietly assembling and hastily arranging a plan for operations,¹ Dr. Noble W. Jones, Joseph Habersham, Edward Telfair, William

¹ This meeting was held at the residence of Dr Jones. McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 43. Savannah. 1816.

Gibbons, Joseph Clay, John Milledge and some other gentlemen, most of them members of the council of safety and all zealous in the cause of American liberty, at a late hour on the night of the eleventh of May, 1775, broke open the magazine and removed therefrom about six hundred pounds of gunpowder.¹ A portion was sent to Beaufort, South Carolina, for safe keeping, and the rest was concealed in the garrets and cellars of the houses of the captors. Upon ascertaining the robbery, Governor Wright immediately issued a proclamation offering a reward of £150 sterling for the apprehension of the offenders.² It elicited no information on the subject, although the actors in the matter are said to have been well known in the community. The popular heart was too deeply stirred, and the "Sons of Liberty" were too potent to tolerate any hindrance or annoyance at the hands of Royalist informers. The tradition lives, and is generally credited, that some of the powder thus obtained was forwarded to Cambridge, Mass., and was actually expended by the patriots in the memorable battle of Bunker Hill. We know that the liberty-loving citizens of Savannah, on the 1st of June, 1775, deeply moved by the distresses which the Bostonians were experiencing from the enforcement of the "late acts of a cruel and vindictive ministry," and ardently desiring that the noble stand they had taken in the defense of those rights to which as men and British subjects they were entitled might be crowned with success, transmitted by the *Juliana*, Captain Stringham, and under the special conduct of John Eaton LeConte, esq., sixty-three barrels of rice and one hundred and twenty-two pounds sterling in specie for the relief of such as had recently left the town of Boston. It is not improbable that the powder in question may have been forwarded in some such way at an earlier day.

It had been the custom in the province to celebrate with festivities and military salutes the king's birthday, which occurred on the 4th of June. Notwithstanding the unsettled condition of affairs, Governor Wright was loath to omit the usual formalities. He accordingly, on the

¹ In his communication to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Savannah, May 12, 1775, Sir James Wright estimates the amount stolen at the figure we have named, and says he was informed by the powder receiver that there remained in the magazine "not above 300 lbs of the King's Powder, and about as much more belonging to the merchants." David Montaigut, esq., was then the powder receiver of the province.

² See the proclamation printed in the *Georgia Gazette* of May 17, 1775.

1st of June, issued orders for suitable preparations in anticipation of the event. On the night of the 2d a number of the inhabitants of Savannah came together and, having spiked all the cannon on the bay, dismounted and rolled them to the bottom of the bluff. Such was the pointed insult offered to the memory of his majesty. It was with great difficulty that some of these disabled guns could be drilled and restored to their positions in battery in time to participate in the loyal ceremonies of the 4th,¹ which, as that day chanced to fall on Sunday, were observed on the Monday following.

The first liberty pole erected in Georgia was elevated in Savannah on the 5th of June, 1775. The Royalists were then celebrating the king's birthday. The "Liberty Boys," in testimony of their desire for a reconciliation with the mother country on the basis of a recognition of constitutional principles and colonial privileges, at the feast which they prepared drank as the first regular toast, "*the king*." The second was "*American liberty*."

Within a week afterwards thirty-four leading friends to the union of the colonies convened in Savannah and adopted a series of spirited resolutions recommending an early association of Georgia with her sister colonies and suggesting an equitable adjustment of the unhappy differences existing between Great Britain and America.

On the 21st of June was published a call signed by Noble W. Jones, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, and George Walton, requesting the inhabitants of the town and district of Savannah to meet at the liberty pole on the following day at ten o'clock in the forenoon for the purpose of selecting a committee to bring about a union of Georgia with the other colonies in the cause of freedom. The alarming situation of affairs in America, and particularly in this province, was urged as a reason for punctual and general attendance.

At the appointed place and designated hour many were present. A council of safety consisting of William Ewen, president, William LeConte, Joseph Clay, Basil Cooper, Samuel Elbert, William Young, Elisha Butler, Edward Telfair, John Glenn, George Houstoun, George Walton, Joseph Habersham, Francis H. Harris, John Smith, and John Morel, members, and Seth John Cuthbert, secretary, was nominated, with in-

¹ See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 44. Savannah. 1816.

structions to maintain an active correspondence with the continental congress, with the councils of safety in other provinces, and with the committees appointed in the other parishes in Georgia. This business concluded, a number of gentlemen dined at Tondee's tavern. The union flag was hoisted upon the liberty pole, and two field-pieces were posted at its foot. Thirteen patriotic toasts were drunk, each being responded to by a salute from the cannon and by martial music.

One of the resolutions adopted at this meeting of the 22d of June provided that Georgia should not afford protection to, or become an asylum for, any person who, from his conduct, might be properly considered inimical to the common cause of America or who should have drawn upon himself the disapprobation or censure of any of the other colonies. In defiance of this resolution a young man named Hopkins spoke contemptuously of the objects and conclusions of the meeting, and heaped epithets of ridicule upon the heads of the gentlemen composing the committee of public safety. He was arrested by a mob, tarred and feathered, hoisted into a cart illuminated for the occasion, and was paraded for four or five hours through the principal streets of Savannah. Similar punishment was meted out by the parish committee of Augusta in the case of Thomas Brown, who had openly declared his enmity to the American cause and scoffed at the proceedings of the continental congress. The intention of the patriots to ally Georgia with her sister American colonies at the earliest moment was boldly proclaimed at another meeting of the citizens of Savannah held at the residence of Mrs. Cuyler on the 13th of June.

The suggestion contained in a communication of Governor Wright to Admiral Graves that the port of Savannah was blockaded, may be thus explained. The Carolina committee, notified of the fact that a ship had sailed for Georgia having on board a large supply of powder intended for the use of the Indians and the service of the Royalists, resolved to capture it. Captains Barnwell and Joyner, of Beaufort, were directed to employ every means at command to seize the expected ship and secure the military stores on board. Embarking forty men, well armed, in two barges, they proceeded to the mouth of the Savannah and encamped on Bloody Point in full view of Tybee Island light house. The Provincial Congress of Georgia offered every assistance to these officers, and told them, if they so desired, they should be aided in the capture of the Brit-

ish armed schooner stationed in the river. To that end arrangements were made for a junction of the Carolina and Georgia forces. A schooner was commissioned by the congress and placed under the command of Captain Bowen and Joseph Habersham. On the approach of the Georgia schooner the British armed vessel weighed anchor, put to sea, and departed. The Georgia schooner, taking a position beyond the bar, had been on the lookout only a few days when, on the 10th of July Captain Maitland's ship, direct from London and having the powder on board, was descried in the offing. Perceiving the schooner, and perhaps suspecting some evil design, the ship paused before entering Tybee inlet, and, in a little while, tacked and stood out to sea. Quickly pursued, she was overhauled by Captain Bowen and the Georgians who, assisted by the Carolina party, boarded and took possession of her.

This Georgia schooner¹ is said to have been the first provincial vessel commissioned for naval warfare in the Revolution, and this the first capture made by order of any congress in America. Of the powder taken from this ship nine thousand pounds fell to Georgia as her share of the prize. At the earnest solicitation of the Continental Congress five thousand pounds were sent to Philadelphia and were there issued in supplying the necessities of the embryo armies of the united colonies.² One authority states that six tons of gunpowder were taken from this vessel, and Captain McCall estimates the amount at thirteen thousand pounds. It formed a most valuable contribution to the military stores of the nascent republic, and its exploding thunders shook the earth upon more than one battle-field during the war of the Revolution.

In the memorable Provincial Congress which assembled in Savannah on the 4th of July, 1775, every parish was represented, and the delegates were fitting exponents of the intelligence, the dominant hopes, and the material interests of the communities from which they respectively came. The town and district of Savannah were present in the persons of Archibald Bulloch, Noble Wymberley Jones, Joseph Habersham, Jonathan Bryan, Ambrose Wright, William Young, John Glen, Samuel Elbert, John Houstoun, Oliver Bowen, John McCluer, Edward Telfair, Thomas

¹ This schooner was armed with "ten carriage guns and many swivels," and had a complement of fifty men.

² See Stevens's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 103. Philadelphia. 1859. Moultrie's *Memoirs*, etc., vol. i., p. 81. New York. 1802.

Lee, George Houstoun, Joseph Reynolds, John Smith, William Ewen, John Martin, Dr. Zubly, William Bryan, Philip Box, Philip Allman, William O'Bryan, Joseph Clay, and Seth John Cuthbert.

The Congress was organized by the unanimous choice of Archibald Bulloch as president, and George Walton as secretary. This was Georgia's first secession convention. Without pausing to enumerate its various and important proceedings, it may be stated, in general terms, that it proclaimed a declaration of rights, placed the province in active sympathy, confederated alliance, and positive representation with the other twelve American colonies, practically annulled within her limits the operation of the objectionable acts of Parliament, questioned the supremacy of the realm, and inaugurated measures calculated to accomplish the independence of the plantation and its erection into the dignity of a State.

John Houstoun, Archibald Bulloch, the Rev. J. J. Zubly, Dr. Lyman Hall, and Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones were elected delegates to the Continental Congress, and the following article of association was, on the 13th of July, unanimously adopted :

“Georgia. Being persuaded that the salvation of the rights and liberties of America depend, under God, on the firm union of the inhabitants in its vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety, and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend the dissolution of the powers of government, we, the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the Province of Georgia, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the ministry to raise a revenue in America, and shocked 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 honour, and love to our country, to adopt and endeavour 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 until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America, on constitutional principles, which we most ardently desire, can be obtained ; and that we will in all things follow the advice of our general committee appointed, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.”

John Smith, Basil Cowper, George Houstoun, Joseph Clay, William Young, Philip Box, Seth John Cuthbert, William O'Bryan, George Walton, William LeConte, William Gibbons, Samuel Elbert, Edward Telfair and Oliver Bowen were designated as a committee "to present this association to all the inhabitants of the Town and District of Savannah to be signed." Expedition was enjoined, and these gentlemen were requested to furnish the general committee with the names of all who declined to affix their signatures.

Georgia was now practically under the control of the Republican council of safety. Although Governor Wright still remained in Savannah, he fully realized that the reins of government had been wrested from him; that he was simply a *locum tenens*, beholding, reporting, criticising, but without the power to stay the onward march of events, or to shape them to the will of his majesty. His inability to control the "Liberty people," he freely confessed, and humbly requested royal permission to return to England that he might resign his office. Under orders of the council of safety, the militia was thoroughly purged of all officers who declined to sign the article of association, and professed loyalty to the crown.

Possession was taken of the custom house in Savannah, and an officer appointed to prevent vessels from landing cargoes from England. The port was practically closed. Governor Wright appealed in vain for a sloop of war to put an end to this "most disagreeable situation."

On the 17th of September a vessel arrived from London, having on board two hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, most of which had been sent out by his majesty, consigned to Mr. Stuart, the superintendent, and intended as a royal present to the Indians. This was too valuable an accession to their military stores to escape the notice of the liberty people. They accordingly boarded the ship at Tybee, removed the powder, and, transporting it to Savannah, diverted it from its destination and retained possession of it.

A ship coming from Senegal with a cargo of two hundred and four slaves was prevented from landing. Compelled to depart the port, the captain, in his distress, set out for St. Augustine as affording the only prospect of saving the Africans on board from death by famine.

The lamentations of Governor Wright, although frequently uttered,



May 15, 1877

Yours truly,
Edw. Manning

were as yet unheeded. "It is really a wretched state to be left in, and what it's impossible to submit to much longer, government totally annihilated and assumed by congresses, councils, and committees, and the greatest acts of tyranny, oppression, gross insults, etc., committed, and not the least means of protection, support, or even personal safety, and these almost daily occurrences are *too much*, my Lord."¹

The plight of the governor was truly pitiable. The only functions he now exercised were those connected with the probate of wills and the granting of letters of administration. In view of what had occurred, and of what was daily transpiring, he pathetically yet truthfully exclaimed: "There is hardly a shadow of government remaining." The royal cause experienced a heavy blow in the demises of Clement Martin, Noble Jones, — associate justice and treasurer of the colony — and the Honorable James Habersham, who quickly followed each other to the tomb.

Before adjourning on the 11th of December, 1775, the Provincial Congress appointed the following persons members of the council of safety:² George Walton, William Ewen, Stephen Drayton, Noble W. Jones, Basil Cowper, Edward Telfair, John Bohun Girardeau, John Smith, Jonathan Bryan, William Gibbons, John Martin, Oliver Bowen, Ambrose Wright, Samuel Elbert, Joseph Habersham, and Francis Henry Harris. That body organized by electing George Walton president, and Edward Langworthy secretary. It was resolved to meet regularly at Tondee's Long Room in Savannah every Monday morning at ten o'clock, and as much oftener as the emergency demanded.

The Continental Congress having on the 4th of November ordered that a battalion should be raised at the common charge of the united provinces for the protection of Georgia, and made an appropriation of five thousand dollars toward the defrayal of the expenses of this organization, the council of safety, at its first meeting, commissioned Andrew Maybank, Joseph Woodruffe, Hezekiah Wade, and John Dooly as captains; James Cochran, John Morrison, Jeremiah Beale, and Thomas

¹ Communication to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Savannah, September 23, 1775.

² As constituted in June, 1775, the council of safety consisted of William Ewen, William LeConte, Basil Cowper, Samuel Elbert, William Young, Elisha Butler, Edward Telfair, John Glen, George Houstoun, George Walton, Joseph Habersham, Francis H. Harris, John Smith, and John Morel. William Ewen was chosen president, and Seth John Cuthbert appointed secretary.

Dooly as first lieutenants; James Galoche, Moses Way, Jacob Blunt, Zephaniah Beale and William Bugg second lieutenants; and Thomas Dowly, George Philips, and Joshua Smith, third lieutenants.

On the 7th of January, 1776, the battalion was further organized by the appointment of the following field officers: Lachlan McIntosh, colonel; Samuel Elbert, lieutenant-colonel; and Joseph Habersham, major. McIntosh and Elbert subsequently rose to the rank of brigadier-general in the army of the Revolution.

The following company officers were then elected and commissioned:

Francis Henry Harris, captain, and John Habersham, first lieutenant of the first company.

Oliver Bowen, captain, and George Handley, first lieutenant of the second company.

John McIntosh, jr., captain, and Lachlan McIntosh, jr., first lieutenant of the third company.

Arthur Carney, captain, and Benjamin Odingsell, first lieutenant of the fourth company.

Thomas Chisolm, captain, and Caleb Howell, first lieutenant of the fifth company.

John Green, captain, and Ignatius Few, first lieutenant of the sixth company.

Chesley Bostick, captain, and John Martin, first lieutenant of the seventh company; and Jacob Colson, captain, and Shadrach Wright, first lieutenant of the eighth company.¹

The erection of Georgia into a body politic apart from and opposed to the government hitherto existing by authority of the Crown, was now virtually accomplished. The president of the Council of Safety was *virtute officii*, the governor of this quasi-commonwealth, and Savannah was its capital. Such laws as were requisite for the preservation of the public peace, the maintenance of order, and the defrayal of current expenses, were promulgated as resolutions by the Provincial Congress and by the Council of Safety. Courts were provided for the assertion of rights and the redress of wrongs. A military force had been organized for the common defense, and union perfected with sister American Colonies. A royal governor, it is true, still resided in Savannah, but he was little

¹ *Georgia Gazette* for February 7, 1776—No. 644.

else than a prisoner with a barren sceptre in his grasp. Members of the King's Council remained, but their advice was neither asked nor heeded in the conduct of affairs. All officers holding warrants from the Crown were idle spectators of events. Within the entire circuit of the province there was no one to enforce the will of his majesty. Well might Governor Wright exclaim in behalf of himself and the other servants of the King in Georgia: "We shall not remain much longer in this distressful condition."

From this period until the erection of Georgia into a State upon conclusion of the Revolutionary War, but little legislation occurred in the proper acceptation of that term. The Colonial Legislatures had given to the statute book various acts and resolutions covering a wide range of subjects, and providing for the wants of a province rapidly assuming the proportions of an important, a populous, and a profitable dependency. Where these laws did not militate against the new government and the changed condition of affairs they were recognized of force and were permitted to remain in active operation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrest of Governor Wright by Major Habersham—His Subsequent Escape to the Scarborough—His Communication to the Members of Council Still in Savannah—Provincial Congress of January 22, 1776—Provisional Constitution of April, 1776—President Archibald Bulloch—First Passage at Arms in Georgia Between the Revolutionists and the King's Forces—Conduct and Resolutions of the Council of Safety—Affair on Tybee Island—Military Assistance from South Carolina.

THE arrival at Tybee, on the 12th of January, 1776, of two men-of-war and a transport from Boston, with a detachment of royal troops under the command of Majors Maitland and Grant, cheered the loyal yet despondent heart of Governor Wright, and encouraged the hope that by force of arms the dominion of the king might soon be reëstablished in Georgia. Six days afterwards, in view of the impending danger, to strengthen the independent temper of the inhabitants, and to demonstrate most emphatically that royal rule in the province was at an end,

the Council of Safety resolved "that the persons of his excellency Sir James Wright, Bart., and of John Mullryne, Josiah Tattnall, and Anthony Stokes, Esqrs., be forthwith arrested and secured, and that all non-associates be forthwith disarmed except those who will give their parole assuring that they will not aid, assist, or comfort any of the persons on board his Majesty's ships of war, or take up arms against America in the present unhappy dispute."

With a party selected by himself, Major Joseph Habersham volunteered to secure the person of the governor. Proceeding to the residence of the chief magistrate, who was at the moment in conference with his council, Major Habersham, passing the sentinel at the door, entered the hall, and advancing to the governor and placing his hand upon his shoulder, said, "Sir James, you are my prisoner." Astonished at the bold and unexpected act, the members of council and friends to the Crown there assembled fled precipitately from the house. Having exacted a solemn promise from the governor neither to depart from Savannah nor to hold any correspondence with the officers and soldiers on the ships lying in Tybee Roads, Major Habersham suffered him to remain in his mansion. A guard was posted to keep watch upon his movements, and to prohibit all intercourse with members of council, Crown officers, or persons deemed inimical to the cause of America. Of the bravery of this act too much can not be said in commendation. The personal courage displayed in making the arrest, pronounced as it was, will be reckoned but as a trifle when contrasted with the moral heroism involved in openly defying the power of the realm and in humbling the duly appointed representative of the Crown in the face of the province he was commissioned to rule. The effect was dramatic, startling.

Wearied with his confinement, mortified at his situation, and harrassed by dangers, some of them arising from shots wantonly fired into his dwelling, Governor Wright effected his escape on the night of the 11th of February. Slipping out of the back part of his house, he reached the river, and thence descended to Bonaventure where his friend Mullryne resided. There a boat and crew were in waiting, and he was conveyed through Tybee Creek to the armed ship *Scarborough*, Captain Barclay, lying in the mouth of the Savannah River. He was received on board at three o'clock on the morning of the 12th. The following day he penned

a letter to James Mackay and other members of the king's council remaining in Savannah, in which, "as the best friend the people of Georgia have," he counseled an immediate return to peace and security under royal protection, exhorted the inhabitants to save themselves and their posterity from impending ruin and destruction, cautioned them to desist from their present plans, promised on his return to England to intervene in their behalf if they exhibited signs of penitence and craved pardon, and warned them against a continuance of their disloyalty. The warnings and the threats of the fugitive governor were disregarded. His persuasions from the cabin of the *Scarborough* brought a smile to the countenances of those who had feared not his menaces while still the king's governor resident in Savannah. The "Sons of Liberty" had proceeded too far to think of pause or to cry for pardon. The public voice was for liberty, and the general mind counseled resistance. The olive branch was extended in vain. As a matter of courtesy the Hon. Archibald Bulloch, president of the Provincial Congress, responded to the communication. His reply was satisfactory neither to the governor nor to Captain Barclay. The former said he could not consider it as an answer because no notice was taken of his advice and proffer of service to the colony. "However," he added, "if Georgians will not be their own friends, the province will blame them and not me who through friendship put it in their power to be happy."

The Provincial Congress which assembled in Savannah on the 20th of January, 1776, was organized on the 22d by the election of the Hon. Archibald Bulloch as president. On the 2d of February Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, Lyman Hall, Button Gwinnett, and George Walton were appointed delegates to the Continental Congress.¹ Of the five delegates thus selected, the signatures of three—Hall, Gwinnett, and Walton—were affixed to the Declaration of Independence.

The sudden flight of Governor Wright, the presence of an armed force in the mouth of the Savannah River, and the absence of any definitive rules of government rendered it obligatory, for the orderly administration of public affairs, that a constitution for Georgia should be at once adopted and proclaimed by the Provincial Congress. Accordingly, in April, 1776, at Savannah, a temporary constitution was framed and promulgated "as

¹ *Georgia Gazette* of February 7, 1776, No. 644.

the groundwork of a more stable government" of the province. It read as follows:

"COLONY OF GEORGIA:

"Whereas, the unwise and iniquitous system of administration obstinately persisted in by the British Parliament and ministry against the good people of America hath at length driven the latter to take up arms as their last resource for the preservation of their rights and liberties which God and the constitution gave them;

"And whereas an armed force, with hostile intentions against the people of this Province, having lately arrived at Cockspur, his Excellency Sir James Wright, Baronet, and King's Governor of Georgia, in aid of the views of the administration, and with a design to add to those inconveniences which necessarily result from a state of confusion, suddenly and unexpectedly carried off the great seal of the Province with him;

"And whereas, in consequence of this and other events, doubts have arisen with the several magistrates how far they are authorized to act under the former appointments, and the greatest part of them have absolutely refused to do so, whereby all judicial powers are become totally suspended to the great danger of persons and property;

"And whereas, before any general system of government can be concluded upon, it is necessary that application be made to the Continental Congress for their advice and directions upon the same; but, nevertheless, in the present state of things, it is indispensably requisite that some temporary expedient be fallen upon to curb the lawless and protect the peaceable;

"This Congress, therefore, as the representatives of the people, with whom all power originates, and for whose benefit all government is intended, deeply impressed with a sense of duty to their constituents, of love to their country, and inviolable attachment to the liberties of America, and seeing how much it will tend to the advantage of each to preserve rules, justice, and order, do take upon them for the present, and until the further order of the Continental Congress, or of this, or any future Provisional Congress, to declare, and they accordingly do declare, order, and direct that the following rules and regulations be adopted in this Province—that is to say —

"1st. There shall be a President and Commander-in-Chief appointed

by ballot in this Congress, for six months, or during the time specified above.

“2d. There shall be in like manner, and for the like time, also a Council of Safety, consisting of 13 persons, besides the five delegates to the General Congress, appointed to act in the nature of a Privy Council to the said President or Commander-in-Chief.

“3d. That the President shall be invested with all the executive powers of government not inconsistent with what is hereafter mentioned, but shall be bound to consult and follow the advice of the said Council in all cases whatsoever, and any seven of said Committee shall be a quorum for the purpose of advising.

“4th. That all the laws whether common or statute, and the acts of Assembly which have formerly been acknowledged to be of force in this Province, and which do not interfere with the proceedings of the Continental or our Provincial Congresses, and also all and singular the resolves and recommendations of the said Continental and Provincial Congress, shall be of full force, validity, and effect until otherwise ordered.

“5th. That there shall be a Chief Justice, and two assistant judges, an Attorney-General, a Provost-Marshal, and Clerk of the Court of Sessions, appointed by ballot, to serve during the pleasure of the Congress. The Court of Sessions, or Oyer and Terminer, shall be opened and held on the second Tuesday in June and December, and the former rules and methods of proceeding, as nearly as may be, shall be observed in regard to summoning of Juries and all other cases whatsoever.

“6th. That the President or Commander-in-Chief, with the advice of the Council as before mentioned, shall appoint magistrates to act during pleasure in the several Parishes throughout this Province, and such magistrates shall conform themselves, as nearly as may be, to the old established forms and methods of proceedings.

“7th. That all legislative powers shall be reserved to the Congress, and no person who holds any place of profit, civil or military, shall be eligible as a member either of the Congress or of the Council of Safety.

“8th. That the following sums shall be allowed as salaries to the respective officers for and during the time they shall serve, over and besides all such perquisites and fees as have been formerly annexed to the said offices respectively :

"To the President and Commander-in-Chief after the rate, per annum, of	sterling £ 300
"To the Chief Justice	100
"To the Attorney-General	25
"To the Provost Marshal	60
"To the Clerk of Court	50 "

Archibald Bulloch was elected President and Commander-in-Chief of Georgia; John Glen, Chief Justice; William Stephens, Attorney-General, and James Jackson, Clerk of Court.

President Bulloch was a tower of strength. His personal integrity, his high sense of honor, his patriotism, his admirable executive abilities, his honesty of thought and purpose, his sturdy manhood, his unquestioned courage, and his enlarged views of the public good were invaluable in shaping the conduct and maintaining the dignity of the infant commonwealth. Although the first man in Georgia to read and promulgate the Declaration of Independence, he did not live to behold the fortunate issue of his people's struggle for independence. Under the provisions of this temporary constitution was the Province of Georgia guided by the Revolutionists until the adoption of the first regular constitution, on the 5th of February, 1777, by the convention then assembled in Savannah.

The first passage at arms in Georgia between the "Sons of Liberty" and the king's troops occurred in Savannah early in March, 1776. Eleven vessels laden with rice and ready for sea, were on the first of that month lying at the Savannah wharves. Some of them were owned by parties entertaining little sympathy with the American cause, and prepared at the first opportunity to disregard the non-intercourse resolutions of Congress and seek the most advantageous market. Aware of this fact, remembering also that the order promulgated by the Continental Congress prohibiting the exportation of rice from the united colonies expired that day by its own limitations, and apprehending from the presence of the British vessels of war in Tybee Roads that the cause for such continental restriction had not been removed, the council of safety assumed the responsibility of passing and publishing the following resolutions:

"Resolved that no ships loaded with rice or any other article of produce, in this Province, shall be permitted to sail without leave of the Council of Safety or next Congress, except such vessels as are or shall be permitted to sail for the purpose of procuring the necessary means of defence.

“Resolved that in case any loss shall be sustained by such detention, the Delegates from this Province shall be instructed to apply to the Continental Congress to make the reimbursement for such loss a general charge.

“Ordered that the rudders be unshipped, and that the rigging and sails be taken away and secured from the several vessels now riding in the port of Savannah.”

With the enforcement of these resolutions and this order Colonel Lachlan McIntosh was charged.

“For the safety of the Province and the good of the United Colonies” it was, on the 2d of March, unanimously resolved by the council of safety:

“That the houses in the town of Savannah and the hamlets thereunto belonging, together with the shipping now in port of Savannah the property of or appertaining to the friends of America who have associated and appeared or who shall appear in the present alarm to defend the same, and also the houses of the widows and orphans, and none others, be forthwith valued and appraised.

“Ordered that Messrs. Joseph Clay, Joseph Reynolds, John McLuer, Joseph Dunlap and John Glen, or any three of them, be a committee for that purpose, and that they make a return of such value and appraisement to the Council of Safety to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock or as soon after as possible.

Resolved That the delegates for this Province shall be instructed to apply to the Continental Congress for an indemnification to such persons as shall suffer in the defence of this town or shipping.

“Resolved That it shall be considered a defection from the cause of America, and a desertion of property in such persons as have left or who shall leave the town of Savannah or the hamlets thereunto belonging during the present alarm, and such persons shall be precluded from any support or countenance towards obtaining an indemnification.

“Resolved That it be incumbent upon the friends of America in this Province to defend the Metropolis as long as the same shall be tenable.

“Resolved That rather than the same shall be held and occupied by our enemies, or that the shipping now in the port of Savannah should be taken and employed by them, the same shall be burnt and destroyed.

“Resolved That orders shall be issued to the commanding officer directing him to have the foregoing resolutions put into execution.”

These brave resolves were supplemented by this proclamation :

“ IN THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY,
SAVANNAH, *March 2nd, 1776.*

“Whereas many householders in the town of Savannah, and the hamlets thereunto belonging, have basely deserted their habitations since the commencement of the present alarms :

“ And whereas some of them are associates in the great American Union, and, by consequence, their lives and fortunes bound to support it :

“ And whereas there is a number of shipping in the port of Savannah belonging and appertaining to persons resident in this Province :

“ And whereas we deem it incumbent on every person, more especially on those who have associated, to defend their property with their lives :

“ These are therefore to cite and admonish all persons holding any property in the town or hamlets, or shipping aforesaid, forthwith to repair to head quarters in Savannah to defend the same, on pain of suffering all the consequences contained in the foregoing resolutions.

“ By order of the Council of Safety.

WM. EWEN, *President.*”

Thus courageously and thoroughly did the authorities prepare to offer the stoutest and most patriotic resistance to the anticipated demonstration from the king's forces at the mouth of the Savannah river. So soon as Georgia united her fortunes with those of her sister colonies, all animosity ceased on the part of South Carolina. Between these adjacent provinces now existed the warmest friendship, and each pledged to the other a support most cordial, in seasons of doubt and peril. Of the situation of affairs the council of safety in Savannah promptly advised the council of safety in Charlestown, and furnished that body with copies of the resolutions, orders, and proclamation of the 2d of March. To such communications a tender of substantial succor was speedily returned.

Captain Barclay's request having been refused, and the vigilance of the Council of Safety preventing him from obtaining the supplies desired for the land and naval forces concentrated below Cockspur Island, the British commander resolved to capture the rice-laden vessels lying at the

Savannah wharves and thus secure by force of arms what his negotiations had failed to obtain. With this intention, on the last of February, with the *Scarborough* of twenty guns, the *Tamer* of sixteen guns, the *Cherokee* of ten guns, and the *Hinchinbrook* schooner of eight guns, he ascended the Savannah River as far as Five-Fathom hole. He was accompanied by Major Grant who, with his command consisting of between two and three hundred light infantry and marines, was conveyed in two transport ships, one of which mounted sixteen guns.¹

The soundings of Back River opposite Hutchinson's Island having been taken, two of the vessels passed up. One of them came into position just in front of Savannah, and the other, in attempting to round the upper end of the island so as to attack the town from above, grounded on a bank opposite Rae's Hall. In this disabled situation this armed vessel, which proved to be the *Hinchinbrook*, was fired upon by riflemen under the command of Major Joseph Habersham, who quickly drove her crew from the deck. Had boats been procurable he would, with his detachment, have boarded and captured this vessel. At high water she liberated herself from the bank, and moved off. During the night of the 2nd of March between two and three hundred troops, under the command of Majors Maitland and Grant, landed from the vessel in Back River and silently marched across Hutchinson's Island. At four o'clock on the morning of the 3d they took possession of the rice-laden vessels lying in the Savannah River near the store on that island opposite the town of Savannah. So quietly had this movement been conducted that it was nine o'clock in the forenoon before the authorities in Savannah became aware of the fact that British troops were on board of those merchantmen. It was suspected that they had been noislessly and collusively surrendered by their captains. The intelligence was first communicated by two sailors from one of these vessels who, coming ashore under the pretence of procuring some clothes, gave information that Captain Rice, who had been detailed to execute the order issued by the council of safety directing that all ships in port should be dismantled, having boarded one of these vessels in performance of his duty was, with his boat's crew forcibly detained. Great excitement prevailed in Savannah.

¹ See letter of Governor Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated "on board his Majesty's ship *Scarborough*, at Cockspur, in the river Savannah, in the Province of Georgia, the 10th of March, 1776."

Colonel McIntosh, with three hundred men, at once proceeded to Yamacraw Bluff, where he hastily threw up a breastwork and posted three four-pounder guns bearing upon the shipping. Before opening fire, Lieutenant Daniel Roberts, of the St. John's Rangers, and Captain Raynond Demeré, of St. Andrew's parish, were dispatched under a flag of truce to demand the release of Rice and his boats crew. Rowing across the river they boarded the vessel in which Captain Barclay and Major Grant then were. In utter disregard to the flag, Roberts and Demeré, although unarmed and on a peaceful mission, were, by command of British officers, arrested and detained as prisoners.

A half hour having elapsed and the commissioners not returning, the vessel was hailed through a speaking-trumpet, and the release of Rice, Roberts, and Demeré peremptorily demanded. Insulting replies being received, two four-pounder shots were fired at the vessel, when it was answered that if the Americans would send on board two men in whom they most confided, the British commander would treat with them. For this purpose Captain Screven, of the St. John's Rangers, and Captain Baker, of the St. John's Riflemen, were detailed. Taking with them twelve men of the St. John's Rangers, they were rowed immediately under the stern of the vessel, where they demanded the return of the officers and of Rice. Incensed at an insulting remark, Captain Baker fired a shot at some one on board. This was answered by a discharge of swivels and small arms from the vessel which almost sank the boat and wounded one man in it. Screven and Baker retired, the fire upon them being kept up as long as their boat was within range. The battery at Yamacraw Bluff now opened. For the space of about four hours firing was maintained between it and the British troops on the merchant vessels.

The council of safety having convened, it was resolved to set fire to the shipping. Among the volunteers for this service were Captain Bowen, John Morel, Lieutenant James Jackson, Thomas Hamilton, and James Bryan.¹ The *Inverness*, late Captain McGillivray, loaded with rice and deer-skins, was ignited and turned adrift in the river. "Upon this," writes President Ewen to the council of safety in South Carolina, "the soldiers in the most laughable confusion got ashore in the marsh,

¹ See Charlton's *Life of Jackson*, Part i., p. 8. Augusta, Georgia. 1809.

while our riflemen, and field-pieces with grape shot, were incessantly galling them. The shipping was now also in confusion. Some got up the river under cover of the armed schooner, while others caught the flame, and, as night approached, exhibited a scene as they passed and repassed with the tide, which at any but the present time would be truly horrible, but now a subject only of gratitude and applause. The Ships of Captains Inglis¹ and Wardell neither got up the river nor on fire. They were ordered on shore and now are prisoners of Captⁿ Screven in the country, and their vessels brought down close into a wharf. They were permitted to write to Captain Barclay in the evening to inform him of their situation and to request an exchange of prisoners, which the latter peremptorily refused."

Responding to their promise to furnish aid, the South Carolina Council of Safety sent over one hundred and fifty volunteers from Charlestown, and three hundred and fifty of the country militia, under the command of Colonel Bull, who, arriving at the critical moment, assisted the Georgians in dislodging the enemy. Three of the merchant vessels were burnt, six were dismantled, and two escaped to sea.

Before the British resumed their station at Tybee Roads a detachment of marines went ashore on Skidoway Island to collect stores. It was driven off by a company of militia under the command of Lieutenant Hext. In a skirmish which occurred the same day at Cockspur, Lieutenants Oates and Laroach were killed².

That the British forces were utterly foiled in their purpose may not be denied, although Governor Wright sought to convey a different impression of the affair. In his letter³ of the 10th of March, addressed to Lord Dartmouth, he claims that the expedition returned to Tybee Roads "with 14 or 15 merchant ships and vessels of one sort and another, having on board about 1600 barrels of rice." This is unquestionably an exaggeration. He further states that the troops sustained no loss, and that only four sailors were wounded.

Lieutenant Roberts and Messrs. Demeré and Rice being still detained as prisoners by the enemy, the Georgia authorities, as a retalia-

¹ It was in his vessel that many of the British soldiers had been received.

² McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 68. Savannah. 1816.

³ Written on board his majesty's ship *Scarborough*, at Cockspur, in the river Savannah. P. R. O., Am. & W. Ind., vol. ccxxxvii.

tory measure, arrested James Edward Powell, Anthony Stokes, Josiah Tattnall, John Mullryne, and such other members of the king's council as remained in Savannah. Several merchants and parties peculiarly obnoxious to the "Liberty Boys," were compelled to leave the town. They sought refuge in the fleet. After various negotiations, about the 20th of March Messrs. Roberts, Demeré, and Rice were released upon condition that the members of council under arrest should be set at liberty, with permission either to remain in Savannah upon parole that they should have "no connection with the King's ships or troops in this Province, and with the understanding that the safety of their persons and property should be secured so far as the same could be protected by the Council of Safety," or with liberty "to go on board the ships at Cockspur and take their apparel, provisions, and anything else they might think necessary for their voyage, if they were disposed to leave the Province."

Governor Wright, the officers of the fleet, and the soldiers were in the habit of going ashore on Tybee Island and utilizing, for their comfort and enjoyment, the houses there situated. This the council of safety determined to prevent in future by the destruction of those edifices. Accordingly, an expedition,—consisting of riflemen, light infantry, volunteers, and a few Creek Indians,—led by Archibald Bulloch, on the 25th of March made a descent upon that island and burned every house except one, in which a sick woman and several children were lying. Two marines from the fleet and a Tory were killed, and one marine and several Tories were captured. Although the *Cherokee*, man-of-war, and an armed sloop kept up an incessant fire, the party, consisting of about one hundred men, sustained no loss and returned safely, having fully executed the prescribed mission.

Apprehending that the British forces would, at an early day, renew the demonstration against Savannah, every effort was expended by the council of safety in fortifying the town and in concentrating troops for its protection. The Rubicon had been passed. Blood had been shed, and resistance to the death offered on the part of Georgians to English dominion. The patriotism displayed by the citizens of Savannah and the manhood exhibited in the defense of their homes cannot be too highly commended. In commenting upon the resolutions of the coun-

cil of safety, unanimously adopted, which provided that the torch should be applied to Savannah in every direction to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, so that if its defenders were compelled to abandon the town the victors would become possessed of only a mass of smoking ruins, Captain McCall¹ justly observes: "There are many instances of conflagration by order of a monarch 'who can do no wrong,' but there are few instances upon record where the patriotism of the citizen has urged him on to the destruction of his own property to prevent its becoming an asylum to the enemies of his country."

The same author intimates, in explanation of the remarkably few casualties sustained during this demonstration against Savannah, that the hostile disposition of the opposing parties had not then been fully roused; that some hope still remained of an amicable adjustment of the differences existing between England and America; and that the inclination was rather to excite alarm by menace than to irritate by the shedding of blood. The suggestion is not without force, and is specially applicable to the conduct of the English troops.²

The forces furnished by South Carolina and present in Savannah during this period of alarm numbered about four hundred and fifty men, officers and privates. They were commanded by Colonel Stephen Bull, assisted by Major Bourquin. Some forty of them were posted at Ebenezer as a guard to the public records and the surplus powder which had been removed from Savannah to that point as a place of greater security. Various were the detachments which composed this little army under Colonel Bull. In his general return, prepared at Savannah on the 15th of March, certified by Thomas Rutledge, adjutant, and forwarded to Colonel Henry Laurens, then president of the council of safety in Charlestown, the following organizations are enumerated: the Charlestown Volunteers, the Charlestown Rangers, the Charlestown Light Infantry, the Charlestown Fuzileers, the Beaufort Light Infantry, the St. Helena Volunteers, the Euhaw Volunteers, the Huspa Volunteers, the Light Horse or Pocotaligo Hunters, detachments from Oakety Creek,

¹ *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 60. Savannah. 1816.

² For a further account of the incidents connected with this demonstration against Savannah, see Drayton's *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, vol. ii., chap. xiv. Charleston. 1821.

St. Peter's, Black Swamp, Pipe Creek, Boggy-Gut, New Windsor, and Upper three Runs, and the Beaufort Artillery.¹

After the affair of the 2d of March there still remained near the wharves the following vessels which had escaped destruction by fire and capture by the enemy: the ship *Unity*, Captain Wardell, with 700 barrels of rice on board; the ship *Georgia Packet*, Captain Inglis, with 500 barrels of rice; the brigs *Amity*, freighted with ash and live-oak; the *Rebecca*, Captain Rutherford, with a cargo of lumber; the *Sorick*, Captain Steel, in ballast; the *Beaufort*, Captain Wood, also in ballast; the *Fair Lady*, Captain Robertson, with 30 hogsheads of tobacco; and the schooner *Horse Race*, Captain Burch, in ballast. To prevent all possibility of their departure to sea, the council of safety ordered their rigging to be brought ashore, and that their rudders should be "unhung." Colonel Bull was requested to superintend the execution of this order. As it was noised abroad by evil-disposed persons that the Carolinians had taken possession of Savannah, Colonel Bull suggested that the matter had better be attended to by Georgia troops, and that he would be near with his command to render assistance in case resistance was offered by the captains and crews of the vessels. Lieutenant-Colonel Stirk, with forty of the Georgia militia, was therefore detailed to dismantle these vessels. This service he performed in a satisfactory manner.

All danger of an immediate renewal of the attack by the enemy being now regarded as overpast, and there being no longer any necessity for the retention, on Georgia soil, of the Carolina troops, Colonel Bull departed with his command. Having disbanded it in the lower part of South Carolina, he repaired to Charlestown where he rendered an account to the council of safety of all affairs which had been entrusted to him. Sensible of the valuable aid rendered by this officer and his companions to the colony in a trying hour, the Provincial Congress of Georgia on the 24th of March passed the following resolution: "That the thanks of the Congress be returned to Stephen Bull Esqr. of Sheldon, Colonel of the Granville County regiment of militia, for his important services in command of the Colony forces in Savannah; and that

¹ Drayton's *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, etc., vol. ii., p. 238. Charleston. 1821.

he be desired to signify their thanks to the officers and men then under his command." ¹

Upon the departure of the Carolina troops there remained for the protection of Savannah the Georgia battalion, under the command of Colonel McIntosh, numbering only two hundred and thirty-six men. Of these not more than one hundred were present for duty. Along the Florida line was distributed a troop of sixty mounted men to prevent cattle stealing. A body of cavalry of like strength guarded the western frontier against the threatened invasion of the Indians. For the protection of the sea-coast, permeated with bays and inlets and infested by armed vessels of light draft, there was not a single ship. Such was the defenseless condition of the province. Evincing no alarm, however, the patriots calmly and energetically organized their government, accumulated warlike stores, and placed the militia upon the best possible footing. His excellency Archibald Bulloch, president and commander-in-chief, true to the high trusts confided to him, manifested "an ability suited to the occasion," and an "energy adequate to the crisis."

CHAPTER XIX.

Promulgation in Savannah of the Declaration of Independence--King George III. Interred in Effigy--General Charles Lee Plans an Expedition Against East Florida--Constitution of 1777--Military and Political Events--The Theater of War Transferred to the Southern Department--Reduction of Savannah Resolved Upon--Invasion of Georgia by Colonels Fuser and Prevost--Successful Defense of Sunbury by Colonel John McIntosh--Colonel Campbell's Advance upon and Capture of Savannah in December, 1778--Details of the Affair--Losses Sustained by the Rebels.

SIX days after the defeat of the British fleet before the palmetto walls of the fort on Sullivan's Island, the United Colonies proclaimed themselves free and independent.

So tardy were the means of communication when the electric tele-

¹ This expedition for the relief of Georgia cost the province of South Carolina £6,213 7s. 6d.

graph and conveyance by steam were wholly unknown, that the Declaration of Independence, sanctioned in Philadelphia on the 4th of July, 1776, was not heard of in Georgia until the 10th of August. On that day an express messenger delivered to President Bulloch a copy of that memorable document, accompanied by a letter from John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress. The Provincial Council was at once assembled, and to it did President Bulloch read aloud that historic utterance. Profound was the impression created upon the minds of his auditors, and rapturously did the assembled councilors hail the elevation of a British colony into the dignity of a free and independent State.

This ceremony concluded, the president and council repaired to the public square, where, in front of the building set apart for the deliberations of the Provincial Assembly, the Declaration of Independence was again read, and this time amid the acclamations of the congregated citizens of Savannah. The grenadier and light infantry companies then fired a general salute. A procession was formed consisting of

The Grenadiers in front ;
 The Provost Marshal on horseback, with his sword drawn ;
 The Secretary, bearing the Declaration ;
 His Excellency the President ;
 The honorable the Council, and gentlemen attending ;
 The Light Infantry ;
 The Militia of the town and district of Savannah ;
 and lastly, the citizens.

In this order they marched to the liberty pole, where they were met by the Georgia battalion. Here the declaration was read for the third time. At the command of Colonel McIntosh, thirteen volleys were fired from the field-pieces and also from the small arms. Thence the entire concourse proceeded to the battery, at the Trustees' Garden, where the declaration was publicly read for the fourth and last time, and a salute was fired from the siege guns planted at that point.

His excellency, the members of council, Colonel Lachlan McIntosh, many gentlemen, and the militia dined under the cedar trees and cordially drank to the "prosperity and perpetuity of the United, Free, and Independent States of America."

In the evening the town was illuminated. A funeral procession, embracing a number of citizens larger than had ever been congregated in

the history of Savannah, and attended by the grenadier and light infantry companies, the Georgia battalion, and the militia, with muffled drums, marched to the front of the court-house where his majesty George the Third was interred in effigy, and the following burial service, prepared for the occasion, was read with all solemnity :

“ For as much as George the Third, of Great Britain, hath most flagrantly violated his Coronation Oath, and trampled upon the Constitution of our country, and the sacred rights of mankind : we, therefore, commit his political existence to the ground—corruption to corruption—tyranny to the grave—and oppression to eternal infamy ; in sure and certain hope that he will never obtain a resurrection to rule again over these United States of America. But, my friends and fellow-citizens, let us not be sorry, as men without hope, for TYRANTS that thus depart—rather let us remember America is free and independent ; that she is, and will be, with the blessing of the Almighty, GREAT among the nations of the earth. Let this encourage us in well doing, to fight for our rights and privileges, for our wives and children, and for all that is near and dear unto us. May God give us his blessing, and let all the people say AMEN.”

With similar joy was the Declaration of Independence welcomed in other parishes of Georgia. St. John's Parish, the home of Hall and Gwinnett, two of the signers, was most pronounced in its demonstrations of approval.

Now that Georgia had been formally recognized as a State by the highest congress known to the late provinces, and as it had been recommended by the Colonial Congress that governments should be provided in the several States adapted to the exigencies of the new order of affairs and conducive to the happiness and safety alike of the respective States and of the United States, President Bulloch issued his proclamation ordering a general election to be held between the 1st and 10th of September for the purpose of selecting representatives to meet in convention in Savannah on the first Tuesday in October.

Flushed with his recent victory in Charles-Town harbor, General Charles Lee, in August, planned an expedition for the reduction of St. Augustine. A concentration of forces was had at Savannah ; and, on the 18th the general reviewed the army on the green at Yamacraw.

Precipitate action, the absence of needful supplies and requisite transportation, hot suns, and severe fevers interrupted the advance of the troops, and the whole affair was countermanded at Sunbury.

In obedience to the proclamation and circular letter of President Bulloch, the various parishes of Georgia, within the specified time, proceeded to the election of delegates to the constitutional convention which was ordered to assemble in Savannah on the first Tuesday in October, 1776. These delegates were men of repute in the communities from which they came. They had been carefully chosen, were pronounced friends of liberty, and were not insensible to the weighty obligations resting upon them. At this crisis of the nation's fate so numerous were the subjects claiming the attention of the convention, and so exhaustive were its deliberations, it was not until the 5th of February, 1777, that satisfactory conclusions were reached, and that the constitution¹ was promulgated which, for twelve years, defined and supported the rights of Georgia as an independent State.

Then followed the capture of Fort McIntosh by Colonels Brown, Cunningham, and McGirth, the defeat by Colonel McIntosh of an expeditionary force issuing from East Florida, the death of President Bulloch — the lamp of liberty in his hand trimmed and burning — the election of Button Gwinnett as his successor, his disagreement with McIntosh, his ill-timed and disastrous expedition for the subjugation of East Florida, the defeat of Colonel Baker, the election of John Adam Treutlen as governor, the duel between Gwinnett and McIntosh, the futile attempt of the South Carolinians to absorb Georgia, the elevation of John Houstoun to the gubernatorial chair on the 10th of January, 1778 and his investiture by the executive council with almost dictatorial powers, the joint effort of Governor Houstoun and General Robert Howe, in the spring of that year, to overrun East Florida, the gallant capture by Colonel Elbert of the brigantine *Hinchinbrook*, the sloop *Rebecca*, and a prize brig, Colonel Elijah Clarke's brilliant but vain attempt to dislodge the enemy from his works on Alligator Creek, the abandonment of the expedition at Fort Tonym, and the return of the troops to Sunbury, Savannah, and Charles-Town.

In the fall of 1778 Lord George Germain determined to transfer the

¹ For the provisions of this instrument see "*Jones's History of Georgia*," vol. ii., pp. 252-260.

theater of active warfare from the northern to the southern provinces. His hopes were fixed upon the subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina. The former was to be invaded by General Augustine Prevost, issuing from East Florida, while a heavy force, under the command of Colonel Archibald Campbell, sailing from New York, was to supplement this movement by a direct attack upon Savannah. Thus caught between the upper and the nether millstone, it was confidently expected that Georgia would speedily and surely be ground down into absolute submission to British rule.

As a diversion, and with a view to distracting the attention of General Howe and the continental forces concentrated at Savannah, General Prevost dispatched from St. Augustine two expeditions, one by sea to operate directly against Sunbury, and the other by land to march through and devastate the lower portions of Georgia, and, at that town, to form a junction with the former. Sunbury having been reduced, both columns were to advance upon Savannah. Of the detachment moving by water, and consisting of infantry and light artillery, Lieutenant Colonel Fuser was placed in command, while the column penetrating by land was entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Prevost. Having successfully pushed his advance some six miles beyond Midway Meeting-house, and there learning not only that the expedition under Colonel Fuser had not arrived before Sunbury, but also that Colonels Elbert and White were prepared vigorously to dispute his crossing at the great Ogeeche River, Colonel Prevost determined to abandon his enterprise and to return to St. Augustine. Delayed by head-winds Colonel Fuser did not appear in front of Sunbury until Prevost had entered upon his retreat and was beyond the reach of communication. In the face of Colonel John McIntosh's brave defense of that place, Fuser was forced to raise the siege of the town. Re-embarking his troops he returned to the River St. John where he met the retreating troops under the command of Prevost. Mutual recriminations ensued between these officers, each charging upon the other the responsibility of the failure of the respective expeditions. While this demonstration fell short of the object proposed, it had the effect of drawing General Howe and his little army away from Savannah for the relief of Sunbury.

The first definite intelligence of Colonel Campbell's approach was

communicated by William Haslen, a deserter from the British transport ship *Neptune*. He was examined before Governor Houstoun on the 6th of December, and a copy of his deposition¹ was at once forwarded by express to General Howe who was still at Sunbury. His declaration left no doubt on the minds of the authorities but that a very formidable expedition was afloat destined for the reduction of Savannah and the conquest of Georgia. About the same time General Howe received another express from the south verifying the rumor that General Augustine Prevost was on the eve of marching from St. Augustine, with all his forces, against Georgia.

In this alarming posture of affairs the militia was hastily summoned to the field, and Captain John Milton, secretary of State, was directed by the governor to pack and remove, without delay, to a place of safety, all the public records appertaining to his office. They were accordingly transported in boats to Purrysburg, and thence to the residence of Mr. Bryan.

Early in December the first vessels belonging to Colonel Campbell's expedition made their appearance at Tybee. The weather proving very unfavorable, they withdrew to sea, and at one time it was hoped that the alarm created by their presence was premature and possibly false. Even the governor shared in this impression, for he ordered that the public records should be returned to Savannah. Before this was done the British vessels were again upon the coast, and Captain Milton proceeded to Charlestown and there deposited the State's papers for safe-keeping.

We learn from Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell's report² to Lord George Germain, dated Savannah, January 16, 1779, that in obedience to Sir Henry Clinton's orders he set sail from Sandy Hook on the 27th of November, 1778, with his majesty's Seventy-first Regiment of foot, two battalions of Hessians, four battalions of Provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery, *en route* for Georgia. He was escorted by a squadron of his majesty's ships of war commanded by Commodore Parker. The entire fleet, with the exception of two horse sloops, arrived off the Island of Tybee on the 23d of December. By the 27th the vessels had crossed the bar and were lying at anchor in the Savannah River.

¹ For a copy of this deposition see McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 165. Savannah. 1816.

² See *Gentleman's Magazine* for the year 1739, p. 177.

From the provincial battalions two corps of light infantry were formed, one to be attached to Sir James Baird's light company of the Seventy-first Highlanders, and the other to Captain Cameron's company of the same regiment. Possessing no intelligence that could be relied upon with regard to the military force in Georgia or the dispositions made for her defense, Sir James Baird's Highland Company of Light Infantry, with Lieutenant Clarke of the navy, was dispatched in two flat-boats, on the night of the 27th, to seize any of the inhabitants they might find on the banks of Wilmington River. Two men were captured, and the information derived from them confirmed Colonel Campbell and Commodore Parker in the resolution to land their troops the next evening at Mr. Girardeau's plantation, less than two miles below the town of Savannah. This was the first practicable bluff near the Savannah River,—the region between it and Tybee Island being a continuous marsh intersected by streams.

The *Vigilant*, a man-of-war, with the *Comet* galley, the *Kepel*, an armed brig, and the armed sloop *Greenwich*, followed by the transports in three divisions in the order established for a descent, proceeded up the river with the tide at noon. About four o'clock in the afternoon the *Vigilant* opened the reach to Girardeau's plantation, and was cannonaded by two American galleys. A single shot from the *Vigilant* quickened their retreat.

The tide and the evening being too far spent, and many of the transports having gotten aground some five or six miles below Girardeau's plantation, the debarkation was delayed until the next morning. At daybreak the first division of the troops—consisting of all the light infantry of the army, the New York volunteers, and the first battalion of the Seventy-first Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland—was landed on the river dam in front of Girardeau's plantation. Thence a narrow causeway, about eight hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp directly towards Girardeau's residence, which stood upon a bluff some thirty feet above the level of the river delta. The light infantry, under Captain Cameron, having first reached the shore, were rapidly formed and led briskly forward to the bluff where Captain John C. Smith, of South Carolina, with forty men, was posted. Here the British were welcomed by a smart fire of

musketry by which Captain Cameron and two Highlanders were slain and five others were wounded. Rushing onward and upward the enemy quickly succeeded in driving Captain Smith from his position. He retreated upon the main army. The bluff was soon occupied by the first division of the king's troops and one company of the Second Battalion of the Seventy-first Regiment, the first battalion of Delancey, the Wellworth Battalion, and a portion of Wissenbach's regiment of Hessians.

A company of the second battalion of the Seventy-first Regiment and the first battalion of Delancey being left to cover the landing place, Colonel Campbell moved on in the direction of Savannah in the following order. The light infantry, throwing off their packs, formed the advance. Then came the New York Volunteers, the first battalion of the Seventy-first Regiment, with two six-pounder guns, and the Wellworth battalion of Hessians with two three-pounders. A part of Wissenbach's Hessian battalion closed the rear. Upon entering the great road leading to the town, Wissenbach's battalion was there posted to secure the rear of the army. A thick, impenetrable, wooded swamp covered the left of the line of march, while the cultivated plantations on the right were scoured by the light infantry and the flankers.

The open country near Tattnall's plantation was reached just before three o'clock in the afternoon. The command was halted in the highway, about two hundred paces from the gate opening into Governor Wright's plantation, and the light infantry was formed upon the right along the rail fence.

Leaving the English forces in this position, we turn for a moment to General Howe's army. That officer had formed his encampment southeast of Savannah, and anxiously awaited reinforcements of militia and continental troops from South Carolina. His soldiers had not yet recovered from the pernicious influences of the Florida campaign. About a fourth of the Georgia Continentals lay prostrate by disease, and many who were convalescing were too feeble to endure the fatigue of battle.¹ He had found it impracticable to concentrate the militia. On the day when Colonel Campbell wrestled with General Howe for the possession of Savannah, the army of the latter, exclusive of the militia, numbered

¹ McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 169. Savannah. 1816.

only six hundred and seventy-two, rank and file; while that of the former showed an aggregate present of more than two thousand.

On the 28th of December general instructions were issued to prepare for action, and on the following day this order of battle was announced:

“HEAD QUARTERS, SAVANNAH, *December 29, 1778.*”

“PAROLE, Firmness. The first brigade is to be told off into sixteen platoons of an equal number of files; the odd files to be formed into one platoon on the right wing of the brigade to act as light infantry according to exigencies.

“Two field officers to be appointed to the command of the right wing of both brigades.

“The second brigade to be told off into eight platoons of an equal number of files to be formed on the left of the first brigade in order to act as light infantry as will be directed.

“Colonel Isaac Huger will command the right wing of the army composed of the first brigade and the light troops belonging to it.

“The artillery of both brigades and the park to be posted before and during the action as shall be directed, and defend their ground until further orders. The artillery when ordered or forced to retreat are to fall into the road leading to the western defile where Colonel Roberts is to take as advantageous a post as possible to protect the retreat of the line.”

The town of Savannah was approached by three principal roads: one leading from the high grounds of the Brewton Hill plantation and Thunderbolt, and forming a causeway where it crossed a morass adjacent to the town, with rice-fields to the north and wooded swamps on the south; a second, formed by the union of the White Bluff and the Ogeechee ferry highways, coming in from the south; and a third, leading westwardly across the deep swamp of Musgrove Creek, with rice-fields on the north and an extensive morass toward the south.

On the morning of the 29th when Colonel Elbert discovered the enemy in the act of landing, he urged upon General Howe the importance of defending Brewton Hill,¹ and offered with his regiment to prevent the British from obtaining possession of it. The strategic value of the bluff

¹ Then known as Girardeau's plantation.

was apparent, and Colonel Elbert's intimate acquaintance with the locality would have enabled him in all probability to have defeated the enemy in his effort to effect a lodgment there. With surprising stupidity General Howe committed the fatal blunder of rejecting this offer, and formed his army for battle on the southeast of Savannah along the crest of the high ground and in proximity to the town as it then stood.

No position more apt for defense could have been selected in the entire neighborhood than the bluff at Girardeau's plantation. A regiment there posted, and a few pieces of field artillery advantageously distributed along the brow, would have utterly shattered the advancing column of the enemy moving along a narrow rice dam half a mile in length with marish and impracticable grounds on either hand. Persisting in such a movement, the enemy could have been torn to pieces by the plunging and enfilading fire. We marvel at the lack of observation and generalship which permitted such an opportunity to pass unimproved. The disparity of forces rendered it all the more obligatory that every advantage should have been taken of this position. It was the key to Savannah. Once in the keeping of Colonel Campbell, the subsequent reduction of the place by means of the preponderating forces under his command became a matter only of a short time and energetic action. Repulsed from this landing-place, and defeated in the effort to obtain a base of operations here, the acquisition of Savannah would have proved to the enemy a far more difficult problem. General Moultrie condemns General Howe for attempting, under the circumstances, the defense of Savannah, but omits the special censure which should properly be visited upon him for the neglect which we have pointed out. He says:¹

"When General Howe perceived that the British by their movements intended a descent upon Savannah he called a council of war of his field-officers to advise with them whether he should retreat from Savannah or stay and defend the town with his troops. The majority of the council were of opinion that he should remain in Savannah and defend it to the last. This was the most ill-advised, rash opinion that could possibly be given. It was absurd to suppose that 6 or 700 men, and some of them very raw troops, could stand against 2 or 3,000 as good troops as any the

¹ *Memoirs of the American Revolution.* etc., vol. i., p. 253. New York. 1802.

British had, and headed by Colonel Campbell, an active, brave, and experienced officer.

“From every information which General Howe received he was well assured that the British troops were at least that number. General Howe should have retreated with his 6 or 700 men up the country, especially as he had certain information that General Lincoln was marching with a body of men to join him, and did actually arrive at Purisburgh on the 3rd day of January, only 4 days after his defeat.”

In this judgment after event we do not fully sympathize. Had the landing of the enemy been properly disputed, the capture of Savannah would have been either indefinitely postponed or entirely prevented.

General Howe formed line of battle across the road leading from Brewton Hill and Thunderbolt to Savannah at a point about eight hundred yards distant from the gate leading to Governor Wright's plantation. One brigade, consisting chiefly of the regiments of Colonels Huger and Thompson, and commanded by Colonel Huger, was disposed on the right; its left resting obliquely on the road, and its right on a wooded swamp covered by the houses of the Tattnall plantation in which some riflemen were placed. The other brigade, consisting of parts of the first, second, third, and fourth battalions of the Georgia Continentals, under the command of Colonel Elbert, was posted upon the left; its right resting upon the road and its left extending to the rice-fields of Governor Wright's plantation. Behind the left wing of this brigade was the fort on the Savannah River bluff. The town of Savannah, around which were the remains of an old line of intrenchments, was in the rear of the army. One piece of field artillery was planted on the right of the line, and another on the left. Just where the line crossed the Thunderbolt road a traverse had been thrown up, and behind this two cannons were posted. One hundred paces in front of this traverse, at a critical point between two swamps, a trench was cut across the road to impede the advance of the enemy, and, at about the same distance beyond this trench in the direction of the enemy, a marshy stream ran parallel with the American line of battle. Where it crossed the road the bridge had been burnt.

In this situation General Howe waited for the approach of the British. Although informed by Colonel George Walton that there was a private way through the swamp by means of which the enemy could

pass from the high grounds of Brewton Hill plantation and gain the rear of the American right, and although urged by him to have the same properly guarded, General Howe neglected to give any attention to the matter, thus committing another fatal error in the conduct of this important affair.

Falling in with an old negro man named Quamino Dolly, Colonel Campbell acquired information from him of the existence of the private path leading through the wooded swamp and debouching in the rear of the American right. He at once secured his services as a guide. The first battalion of the Seventy-first Regiment was ordered to form on the English right of the road and move up in rear of the light infantry which was extended to the right as though threatening the American left. Taking advantage of a hollow which concealed the manœuvre, Sir James Baird was directed to conduct the light infantry quite to the British rear; and thence, passing to the left, to enter the path which led to the rear of the American right. The New York volunteers under Colonel Trumbull were instructed to support him.

While this movement was in progress the British artillery, concentrated in a field in front of the American right and sheltered from observation by an intervening swell in the ground, was held in readiness either to play upon the American line of battle or to open upon any force which might be detached to enter the wood and interrupt the progress of the light infantry. Wellworth's Hessian battalion was formed on the left of this artillery.

Meanwhile, the Americans opened upon the enemy with cannon. This fire provoked no reply. Sir James Baird and the light infantry, having fairly gained the rear of the right of General Howe's army, issued from the swamp and attacked a body of militia which had been posted to guard the road leading to the Great Ogeechee ferry. This force was quickly put to flight. At the sound of these guns Colonel Campbell ran his field-pieces to the front and opened a heavy cannonade. He at the same time ordered a vigorous charge all along his line. Attacked in front and rear the patriots soon gave way. A retreat was sounded. A panic ensued, and the Americans made their way, as best they could, and in a confused manner, through the town. Before the retiring army gained the head of the causeway over Musgrove's swamp, west of Savan-

nah—the only pass by which a retreat was practicable,—the enemy secured a position to interrupt the crossing. By extraordinary exertions Colonel Roberts kept the British in check until the center of the army made its escape. The American right flank being between two fires suffered severely. The left, under the command of Colonel Elbert, continued the conflict with such gallantry that a retreat by the causeway became impracticable. That officer therefore attempted to lead his troops through the rice-fields between the Springfield causeway and the river. In doing so he encountered a heavy fire from the enemy, who had taken possession of the causeway and of the adjacent high grounds of Ewensburg. Reaching Musgrove Creek, Colonel Elbert found it filled with water, for the tide was high. Consequently, only those of his command who could swim succeeded in crossing, and this they did with the loss of their arms and accoutrements. The others were either drowned or captured.

The Georgia militia, about one hundred in number, posted in rear of the right of the American line on the South Common, and commanded by Colonel George Walton, received the shock of the column led by Sir James Baird. The conflict was spirited, but of short duration. Colonel Walton, wounded,¹ fell from his horse and was captured. Pressed by Sir James Baird from the southeast, this command in retreating into the town was met by the enemy in hot pursuit of the fugitive army of General Howe. It suffered terribly, and was wholly killed, wounded, or captured. Some of its members—inhabitants of Savannah—were bayoneted in the streets by their victorious pursuers.²

As soon as Sir Hyde Parker perceived the impression made upon the American line by Colonel Campbell, he quickly moved his small armed vessels up to the town, sending the *Comet* galley as far as the ebb tide would permit. Thus all the shipping at the wharves was taken, and Savannah was cut off from communication with South Carolina. His squadron captured one hundred and twenty-six prisoners, three ships, three brigs, and eight smaller vessels. The only loss experienced by him consisted of one seaman killed and five sailors wounded.³

¹ Colonel Walton received a shot in the thigh from which he never entirely recovered. Charlton's *Life of Jackson*, p. 13. Augusta. 1809.

² See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 175. Savannah. 1816.

³ See Steven's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 177. Philadelphia. 1859.

Having vainly endeavored to rally his routed army on the high ground west of Musgrove's swamp, General Howe retreated to Cherokee Hill, about eight miles from Savannah, where he halted until the stragglers could come up. From this point he dispatched Lieutenant Tennill with orders to Lieutenant Aaron Smith, of the Third South Carolina Regiment commanding at Ogeechee Ferry, and to Major Lane, commanding at Sunbury, to evacuate their posts and join the army at Sister's and Zubly's ferries. After a march of thirty-six hours, through a swampy region, Lieutenant Smith, with twenty men, joined a detachment of the rear guard of the army at Ebenezer.

Persuaded by Captain Dollar, commanding a corps of artillery, and by many of the leading inhabitants of Sunbury who regarded his withdrawal as fatal to all their hopes of safety, Major Lane deliberately disobeyed these orders. He was subsequently captured by General Prevost; and, upon his release and return to the army, was tried by a courtmartial and dismissed from service for this improper conduct.

From Cherokee Hill General Howe marched up the Savannah River to Sister's and Zubly's ferries where he crossed over into South Carolina, abandoning Georgia to her fate.

In this disastrous and sadly conducted affair the Americans lost eighty-three killed and drowned.¹ Thirty-eight officers and four hundred and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates were made captive. Among the prisoners were many sick who had not participated in the unfortunate engagement. Forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, ninety-four barrels of powder, a fort, the shipping in port, and, above all, the capital of Georgia were among the substantial trophies of this victory.²

Wonderful to relate, the loss sustained by the British consisted of only one captain and two privates killed, and one sergeant and nine privates wounded.

Although Colonel Campbell reported that "every possible care was

¹ Colonel Campbell says, in his report to Lord George Gernain, that eighty-three Americans were found dead upon the common, and eleven wounded, and that he learned from the prisoners that thirty were drowned in the swamp in attempting to make their escape. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1779, p. 179.

² For a full enumeration of the articles captured, see Stedman's *History of the American War*, vol. ii., p. 71. London. 1794.

taken of the houses in town," and that "few or no depredations occurred," and although he would have Lord George Germain to believe that many of the respectable inhabitants of Savannah at once flocked to the king's standard, the truth is the houses of all rebels were given up to the spoiler. Brutal outrages were committed by both officers and men. Prisoners were alternately threatened and persuaded, and such as resolutely refused to enlist in the British army were immured in prison ships where they suffered the privations and the tortures of the damned. Among the victims of British vengeance who were consigned to such horrid confinement may be mentioned Rev. Moses Allen,¹ chaplain to the Georgia brigade and as pure a patriot as dwelt within the confines of the State, who lost his life in attempting to regain his liberty by swimming to land,—and the venerable Jonathan Bryan,—bending beneath the weight of years and many infirmities, yet proud in spirit and unswerving in his devotion to the principles of American freedom.² The names of the *Nancy*, Captain Samnel Tait, the *Whitby*, Captain Lawson, the *Eleanor*, Captain Rathbone, and the *Munificence* will always be associated with memories of privation, suffering, inhumanity, and death.

What Colonel Henry Lee calls the "supineness" exhibited by General Howe in not discovering and guarding the by-way leading to the rear of his line of battle, as well as his general conduct in the affair of the 29th of December, have been severely criticised and censured. They became subjects of serious inquiry by the General Assembly of Georgia. A committee of investigation was raised which, on the 17th of January, 1780, submitted the following report: "The Committee appointed to take into consideration the situation of the State since the 29th of December, 1778, report that the Capital and troops in this State were sacrificed on the said 29th of December, which was the first cause of the distresses and consequences which ensued. Your Committee are of opinion that the delegates of this State should be directed to promote a trial of Major-General Howe who commanded on that day. They find that the good people of the State were still further discouraged by the said

¹ Ramsay's *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*, vol. ii., p. 7. Trenton. MDCCLXXXV.

² Captain McCall states that when his daughter entreated Commodore Parker to mitigate the sufferings of her aged parent, she was dismissed with vulgar rudeness and contempt. *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 1816. Savannah. 1816.

Major-General Howe crossing Savanaah River the next day with the troops that escaped from Savannah, and ordering those at Sunbury and Augusta to do the same ; leaving the State at the mercy of the enemy without any Continental troops : instead of retreating to the back country and gathering the inhabitants. The country, thus abandoned, became an easy prey to the British troops, they marching up and taking post at Augusta and sending detachments to every part of the State."

A court of inquiry was held ; and although General Howe was acquitted, his military reputation never recovered from the shadow cast upon it by the loss of the capital of Georgia..

CHAPTER XX.

Proclamations of Colonels Innis and Campbell and Admiral Parker—Return of Governor Wright—Divided Government in Georgia— The French Alliance—Count d'Estaing --Preparations by the Allied Army to Dislodge the English from Savannah—Siege of Savannah in September and October, 1779.

UPON the capture of Savannah, Colonel Innis, aid-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton, who had accompanied the expedition, was assigned to the immediate command of the town. He at once issued a proclamation requiring the inhabitants of Savannah and of the adjacent region to bring in their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements of every sort, and surrender them to the military storekeeper. They were also enjoined to reveal the places where arms and stores were buried or secreted, under penalty that if, upon search, such articles should be found, the parties owning the houses or plantations where such concealments occurred, should be regarded and punished as enemies to the royal government. Trade regulations were established, and special places were designated for the incoming and the departure of boats. For entry or departure a permit from the superintendent of the port was requisite. A violation of these regulations involved confiscation of boats and cargoes, and punishment of the crews.

On the 4th of January, 1779, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Sir

Hyde Parker united in a proclamation setting forth the fact that a fleet and army had arrived in Georgia for the protection of the friends of lawful government, and to rescue them from the bloody persecution of their deluded fellow-citizens. All well-disposed inhabitants "who reprobated the idea of supporting a French league, and wished to embrace the happy occasion of cementing a firm union with the Parent State free from the imposition of taxes by the Parliament of Great Britain, and secured in the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege consistent with that union of force on which their material interests depended," were assured that they would meet with the most ample protection on condition that they forthwith returned to the class of peaceful citizens and acknowledged their just allegiance to the Crown. Against those who should attempt to oppose the reëstablishment of legal government the rigors of war were denounced.

Persons desiring to avail themselves of the benefits of this proclamation were invited to repair to Savannah, and, as an evidence of their sincerity, to subscribe the following oath: "I . . . do solemnly swear that I will bear true and faithful allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, my lawful Sovereign, and that I will, at all risks, stand forth in support of his person and government. And I do solemnly disclaim and renounce that unlawful and iniquitous confederacy called the General Continental Congress, also the claim set up by them to independency, and all obedience to them, and all subordinate jurisdictions assumed by or under their authority. All this I do sincerely promise without equivocation or mental reservation whatever. So help me God."

A week afterwards another proclamation was issued, offering "a reward of ten guineas for every committee and assembly man taken within the limits of Georgia," and "two guineas for every lurking villian who might be sent from Carolina to molest the inhabitants."¹ Prices were prescribed for all articles of merchandise, country produce, and vegetables. A violation of the rules of trade, thus established, was punished by confiscation of the articles exposed to sale. Licenses to traffic were granted only to those who had taken the oath of allegiance; and a penalty of one hundred pounds sterling was recoverable from every mer-

¹ See letter of Colonel Campbell to Lord George Germain, dated Savannah, January 16, 1779. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1779. p. 177.

chant dealing with one disloyal to the king. No produce of any kind could be exported without a certificate from the superintendent of the port that it was not wanted for the use of the king's soldiers. To the families of those who maintained their devotion to the American cause, whether in camp or on board prison ships, no mercy was shown. Stripped of property, their homes rendered desolate, often left without food and clothing, they were thrown upon the charity of an impoverished community. The entire coast region of Georgia, with the exception of Sunbury, was now open to the enemy who overran and exacted a most stringent tribute. Never was change more sudden or violent wrought in the status of any people. Writing from Purrysburg, on the 10th of January, 1779, to Colonel C. C. Pinckney, General Moultrie mentions that thousands of poor women, children, and negroes were fleeing from Georgia, they knew not whither, "sad spectacle that moved the hearts of his soldiers."¹

Governor Wright returned to Savannah on the 14th of July, 1779, and, six days afterward, resumed the reins of government.² From this time forward, until its evacuation by the king's forces on the 11th of July, 1782, the town remained in the possession of the British. It was known as the capital of loyal Georgia, while the seat of government, fixed upon by the Republicans, was Augusta. There was little that Sir James could do, and most limited was the establishment of civil authority which he found himself able to accomplish. The situation of Savannah during the rest of the war was isolated to the last degree.

During the lull which preceded the gathering storm, the thunders of which were soon to shake the foundations of the city of Oglethorpe, Governor Wright at Savannah, supported by the King's army, was striving to re-create the royal government, and to lead back the inhabitants of Southern Georgia to a complete and an orderly submission to British rule. At Augusta, on the other hand, the members of the Supreme Executive Council—invested with unlimited powers yet sadly deficient in all material appliances—were endeavoring to perpetuate the sovereignty of a republican state just born into the sisterhood of nations, and to arm, feed,

¹ *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, etc., vol. i., p. 259. New York, 1802.

² See his letter to Lord George Germain, under date Savannah in Georgia the 31st of July, 1779. *P. R. O. Am. & W. Ind.*, vol. 237.

and clothe a patriot band,—few in numbers yet brave of heart,—fighting for home, property, and liberty. Stern and relentless was the conflict between the republican oligarchy and the English monarchy. For a long time the odds were decidedly in favor of the latter.

The treaties of commerce and alliance with Louis the Sixteenth were, by the Continental Congress, unanimously ratified on the 4th of May, 1778. Frenchmen were welcomed as the best friends of America, and the king of France was proclaimed “the protector of the rights of mankind.” Profound acknowledgements were rendered to a gracious Providence for raising up so powerful an ally. The independence of the United Colonies was now regarded as no longer in doubt, and there was great joy throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Arriving too late to overtake the squadron and transports of Lord Howe on their retreat from Philadelphia, Admiral the Count d’Estaing, with his twelve ships of the line and the three frigates, followed his enemy to the north and for some time anchored within Sandy Hook, where he intercepted British merchantmen bound for New York. Subsequently baffled at Newport in his attempt to force an action with the English fleet, and sorely endamaged by a hurricane, the French admiral repaired to Boston, and thence sailed for the protection of the French Windward Islands. In January, 1779, so completely was maritime superiority in that quarter transferred to England by the arrival of strong reinforcements under Admiral Byron, that for six months D’Estaing was forced to shelter his fleet within the bay of Port Royal.

Taking advantage of the absence of the British admiral who was convoying a fleet of merchant ships through the passages, the French count, in gallant style, reduced both St. Vincent and Grenada; and afterwards, in a running fight, so crippled the returned British squadron that the superiority of France was reestablished in those waters.

It was just at this favorable moment that letters came from M. Gerard, the French minister, General Lincoln, and M. Plombard, the French consul at Charleston, entreating Count d’Estaing to coöperate with the American forces for the capture of Savannah. In this solicitation Governor Rutledge earnestly joined. Exulting in the victory which he had recently won over Lord Macartney at Grenada, rejoicing in the restoration of French supremacy in the West Indies, anxious to retrieve the

military fortunes which had miscarried during his demonstrations on the American coast the previous year, and acting within the general instructions he had received from his home government, Count d'Estaing readily yielded to this request and entered heartily into the scheme for dislodging the enemy from Savannah. Sailing from the Windward Islands he reached the coast of Georgia on the 1st of September, 1779, with a fleet consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, ten frigates, and one cutter. Several barges, transport schooners, and American vessels accompanied the expedition. So sudden and unexpected was this descent that several English vessels, wholly unconscious of impending danger, were captured at and near the mouth of the Savannah River.

The Viscount de Fontanges, adjutant-general of the army, was at once dispatched by the count in the frigate *Amazon*, commanded by the famous navigator La Perouse, to proceed to Charlestown and arrange with General Lincoln and the American authorities a suitable plan of operations. He arrived at that city on the 4th of September, and a concert of action was quickly agreed upon. Boats were sent from Charlestown to assist in landing troops, ordnance, and stores. Colonel Cambray, of the engineers, Colonel Thomas Pinckney, aid to General Lincoln, Captain Gadsden, and a few other intelligent officers were detailed to return with the viscount and assist the admiral in consummating his landing upon the Georgia coast. At Ossabaw Count d'Estaing was to be met by Colonel Joseph Habersham, who proceeded thither to join the fleet and indicate a proper place for the debarkation of the troops.

The French fleet, which had been somewhat scattered by a rough sea and high winds, was entirely united on the 4th. On the 9th D'Estaing, on board the *Chimère*, accompanied by three other frigates, forced a passage across the bar of the Savannah River. Upon the approach of these war vessels the English ships *Rose*, *Fowey*, *Keppel*, and *Germain*, the *Comet*, a galley, and several small craft which had been lying in Tybee Roads, weighed anchor and retired to Five-Fathom Hole. From Fort Tybee—located near the light-house on the northern extremity of Great Tybee Island, designed to guard the entrance into Savannah River, and armed with a twenty-four-pounder gun and an eight-and-a-half-inch howitzer—fire was opened upon the French squadron, but it proved entirely innocuous. A detachment of troops was thrown upon the island.

Fort Tybee was immediately abandoned by its garrison, which succeeded in effecting its escape. After occupying the island during the night, and finding it entirely deserted by the enemy, the detachment was withdrawn the next morning.

On Saturday, the 11th, the fleet rendezvoused in Ossabaw Sound, and at nine o'clock the next evening twelve hundred men, selected from various regiments, were successfully landed at Beaulieu.¹ At this point, formerly the residence of Colonel William Stephens, a small force of the enemy, with two field-pieces, had been stationed. It was withdrawn, however, on the appearance of the fleet, and no opposition was encountered by the boats conveying the troops from the ships. The further debarkation of the land army was interrupted for several days by high winds, which, increasing to a gale, compelled many of the ships to slip their cables and seek the open sea. Several vessels were seriously injured, and the anchorage which they were forced to abandon was not fairly regained by all of them until the 20th. Wednesday, the 15th, proving a calm day, the boats from the vessels within convenient reach were busily occupied in landing additional troops. The same day the twelve hundred men first put on shore advanced from Beaulieu and formed a new camp three miles from Savannah. This little army was composed of three divisions. The center was commanded by D'Estaing, the right by Dillon, and the left by Noailles.²

On the 11th the frigate *Amazon*, of thirty-six guns, commanded by Perouse had, after a gallant resistance offered on the part of the English commander, succeeded in capturing the *Ariel* of twenty-four guns. Some two weeks afterwards his majesty's ship *Experiment*, which had lost her bowsprit and masts in a gale of wind encountered on her pas-

¹ Also spelled *Beulie*.

² In a MS. journal of the siege of Savannah in 1779 (now before us, and purchased at the Luzarche sale in Paris), kept by an unknown French officer who was evidently present during all the movements antecedent to, involved in, and consequent upon that memorable event, this first encampment of the French army, three miles from Savannah, is thus identified: "The command of the General in the center towards *Mishow*, that of Dillon on the right at *Jonshaus*, and that of Noailles on the left, at *Brisghauw*." These names have so entirely faded from the memory of the present that the localities which they once designated cannot now be identified. Manifestly the position was southeast of Savannah.

sage from New York to Savannah, the *Myrtle*, a navy victualer, and the store-ship *Champion* were also captured. This encampment of the French army being established, reinforcements were rapidly pushed forward as they were landed at Beaulieu.

It will be remembered that Savannah could not then boast of more than four hundred and thirty houses. Most of them were wooden structures. Using the present names of the streets, the boundaries of the town were the *Bay* on the north, *Lincoln* street on the east, *South Broad* street on the south, and *Jefferson* street on the west. Outside the limits indicated were some scattering abodes, and these appeared principally on the east and west.

Count Pulaski, who, after General Prevost's retreat from South Carolina, had taken post on a ridge fifty miles northeast of Augusta that he might the more readily obtain provisions for and restore the health of his legion, and at the same time be within supporting distance of either Charlestown or Augusta as occasion required, was ordered to join General Lachlan McIntosh at the latter place. With this united command General McIntosh was directed to move towards Savannah in advance of the army under General Lincoln which was approaching from the direction of Charlestown, attack the British outposts, and establish communication with the French troops on the coast. Pressing forward, Count Pulaski cut off one of the enemy's pickets, killing and wounding five men and capturing a subaltern and five privates. Skirmishing with the British outposts, he hastened onward toward Beaulieu in the midst of a heavy rain. There he found Count d'Estaing. In the language of Captain Bentalou, these officers "cordially embraced and expressed mutual happiness at the meeting." Count Pulaski was then informed by the French admiral that he intended, without waiting for General Lincoln, to move at once upon Savannah, and that "he counted on his Legion to form his van." "In pursuance of this wish," continues Bentalou, "we set out immediately and reached Savannah some time before d'Estaing, where we engaged and cut off an advanced picket of the enemy's infantry."¹

Reaching the vicinity of Savannah in advance of the forces under General Lincoln, General McIntosh occupied a position between the

¹ *A Reply to Judge Johnson's Remarks, etc.*, p. 33. Baltimore. 1836.

town and Great Ogeechee ferry,¹ and there awaited the concentration of the allied armies.

During the 12th and the 13th General Lincoln was engaged in crossing his command over the Savannah at Zubly's Ferry. Considerable delay was experienced in consequence of the fact that the enemy had either secured or destroyed most of the boats on the river. On the afternoon of the 13th General McIntosh formed a junction with the advance guard of Lincoln's army; and on the night of the 15th the two commands, now wholly united, encamped at Cherokee Hill.

On the 16th of September and prior to the arrival of the American forces under General Lincoln, Count d'Estaing, accompanied by the grenadiers of Auxerrois and the chasseurs of Champagne and of Guadeloupe, sent to Major-General Augustine Prevost, commanding the British army, this summons requiring a surrender of Savannah to the king of France:

"Count d'Estaing summons his Excellency General Prevost to surrender himself to the arms of his Majesty the king of France. He admonishes him that he will be personally answerable for every event and misfortune attending a defence demonstrated to be absolutely impossible and useless from the superiority of the force which attacks him by land and sea. He also warns him that he will be nominally and personally answerable henceforward for the burning, previous to or at the hour of attack, of any ships or vessels of war or merchant ships in the Savannah River, as well as of magazines in the town.

"The situation of the Morne de l'Hôpital in Grenada, the strength of the three redoubts which defended it, the disproportion betwixt the number of the French troops now before Savannah and the inconsiderable detachment which took Grenada by assault, should be a lesson for the future. Humanity requires that Count d'Estaing should remind you of it. After this he can have nothing with which to reproach himself.

"Lord Macartney had the good fortune to escape in person on the first onset of troops forcing a town sword in hand, but having shut up his valuable effects in a fort deemed impregnable by all his officers and engineers, it was impossible for Count d'Estaing to be happy enough to prevent the whole from being pillaged."

¹ At Millen's plantation.

To this threatening and pompous demand Major-General Prevost thus responded :

“ SAVANNAH, *September 16th, 1779.*”

“ SIR,—I am just now honored with your Excellency’s letter of this date, containing a summons for me to surrender this town to the arms of his Majesty the King of France, which I had just delayed to answer till I had shown it to the King’s Civil Governor.¹”

“ I hope your Excellency will have a better opinion of me and of British troops than to think either will surrender on general summons without any specific terms.

“ If you, Sir, have any to propose that may with honor be accepted of by me, you can mention them both with regard to civil and military, and I will then give my answer. In the meantime I promise upon my honor that nothing with my consent or knowledge shall be destroyed in either this town or river.”

The following is Count d’Estaing’s reply :

“ CAMP BEFORE SAVANNAH, *September 16th, 1779.*”

“ SIR,—I have just received your Excellency’s answer to the letter I had the honor of writing to you this morning. You are sensible that it is the part of the Besieged to propose such terms as they may desire, and you cannot doubt of the satisfaction I shall have in consenting to those which I can accept consistently with my duty.

“ I am informed that you continue intrenching yourself. It is a matter of very little importance to me. However, for form’s sake, I must desire that you will desist during our conferences.

“ The different columns, which I had ordered to stop, will continue their march, but without approaching your posts or reconnoitering your situation.

“ P. S. I apprize your Excellency that I have not been able to refuse the Army of the United States uniting itself with that of the King. The junction will probably be effected this day. If I have not an answer therefore immediately, you must confer in the future with General Lincoln and me.”

¹ Governor Sir James Wright, who counseled resistance to the last extremity.



Engr. by E. Hornum

P. W. Hedden

To this General Prevost promptly responded :

“SAVANNAH, *September 16th, 1779.*”

“SIR,—I am honored with your Excellency’s letter in reply to mine of this day. The business we have in hand being of importance, there being various interests to discuss, a just time is absolutely necessary to deliberate. I am therefore to propose that a cessation of hostilities shall take place for twenty-four hours from this date: and to request that your Excellency will order your columns to fall back to a greater distance and out of sight of our works or I shall think myself under the necessity to direct their being fired upon. If they did not reconnoitre anything this afternoon, they were sure within the distance.”

Without waiting to advise with General Lincoln in regard to the propriety of granting General Prevost’s request, Count d’Estaing imprudently replied as follows :

“CAMP BEFORE SAVANNAH, *September 16, 1779.*”

“SIR,—I consent to the truce you ask. It shall continue till the signal for retreat to-morrow night, the 17th, which will serve also to announce the recommencement of hostilities. It is unnecessary to observe to your Excellency that this suspension of arms is entirely in your favor, since I cannot be certain that you will not make use of it to fortify yourself, at the same time that the propositions you shall make may be inadmissible.

“I must observe to you also how important it is that you should be fully aware of your own situation as well as that of the troops under your command. Be assured that I am thoroughly acquainted with it. Your knowledge in military affairs will not suffer you to be ignorant that a due examination of that circumstance always precedes the march of the columns, and that this preliminary is not carried into execution by the mere show of troops.

“I have ordered them to withdraw before night comes on to prevent any cause of complaint on your part. I understand that my civility in this respect has been the occasion that the Chevalier de Chambis, a lieutenant in the Navy, has been made a prisoner of war.

“I propose sending out some small advanced posts to-morrow morning. They will place themselves in such a situation as to have in view

the four entrances into the wood in order to prevent a similar mistake in future. I do not know whether two columns commanded by the Viscount de Noailles and the Count de Dillon have shown too much ardor, or whether your cannoniers have not paid a proper respect to the truce subsisting between us: but this I know, that what has happened this night is a proof that matters will soon come to a decision between us one way or another."

The junction of General Lincoln's forces with those of Count d'Estaing was effected before the lines of Savannah on the 16th September, 1779. The Americans were in high spirits. With the coöperation of the French it was confidently believed that the discomfiture of the English garrison and the capture of Savannah would prove a certain and easy task. No fears of possible misadventure were entertained. The French camp, which at first was pitched southeast of the town, was quickly changed and located almost directly south of Savannah. Its front was well-nigh parallel with the streets running east and west. General de Dillon commanded the right, Count d'Estaing the center, and the Count de Noailles the left. General Lincoln's command was posted to the southwest; the front of his line looking nearly east, and his rear protected by the Springfield plantation swamp. About midway between these armies, and looking directly north, was the cavalry camp of Count Pulaski.

Fatal was the error committed by the French admiral in consenting to this suspension of hostilities for the space of twenty-four hours.

When the French fleet first appeared off the Georgia coast the English had but twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted upon their works around Savannah. On the morning of the assault one hundred more were in position. It would seem that for some months after the capture of Savannah in December, 1778, the English did not materially alter or strengthen the works which the Americans had constructed for the protection of the southern, eastern, and western exposures of the town. So soon, however, as this crisis was upon them the utmost activity was displayed. Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, with his detachment, was withdrawn from Sunbury. Troops were recalled from outlying posts, and Colonel Maitland was ordered to move promptly for the relief of Savannah. In addition to the garrison, between four and five hundred negroes were put to work upon the lines. The war vessels in the river were stripped of

their batteries that they might arm the earthworks. So rapidly did the labor progress that before the French and Americans opened fire from their trenches the British had raised around the town thirteen substantial redoubts and fifteen gun-batteries mounting eighty pieces of cannon. These batteries were manned by sailors from the *Fowey*, the *Rose*, and the *Keppel*, and by mariners and volunteers from other ships and transports in the river. Besides these guns in fixed position field-pieces were distributed at intervals. Ships were sunk both above and below the town to occlude the channel and prevent the near approach of the American and French vessels of war. Captain Moncrieff, the engineer officer in charge, displayed a degree of pluck, energy and skill, worthy of all commendation.

When summoned to the relief of Savannah Colonel Maitland was at Beaufort with a detachment of eight hundred men. Arriving at Dawfuskie on the evening of the 16th he found the Savannah River in the possession of the French, and his further progress by the customary water route checked. While thus embarrassed, chance threw in his way some negro fishermen familiar with the creeks permeating the marshes, who informed him of a passage known as Wall's Cut, through Scull Creek, navigable by small boats at high water. A favoring tide and a dense fog enabled him unperceived by the French, to conduct his command successfully through this unaccustomed avenue. On the afternoon of the 17th he reached Savannah. "The acquisition of this formidable reinforcement," says Captain McCall, "headed by an experienced and brave officer, effected a complete change in the dispirited garrison. A signal was made, and three cheers were given, which rung from one end of the town to the other."¹

So soon as Colonel Maitland was fairly within the town General Prevost, who had temporized that this most desirable acquisition to his forces might be secured, responded thus :

" SAVANNAH, *September 17th, 1779.*

" SIR,—In answer to the letter of your Excellency which I had the honor to receive about twelve last night, I am to acquaint you that hav-

¹ It is a noteworthy fact that during the late war between the States this Wall's Cut afforded the United States gun-boats the means of entering the Savannah River in rear of Fort Pulaski without encountering the fire of its guns, thereby completely isolating that fortification, and covering Federal working parties engaged in the erection of investing batteries at Venus' Point and on the north end of Bird's Island.

ing laid the whole correspondence before the King's Civil Governor and the military officers of rank, assembled in Council of War, the unanimous determination has been that though we cannot look upon our post as absolutely impregnable, yet that it may and ought to be defended: ¹ therefore the evening gun to be fired this evening at an hour before sundown shall be the signal for recommencing hostilities agreeable to your Excellency's proposal."

Grave was the mistake committed by Count d'Estaing in not insisting upon an immediate reply to his summons for surrender. So confident was he of success that he would not await the arrival of General Lincoln. Ambitious for the triumph of French arms without the coöperation of the American forces, he sought to monopolize the prize he reckoned within his grasp. So thoroughly did he regard the British garrison as within the range of facile capture that he acceded to the request for delay, little appreciating the disastrous consequences which would ensue from thus toying with his enemy. Intelligent British officers who were present at the siege admitted, when it was over, that the French army alone could have carried Savannah in ten minutes without the aid of artillery, had an assault been made at the earliest moment.

The energy and skill displayed by the English in strengthening the old works, in erecting new ones, in dismantling the vessels of war in the river and placing their guns in battery to the south, east, and west of Savannah, and, above all, the introduction of Colonel Maitland's forces into the town at a most opportune moment, reflect great credit upon those charged with the defense.

If, instead of parleying, D'Estaing had insisted upon a prompt response to his summons for surrender, the probability is that Prevost would have acceded to his demand. Had he refused there is little doubt but that the investing army, if immediately put in motion, would have swept over the incomplete intrenchments and restored the capital of Georgia to the possession of the Revolutionists. He was outwitted by the English commander. The accorded delay proved fatal to the enterprise.

¹ This resolution to defend Savannah, it is claimed by the friends of Governor Wright, would not have been formed except for his vote and determined persuasion in the council of war then held. Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, vol. ii., p. 458. Boston. 1864.

Disappointed in his expectation of an immediate surrender of Savannah, advised of the arrival of the reinforcement under Colonel Maitland, and doubting the propriety of an assault, D'Estaing resolved to resort to the slower process of a reduction by regular siege and gradual approaches. To this end, and that the town might be absolutely invested on the south, the French commander moved his forces up to within twelve hundred yards of the English lines. The encampment, thus formed, exhibited a front of thirty-two hundred yards. The American troops under Lincoln formed the left of the line, resting upon the swamp which bordered the town on the west. Then came the division of M. de Noailles composed of nine hundred men of the regiments of Champagne, Auxerrois, Foix, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. D'Estaing's division, comprising one thousand men of the regiments of Cambresis, Hainault, the volunteers of Berges, Agenois, Gatinois, the Cape, and Port au Prince, with the artillery, was on the right of Noailles and formed the center of the French army. Dillon's division, composed of nine hundred men of the regiments of Dillon, Armagnac, and the Volunteer Grenadiers, was posted on the right of D'Estaing. To the right of Dillon's division were the powder magazine, the cattle depot, and a small field hospital. On the right and a little in advance of the depot were the quarters of the dragoons of Condé and of Belzunce, numbering fifty men and commanded by M. Dejean. Upon the same alignment and to the right of the dragoons was M. de Rouvrai, with his Volunteer Chasseurs numbering seven hundred and fifty men. Still to the right, and two hundred yards in advance of M. de Rouvrai, was M. des Framais commanding the Grenadier Volunteers and two hundred men of different regiments. He effectually closed the right of the army and rested upon the swamp which bounded the city on the east.

It will be perceived by these dispositions, which were concluded on the 22d of September, that Savannah was completely isolated on the land side.

The frigate *La Truite* and two galleys lay in the river within cannon shot of the town. That all communication with the islands, formed by the numerous river mouths, might be effectually cut off, the frigate *La Chimère* and the armed store-ship *La Bricole* were judiciously posted.

A large and beautiful house at Thunderbolt was occupied and used as a hospital. From this time forward Thunderbolt was substituted in

the stead of Beaulieu as a more convenient point for holding converse with the fleet.

The ships *Rose* and *Savannah* and four transports, sunk by the English in a narrow part of the river channel a few miles below the town, prevented the French from bringing up their heavy-armed vessels to coöperate in the siege. Small craft sunk above Savannah and a boom stretched across the river did not allow the near approach of the galleys which, passing up the North River round Hutchinson's Island, purposed an attack from that direction. Guns mounted upon the bold bluff served also to protect the northern exposure of Savannah from a close and effectual fire.

The American forces concentrated under the command of General Lincoln numbered about twenty-one hundred men of all arms.

After the arrival of Colonel Maitland and his command the British force within the lines of Savannah may be safely estimated at twenty-five hundred men.

The siege had now fairly begun, and the French were earnestly employed in landing additional troops from the fleet, and in transporting cannon, mortars, and ammunition for the bombardment of the town.

Guarded by deep and impracticable swamps on the east and west, and with a river in front which the enemy had occluded above and below so as to prevent the near approach of the French war vessels, the attention of General Prevost was directed to fortifying the southern exposure of Savannah. Upon the deployment of the French army before the town the British had thrown up an intrenchment and several batteries, the front of which was obstructed by abatis. These works were strengthened by three redoubts located triangularly at the western extremity of the line, two mortar batteries, each mounting three or four pieces, and two redoubts erected on the left of the intrenchments. During the progress of the siege these fortifications, extending entirely across the high ground south of the town from the low grounds on the east to the swamp on the west and bending back on either hand to the river, were vastly improved. In the river, at the northwestern extremity of the town, were stationed a frigate, with a battery of nine-pounder guns, and two galleys armed with eighteen-pounders.

General Prevost's first disposition of troops was made in accordance with the following orders issued on the 9th of September:

“The regiment of Wissenbach to take their ground of encampment;¹ likewise the 2nd battalion of General Delancey's.² In case of an alarm, which will be known by the beating to arms both at the Barracks and main guard, the troops are to repair to their several posts without confusion or tumult.

“Captain Stuart of the British Legion will take post with his men in the work on the right near the river. The main guard to be relieved by convalescents from the Hessians.

“Major Wright's corps to send their convalescents in the old fort.³ Twenty-four men in the small redoubt, and seventy men in the left flank redoubt upon the road to Tattnall's.

“The militia to assemble in rear of the Barracks.

“The Light Infantry, the Dragoons, and Carolina Light Horse as a reserve, two hundred yards behind the Barracks.

“The King's Rangers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, in the small redoubt on the right, with fifty men: the remainder extending towards the larger redoubt on the right.

“The Carolinians divided equally in the two large redoubts.

“The Battalion men of the 60th Regiment in the right redoubt. The Grenadiers on the left, extending along the abatis towards the Barracks; the Hessians on their left, so as to fill up the space to the Barracks.

“On the left of the Barracks, the 3rd battalion of Skinner's, General Delancey's, and the New York Volunteers; and on their left the 71st Regiment lining the abatis to the left flank redoubt on the road to Tattnall's.

“If all orders are silently and punctually obeyed, the General makes no doubt that, if the enemy should attempt to make an attack, they will be repulsed and the troops maintain their former well acquired reputation; nor will it be the first time that British and Hessian troops have beat a greater superiority of both French and Americans than it is probable they will have to encounter on this occasion. The General repeats his firm reliance on the spirit and steady coolness of the troops he has the honor to command.”⁴

Upon the safe entry in Savannah of the reinforcements under the

¹ In the center.

² On the extreme left.

³ On the left of the center.

⁴ See original order book of General Prevost.

command of Colonel Maitland, and when hostilities were about to be commenced in earnest, General Prevost published this general order :

“CAMP BEFORE SAVANNAH, 17th September, 1779.

“Parole, Maitland. Countersign, St. George. Field officers for tomorrow, Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger and Major Graham.

“The troops to be under arms this afternoon at four o'clock. As the enemy is now very near, an attack may be hourly expected. The General therefore desires that the whole may be in instant readiness. By the known steadiness and spirit of the troops he has the most unlimited dependence, doubting nothing of a glorious victory should the enemy try their strength. What is it that may not, by the blessing of God, be expected from the united efforts of British sailors and soldiers and valiant Hessians against an enemy that they have often beat before?

“In case of a night attack, the General earnestly requests the utmost silence to be observed, and attention to the officers, who will be careful that the men do not throw away their fire at random, and warn them earnestly not to fire until ordered.”¹

Both armies now prepared for the final struggle. Guns from the French fleet were landed at Thunderbolt, whence they were transported to the lines before Savannah and placed in position as rapidly as batteries and platforms could be made ready for their reception. The English were delighted at the turn which affairs had taken, and Prevost's chief engineer declared that if the allied army would only resort to the spade and the tedious operations incident to regular approaches and a bombardment he would pledge himself to accomplish a successful defense of the town.

On Wednesday, the 22d, M. de Guillaume, of Noailles's division, attempted, with fifty picked men, to capture an advanced post of the enemy. He was repulsed by a lively fire of artillery and musketry.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day a trench was opened by the besiegers at a distance of three hundred yards from the enemy's works, and a detail of six companies made for the protection of the working parties. When a thick fog, which prevailed the next morning, had lifted, the British, perceiving the newly-constructed approach, made

¹ Order book of General Prevost.

a sortie for its capture. Three companies of light infantry under Major Graham constituted the attacking force. The English historians claim that this was simply a demonstration for the purpose of enticing the French out of their lines so that something like an accurate estimate might be formed of their strength. Major Graham retreated with a loss of twenty-one killed and wounded. He was closely pursued by a heavy column of French soldiers who, in their zeal, were drawn within range of the English batteries, which delivered a galling fire.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 25th, fire upon the city was opened from a battery just erected under the supervision of M. de Sauce, an artillery officer, mounting two eighteen-pounder guns. Upon an inspection of the work, Count d'Estaing ordered this battery to be remodeled and armed with twelve eighteen and twelve-pounder guns. He further directed that another battery, to contain thirteen eighteen-pounder-guns, should be constructed on the right of the trench. He also located the position for a bomb battery, of nine mortars, two hundred yards to the left and a little in rear of the trench. By the side of this he decided to erect a battery of six sixteen-pounder guns to be manned by the Americans. Until these works should be completed the count ordered that no firing should occur.

If we may credit the statements made by a naval officer in the fleet of Count d'Estaing, whose journal was published in Paris in 1782, the condition of affairs on shipboard was deplorable. He says: The navy is suffering everything, anchored on an open coast and liable to be driven ashore by the southeast winds. Seven of our ships have been injured in their rudders, several have lost their anchors, and most of them have been greatly endamaged in their rigging. The scurvy rages with such severity that we throw daily into the sea about thirty-five men. We have no kind of refreshments to give the sick, not even *tisanne*. There was no way of alleviating the misery of our poor sailors who, wanting coats, destitute of linen, without shoes, and absolutely naked, had nothing to eat except salt provisions which made them die of thirst. The bread which we possessed, having been two years in store, was so much decayed and worm eaten, and was so disagreeable to the taste, that even the domestic animals on board would not eat it. Even this had to be distributed in scanty rations for fear the supply would utterly fail. Behold

a part of the frightful picture of the cruel and miserable condition of our crews during the continuance of the siege of Savannah upon which the Count d'Estaing was so intent that he appeared to have entirely forgotten his vessels. The few sailors who were in condition to work the ships were weak, of a livid color, with the marks of death portrayed on their countenances, and could not be viewed without compassion.

On the night of the 27th a sortie was made by Major Archibald McArthur, with a detachment of the Seventy-first Regiment, to interrupt the allies in the construction of their batteries. Assaulting with vigor, he quickly retired. The French attempted to gain his right flank and the Americans his left. He eluded them both. Amid the darkness the allies opened fire upon each other. Several lives were lost before the mistake was discovered. The French account of this affair is different. It is therein stated that twice during this night the troops in the trenches, believing they saw the enemy approaching, delivered a heavy fire by mistake upon the working parties, by which some seventeen were killed and wounded. The ensuing day, the frigate *La Truite*, moving up and anchoring in the north channel of the Savannah, attempted to bombard the town. But little damage was caused by her projectiles.

On the 29th of September, says Captain McCall,¹ General McIntosh solicited General Lincoln's permission to send a flag with a letter to General Prevost to obtain leave for Mrs. McIntosh and his family, and such other females and children as might choose, to leave the town during the siege or until the contest should be decided. Major John Jones, aid to General McIntosh, was the bearer of the flag and letter, and found Mrs. McIntosh and family in a cellar where they had been confined several days. Indeed, such damp apartments furnished the only safe retreat for females and children. General Prevost refused to grant the request, imagining that he would thus restrain the besiegers from throwing bombs and carcasses among the houses to set them on fire.²

¹ *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 260. Savannah. 1816.

² Writing from the camp before Savannah on the 7th of October, 1779, Major John Jones says: "The poor women and children have suffered beyond description. A number of them in Savannah have already been put to death by our bombs and cannon. A deserter has this moment come out who gives an account that many of them were killed in their beds, and amongst others a poor woman, with her infant in her arms, was destroyed by a cannon ball. They have all got into cellars; but even there they do not

During the night of the 1st of October, Colonel John White, with Captains George Melvin and A. C. G. Elholm, a sergeant, and three privates, achieved an exploit which almost transcends belief. Captain French with one hundred and eleven regular troops, accompanied by five vessels and their crews,—four of them being armed vessels,—interrupted in his attempt to reach Savannah, had taken refuge in the Great Ogeechee River. Debarking his troops he formed a fortified camp on the left bank of that stream. Approaching this encampment at night, Colonel White caused a number of fires to be kindled in full view, as though an investing force of considerable strength was present. He then, with his little party, advanced and summoned Captain French to surrender. With this demand he complied. His entire command was disarmed and marched to the camp of the allied army.

On the 2d of October the frigate *La Truite*, from her position in the north channel, assisted by two American galleys, delivered a heavy fire against the southeast end of the town. This compelled the enemy to throw up a new battery and to strengthen the defensive works in that quarter.

The batteries planned by Count d'Estaing having been completed and armed, the bombardment of Savannah commenced at midnight on the 3d of October. It ceased, however, at two o'clock on the morning of the 4th; it being evident from the misdirection of the bombs that many of the cannoners were under the influence of rum.

The record of the first day's bombardment is thus perpetuated in a French journal of the siege: "October 4th, Monday. At four o'clock in the morning, the enemy's beat of drum at daybreak furnishes the signal for unmasking our batteries on the right and left of the trench, and that of the Americans to the left of the mortar battery, and we begin to cannonade and bombard the town and the enemy's works with more vivacity than precision. The cannoners being still under the influence of rum, their excitement did not allow them to direct their pieces with proper care. Besides, our projectiles did little damage to works which were low and constructed of sand. The effect of this very violent fire was fatal only to the houses and to some women who occupied them.

escape the fury of our bombs, several having been mangled in that supposed place of security. I pity General McIntosh; his situation is peculiar. The whole of his family is there." MS. letter in the possession of the author.

“Protected by their entrenchments, the enemy could not have lost many men, if we may judge from the effect of their fire upon our works which had been hastily constructed and with far less skill and care than theirs.

“All our batteries ceased firing at eight o'clock in the morning that we might repair our left battery which had been shaken to pieces by its own fire. A dense fog favors our workmen. We open fire again at ten o'clock in the morning and continue it with little intermission until four o'clock after midnight.”

Stedman, in his history, says the allied army opened the bombardment with fifty-three pieces of heavy cannon and fourteen mortars. Dr. Ramsay, who is followed by McCall, states that the besiegers opened with nine mortars and thirty-seven cannon from the land side, and sixteen cannon from the water.

The bombardment of the 4th caused considerable damage to property within the town, and some lives were lost.

In order to avoid the projectiles Governor Sir James Wright and Lieutenant-Governor John Graham moved out of Savannah and occupied a tent next to Colonel Maitland on the right of the British lines.

By a shell from the bomb battery of nine mortars Ensign Pollard, of the second battalion of General DeLancy's brigade, was killed in a house on the bay. A daughter of Mrs. Thompson was slain in the same locality by a solid shot.

In commenting upon the effect of this bombardment, T. W. Moore, who was aid-de-camp to General Prevost during the siege, says that the town was torn to pieces by the shells and shot, and that the shrieks of women and children were heard on every side. “Many poor creatures,” he adds, “were killed in trying to get in their cellars, or hide themselves under the bluff of Savannah River.”

During the progress of the siege considerable damage was caused to buildings and property by the fire of the investing batteries. Among other premises, the quarters of Anthony Stokes, chief justice of the colony, were burned by a shell. His library and manuscripts were destroyed. During the bombardment of the 5th, as we learn from “Rivington's Royal Gazette,” a mulatto man and three negroes were killed in the lieutenant-governor's cellar. In the evening, the residence of Mrs.

Lloyd, near the church,¹ was burnt by a shell and seven negroes lost their lives. At night another shell fell through Mr. Laurie's house on Broughton street and killed two women and children who were under it.

On the 6th, the bombardment was feebly sustained and at long intervals. The allied army began to lose confidence when it was perceived that the heavy firing which had previously been maintained would not render the final assault less difficult. More than ever was Count d'Estaing persuaded that he should not have resorted to the slow process of a siege which afforded the British an opportunity of strengthening their old works and of erecting new defenses. His regret was sincere that he had not attacked on the very first day.

At eleven o'clock a parley was beaten and the following communication, addressed by General Prevost to the commander of the French army, was delivered :

" CAMP SAVANNAH, 6th October, 1779.

"SIR,—I am persuaded your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that I conceive in defending this place and the army committed to my charge I fulfil what is due to Honor and Duty to my Prince. Sentiments of a different kind occasion the liberty of now addressing myself to your Excellency. They are those of Humanity. The houses of Savannah are occupied solely by women and children. Several of them have applied to me that I might request the favour you would allow them to embark on board a ship or ships and go down the river under the protection of yours until this business is decided. If this requisition you are so good as to grant, my Wife and Children, with a few servants, shall be the first to profit by the indulgence."

To this letter the following response was returned :

" CAMP BEFORE SAVANNAH, October 6th, 1779.

"SIR,—We are persuaded that your Excellency knows all that your duty prescribes. Perhaps your zeal has already interfered with your judgment.

"The Count d' Estaing in his own name notified you that you alone would be personally responsible for the consequence of your obstinacy. The time which you informed him in the commencement of the siege

¹ Christ Church.

“Protected by their entrenchments, the enemy could not have lost many men, if we may judge from the effect of their fire upon our works which had been hastily constructed and with far less skill and care than theirs.

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¹ Christ Church.

would be necessary for the arrangement of articles, including different orders of men in your town, had no other object than that of receiving succor. Such conduct, Sir, is sufficient to forbid every intercourse between us which might occasion the least loss of time. Besides, in the present application latent reasons might again exist. There are military ones which, in frequent instances, have prevented the indulgence you request. It is with regret we yield to the austerity of our functions, and we deplore the fate of those persons who will be victims of your conduct, and the delusion which appears to prevail in your mind.

"We are with respect, Sir,

"Your Excellency's most obedient Servants,

" B. LINCOLN.

" His Excellency

" D'ESTAING."

" MAJOR GENERAL PREVOST."

Remembering the advantage taken by the English commander of the truce accorded on the 16th of September, to introduce the detachment under Colonel Maitland, apprehending that the present was but a pretext for gaining some undisclosed advantage, and mindful of the fact that General Prevost had denied a similar application preferred in behalf of General McIntosh whose wife and children were in Savannah, General Lincoln and Count d'Estaing deemed it proper to refuse the permission asked.

"7th, Thursday. A very lively cannonade. We bombard and throw carcasses into Savannah, which set the town on fire for the third time.¹ We construct a new trench in advance of our left battery to persuade the enemy that we do not yet contemplate an assault, but that our intention is to push our approaches up to his works.

"8th, Friday. We cannonade and bombard feebly. The enemy does little more. He seems to be husbanding his strength for the anticipated attack. Informed of all that transpires in our army, he is cognizant of the trifling effect produced by his fire upon us in our trenches.

¹ To-day, Captain John Simpson of the Georgia Loyalists, while walking in Major Wright's redoubt, was killed by a grape-shot. Many houses in Savannah were damaged by the fire of the Allies. One shell fell in the Provost Marshal's office killing two men and wounding nine others. Another burst in the cellar under the office of the Commissioner of Claims, slaying a negro, and wounding another.

Everything forces us to the conclusion that we must, on the morrow, make a general assault upon the city. The length of time requisite for the operations of a siege, the exhaustion of the supplies of the fleet, and the pressing dangers resulting from our insecure anchorage, decide the general to take this step."

So reads the journal of a French officer in the land army of Count d'Estaing.

The morning of the 8th was signalized by a brilliant attempt on the part of Major l'Enfant to fire the abatis in front of the enemy's lines. The dampness of the atmosphere, however, prevented general ignition.

The approaches of the allied army had now been pushed almost within pistol shot of the English works.¹ In the judgment of the engineers, however, ten days more would be required to penetrate them. The remonstrances of his naval officers against further delay, sickness in fleet and camp, anticipated storms at this tempestuous season of the year, an apprehension of attack from the British fleet, and the failure of his fire to effect a practicable breach in the hostile works united in determining Count d'Estaing to attempt their capture by an early assault.

Four o'clock on the morning of the 9th of October, 1779, was designated as the hour for the important movement, the details of which were fully concerted at a general conference of leading officers. Unfortunately, the plan of attack was, by some means, overheard or unwittingly divulged. Certain it is that on the night of the 8th James Curry,² sergeant-major of the Charlestown Grenadiers, deserted to the enemy and communicated to the English the purposes of the allied army. Thus advised, Prevost prepared to meet the emergency.

Informed that the principal assault was to be directed against the Spring-Hill redoubt and the contiguous batteries, and that the menace on the left under Huger was little more than a feint, he concentrated his

¹ "We keep up a most incessant cannonade and bombardment," says Major John Jones in a letter dated "Camp before Savannah, 7th October, 1779," "and this evening we shall carry on our approaches within pistol-shot of the enemy's lines. We are hourly expecting that they will strike, though many, with myself, are of opinion they will not until we compel them by storm. Their investment is complete, and the siege a regular one." MS. letter in possession of the author.

² This deserter was subsequently captured at the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, and was hung for his treachery.

choicest troops about the Spring-Hill and assigned his best officer, Colonel Maitland, to their command.

These are the orders which were issued by General Lincoln in anticipation of the important movements which were to transpire on the morning of the 9th. :¹

“Watchword, Lewis.

“The soldiers will be immediately supplied with forty rounds of cartridges, a spare flint, and their arms in good order.

“The infantry destined for the attack of Savannah will be divided into two bodies; the first composing the light troops under the command of Colonel Laurens; the second of the Continental battalions and the first battalion of Charlestown militia, except the grenadiers who are to join the light troops. The whole will parade at one o'clock near the left of the line and march by the right by platoons.

“The guards of the camp will be formed by the invalids and be charged to keep up the fires as usual in the camp.

“The cavalry under the command of Count Pulaski will parade at the same time with the infantry and follow the left column of the French troops and precede the column of the American light troops. They will endeavor to penetrate the enemy's lines between the battery on the left of the Spring-Hill redoubt and the next toward the river. Having effected this, they will pass to the left toward Yamacraw and secure such parties of the enemy as may be lodged in that quarter.

“The artillery will parade at the same time: follow the French artillery, and remain with the *corps de reserve* until they receive further orders.

“The whole will be ready by the time appointed with the utmost silence and punctuality, and be ready to march the instant Count d'Estaing and General Lincoln shall order.

“The Light troops, who are to follow the cavalry, will attempt to enter the redoubt on the left of the Spring-Hill by escalade if possible: if not, by entrance into it. They are to be supported, if necessary, by the First South Carolina Regiment. In the mean time the column will proceed with the lines to the left of the Spring-Hill battery.

“The Light troops having succeeded against the redoubt will pro-

¹ Moultrie's *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, voi. ii., p. 37. New York. 1802.

ceed to the left and attempt the several works between that and the river.

“ The column will move to the left of the French troops, taking care not to interfere with them.

“ The light troops having carried the works towards the river will form on the left of the column.

“ It is expressly forbid to fire a single gun before the redoubts are carried, or for any soldier to quit his ranks to plunder without an order for that purpose ; any who shall presume to transgress in either of these respects shall be reputed a disobeyor of military orders, which is punishable with death.

“ The militia of the first and second brigades, General Williamson's, and the first and second battalions of Charlestown militia will parade immediately under the command of General Isaac Huger. After drafting five hundred of them, the remainder will go into the trenches and put themselves under the command of the commanding officer there.

“ With the five hundred he will march to the left of the enemy's lines and remain as near them as he possibly can, without being discovered, until four o'clock in the morning, at which time the troops in the trenches will begin the attack upon the enemy. He will then advance and make his attack as near the river as possible. Though this is only meant as a feint, yet, should a favorable opportunity offer, he will improve it and push into the town.

“ In case of a repulse, after having taken the Spring-Hill redoubt, the troops will retreat and rally in the rear of the redoubt. If it cannot be effected in that way, it must be attempted by the same route at which they entered.

“ The second place of rallying, or the first, if the redoubt should not be carried, will be at the Jews' burying ground, where the reserve will be placed. If these two halts should not be effectual, they will retire toward camp.

“ The troops will carry on their hats a piece of white paper by which they will be distinguished.”

CHAPTER XXI.

The Siege of Savannah Continued — Assault of the 9th of October, 1779 — Repulse of the Allied Army — Count Pulaski — Estimate of Forces Engaged and of Losses Sustained — Names of the Killed and Wounded — Lieutenant Lloyd — Sergeant Jasper — Siege Raised — Departure of the French and Americans — War Vessels Composing the French Fleet — General Lincoln's Letter to Congress — Count d'Estaing — Death of Colonel Maitland — Piteable Condition of the Sea coast of Georgia.

THE French were to form in three columns: two for assault, and the third to act as a reserve corps moving to any point where its coöperation seemed most requisite. Of the first column of assault under M. Dillon, Count d'Estaing assumed personal command. The second was intrusted to M. de Steding, colonel of infantry. The third, or column of reserves, was led by the Viscount de Noailles. The Americans were divided into two assaulting columns. The first, composed of the second South Carolina regiment and the first battalion of Charlestown militia, was placed under the guidance of Colonel Laurens. The second, consisting of the first and fifth South Carolina regiments and some Georgia continentals, was commanded by General Lachlan McIntosh. General Lincoln, taking with him some militia, united with the Viscount de Noailles, and assumed, by virtue of his rank, general command of the reserves. The cavalry, under Count Pulaski, was to precede the American column, commanded by Colonel Laurens, until it approached the edge of the wood, when it was to break off and occupy a position whence it could readily take advantage of any breach which might be effected in the enemy's works. The weight of these assaulting columns was to be directed against the right of the British lines. General Isaac Huger, with a force of five hundred men, was ordered to march to the left of the enemy's works and remain as near them as he could, without being discovered, until four in the morning, when he was to advance and attack as close the river as practicable. Although this movement was intended as a feint, he was instructed, if a favorable opportunity presented itself, to improve the chance and push into the town. It was further arranged that some troops from the trenches should demonstrate forcibly against the British center with a view to distracting the enemy.

After wading half a mile through the rice-field which bordered the city on the east, General Huger reached his point of attack and, at the designated hour and place, assaulted. The enemy, already fully advised of the movement, was on the alert. He was received with music and a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, before which he retreated with a loss of twenty-eight men. This command took no further part in the action. The attack from the troops from the trenches upon the center of the English line was feebly maintained and produced no impression. It was easily repulsed by the soldiers under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, of the North Carolina regiment of loyalists. These troops from the trenches, supported by the Chasseurs of Martinique, were commanded by M. de Sabliere.

The details of the assault upon the enemy's right, as conducted by the French columns of attack, we translate from the Journal of a French officer who participated in the tragic event:

"By three o'clock in the morning all our dispositions had been perfected. . . . We commence marching by the left to attack the city on its right where its western side, as we have before intimated, is fortified by three redoubts located triangularly.¹ The columns marched by divisions (each column had been divided into three battalions), with easy gait and leisurely, that they might arrive at the point of attack at the designated hour.

"At five o'clock in the morning, the three columns, which had observed a similar order of march, arrived within about eighty toises (160 yards) of the edge of the wood which borders upon Savannah. Here the head of column was halted and we were ordered to form into platoons. Day begins to dawn and we grow impatient. This movement is scarcely commenced when we are directed to march forward, quick time, the vanguard inclining a little to the right, the column of M. de Steding to the left, and the column of the General (D'Estaing) moving straight to the front. M. de Noailles, with his reserve corps, proceeds to a small eminence from which he could observe all our movements and repair to any point where the exigencies might demand his presence.

"At half past five o'clock we hear on our right, and on the enemy's left, a very lively fire of musketry and cannon upon our troops from the

¹ The Spring Hill and Ebenezer batteries.

trenches who had commenced the false attack. A few minutes afterwards, we are discovered by the enemy's sentinels, who fire a few shots. The General now orders an advance at double quick, to shout *Vive le Roy*, and to beat the charge. The enemy opens upon us a very brisk fire of artillery and musketry, which, however, does not prevent the vanguard from advancing upon the redoubt, and the right column upon the entrenchments. The ardor of our troops and the difficulties offered by the ground do not permit us long to preserve our ranks. Disorder begins to prevail. The head of the column penetrates within the entrenchments, but, having marched too rapidly, it is not supported by the rest of the column which, arriving in confusion, is cut down by discharges of grape shot from the redoubts and batteries and by a musketry fire from the entrenchments. We are violently repulsed at this point. Instead of moving to the right, this column and the vanguard fall back toward the left. Count d'Estaing receives a musket shot when almost within the redoubt, and M. Betizi is here wounded several times.

"The column of M. de Steding, which moved to the left, while traversing a muddy swamp full of brambles, loses its formation and no longer preserves any order. This swamp, upon which the enemy's entrenchments rested, formed a slope which served as a glacis to them. The firing is very lively; and, although this column is here most seriously injured, it crosses the road to Augusta that it may advance to the enemy's right, which it was ordered to attack. On this spot nearly all the volunteers are killed. The Baron de Steding is here wounded.

"The column of M. d'Estaing, and the repulsed vanguard which had retreated to the left, arrived here as soon as the column of M. de Steding, and threw it into utter confusion. At this moment everything is in such disorder that the formations are no longer preserved. The road to Augusta is choked up. It here, between two impracticable morasses, consists of an artificial causeway upon which all our soldiers, who had disengaged themselves from the swamps, collected. We are crowded together and badly pressed. Two 18-pounder guns, upon field carriages, charged with canister and placed at the head of the road, cause terrible slaughter. The musketry fire from the entrenchments is concentrated upon this spot and upon the swamps. Two English galleys and one

frigate¹ sweep this point with their broadsides, and the redoubts and batteries use only grape shot, which they shower down upon this locality. [Another contemporaneous French writer says the English fired from their cannon packets of scrap iron, the blades of knives and scissors, and even chains five and six feet long.] Notwithstanding all this our officers endeavor to form into columns this mass which does not retreat, and the soldiers themselves strive to regain their ranks. Scarcely have they commenced to do this when the General orders the charge to be beaten. Three times do our troops advance *en masse* up to the entrenchments which cannot be carried. An attempt is made to penetrate through the swamp on our left to gain the enemy's right. More than half of those who enter are either killed, or remain stuck fast in the mud. . . . Standing in the road leading to Augusta, and at a most exposed point, the General, with perfect self-possession, surveys this slaughter, demands constant renewals of the assault, and, although sure of the bravery of his troops, determines upon a retreat only when he sees that success is impossible.

"We beat a retreat, which is mainly effected across the swamp lying to the right of the Augusta road; our forces being entirely, and at short range, exposed to the concentrated fire of the entrenchments which constantly increases in vehemence. At this juncture the enemy show themselves openly upon the parapets and deliver their fire with their muskets almost touching our troops. The General here receives a second shot.²

"About four hundred men, more judiciously led by the Baron de Steding, retreated without loss by following the road to Augusta and turning the swamp by a long detour. M. de Noailles, anxious to preserve his command for the moment when it could be used to the best advantage, orders his reserve corps to fall back rapidly. Had he not done so, it would have suffered a loss almost as severe as that encountered by the assaulting columns, the effect of the grape shot being more dangerous at the remove where it was posted than at the foot of the entrenchments. Accompanied only by his adjutant, he ascends an elevation fifteen paces in advance of his corps that he might with certainty

¹ The armed brig *Germain*.

² During the conduct of the assault Count d'Estaing was twice wounded by musket balls, once in the arm and again in the thigh.

observe all the movements of the army. His adjutant, M. Calignon, is mortally wounded by his side. When the Viscount de Noailles perceives the disorder reigning among the columns, he brings his reserve corps up to charge the enemy; and, when he hears the retreat sounded, advances in silence, at a slow step, and in perfect order, to afford an opportunity to the repulsed troops to reform themselves in his rear. He makes a demonstration to penetrate within the entrenchments in case the enemy should leave them, and prepares to cut them off in that event. Under these circumstances he encounters some loss, but the anticipated sortie would have caused the total destruction of our army. That the enemy did not make this apprehended sortie is to be attributed to this excellent disposition of his forces and this prompt manœuvre on the part of the Viscount de Noailles.¹

“The fragments of the army hastily form in single column behind the reserve corps and begin marching to our camp. M. de Noailles constitutes the rear guard, and retires slowly and in perfect order. Towards eight o'clock in the morning the army was again in camp, and a cessation of hostilities for the purpose of burying the dead and removing the wounded was proposed and allowed.”

The American right column, under the command of Colonel Laurens, preceded by Count Pulaski, assaulted the Spring-Hill redoubt with conspicuous valor. At one time the ditch was passed and the colors of the second South Carolina Regiment were planted upon the exterior slope. The parapet being too high for them to scale in the face of a murderous fire, these brave assailants were driven out of the ditch. On the retreat, this command was thrown into great disorder by the cavalry and lancers who, severely galled by the enemy's fire, broke away to the left and passed through the infantry, bearing a portion of it into the swamp.

The second American column, led by General McIntosh, arrived near the Spring-Hill redoubt at a moment of supreme confusion. Count d'Es-

¹ This statement is not entirely correct. Major Glasier, of the Sixtieth Regiment, who, with the grenadiers and reserve marines, was supporting the points assailed, did, when the order for retreat was given by the commander of the allied army, make a sortie from the British lines. He struck General McIntosh's column in the flank and pursued the retiring troops as far as the abatis. See General Prevost's report of the engagement to Lord George Germain, dated Savannah, November 1, 1779. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1779, pp. 633, 636.

taing was then, his arm wounded, endeavoring to rally his men. "General McIntosh," says Major Thomas Pinckney, who was present and an earnest actor in the bloody details of this unfortunate and ill-considered attempt, "did not speak French, but desired me to inform the Commander-in Chief that his column was fresh, and that he wished his directions where, under present circumstances, he should make the attack. The Count ordered that we should move more to the left, and by no means to interfere with the troops he was endeavoring to rally. In pursuing this direction we were thrown too much to the left, and, before we could reach Spring-Hill redoubt, we had to pass through Yamacraw Swamp, then wet and boggy, with the galley at the mouth annoying our left flank with grape shot. While struggling through this morass, the firing slacked, and it was reported that the whole army had retired. I was sent by General McIntosh to look out from the Spring-Hill, where I found not an assailant standing. On reporting this to the General, he ordered a retreat which was effected without much loss, notwithstanding the heavy fire of grape-shot with which we were followed."

While the assault was raging, Pulaski, with the approval of General Lincoln, attempted, at the head of some two hundred cavalrymen, to force a passage between the enemy's works. His purpose was to penetrate within the town, pass in rear of the hostile lines, and carry confusion and havoc into the British camp. In the execution of this design, he advanced at full speed until arrested by the abatis. Here his command encountered a heavy cross-fire from the batteries which threw it into confusion. The count himself was unhorsed by a cannister shot which, penetrating his right thigh, inflicted a mortal wound.¹ He was borne from the bloody

¹ The last command uttered by the gallant Pole as he fell, wounded to the death, was: "Follow my Lancers to whom I have given the order of attack." Major Rogowski thus describes Pulaski's charge: "For half an hour the guns roared and blood flowed abundantly. Seeing an opening between the enemy's works, Pulaski resolved, with his Legion and a small detachment of Georgia Cavalry, to charge through, enter the city, confuse the enemy, and cheer the inhabitants with good tidings. General Lincoln approved the daring plan. Imploring the help of the Almighty, Pulaski shouted to his men *forward*, and we, two hundred strong, rode at full speed after him,—the earth resounding under the hoofs of our chargers. For the first two moments all went well. We sped like knights into the peril. Just, however, as we passed the gap between the two batteries, a cross-fire, like a pouring shower, confused our ranks. I looked around. Oh! sad moment, ever to be remembered, Pulaski lies prostrate on the ground! I

field, and, after the conflict was over, was conveyed on board the United States brig *Wasp* to go round to Charlestown. The ship, delayed by head-winds, remained several days in Savannah River and, during this period, he was attended by the most skillful surgeons in the French fleet. It was found impossible to establish suppuration, and gangrene supervened. As the *Wasp* was leaving the river Pulaski breathed his last. His corpse became so offensive that Colonel Bentalou, his officer in attendance, "was compelled, though reluctantly, to consign to a watery grave all that was now left upon earth of his beloved and honored commander."

After the retreat of the assaulting columns from the right of the British lines, eighty men lay dead in the ditch and on the parapet of the redoubt first attacked, and ninety-three within the abatis. The ditch, says an eye-witness, was filled with dead. In front, for fifty yards, the field was covered with the slain. Many hung dead and wounded upon the abatis, and for some hundred yards without the lines the plain was strewn with mangled bodies killed by grape and langrage. The attacks upon the Ebenezer battery, the Spring-Hill redoubt, and the redoubt in which Colonel Maitland had located his headquarters, were made with the utmost gallantry and impetuosity. Two standards were planted by the allied forces upon the Ebenezer battery; one of which was captured, and the other brought off by the brave Sergeant Jasper who, at the moment, was suffering from a mortal wound. Major John Jones, aid to General McIntosh, was literally cut in twain by a cannon shot while within a few paces of the embrasure from which the piece was discharged.

Of the valor and heroism of the assault there can be no question. That it was ill-conceived and calamitous to the last degree is equally certain.

The left of the English line rested upon a heavy work, mounting fourteen cannon, located just where the bluff, upon which the town was situ-

leaped towards him, thinking possibly his wound was not dangerous, but a cannister shot had pierced his thigh, and the blood was also flowing from his breast, probably from a second wound. Falling on my knees I tried to raise him. He said in a faint voice, Jesus! Maria! Joseph! Further I knew not, for at that moment a musket ball, grazing my scalp, blinded me with blood and I fell to the ground in a state of insensibility."

Nine days before, Pulaski had lost his scapulars which the Nuncio had blessed during his stay at Crenstochowe. He regarded it as an evil omen, and advised Major Rogowski that he anticipated early death.

ated, yields to the low grounds below. The line thence followed the high ground, where it looks to the east, until about the point where it is now intersected by Liberty street. Then, bending to the south and west, it followed a semicircular course until it reached the point where the Augusta road descended into the low grounds on the west. Thence, running northwards and following the edge of the high ground, its right developed into a two-gun battery on the Savannah River. On the east and west the approaches to this line were rendered almost impracticable by swamps at that time badly drained. We have already alluded to the precautions adopted by Prevost for the protection of the town where it looks upon the river. This line, at the time it was assaulted, was strong and bristling with more than one hundred guns in fixed position. Accurately advised in advance of the precise points of attack concerted by the allies, Prevost made his dispositions accordingly. His heaviest concentration occurred on his right, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland was the defense of this post of honor and of danger entrusted.

While it is difficult to reconcile the conflicting estimates which have been handed down to us of the forces actually engaged during the siege of Savannah, we submit the following as the most accurate we have been able to prepare after a careful comparison of the most reliable authorities at command :

STRENGTH OF THE FRENCH ARMY, COMMANDED BY COUNT D'ESTAING.

<i>Noailles' Division</i> , composed of the regiments of Champagne, Auxerrois, Foix, Gaudeloupe, and Martinique,	900 men.
<i>The Division of Count d'Estaing</i> , composed of the regiments of Cambresis, Hainault, the Volunteers of Berges, Agenois, Gatinois, the Cape, and Port-au-Prince and the artillery,	1,000 men.
<i>Dillon's Division</i> , composed of the regiments of Dillon, Armagnac, and Volunteer Grenadiers,	900 men.
<i>The Dragoons of Condé and of Belzunce</i> , under the command of M. Dejean,	50 men.
<i>The Volunteer Chasseurs</i> , commanded by M. de Rouvrai,	750 men.
<i>The Grenadier Volunteers</i> , and men of other regiments, commanded by M. des Framais,	356 men.
To these should probably be added the <i>Marines</i> and <i>Sailors</i> from the fleet, detailed for special labor to the number of	500 men.
Total,	4,456 men.

STRENGTH OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, COMMANDED BY GENERAL LINCOLN.

<i>Continental Troops</i> , including the Fifth Regiment of South Carolina Infantry,	1,003 men.
<i>Heyward's Artillery</i> ,	65 men.
<i>Charlestown Volunteers and Militia</i> ,	365 men.
<i>General Williamson's Brigade</i> ,	212 men.
<i>Regiments of Georgia Militia</i> , commanded by Colonels Twiggs and Few,	232 men.
<i>Cavalry</i> , under command of Brigadier-General Count Pulaski,	250 men.
Total,	2,127 men.

RECAPITULATION.

<i>French Troops</i> ,	4,456 men.
<i>American</i> "	2,127 men.
Total strength of the Allied Army,	6,583 men.

Anthony Stokes, chief justice of the colony of Georgia, who was in Savannah during the siege, estimates the besieging army at about 4,500 French and 2,500 Americans.

In the *Paris Gazette* of January 7, 1780, the besieging forces are enumerated as follows:

FRENCH TROOPS.

I. <i>Europeans</i> : Draughted from the regiments of Armagnac, Champagne, Auxerrois, Agenois, Gatinois, Cambresis, Hainault, Foix, Dillon, Walsh, le Cap, la Guadeloupe, la Martinique, and Port-au-Prince, a detachment of the Royal Corps of Infantry of the Marine, the Volunteers of Vaillelle, the Dragoons, and 156 Volunteer Grenadiers, lately raised at Cape Francois,	2,979 men.
II. <i>Colored</i> : Volunteer Chasseurs, mulattoes, and negroes newly raised at Saint Domingo,	545 men.
AMERICAN TROOPS,	2,000 men.
Total,	5,524 men.

In his inclosure to Lord George Germain, under date November 5, 1779, Governor Sir James Wright reports the British forces within the lines of Savannah during the siege, "including regulars, militia, sailors, and volunteers," as not exceeding twenty-three hundred and fifty men fit for duty.

By the legend accompanying Faden's "Plan of the Siege of Savannah," printed at Charing Cross on the 2d of February, 1784, we are in-

formed that the total number of English troops, "including soldiers, seamen and militia," garrisoning the forts, redoubts, and epaulements, and fit for duty on the 9th of October, 1779, was twenty-three hundred and sixty. "The force in Savannah under General Prevost," says that excellent historian, Stedman,¹ "did not exceed two thousand five hundred of all sorts, regulars, provincial corps, seamen, militia, and volunteers." Dr. Ramsay² states that "the force of the garrison was between two and three thousand, of which about one hundred and fifty were militia." General Moultrie, in his "Memoirs,"³ substantially adopts this estimate. According to Captain Hugh McCall,⁴ the British force "consisted of two thousand eight hundred and fifty men, including one hundred and fifty militia, some Indians, and three hundred armed slaves." In Rivington's "Gazette" it is asserted that the entire strength of the English garrison on duty, including regulars, militia, volunteers, and sailors, did not exceed two thousand three hundred and fifty men.

Upon an inspection of the returns, as we are informed by the French journal from which we have already quoted, Count d'Estaing ascertained that the allied army had suffered the following loss in killed and wounded:

French soldiers,	760 men.
French officers,	61 men.
Americans,	312 men.
Total,	1,133 men.

The aggregate loss encountered by the combined French and American forces during the progress of the siege and in the assault of the 9th of October has been variously estimated at from one thousand to fifteen hundred killed and wounded. Dr. Ramsay asserts that the assaulting columns under Count d'Estaing and General McIntosh did not stand the enemy's fire more than fifty-five minutes, and that during this short period the French had six hundred and thirty-seven men killed and wounded, and the Americans two hundred and fifty-seven. "In this unsuccessful attempt," says Marshall,⁵ "the loss of the French in killed and

¹ *History of the American War*, vol. ii., p. 127. London. 1794.

² *History of the Revolution*, etc., vol. ii., p. 40. Trenton. MDCLXXXV.

³ Vol. ii., pp. 41, 42.

⁴ *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 270.

⁵ *Life of Washington*, vol. iv., p. 102. Philadelphia. 1805.

wounded was about seven hundred men. The continental troops lost two hundred and thirty-four men, and the Charleston militia, who, though united with them in danger, were more fortunate, had one captain killed and six privates wounded." Irving,¹ in a general way, states that the French lost in killed and wounded upwards of six hundred men, and the Americans about four hundred. "Our troops," says General Moultrie,² "remained before the lines in this hot fire fifty-five minutes; the Generals, seeing no prospect of success, were constrained to order a retreat, after having six hundred and thirty-seven French and four hundred and fifty-seven Continentals killed and wounded." General Lee's estimate³ accords substantially with that of Marshall. When driven out of the ditch and compelled to retreat, Stedman asserts⁴ that the assailants left behind them, in killed and wounded, of the French troops six hundred and thirty-seven, and of the Americans two hundred and sixty-four.

General Prevost reports the allied loss at from one thousand to twelve hundred.

Thoroughly protected by their well-constructed earthworks, the English suffered but little. The few casualties reported in the British ranks and the terrible slaughter dealt out to the assaulting columns assure us how admirably Prevost had covered his men by entrenchments and redoubts, and how skillfully and rapidly the besieged handled their muskets and field and siege pieces. General Prevost's return shows forty killed, sixty-three wounded, four missing, and forty-eight desertions during the siege. In a letter to his wife, dated Savannah, November 4, 1779, Captain T. W. Moore, aid to General Prevost, estimates the entire loss sustained by the garrison in killed, wounded, and missing, at one hundred and sixty-three; and Stedman says "the loss of the garrison, in the whole, did not exceed one hundred and twenty." So potent are military skill and proper defenses for the preservation of human life.

It is believed that about one thousand shells and twenty carcasses were thrown into the city during the continuance of the siege. Of the expenditure of solid shots we can find no record, although we know that they were freely used.

¹ *Life of Washington*, vol. iii., p. 522. New York. 1856.

² *Memoirs*, etc., vol. ii., p. 41. New York. 1802.

³ *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 109. Philadelphia. 1812.

⁴ *History of the American War*, vol. ii. p. 131. London. 1794.

In the repulse of the French and Americans on the right of the city lines, the following English troops, under the command of Colonel Maitland, were mainly engaged :

Dismounted dragoons,	28
Battalion men of the 60th Regiment,	28
South Carolina loyalists. They held the redoubts on the Ebenezer road where the brave Captain Tawse, commanding, fell,	54
Colonel Hamilton's North Carolina loyalists,	90
Militia under Captains Wallace, Tallemach, and Polhill. These were posted in the redoubt where Colonel Maitland was,	75
Grenadiers of the 60th Regiment,	74
Marines. Ordered to support the redoubt, they bravely charged the allied army when the retreat was sounded,	37
Sailors under the command of Captains Manley and Stiel, stationed in the Spring-Hill battery of six guns,	31
	417

General Huger's attack upon the left was frustrated by troops under the command of Colonel Cruger and Major Wright.

The following is a list of the French officers killed and wounded on the 9th of October, 1779 :

Killed: Brow, major of Dillon's regiment, colonel of infantry; Balheon, midshipman; Destinville, second lieutenant of the navy; Molart, lieutenant of the regiment of Armagnac; Stancey, second lieutenant of the Dragoons of Condé; Taf, lieutenant of the regiment of Dillon; Guillaume, lieutenant of the Grenadiers of Guadeloupe; De Montaign, captain of the Chasseurs; Boisneuf, lieutenant of the regiment of Port au Prince; Du Perron, captain on staff duty. Total, 10.

Wounded: Count d'Estaing, general; De Fontanges, major-general; De Betizi, colonel, and second in command of the regiment of Gatinois; De Steding, colonel of infantry; Derneville, aid-major of division, mortally wounded; Chalignon, aid-major of division, mortally wounded; Boulan, captain of the Grenadiers of Armagnac; Grillere, captain of the regiment of Armagnac; Barris, captain of the regiment of Augenois; St. Sauveur, lieutenant of the regiment of Augenois; Chaussepred, lieutenant of the regiment of Augenois; Morege, second lieutenant of the regiment of Augenois; Chamson, lieutenant of the regiment of Cambresis; Coleau, lieutenant of the regiment of Cambresis; Boozel, lieutenant of the

regiment of Cambresis; Oradon, second lieutenant of the regiment of Hainault; Labarre, lieutenant of the dragoons of Condé; Ouelle, captain of the regiment of Dillon; Doyon, lieutenant of the regiment of Dillon; Deloy, officer of the regiment of Dillon; Chr. de Termoi, cadet of the regiment of Dillon; Dumouries, lieutenant of the regiment of the Cape; Desombrages, lieutenant of the regiment of the Cape; Delbos, second lieutenant of the regiment of the Cape; Desnoyers, major of the regiment of Gaudeloupe; Roger, captain of the regiment of Guadeloupe; Noyelles, captain attached to the staff of the regiment of Guadeloupe; D'Anglemont, lieutenant of the Chasseurs of Guadeloupe; De Rousson, second lieutenant of the Chasseurs of Guadeloupe; Bailly de Menager, lieutenant of the regiment of Port au Prince, prisoner; Duclos, lieutenant of the volunteer Chasseurs. Total, 31.

The following are the names of some of the Continental and militia officers killed and wounded the same day:

Killed: Major John Jones, aid to General McIntosh; Second Regiment, Major Motte, and Lieutenants Hume, Wickham, and Bush; Third Regiment, Major Wise and Lieutenant Bailey; General Williamson's Brigade, Captain Beraud; Charlestown Regiment, Captain Shepherd; South Carolina Artillery, Captain Donnom, Charles Price, a volunteer, and Sergeant William Jasper.

Wounded: Brigadier-General Count Pulaski, mortally; Major l'Enfant and Captains Bentalou, Giles, and Rogowski; Second Regiment, Captain Roux and Lieutenants Gray and Petrie; Third Regiment, Captain Farrar and Lieutenants Gaston and De Saussure; Sixth Regiment, Captain Bowie; Virginia Levies, Lieutenants Parker and Walker; Light Infantry, Captain Smith, of the Third; Captains Warren and Hogan, of the Fifth; Lieutenant Vleland, of the Second, and Lieutenant Parsons, of the Fifth; South Carolina Militia, Captains Davis and Trévillé, and Lieutenants Bonneau, Wilkie, Wade, and Wardel; Lieutenant Edward Lloyd, Mr. Owen.

During the siege a number of Georgia officers who had no command and some patriotic gentlemen associated themselves together for active duty under the leadership of Colonel Leonard Marbury.¹ Although only

¹ Charlton's *Life of Major-General James Jackson*, Part I., p. 16. Augusta, Georgia. 1809.

thirty in all, four were killed and seven wounded. Of these were Charles Price, of Sunbury, a young attorney of note, and Lieutenant Bailey, whose names we have enumerated among the slain.

Among the incidents of the occasion, Captain McCall¹ records the following: While a surgeon was dressing the stump from which the arm of Lieutenant Edward Lloyd had been torn by a cannon ball, Major James Jackson observed to that excellent young officer that his prospects in life were rendered unpromising by this heavy burden which a cruel fate had imposed upon him. Lloyd replied that, grievous as the affliction was, he would not exchange situations with Lieutenant Stedman who had fled at the commencement of the assault.

The death of Sergeant Jasper was the logical sequence of the heroic impulses and intrepid daring which always characterized him. During the assault the colors of the Second South Carolina Regiment, which had been presented by Mrs. Elliott just after the battle of Fort Moultrie, were borne, one by Lieutenant Bush, supported by Jasper, and the other by Lieutenant Gray, supported by Sergeant McDonald. Under the inspiring leadership of Colonel Laurens they were both planted upon the slope of the Spring-Hill redoubt. So terrific, however, was the enemy's fire that the brave assailants melted before it. Lieutenant Gray was mortally wounded just by his colors, and Lieutenant Bush lost his life under similar circumstances.

When the retreat was sounded, Sergeant McDonald plucked his standard from the redoubt where it had been floating on the furthest verge of the crimson tide and retired with it in safety. Jasper, already sore wounded, was, at the moment, endeavoring to replace upon the parapet the colors which had been struck down upon the fall of Lieutenant Bush, when he encountered a second and a mortal hurt. Recollecting, however, even in this moment of supreme agony, the pledges given when from fair hands this emblem of hope and confidence had been received, and, summoning his expiring energies for the final effort, he snatched those colors from the grasp of the triumphant enemy and bore them from the bloody field.

Hearing that he was fatally wounded, Major Horry, when the battle

¹ Quoting from Charlton's *Life of Major-General James Jackson*, Part I., p. 17. Augusta, Georgia. 1809.

was over, hastened to the rude couch of the bleeding sergeant and thus details the conversation which ensued. "I have got my furlough," said he; and, pointing to his sword, continued: "That sword was presented to me by Governor Rutledge for my services in the defense of Fort Moultrie. Give it to my father, and tell him I have worn it with honor. If he should weep, say to him his son died in the hope of a better life. Tell Mrs. Elliott that I lost my life supporting the colors which she presented to our regiment." Then from out the bright visions of his former achievements as they floated for the last time before his dying memory, selecting his success at the Spring, and repeating the names of those whom he there rescued, he added: "Should you ever see them, tell them that Jasper is gone, but that the remembrance of the battle he fought for them brought a secret joy to his heart when it was about to stop its motion forever."

Thus thinking and thus speaking, the gallant sergeant and the true patriot closed his eyes upon the Revolution and entered into peace. The place of his sepulture is unmarked. He sleeps with the brave dead of the siege who lie beneath the soil of Savannah. Although no monumental shaft designates his grave, his heroic memory is perpetuated in the gentle murmurs of that perennial spring at which one of his most generous and daring deeds was wrought. His name is day by day repeated in a ward of the beautiful city of Oglethorpe whose liberation he died to achieve, is inscribed upon the flag of one of the volunteer companies, and dignifies a county of Georgia whose independence he gave his life to maintain.

Invoking the aid of an eminent sculptor to embody their gratitude and respect in a permanent, artistic memorial, the citizens of Savannah, with imposing ceremonies, dedicated in Monterey Square to the memory of Count Pulaski a monument which, in purity of conception, symmetry of form, and varied attractions, stands at once a gem of art and a noble expression of a people's gratitude.

In another of the high places of this city, rises a shaft testifying the admiration of the present and the coming generations for the distinguished services, unselfish devotion, and heroic death of Sergeant William Jasper.

Upon the withdrawal of the French and American forces from the



John R Young

field, a truce of four hours was requested and allowed for burying the dead and collecting the wounded. To the allied army was accorded the melancholy privilege of interring only such of the slain as lay beyond the abatis. The bodies of such as were killed within the abatis were buried by the British; and there they remain to this day without mound or column to designate their last resting-places.

It is stated by Captain McCall that two hundred and thirty of the slain, and one hundred and sixteen wounded were delivered up by the English, with the understanding that the latter should be accounted for as prisoners of war.

Although urged by General Lincoln not to abandon the siege,¹ the grievous loss sustained during the assault, the prevalence of sickness in camp, frequent desertions, the exposed and impoverished condition of his fleet, and the apprehension of the appearance of a British naval force off the coast induced Count d'Estaing to hasten his departure. Accordingly, he resolved at once to raise the siege, and, on the morning of the 10th,

¹ It would appear that the Americans at first were not inclined to regard this repulse as decisive of the contest, but that they still cherished the hope of capturing Savannah. In proof of this, we refer to a letter addressed by General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney [then Colonel Commanding the First South Carolina Regiment] to his mother [the original of which lies before us] from which we make the following extract :

"CAMP BEFORE SAVANNAH,
October 9, 1779.

"HON^D MADAM : I acquainted my dear Sally this morning that about daybreak we had made an assault on the Enemy's Lines and were repulsed, owing chiefly to those who said they knew the way for the different Columns to take & who were to be our guides not being such masters of the ground as they ought to have been. My Brother, Mr. Horry, Hugh Rutledge, Major Butler, Mr. R. Smith, Ladson, Gadsden, my Cousins, and most of our Friends are well. Major Wise & Major Motte are killed : Count De'Estaing wounded, not dangerously : Count Pulaski also wounded, I am afraid mortally : Jack Jones [Major John Jones, aid to General Lachlan McIntosh], a nephew of my Cousin Charles [the father of the Honorable Charles Pinckney, governor of South Carolina, etc.], is killed.

"The Repulse seems not to dispirit our men, as they are convinced it was only owing to a mistake of the ground, & I have not the least doubt but that we shall soon be in possession of Savannah.

"My regiment and the Sixth preserved their order inviolable, & gave me great satisfaction ; the Charlestown Militia, particularly the Volunteer Company, behaved exceedingly well."

gave orders for dismantling the batteries and returning the guns on ship-board. Causton's Bluff was selected as the point for embarkation. With a view to protecting this avenue of retreat, two hundred and ninety-two men were detailed from the regiments of Armagnac and Auxerrois and from the marines, and posted at three points to the east of Savannah.

On the 15th, M. de Bretigny arrived from Charlestown and requested Count d'Estaing to send nine hundred French troops for the protection of that city. The requisition was refused. Desertions from the ranks of the allied army multiplied daily. During the removal of their guns, munitions, and camp equipage, the French were not interrupted by the English.

The Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia militia withdrew by land on the 15th, and there remained with the French troops only the regulars and Pulaski's command.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th the tents and camp utensils were placed in wagons, and the same day were transported to the point of embarkation. At eleven o'clock at night the Americans moved to the left and the French to the right, and thus the camp before Savannah was broken up. General Lincoln then marched for Zubly's ferry, *en route* for Charlestown. The French proceeded only about two miles in the direction of Causton's Bluff where they halted for the night and remained until the ensuing day that they might be near enough to assist General Lincoln in the event that the English attempted on this side of the river to interrupt his retreat.

Causton's Bluff was reached at five o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 19th of October, and the work of embarkation commenced. It was completed by the 21st, when, in the language of the French journal, "Causton's Creek and all Georgia are evacuated."

The following English vessels were captured by the French fleet while upon the Georgia coast: the ship *Experiment*, of fifty guns, having on board Major-General Garth, thirty thousand pounds sterling, and a large quantity of army stores; the ship *Ariel*, of twenty guns; the *Myrtle*, a victualer; the *Champion*, a store-ship; the ship *Fame*; the ship *Victory*, richly freighted, and several small sloops, schooners, and coasting vessels laden with rice and flour. Two privateer sloops, of ten guns each, and three schooners were taken in Great Ogeechee River by Colo-

nel White. In addition, the British were forced to sink the ships *Rose* and *Savannah* and four transports in a narrow part of the Savannah River, below the town, to prevent the ascent of the French men-of-war. Several vessels were also sunk above Savannah to preclude the near approach of the French and American galleys, which, passing up the North River and rounding Hutchinson's Island, threatened an attack from that direction.

The following is a list of the French vessels of war under the command of Admiral the Count d'Estaing, concentrated on the Georgia coast during the operations against Savannah :

FIRST DIVISION: Commanded by Bougainville.

Le Guerrier, 74 guns.	Le Provence, 64 guns.
Le Magnifique, 74 guns.	Le Marseilles, 64 guns.
Le Cæsar, 74 guns,	Le Fantasque, 64 guns,
Le Vengeur, 74 guns,	

SECOND DIVISION: Commanded by Count d'Estaing.

Le Languedoc, 74 guns.	Le Valliant, 74 guns.
Le Robuste, 74 guns.	L'Artesien, 64 guns.
Le Zele, 74 guns.	Le Sagittaire, 54 guns.
L'Annibal, 74 guns.	

THIRD DIVISION: Commanded by M. de Vaudreuil.

Le Tonant, 80 guns.	Le Fendant, 74 guns.
Le Diademe, 74 guns.	Le Refleche, 64 guns.
Le Hector, 74 guns.	Le Sphynx, 64 guns.
Le Dauphin Royal, 70 guns.	Le Roderique, store-ship.
Le Royal, 70 guns.	

FRIGATES.

Le Fortuné, 38 guns.	La Boudeuse, 36 guns,
L'Amazon, 36 guns.	La Bricole, 36 guns, armed store-ship.
L'Iphigénie, 36 guns.	La Lys, 18 guns.
La Blanche, 36 guns.	La Truite.
La Chimère, 36 guns.	

After the lapse of a century we are not inclined to dwell upon the mistakes committed during the conduct of this memorable siege. The overweening confidence of Count d'Estaing in the superiority of his arms; his eagerness, at the outset, to pluck the laurel of victory and entwine it

around his individual brow; his manifest error in not insisting upon an immediate response to his summons for surrender; his delay in not assaulting at the earliest moment when the English defensive lines were incomplete and poorly armed, and when Colonel Maitland and his splendid command formed no part of the garrison; the injudicious selection of a point for attack; and the confusion and lack of concert which prevailed in conducting the columns of assault against the enemy's works, may fairly be criticised. But we forbear. We prefer to recall only the generosity which prompted the alliance, the valor which characterized the troops, and the heroic action which has given to the history of Savannah and the State of Georgia a chapter than which none is bloodier, braver, or more noteworthy.

Errors of judgment belong to the past, while the fraternity evolved, the patriotism displayed, and the examples of courage, patient endurance, and glorious death born of the event constitute now and will continue to form subjects of special boast.

Bitter was the disappointment experienced by the Americans at this disastrous result. From the coöperation of the French the most decided and fortunate issue had been anticipated. Generously couched was General Lincoln's letter to Congress: "Count d'Estaing has undoubtedly the interest of America at heart. This he has evidenced by coming over to our assistance, by his constant attention during the siege, his undertaking to reduce the enemy by assault when he despaired of effecting it otherwise, and by bravely putting himself at the head of his troops and leading them to the attack. In our service he has freely bled. I feel much for him; for while he is suffering the distresses of painful wounds on a boisterous ocean, he has to combat chagrin. I hope he will be consoled by an assurance that although he has not succeeded according to his wishes and those of America, we regard with high approbation his intentions to serve us, and that his want of success will not lessen our ideas of his merit."

We cannot resist the temptation to introduce here the following estimate of the character of Count d'Estaing expressed by one of his naval officers when commenting upon the failure of the effort to capture Savannah. Our translation is literal. "Covetous of glory, excited by his successes, and easily seduced by an invitation from the *Sieur de Bretigny*

who made him believe that the conquest of Savannah was an easy matter, Count d'Estaing was unable to resist a desire, rising superior to the hazard, to attempt to add new triumphs to those which he had already achieved.

"If zeal, activity, eagerness, and ambition to accomplish great deeds are worthy of recompense, never will France be able sufficiently to acknowledge her obligations to Count d'Estaing. With much intelligence, he possesses the enthusiasm and the fire of a man twenty years of age. Enterprising, bold even to temerity, all things appear possible to him. He fancies no representations which bring home to him a knowledge of difficulties. Whoever dares to describe them as formidable, is illy received. He wishes every one to view and to think of his plans as he does. The sailors believe him inhuman. Many died upbraiding him with their misery and unwilling to pardon him; but this is a reproach incident to his austere mode of life, because he is cruel to himself. We have seen him, sick and attacked with scurvy, never desiring to make use of any remedies, working day and night, sleeping only an hour after dinner, his head resting upon his hands, sometimes lying down, but without undressing.

"Thus have we observed Count d'Estaing during this campaign. There is not a man in his fleet who would believe that he has endured all the fatigue which he has undergone. When I am now asked if he is a good general, it is difficult for me to respond to this inquiry. He committed much to chance and played largely the game of hazard. But that he was energetic, adventurous almost to rashness, indefatigable in his enterprises which he conducted with an ardor of which, had we not followed him, we could have formed no conception, and that to all this he added much intellect, and a temper which imparted great austerity to his character, we are forced to admit."

In appreciation of his meritorious services the General Assembly of Georgia granted twenty thousand acres of land to Count d'Estaing, and admitted him to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of a free citizen of the State.

The exultation of the English garrison was, on the 25th of October, mingled with grief at the sudden death of Colonel Maitland. Some say he was carried off by a fever contracted at Beaufort. Others affirm that

he fell a victim to strong drink. He was a brilliant officer and an accomplished gentleman.

After the departure of Count d'Estaing and the retreat of General Lincoln, the condition of Savannah and the seacoast of Georgia became more pitiable than ever. Exasperated by the formidable demonstration which, at the outset, seriously threatened the overthrow of British dominion in Georgia, and rendered more arrogant and exacting, the loyalists set out in every direction upon missions of insult, pillage, and inhumanity. Plundering banditti roved about unrestrained, seizing negroes, stock, furniture, wearing apparel, plate, jewels, and anything they coveted. Children were severely beaten to compel a revelation of the places where their parents had concealed, or were supposed to have hidden valuable personal property or money. Confiscation of estates and incarceration or expatriation were the only alternatives presented to those who claved to the cause of the revolutionists. So poor were many of the inhabitants that they could not command the means requisite to venture upon a removal. Even under such circumstances not a few, on foot, sought an asylum in South Carolina. Among the principal sufferers may be mentioned the families of General McIntosh, Colonel John Twiggs, Colonel Elijah Clarke, Colonel John Baker, the brothers Habersham, and Major John Jones.

Southern Georgia was emphatically under the yoke; and she was forced to pay the penalty of unsuccessful rebellion rendered ten-fold more grievous because of this recent attempt to expel from her borders the civil and military servants of the king. The ribald language and licentious conduct of the soldiery, coupled with the filthy demeanor and lawless acts of fugitive negroes, rendered a residence in Savannah—especially to those not in sympathy with the Crown, and to the weaker sex,—almost unendurable. Far and near the region was experiencing the direst desolations of war. "The rage between Whig and Tory ran so high," says General Moultrie, "that what was called a Georgia parole, and to be shot down, were synonymous." So stringent too were the restrictions upon trade, such was the depreciation of the paper currency, and so sadly interrupted were all agricultural and commercial adventures, that poverty and distress were the common heritage. At this time sixteen hundred and eighteen dollars, paper money, were the equivalent of one dollar in gold.

CHAPTER XXII.

Deplorable Plight of the Rebel Inhabitants of Savannah--Damaged Condition of the Town--Proclamation of Governor Wright--Legislation by the Royalist Assembly--Governor Wright's Representation with Regard to Savannah, and its Fortifications--Fall of Augusta--Colonels Twiggs and Jackson Move Forward for the Investment of Savannah--General Anthony Wayne Detached by General Greene to Reinstat the Authority of the Union Within the Limits of Georgia--Retaliatory Measures of General Alured Clarke--Military Operations of Colonel Jackson and General Wayne--Negotiations for the Surrender of Savannah--The Town Evacuated by the King's Servants--Savannah Again in the Possession of the Revolutionists--Legislative Proceedings in Savannah--Colonel Jackson and Generals Wayne and Greene Complimented--Losses Sustained by Georgia During the Revolutionary War.

SO thoroughly were the republican inhabitants of Savannah and of Southern Georgia overwhelmed by the disappointment consequent upon the disastrous failure of the allied army to retake the commercial metropolis of the young commonwealth--so entirely were they enfeebled and deserted upon the withdrawal of the American and French forces,--and so completely did they find themselves in the power of the king's troops that they were brought to the verge of despair. Organized resistance was out of the question, and their lamentable condition was rendered even more deplorable by the enforcement of orders promulgated by Governor Wright.

To "check the spirit of rebellion," he compelled all who could have joined in the defense of Savannah, but who did not do so, "to give a very circumstantial account of their conduct during the siege." Those of the lower class whom he did not deem "materially culpable" he constrained to furnish security for their good behavior for twelve months. Bonds were exacted of each of them to the amount of £100 sterling, with two sureties, each justifying in the sum of £50. They were also required to swear allegiance to the Crown, and to subscribe a special test oath. Such as appeared to have "offended capitally" he caused to be committed and to be prosecuted for high treason.

A proclamation was issued appointing the 29th of October, 1779, as a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God for "His divine interpo-

sition " and " signal protection " displayed in the " late deliverance from the united efforts of rebellion and our natural enemies." Other proclamations, both by Governor Wright and the military authorities, promised protection to all Georgians who would lay down their arms and submit peacefully to the restoration of English rule. Believing that all was lost, and beguiled by these offers of quiet and life, not a few of the inhabitants returned to their former allegiance to the realm.

So seriously had Savannah been endamaged by the cannon and mortars of the allied army ; so sadly had its churches and public buildings been impaired by conversion into hospitals, storehouses, and barracks ; and so polluted were many private structures by the presence of wanton soldiers and filthy negroes, that the early and thorough restoration of the town to order and cleanliness demanded and received the earnest attention of Sir James Wright. The wretched condition of affairs was rendered even more frightful by the appearance of that loathsome pest, the smallpox, and by the insubordination of the slave population which, having been armed and put to work in the trenches during the continuance of the siege, now that the danger was overpast, refused in many instances to return to obedience and former servitude. Inoculation and severe measures, however, succeeded in restoring health and comparative security to this unhappy community.

Desiring to convoke a legislative assembly, and yet apprehending, in the distracted state of the country, that only a partial representation could be secured from the parishes constituting the province as recognized by the royal government, the governor having taken the advice of the chief justice and the attorney-general, caused writs of election to be issued returnable on the 5th of May, 1780. Of the twenty-six members returned, only fifteen appeared at Savannah and qualified. Prior assemblies having fixed the constitutional quorum at eighteen, including the speaker, Governor Wright was undecided as to the propriety of permitting the Commons House of Assembly to perfect its organization and proceed to business. Having conferred with his council it was resolved, in view of the necessities of the case and the division of sentiment existing in the province, that the members assembled should be recognized as sufficient in number and that they should be empowered to organize.

Thereupon the members present elected a speaker and proceeded to the transaction of business.

By the royalist assembly, thus lamely constituted, were two acts, retaliatory in their character and designed to offset the republican legislation of the 1st of March, 1778, passed; one attainting of high treason various republicans, therein named, who were either absent from Georgia or in that portion of the province which was still in a state of rebellion against his majesty, and vesting their real and personal estate in the Crown; the other disqualifying the parties indicated, and rendering them ever afterwards incapable of holding or exercising any office of trust, honor, or profit within the limits of Georgia.

Behold the fearful condition of affairs in Georgia! Royalists and republicans contending for the mastery not only with arms, but each, by solemn legislation, denouncing the other as traitors, and declaring private property a spoil to that government which could first lay hands upon it. Surely no darker picture was ever painted in the history of civil wars, the most bloody and unrelenting of all strifes. The devastating tread of contending armies, pushed backwards and forwards over the face of a smitten country, crushing the life out of habitations and filling the land with marks of desolation and the scars of battle, is terrible; but far more severe is that fratricidal conflict which disrupts the ties of blood, unseats mercy, dethrones humanity, abolishes the right to private property, and gives the region to general confiscation, plunder, and murder. Other States there were within whose borders were heard, during the progress of the Revolution, the sounds of broader battles, but truly none can be named in which the calamities of a divided government and the horrors of internecine dissensions were more pronounced.

With the exception of the two acts to which we have alluded, and certain others providing for the impressment of slaves and animals to work upon the public defenses, the legislation of the general assembly convened in Savannah during the progress of the war possesses little significance.

The hope of returning Georgia to practical allegiance to the Crown, inspired by the capture of Savannah in December, 1778, and revived by the defeat of the allied armies in October, 1779, was always fluctuating. Although Governor Wright retained his seat in Savannah and exercised some of the functions of his office, his communications give manifest token of the fact that he was oppressed by a sense of insecurity. Time and

again did the republican forces, under partisan leaders, approach so closely that it was deemed dangerous for the king's servants to venture beyond the lines which environed Savannah. Now and then was forwarded a loyal address from the province assuring his majesty that his sorely tried yet faithful servants would "use their utmost endeavors to promote an attachment to his person and government and the welfare of the British Empire;" that they "would not fail to put up their prayers to Almighty God that He would pour down His blessings upon his majesty, his royal consort, and his numerous offspring, and that He would give him a long and happy reign, and that his posterity might sway the sceptre of the British Empire till time should be no more."

And this would be quickly followed by a pitiable representation of the defenseless condition of the province, by a requisition for war-vessels to guard the coast, and by an application for a force of five hundred mounted men with which to scour the country and repel the rebel cavalry who were plundering the governor's plantations on the Ogeechee River and thundering at the very gates of Savannah.

In August, 1780, the governor reports that there were in that town not more than five hundred soldiers, and that they were quartered in the houses which had been vacated by their republican owners. "I find," he adds, "we have only 15 nine pounders, 4 six pounders, and 1 four pounder, all mounted on ship carriages, late the guns of his majesty's ship *Rose*—2 pieces of brass six pound ordnance, 5 four pounders, and 2 three pounders—two of which only are fit to take the field—and 3 twenty-four pounders not mounted."

Nevertheless, with a pertinacity worthy of all praise, we see him laboring to fortify Savannah and to confirm it as the capital of the province. Acting under the provisions of a bill, which received his assent on the 30th of October, 1780, he ordered out over four hundred negro slaves and put them to work upon the public defenses of the town. "We are making," so he writes to Lord George Germain on the 1st of December,¹ "five Redoubts & Batterys, & there is to be a Parapet made of Fascines & Earth from the River at each end, & on the back of the town. This Parapet is 10 foot wide & 7 foot high, with a Ditch on the outside 15 foot wide at top, 10 foot deep, and sloping to the bottom 3 foot. I

¹ *P. R. O. Am. & W. Ind.*, vol. ccxcviii.

think the Redoubts will be finished & each Parapet about half done, or say the whole 4 foot high by Christmas, & I expect the works will be entirely finish'd in all January. This, my Lord, is a most inconvenient thing & a heavy Tax on the People, being one fourth part of all their Male Slaves for near or quite 3 months. . . . The late Law also enables me to call out and arm Negroes in defence of the Province, & to exercise further power over the militia, but this only in time of *alarms actually fired*, and there are several things provided for which we thought necessary in these yet very perilous times."

When it is asked why the republicans, under the circumstances, hesitated to undertake the recaption of Savannah, it may be fairly answered that they too were weak in numbers and enfeebled by the fortunes of war; that not a few were pining in captivity; that many, contending with hunger, were striving to replenish their barns and acquire food for their families; while others, instant day and night in the saddle, were defending the frontiers against the torch and the scalping knife of the savage, and the not less inhuman depredations and outrages of the loyalists. Others still were following the flag of the Confederation in the Continental armies, doing battle within the confines of sister States.

With the capture of Augusta, in June, 1781, the control of Upper Georgia passed into the hands of the Revolutionists. In the capitulation of this important place Governor Wright recognized the beginning of the end. In a letter to Colonel Balfour, dated Savannah June 11, 1781, he observes: "If this Province is not recovered from the Rebels without the least delay, I conceive it may be too late to prevent the whole from being laid waste and totally destroyed, and the people ruined. We are now in a most wretched situation." The spirits of the republicans rose to a high pitch of exultation, and Colonel Twiggs directed his attention to the repossession of the middle and southern divisions of the State. To that end he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel James Jackson with his legion, consisting of three companies of cavalry and two of infantry, to move in the direction of Savannah and to occupy positions as near the enemy as becoming caution would suggest. His general instructions to this dashing officer were to annoy the outposts and detachments of his antagonist as fully as the means at command would allow, and to retreat or advance as circumstances might justify. This service was most ener-

getically and effectually performed by Colonel Jackson. Meanwhile Colonel Twiggs, having dispersed a body of loyalists and Indians near the Oconee River, moved forward with his command for the support of his capable subaltern. Although too weak to hazard an assault upon the British lines around Savannah, they hovered in the vicinity, driving back the foraging parties of the enemy, threatening and sometimes capturing the royal outposts, interrupting communication with the Indians, protecting the persons and property of such of the patriots as tarried in the region, and eagerly awaited the arrival of the reinforcements which General Greene had promised to send so soon as they could be spared.

The potent effect of the capitulation of Yorktown upon the minds of the British soldiery in America, the junction of the auxiliary force under General St. Clair, and the recent successes of General Greene in South Carolina enabled that officer, in January, 1782, to redeem his promise and turn his attention to the relief of Georgia. For this important service General Anthony Wayne was detached. "To reinstate as far as might be possible, the authority of the Union within the limits of Georgia" was the general mission of the hero of Stony Point. He was accompanied by one hundred of Colonel Moylan's dragoons, commanded by Colonel Anthony Walton White, and a detachment of field artillery. On the 12th of January he crossed the Savannah River in small boats, the cavalry horses swimming by their sides. His artillery was left behind until suitable transportation could be secured. He was soon joined by Colonel Hampton, with three hundred mounted men from General Sumter's brigade. The infantry and cavalry of Jackson's legion then numbered only ninety men, and McCoy's volunteer corps did not exceed eighty, all told. To these Governor Martin hoped to add three hundred Georgia militia.

The duty assigned to General Wayne of keeping a close watch upon the enemy and, if the occasion presented, of attempting the capture of Savannah by a nocturnal assault, was so efficiently discharged that predatory bands of soldiers and loyalists were seldom seen beyond the lines of that town. The customary intercourse of the Indians with the garrison was largely restrained. That garrison, including the reinforcement recently sent by Lord Rawdon and a corps of one hundred and fifty negroes armed and enrolled as infantry and commanded by the notorious

Brown, consisted of thirteen hundred regular troops and about five hundred loyal militia. The town itself was strongly fortified. Its land approaches were suitably defended by field and siege guns judiciously posted. Armed row-galleys and brigs covered the water front. So closely were these lines watched, and so strictly were the British forces confined to their defenses, that the gallant Jackson on more than one occasion demonstrated almost up to the town gates and picked off men and horses from the common.

As soon as the advance of the American forces under General Wayne was known in Savannah, Brigadier-General Alured Clarke, who commanded the royal troops in Georgia, "directed his officers, charged with his outposts, to lay waste the country with fire and to retire with their troops and all the provisions they could collect into Savannah." This order was rigidly executed, and the circumjacent district was devastated. "In consequence whereof, Wayne found it necessary to draw his subsistence from South Carolina, which added to the difficulties daily experienced in providing for the main army." General Henry Lee, in his "Memoirs," compliments in high terms General Wayne's conduct during this period. "While in command before Savannah," so he writes, "his orders, his plans, his motions, all bespoke foresight and vigilance; and although he played a hazardous game, he not only avoided detriment or affront, but added to the honor of our arms."

Anxious to enlarge the limits of the civil authority, Governor Martin, so soon as General Wayne had permanently established his headquarters at Ebenezer, removed the seat of government to that town.

During this period of the practical investment of Savannah, the enterprise, watchfulness, and intrepidity of Colonel Jackson were beyond all praise.

After various skirmishes with the loyalists and Indians, and having signally defeated the valorous chief Guristersigo, who, with three hundred followers, was moving for the relief of General Alured Clarke in Savannah, General Wayne drew his military meshes closer and closer around that town to the evident dismay of Governor Wright and its garrison. Having been officially notified of the proceedings of Parliament contemplating an adjustment of the existing difficulties between England and America and foreshadowing an early acknowledgment of the inde-

pendence of the United colonies, his excellency, Sir James, promptly communicated this intelligence to General Wayne, and accompanied his dispatch with a proposal that there should be a cessation of hostilities. Pending a reference of this request to General Greene who, in turn, took counsel of the Continental Congress, matters reached a crisis in the royal camp upon the arrival of a communication from Sir Guy Carleton, dated New York, May 23, 1782, ordering the evacuation both of Savannah and of the province of Georgia, and notifying the authorities that transports might be expected to bring away not only the troops and military and public stores, but also Governor Wright and all loyalists who desired to depart. Although anticipated, this intelligence created a profound impression among soldiers and civilians. The latter were most anxious to ascertain what their status would be under the changed condition of affairs, and to secure pledges that they would be unmolested in the enjoyment of personal liberty and private property. Negotiations were at once opened between Governors Wright and Martin, and between the British merchants, represented by Major Hale, and General Wayne.

Early in July that officer was waited upon by a deputation of merchants and citizens bearing a flag. As British subjects, they desired to know upon what terms they would be permitted to remain in Savannah after the withdrawal of the king's troops. They requested also to be informed whether their rights of property would be respected.

Upon conference with Governor Martin it was concluded "to offer assurances of safety for the persons and property of such inhabitants as chose to remain in Savannah after it should be evacuated by the British troops, and that a reasonable time would be allowed them to dispose of their property and settle their pecuniary concerns in the State." It was emphatically declared that persons who had been guilty of murder or atrocious crimes were liable to trial and punishment according to the laws of Georgia. For the safety of such culprits the governor declined to stipulate, alleging very properly that the executive could not rightfully exercise control in matters which, by the constitution of Georgia, were cognizable by the courts. In the case of merchants, ample opportunity would be afforded for them to sell their goods and adjust their accounts. At the expiration of a reasonable period a flag would be granted to convey them and their property to any convenient British port they might select.

With regard to those inhabitants who, having served in the king's militia, were now willing to enlist in the Georgia regiment of infantry for two years or the war, assurance was given that every effort would be expended in procuring the passage of an act granting oblivion of all offenses which they might have committed, except murder.

"In offering these terms," said General Wayne, "I had in view not only the interest of the United States but also that of Georgia: by retaining as many inhabitants and merchants as circumstances would admit, and with them a considerable quantity of goods much wanted for public and private use; but (what was yet of greater consequence) to complete your quota of troops without any expense to the public, and thus reclaim a number of men who, at another day, will become valuable members of society. This also appeared to me an act of justice tempered with mercy: justice to oblige those who have joined or remained with the enemy to expiate their crime by military service; and mercy, to admit the repentant sinner to citizenship after a reasonable quarantine. By these means those worthy citizens [the Whigs], who have so long endured every vicissitude of fortune with more than Roman virtue, will be relieved from that duty."

These terms having been reported in Savannah, another deputation was appointed to enter into definite stipulations. That they might be well understood, it was requested that they should be reduced to writing. This was accordingly done. To Major John Habersham, an officer of the Georgia line, a native of Savannah, a gentleman whose personal character inspired confidence, and whose correct conduct and polished address commanded the utmost respect even from those who were inimical to the cause which he espoused, was this negotiation chiefly confided on the part of the patriots.

"Satisfied with the assurances of protection which were given," writes Captain McCall, "many of the British subjects who resided with their families in Savannah discontinued the preparations which they had commenced for removal, and became citizens of the United States. Such of the loyalists as were unwilling to subscribe to the conditions proposed removed with their families and the property they had in possession to Cockspur and Tybee islands, where they encamped until the transports were ready to sail. Among this number there were many whose atro-

cious conduct during the war would have placed their lives at great hazard if they had been tried by the civil authorities of the State. Others had in possession large fortunes in negroes and other property which had been plundered from their republican countrymen."

In anticipation of the early departure of the British forces General Wayne published the following order :

" HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP AT GIBBONS', *July 10th, 1782.*

" As the enemy may be expected daily to evacuate the town, the troops will take care to be provided with a clean shift of linnen, and to make themselves as respectable as possible for the occasion. The officers are particularly called upon to attend to this order and see it executed in their respective corps. No followers of the army are to be permitted to enter the town until the main body has marched in. Lieut: Col: Jackson, in consideration of his severe and fatiguing service in the advance, is to receive the keys of Savannah, and is allowed to enter at the western gate, keeping a patrole in town to apprehend stragglers who may steal in with the hopes of plunder. Marauders may assure themselves of the most severe and exemplary punishment."¹

The very next day (July 11, 1782) the British troops evacuated Savannah, and, in the afternoon General Wayne entered with his forces and took possession of the town. This done, the following order was forthwith promulgated :

" HEAD QUARTERS, SAVANNAH, *11th July, 1782.*

" The light infantry company under Captain Parker to take post in the centre work in front of the town, placing sentries at the respective gateways and sally ports to prevent any person or persons going from or entering the lines without written permits until further orders.

" No insults or depredations to be committed upon the persons or property of the inhabitants on any pretext whatever. The civil authority only will take cognizance of the criminals or defaulters belonging to the State, if any there be. The merchants and traders are immediately to make out an exact and true invoice of all goods, wares, or merchandise of every species, dry, wet, or hard, respectively belonging to them or in their possession, with the original invoices, to the Commissary, who will

¹ Charlton's *Life of Jackson*, Part I., p. 43. Augusta. 1809.

select such articles as may be necessary for the army and for the public uses of the State, for which a reasonable profit will be allowed. No goods or merchandise of any kind whatever are to be removed, secreted, sold, or disposed of, until the public and army are first served, which will be as soon as possible after the receipt of the invoices, &c.

“N. B. Orders will be left with Captain Parker for the immediate admission of the Honorable the Executive Council, and the Honorable the Members of the Legislature, with their officers and attendants.”

To Colonel Jackson were the keys of the town delivered, at its principal gate, in token of formal surrender; and he enjoyed the profound pleasure and distinguished honor of being the first to enter Savannah from which the patriots had been forcibly expelled in December, 1778.¹ This compliment was well merited and handsomely bestowed. It was a just recognition of the patriotism and gallantry which characterized him during the war, and of the activity displayed by him as the leader of the vanguard of the army of occupation.

Thus, after the lapse of three years and a half, was the capital of Georgia wrested from the dominion of the royal forces and restored to the possession of the sons of liberty. With the departure of the British garrison there lingered not a single servant of the king on Georgia soil. Although no treaty of peace had yet been consummated between England and America, this surrender of Georgia into the hands of the republicans was hailed as a practical abandonment of the war on the part of the realm, and was regarded as an earnest of a speedy recognition of the independence of the United States. And so it proved.

If we may credit the contemporaneous accounts, between the 12th and 25th of July, 1782, in addition to the garrison, from Savannah and its vicinity were transported five hundred women and children, three hundred Indians, and several thousand negroes. Governor Wright, accompanied by some of the civil and military officers, was conveyed to Charlestown, S. C., in the *Princess Caroline*. General Alured Clarke, with a portion of the British regulars, sailed for New York. Colonel Brown with his rangers and some Indians repaired to St. Augustine. Others, including the negroes, were carried to the West India Islands under convoy of

¹ See Charlton's *Life of Jackson*, Part I., p. 44. Augusta. 1809.

the frigate *Zebra*, the sloop of war *Vulture*, and other armed vessels which had been ordered to the Georgia coast for that purpose.¹

By these departing loyalists, many of whom had been guilty of enormities the most revolting, was Georgia grossly despoiled. Gathering about them slaves and personal property plundered during a series of years from republican owners intent upon an assertion of their claims to liberty, they effected an escape to distant parts where, avoiding punishment for past offenses, they enjoyed their gains ill-gotten in an unholy strife. So far as the record stands, no return was ever made of this stolen property, no compensation offered to the impoverished republicans who, amid the general wreck of desolated homes and vanished possessions, sought a modicum of comfort and subsistence.

Leaving Colonel Jackson with his legion and Major John Habersham's corps of new recruits in charge of Savannah, General Wayne marched with his forces to South Carolina where he joined General Greene. "I wish you to be persuaded," wrote that great and generous officer to his subaltern, "that I shall do you ample justice in my public accounts to Congress and the Commander-in-Chief. I think you have conducted your command with great prudence and with astonishing perseverance; and in so doing you fully answered the high expectations I ever entertained of your military abilities from our earliest acquaintance."

Following close upon the heels of the military came members of the executive council, who established themselves in Savannah on the 14th of July. There being many lawless, profligate, idle, and runaway negroes in the town and its vicinity, one of the first acts performed by this body was the appointment of Joseph Clay, James Habersham, John Houston, William LeConte, John Wreath, William O'Bryan, John Kean, Peter Deveaux, Thomas Stone, Peter Taarling, and Joseph Woodruff as a special committee to take into immediate custody all negro slaves absent from their masters, and all suspected property. This done, public notice was given so that owners might prove property and reacquire possession.

The Legislature quickly convened and approved the agreement made between Governor Martin and General Wayne and the British merchants in Savannah, rendering it obligatory upon the latter to expose their goods

¹ See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii., p. 420. Savannah. 1816.

or sale at fair profit and to abstain from anything savoring of extortion.

Bills were passed forbidding the exportation of salt, provisions, and other necessaries of life; placing the Georgia battalion upon an equal footing with the continental troops as to pay, clothing, and rations; re-opening the courts of justice; encouraging churches and schools; and prescribing terms upon which the disaffected might again be admitted to the privileges enjoyed by citizens of Georgia.

Arrangements were made for refunding the supplies and moneys advanced to soldiers in the field by officers and citizens during the progress of the Revolution. Bounties were offered to seamen who would man the two galleys ordered to be built for harbor defense. Questions touching the creation of a suitable navy, the adjustment of the public accounts, the equipment of troops, the sale of confiscated estates, and other matters of consequence were carefully discussed.

In acknowledgment of his "great and useful services to his Country, for which he is entitled to the notice and attachment of the Legislature," it was resolved by that body that the "House which heretofore belonged to Mr. Tattnall in Savannah be granted to Colonel Jackson." Governor Martin was instructed to issue a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants of Savannah to assemble at a given time and place to inquire into the character of all persons deemed suspicious, and to tender the oath of allegiance to such as might be found worthy the privileges of citizenship.

On the 31st of July the committees, previously appointed for that purpose, reported that they had, upon the sales of confiscated estates, purchased for General Anthony Wayne, at a cost of £3,900 the plantation late the property of Alexander Wright, containing eight hundred and forty acres; and for General Nathanael Greene the plantation recently owned by Lieutenant-Governor John Grahame, containing two thousand one hundred and seventy-one acres, for the sum of £7,097 19s.

The Legislature was busily engaged in the passage of measures which would conduce to the rehabilitation of the State.

Deplorable was the condition of Georgia. For forty-two long months had she been a prey to rapine, oppression, fratricidal strife, and poverty. Fear, unrest, the brand, the sword, the tomahawk, had been her portion. In the abstraction of negro slaves, by the burning of dwellings, in the obliteration of plantations, by the destruction of agricultural implements,

and by theft of domestic animals and personal effects, it is estimated that at least one-half of the available property of the inhabitants had, during this period, been completely swept away. Real estate had depreciated in value. Agriculture was at a standstill, and there was no money with which to repair these losses and inaugurate a new era of prosperity. The lamentations of widows and orphans, too, were heard in the land. These not only bemoaned their dead, but cried aloud for food. Amid the general depression there was, nevertheless, a deal of gladness in the hearts of the people, a radiant joy, an inspiring hope. Independence had been won at great cost. It was prized all the more, and the sufferings endured in its acquisition were remembered only with pride. In the near future it was believed that all sorrows would be speedily forgotten, all losses rapidly repaired. Therefore there was no repining, and each, sharing the burthen of his neighbor, set about, and that right manfully, providing for the present and laying the foundations for prosperous and happy days.

The population of Georgia, as reported by Governor Wright¹ to the Earl of Dartmouth on the 20th of December, 1773, consisted of upwards of eighteen thousand whites and fifteen thousand blacks. If it be true, as Dr. Ramsay² suggests, that the State lost during the progress of the Revolution one thousand of her inhabitants and four thousand slaves, it appears scarcely probable, allowing a reasonable rate of increase and at the same time paying due regard to the retarding influences of the struggle, that Georgia, upon the conclusion, could claim many more inhabitants than she numbered at the inception of the war. We question whether her population aggregated more than thirty-five thousand. Unfortunately we find no data upon which to predicate a definite estimate.

By the General Assembly which convened in Savannah in January, 1783, that sterling patriot and worthy gentleman, Dr. Lyman Hall, was elected governor of Georgia. On the 31st of that month George Walton was selected to fill the position of chief justice; Samuel Stirk was appointed attorney-general; John Martin, treasurer; John Milton, secretary of State; Richard Call, surveyor-general; Joseph Woodruff, collector of the port of Savannah; and John Lawson, jr., collector for the

¹ P. R. O., Am. & W. Ind., No. 235.

² *History of the Revolution of South Carolina*, volume ii., page 370. Trenton. MDCCCLXXXV.

town and port of Sunbury. Registers of probate and assistant justices were named for the respective counties. Land offices were established and commissioners were designated to superintend the sales of confiscated property. The payment of the public debt was receiving due consideration. Officers and soldiers were rewarded with bounty warrants for military services rendered. William McIntosh, Samuel Stirk, and John Wreath, as commissioners on the part of the State, were negotiating with Governor Patrick Tonyn, of East Florida, for the accommodation of all differences and the prevention of disturbances along the line of the St. Mary's River. General Lachlan McIntosh, John Houstoun, and Edward Telfair were designated as proper parties to "settle and adjust the northern boundaries of Georgia," and to treat with such commissioners as might be selected by the State of South Carolina for that purpose. It was proposed to organize a "Court of Claims to determine the rights of contested property." Temples of justice and of religion were now open in the land. Provision was made for public education. The entire machinery of State government was in motion. Peace and independence had been formally conceded to the United States.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Early Legislation Affecting Savannah—The Town Divided into Wards—Incorporated into a City—Condition of the Place in 1782—Longevity of the Inhabitants—Formation of the Chatham Artillery—Ceremonies Observed upon the Sepulture of General Nathanael Greene—Death and Burial of General Samuel Elbert—Demise of the Hon. Jonathan Bryan—Cultivation of Cotton and Rice—Health of Savannah.

WHILE a ward of the trustees, Georgia was obedient to such rules and regulations as they saw fit to prescribe. Savannah being the chief town and the capital of the Province, was governed by them through the intervention of an agent or president, aided by designated assistants. Bailiffs were named to preserve order, while magistrate's courts sufficed, in the main, to decide all matters in controversy between the inhabitants.

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province, passed under the immediate control of the crown, Savannah continued to be the capital of the plantation. The governor and a majority of the members of council there resided, and the affairs of the town were administered by the provincial general assembly under the supervision of the governor and council. The legislation of this period had respect chiefly to the establishment and conduct of the market and of the watch,—to the conservation of the common appurtenant to the town,—to the construction and repair of public buildings and defenses,—to the organization of a workhouse,—to the control of slaves and porters,—to the care of churches and cemeteries,—to the maintenance of courts of justice,—to prescribing regulations for the control of sailors, pilots, powder receivers, lighthouse keepers, and retailers of spirituous liquors,—and to the cleanliness of the streets and squares. Subject to the sanction of the governor and council, the government of this little *quasi* municipality was assumed by the general assembly.

Disputes having arisen touching the plan of the town and the “common thereto belonging,” as ascertained by the act of the 9th of June 1761, the general assembly, by an act assented to on the 10th of May 1770, determined “the true plan of the town and common of Savannah, including the several wharf lots under the bank or bluff.”

On the 19th of February, 1787,¹ the town of Savannah and the hamlets thereof were, “by the freemen of the State of Georgia in general assembly met,” divided into seven wards: “the town as usual to consist of six: viz.: Percival, Derby, Anson, Reynolds, Heathcote, and Decker wards, and the hamlets of Ewensburgh and Yamacraw shall constitute the seventh, and be known by the name of Oglethorpe’s ward.” On the first Monday in March annually, the proprietors of lots or houses within the said wards, being of full age, were directed to meet at the court-house in Savannah and, under the direction of two or more magistrates, proceed to elect a warden for each ward, “who shall also be a proprietor of a house or lot within the limits of the town or hamlets.” On the ensuing Monday the wardens, so chosen, were directed to meet and, from their number, elect by ballot one to act as president of the board.² They were also empowered to elect a clerk and such other offi-

¹ Watkins’s Digest, p. 354.

² Under the provisions of this act William Stephens was elected president in 1787, and Samuel Stirk in 1788 and 1789.

cers as they might deem necessary, make by-laws and regulations, and impose such "pains, penalties, and forfeitures" as should be "conducive to the good order and government of the town and hamlets." Powers of assessment and taxation, of lease, rent, and sale, of recovery by warrant of distress, of regulating public docks, and of performing other functions incident to the efficient administration of the municipal government confided to them were also delegated. For the information of the inhabitants the president and wardens, through their clerk, were required to publish in the *Georgia Gazette* monthly statements of all moneys received and expended. The wardens elected under the provisions of this act were "vested with the powers and authority of justices of the peace within the town and hamlets thereof."

By an act of the general assembly, assented to on the 23d of December, 1789,¹ it was provided: "That the said town of Savannah shall be hereafter known and called by the style and name of the CITY OF SAVANNAH; and that on the first Monday in March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and thereafter annually the owners or occupiers of any lot or house in the said city or hamlets shall, under the direction of any two or more justices in the said city, elect an alderman for each ward from among the said citizens generally, who shall, on the Monday following after the election of such aldermen, choose from their own body a mayor;² and that from and after the election of such aldermen and mayor, their style shall be the MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH, AND THE HAMLETS THEREOF: and they are hereby empowered to carry into execution the powers intended, and shall be a body politic and corporate, to have and to use a common seal, with power to sue and be sued, plead or be impleaded, and may acquire, have, hold, and enjoy real or personal property for the use and benefit of the said city and hamlets."

¹ Watkins's Digest, p. 416.

² Under the provisions of this act the following mayors were elected during the eighteenth century, viz.: John Houstoun in 1790, Thomas Gibbons in 1791, Joseph Habersham in 1792, William Stephens in 1793, Thomas Gibbons in 1794, William Stephens in 1795, John Y. Noel in 1796, John Glenn in 1797, Matthew McAllister in 1798, Matthew McAllister in 1799, and Thomas Gibbons in 1800. For this list of mayors I am indebted to the courtesy of the Hon. Rufus E. Lester, mayor, and Mr. Frank E. Rebarer, clerk of council.

By the XIIth section of this act provision was made for the appointment of a health officer for the port of Savannah, whose duty it should be, in order to prevent the spread of "disorders or contagious distempers," to "go on board every vessel arriving from a foreign port, and before her arrival at Five Fathom Hole, and there examine as to the health of the crew and passengers on board, and certify the same to the captain or commander of such vessel; for which certificate such physician shall be entitled to receive, and the captain of such vessel shall pay three dollars, after which being granted, the said crew and passengers shall be permitted to pass Fort Wayne, and not otherwise."¹

On the 18th of February 1796, the mayor and aldermen of the city of Savannah and the hamlets thereof were empowered to hold monthly courts for the determination of civil causes, not involving the right or title to land, "arising within the jurisdiction of the corporation," where "the demand in such suit or action did not exceed fifty dollars," and to "give judgment and award execution therein according to law."²

On the 29th of December, 1794, the general assembly of Georgia,³ in consideration of the fact that the citizens of Savannah had provided two fire engines for the use of the city, declared it lawful for "any number of persons, not exceeding thirty, who shall be citizens of this State, and inhabitants of the city of Savannah, to form and associate themselves together as a fire company, under the style and denomination of the FIRE COMPANY OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH." They were authorized to elect from their number "in like manner as provided in the militia law, officers to command them, not exceeding four, who shall be commissioned by his excellency the governor."

Except in times of actual invasion, insurrection, or alarm, the officers and men of this fire company were to be exempt from the performance of militia duty.

On the 6th of February, 1796, upon proper petition exhibited, William Stephens, grand master, James Jackson, past grand master, William Stith, deputy grand master, James Box Young, senior grand warden, Edward Lloyd and Belthazer Shaffer, past grand wardens, Ulrich Tobler,

¹ This act was amended by the acts of January 7, 1795, and of February 13, 1797. See Watkins's Digest, pp. 556, 663.

² Watkins's Digest, p. 589.

³ Watkins's Digest, p. 553.

junior grand warden, George Jones, past grand treasurer, James Robertson, grand treasurer, David B. Mitchell, past grand secretary, and John Blackstock, grand secretary of the grand lodge of free masons in Georgia, and others who might become members of the grand lodge, and their successors were, by act¹ of the general assembly, created a body corporate in the city of Savannah under the style of "The Grand Lodge of Georgia."

By two acts² of the General Assembly, approved on the 13th of February, 1797, the tax on all lots in the city of Savannah, the improvements upon which had been destroyed by the disastrous fire of the previous year, was remitted for the years 1796 and 1797; and one-third of the revenue or income which the State should derive during the year 1797 from the tax imposed on negroes brought into Georgia for sale, was appropriated for the benefit and relief of the unfortunate sufferers by that severe calamity.

Such are the provisions of some of the leading acts, passed by the General Assemblies of Georgia, affecting Savannah during the eighteenth century.

That town continued to be the capital of the province and of the nascent State until its capture by Colonel Campbell in December, 1778. The seat of government was thereupon transferred to Augusta. For a little while after its evacuation by the British forces in 1782, the Legislature assembled at and held its sessions in Savannah. At that time the population of the town consisted of less than eight hundred whites, most of them in impoverished circumstances. Their private dwellings did not exceed two hundred and twenty-seven, and not a few of them had been sadly marred by the fortunes of war. Negro slaves were unruly. The public buildings were in a neglected and filthy condition. Commerce was at a standstill, and poverty was the common heritage. In 1787 there had occurred no material increase in the population of Savannah, but soon afterwards the inhabitants began to multiply. In 1794 the

¹ Walkins's Digest, pp. 571, 572.

² Watkins's Digest, pp. 661, 677.

³ In the *Georgia Gazette* of Thursday, June 14, 1787, we find the following communication addressed to the printer: "Mr. Johnston: The general although ill-founded prejudice against the healthiness of the lower part of the State of Georgia induced a citizen of Savannah to take the following account of the inhabitants now living in the town,

residents within the corporate limits were reckoned at twenty five hundred; and, six years afterwards, the town claimed a population of over six thousand. The clouds which had so long overshadowed the land had all disappeared. Negro labor, sadly unsettled by the protracted and violent contest between loyalist and republican, was again subjected to remunerative employment. Agricultural operations had been successfully resumed. Cotton and rice fields were yielding generous harvests. Traders were busy in their shops, and merchants in their counting-houses. White-winged messengers of thrift and peace were again hovering near the wharves of Savannah. Schools and churches welcomed young and old to the benches of learning and religion, and manifest signs of comfort, contentment, and prosperity were abroad in the little city of Oglethorpe.

Moved by patriotic considerations, and influenced by impulses of the noblest character, some of the leading citizens of Savannah on the first of May, 1786, united in the formation of an Artillery Company¹ which has ever since been held in the highest esteem in the community. Scarcely was the association formed when its members were summoned to assist in the reduction of a fortified camp of negro marauders located on Bear Creek in Effingham county.

On the 20th of June, 1786, General Nathanael Greene was interred, with all the pomp and circumstances at command, in the old cemetery on South Broad street in Savannah. After a short and violent illness he had died at his plantation on the Savannah River, a few miles above Savannah, and his body was transported by water to that city for sepulture. As the boat conveying his remains neared the wharf, and until his coffin was deposited in the tomb, minute-guns were discharged from Fort Wayne. The ships in port displayed their colors at half-mast. All the shops were closed, and the inhabitants, suspending their customary

and within ten miles thereof, being the first settlement of Georgia fifty-four years ago, wherein there is perhaps as great a proportion of aged persons as in any other country. There are now living 10 persons between 80 and 90, 33 between 70 and 80, 69 between 60 and 70, 80 between 50 and 60; and, from the best information that can be had, the whole number of residents in the above district amounts to 2,290. It is well known that within the last two years several persons have died in Georgia from 90 to 100 years of age."

¹ The Chatham Artillery.

avocations, united in testifying universal sorrow at the death of one who, among the generals of the Revolution, occupied in the public esteem a place second only to that conceded to Washington. The procession, when formed, consisted of

The Chatham Artillery :

The Light Infantry :

The Militia of Chatham County :

Clergymen and Physicians :

A Band of Music :

The corpse and pall-bearers, escorted on each side by a company of dragoons:

The chief mourners :

The members of the Order of Cincinnatus :

The Speaker of the House of Assembly and other civil officers of the State ; and lastly, of citizens and strangers.

Meeting the corpse with its immediate attendants at the landing, the funeral cortege, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, took up the line of march for the cemetery,—the band playing the Dead March in Saul, and the artillery firing minute-guns as it advanced. When the graveyard was reached the military formed on the right and left, and rested on reversed arms. In the absence of an Episcopal clergyman, the funeral service of the Church of England was read by the Hon. William Stephens, and the corpse deposited in a vault. The ceremony was terminated by a salute of thirteen guns from the artillery, and three volleys from the infantry. In the language of an eye-witness of this impressive rite, "the whole was conducted with a solemnity suitable to the occasion."

Contemporaneous accounts do not specify the precise vault in which the coffin of General Greene was lodged.

It will be remembered that in consideration of his distinguished services during the war of the Revolution, and as an acknowledgment of the gratitude entertained by the people of Georgia for his conduct while in command of the Southern Department, and especially for his good offices in detaching General Wayne to expel the King's forces from the limits of the State, the General Assembly adopted the following preamble and resolutions :

“WHEREAS, the Honorable Major General Greene hath, since his taking the command of the Southern Army, rendered high and important services to the Southern States, by wresting them from the hand of British oppression, and establishing the foundation of their independence and prosperity :

“ And, whereas, services so glorious and honorable to the United States in general, and this State in particular,—services which at once characterize the able and judicious General as well as the intrepid asserter of American freedom,—call for the distinguished approbation of the Legislature of this state ;

“ Be it therefore resolved: That the sum of five thousand guineas be granted to three commissioners, to be appointed by the House, for the purpose of purchasing an estate for Major-General Nathanael Greene in such part or parts of the State as he shall appoint ;

“ *Resolved*, That the said commissioners be empowered and authorized to draw on, and receive the said sum of five thousand guineas from the public treasury of the State.”

. These resolutions were carried into effect by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, who in due course reported that they had upon the sale of confiscated estates, purchased for General Greene, at a cost of £7,097 19s., Mulberry Grove plantation, containing two thousand one hundred and seventy-one acres, late the property of John Grahame, royal lieutenant-governor of the Province of Georgia.

So soon as his public duties permitted, and his family could be conveniently removed from Rhode Island, General Greene here fixed his home, and gave to the cultivation of these lands his earnest and intelligent attention. In happy mood did he, at this time, write to his friends of the interest he took in his agricultural operations, of the attractions of his new abode, of its gardens, its flowers and forests, of the mocking birds from morning until evening filling the air with sweetest melody, of the balmy atmosphere, and of the hospitable attentions of his neighbors.

Lieutenant-Governor Grahame had builded a family vault in the Savannah cemetery, and by many this possession was regarded as appurtenant to Mulberry Grove plantation.

While the proof is not conclusive, the tradition lives and is generally accepted that upon the conclusion of the funeral services of the 20th of

April, 1786, the coffin of General Greene was deposited in the Grahame vault, which was substantially constructed of brick. That coffin, of wood, strongly made, was surmounted by a metal plate whereon were engraven the name, rank, date of birth, and time of death of that Revolutionary hero. Here all that was mortal of this friend of Washington was supposed to be resting in undisturbed repose.

Anxious to testify by an enduring monument their respect for the memory alike of General Greene and of Count Pulaski, the citizens of Savannah, early in the present century, endeavored to raise a fund sufficient for that purpose. In 1820 a committee was empowered by the mayor and aldermen of the town to search for and locate the remains of General Greene, with a view to placing them beneath that monument when the necessary arrangements for its erection should have been completed. That committee failed to find any trace of the coffin of that famous General. All inquiries instituted by its members in explanation of the cause of its disappearance remained unsatisfied.

Deeming the visit of General Lafayette most opportune for consummating a purpose long delayed, the citizens of Savannah invoked his services in laying the corner-stones of two monuments, one in memory of General Greene and the other in honor of Count Pulaski. On the 21st of March, 1825, with appropriate ceremonies and patriotic addresses, the Marquis laid, in Johnson square, the corner-stone of a monument to be erected in perpetuation of the memory of General Greene, and another in Chippewa square to designate the spot upon which a shaft should lift its enduring head in honor of Count Pulaski. The former bore this inscription: "This corner-stone of a monument to the memory of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene was laid by General Lafayette, at the request of the citizens of Savannah, on the 21st of March, A. D. 1825." The latter was inscribed as follows: "On the 21st day of March, A. D. 1825, was laid by General Lafayette, at the request of the citizens of Savannah, this Foundation Stone of a monument to the memory of Brigadier Count Pulaski."

The effort to collect funds for the erection of mortuary shafts is often accompanied by perplexing delays and disappointments. To facilitate the matter in the present instance, the General Assembly of Georgia, on the 30th of November, 1826, passed an act empowering certain commis-

sioners to raise by lottery the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars "for the purpose of aiding the erection of monuments to the memory of General Greene and of Count Pulaski in the city of Savannah,—the place already consecrated by the blood of the one and the ashes of the other."

About twelve years after the laying of the corner-stones by General Lafayette, sufficient moneys having been realized to defray the cost of its construction, the monument now standing in Johnson square was builded in honor both of General Greene and of Count Pulaski, and continued to be known as the Greene and Pulaski monument until, in 1853, the corner-stone was laid in Monterey square of a monument in honor of Count Pulaski. From that time to the present day the simple structure in Johnson square has remained consecrate to the memory of General Greene alone.

The corner-stone laid by General Lafayette in 1825, in Chippewa square, of the monument intended to commemorate on that spot the virtues and the devotion of the gallant Pole, was removed and united to the Greene corner-stone in Johnson square when the present shaft was there constructed in joint memory of Greene and Pulaski. In 1853, however, this Pulaski corner-stone was detached from the Greene and Pulaski monument in Johnson square, and was placed, with imposing ceremonies, in association with another corner-stone beneath the beautiful mortuary structure which now, in Monterey square, by its presence embodies the gratitude of succeeding generations and enkindles a generous emulation of that disinterested devotion to, and love of, freedom and right which glowed in the breast and marked the career of Pulaski.

It has been suggested that the search for the remains of General Greene, instituted by the committee appointed for that purpose, was not thorough. Judge Johnson, when writing in 1820, intimated that a more careful inquiry might have accomplished more satisfactory results, and hinted that the coffin might have been removed from the Grahame vault to that of the Jones family.

There is another explanation of the disappearance of the remains of General Greene. It rests upon tradition and is not devoid of probability. The Grahames, who adhered to the cause of their king, and who departed from Georgia when the British troops were withdrawn, were necessarily incensed at the loss of their estates, and the confiscation of their

property by the successful Revolutionists. Their personal misfortunes intensified the hatred which, as loyal subjects, they entertained towards those who had been instrumental in compassing the overthrow of kingly rule in Georgia. The thought that a rebel major-general should lie entombed in their vault was revolting and harrowing to their feelings. It is believed that some member of that family caused a secret removal of the remains of General Greene from that vault, and their reinterment in an unmarked grave. After the lapse of so many years it is entirely probable that their present resting place will never be discovered.

Two years afterwards¹ Savannah mourned the demise of one her most illustrious citizens. After a lingering illness, and at the early age of forty-eight years, the Hon. Samuel Elbert, "with a fixed hope of future happiness," fell on sleep. At the time of his death he was major-general of the militia of Georgia, vice-president of the Society of Cincinnati, and sheriff of the county of Chatham. He was one of the two brigadier-generals whom Georgia gave to the continental army; and in 1785, by an almost unanimous vote, had been elected governor of this commonwealth. As a soldier his record was brilliant. In the discharge of the duties appertaining to the gubernatorial office he manifested the ability, energy, diligence, dignity, good judgment, decision of character, and exalted manhood which distinguished him in other positions. Every funeral honor which Savannah could accord was extended to him. Minute-guns were fired from Fort Wayne. The colors of that fort and of the ships in the harbor were displayed at half-mast; the Rev. Mr. Lindsay delivered an appropriate discourse; and an imposing procession—formed of the artillery, of the militia companies, and of the citizens—accompanied the remains which were deposited at the family burial place on the mount at Rae's Hall.²

The Indian grave-mound near the confluence of Pipe Maker's Creek and the Savannah River, which a later generation appropriated as a convenient place for modern sepulture, still stands marking the spot where, a century ago, the dust of a general in the army of the Revolution, of an honored citizen, and of a governor of this commonwealth mingled with the ashes of the ancestors of the venerable Tomo-chi-chi. Although

¹ November 1, 1788.

² See the *Georgia Gazette*, No. 302, November 6, 1788.

sioners to raise by lottery the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars "for the purpose of aiding the erection of monuments to the memory of General Greene and of Count Pulaski in the city of Savannah,—the place already consecrated by the blood of the one and the ashes of the other."

About twelve years after the laying of the corner-stones by General Lafayette, sufficient moneys having been realized to defray the cost of its construction, the monument now standing in Johnson square was builded in honor both of General Greene and of Count Pulaski, and continued to be known as the Greene and Pulaski monument until, in 1853, the corner-stone was laid in Monterey square of a monument in honor of Count Pulaski. From that time to the present day the simple structure in Johnson square has remained consecrate to the memory of General Greene alone.

The corner-stone laid by General Lafayette in 1825, in Chippewa square, of the monument intended to commemorate on that spot the virtues and the devotion of the gallant Pole, was removed and united to the Greene corner-stone in Johnson square when the present shaft was there constructed in joint memory of Greene and Pulaski. In 1853, however, this Pulaski corner-stone was detached from the Greene and Pulaski monument in Johnson square, and was placed, with imposing ceremonies, in association with another corner-stone beneath the beautiful mortuary structure which now, in Monterey square, by its presence embodies the gratitude of succeeding generations and enkindles a generous emulation of that disinterested devotion to, and love of, freedom and right which glowed in the breast and marked the career of Pulaski.

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Rae's Hall has passed into the ownership of strangers—although his memorial stone has fallen,—although soulless brambles and envious forest trees have obliterated all traces of the inhumation—the name of Samuel Elbert is enshrined in the annals of Georgia, and his memory will be cherished by all who are not unmindful of the lessons inculcated by a life of virtue, of valor, of probity, of benevolence, of patriotism, and of fidelity to trust reposed.

Only a few months before a venerable patriot had been gathered to his fathers. Of his demise we find this notice in the *Georgia Gazette* of Thursday March 13, 1788. "On Sunday last died at his plantation near Savannah, in the 80th year of his age, the Hon. Jonathan Bryan, Esq., who had been for near 50 years an inhabitant of this State, during which time, both under the former and present governments, he filled several very important stations. The many virtues which this gentleman possessed, both of a social and private nature, will not readily be forgotten. Having at an early day removed into this State, he acquired an accurate and thorough knowledge of the country. This enabled him, and his benevolent heart always inclined him to render that aid to new settlers that he may justly be styled *one of the principal Founders and Fathers of Georgia*. Zealous in the cause of Christianity, he considered modes of worship but as secondary, whilst a great first principle with him in all true religion was universal charity. Being in the late war taken prisoner, he was made to undergo a series of persecution and hardship scarcely to be paralleled, and never to be justified; but the strength of his constitution and the unshaken firmness of his mind, even at the advanced period of 70 years, rose superior to all difficulties and at length brought him to die in the arms of peace."

In 1788 small shipments of cotton began to be made from the port of Savannah. Indigo and rice enlisted the principal attention of the planters, and the cotton plant was then cultivated only in limited quantities. Its yield was chiefly utilized at home in the manufacture of coarse thread, hose, and cloth. The spinning wheel and the hand-loom were to be found in the dwellings of the poorer classes. Although the cultivation of the cotton plant was increasing, the cotton-gin had not then imparted an impulse to this industry; and, in its absence, the process of separating the seeds from the lint was tedious to the last degree. Rice was the



1858

Stemberger

staple commodity of the inhabitants of Southern Georgia, and vast labor was expended by them in converting the swamps of this marish region into remunerative fields.

As early as the 28th of November, 1789, a number of intelligent planters met in the the Coffee House in Savannah and formed a society for the "promotion and improvement of agriculture and other rural concerns." This association was long maintained, and proved of decided interest and benefit to the community. Residing upon their rice plantations in winter, the planters resorted to Savannah during the summer and autumnal months to escape the malarial influences of the cultivated fields. Despite its location in a miasmatic delta, the health of Savannah, when exempt from epidemics of yellow fever, was regarded as good. In promoting this, the sandy soil of the plain upon which the town is builded, and the presence of sea breezes, had much to do. Near the close of the eighteenth century the Pride of China was planted in the streets and squares; and for many years, by its grateful shade, contributed to the comfort of the inhabitants. Under the operation of the dry-culture system,—supplemented by proper drainage,—the health of Savannah has materially improved.

CHAPTER XXIV.

General Washington's Visit to Savannah, and the Ceremonies Observed on that Occasion—Georgia Society of the Order of the Cincinnati—Severe Fire of 1796—Fourth of July Celebrations—Death of Major John Habersham—Concluding Observations.

IN May, 1791, Savannah was complimented by a visit from General George Washington, president of the United States. On Thursday morning, the 12th, he reached Purrysburgh on the Savannah River. To that point, which marked the western limit of South Carolina, he had been escorted by General William Moultrie, and a delegation from Charles-Town. There he was met by a committee from the citizens of Savannah. Boats were at hand for the conveyance of the illustrious guest and suite, and the members of the committee to that city. Between ten

and eleven o'clock they all embarked from Purrysburgh. The boat conveying the president was rowed by nine American captains—Putnam, Courter, Rice, Fisher, Huntingdon, Kershaw, Swain, McIntire, and Morrison—all dressed in light blue silk jackets, black satin breeches, and white silk stockings. They wore round hats, encircled with black ribbons upon which were traced, in letters of gold, the words LONG LIVE THE PRESIDENT. When within ten miles of the city, the procession was met by a number of gentlemen in boats, accompanied by a band of music. As the president passed on, and these boats fell into line, the band played *He comes, the Hero comes*, many voices uniting in the musical welcome. "On his approach to the city, the concourse on the bluff, and the crowds which had pressed into the vessels, evinced the general joy which had been inspired by the visit of this most beloved of men, and the ardent desire of all ranks and conditions of people to be gratified by his presence. Upon arriving at the upper part of the harbor he was saluted from the wharves, and by the shipping, and particularly by the ship *Thomas Wilson*, Captain White, which was beautifully decorated with the colors of various nations. At the foot of the stairs where the president landed, he was received by Colonel Gunn and General Jackson, who introduced him to the mayor¹ and aldermen of the city. The artillery company² saluted him with twenty-six discharges from their field pieces, and he was then conducted to a house prepared by the corporation for his accommodation, in St. James' Square, in the following order of procession :

- " Light Infantry Company.
- " Field Officers and other Officers of the Militia.
- " Marshal of the City.
- " Treasurer, Clerk, and Recorder.
- " Aldermen, the Mayor.
- " President and Suite.
- " Committee of Citizens.
- " Members of the Cincinnati.
- " Citizens, two and two.
- " Artillery Company."

The president and suite dined with the corporation at six o'clock the same day, and were conducted to Brown's Coffee House by the mayor of

¹ Mr. Gibbons.

² The Chatham Artillery.

the city and the president of the Cincinnati.¹ Many distinguished gentlemen, by invitation, partook of the entertainment prepared. Sundry patriotic toasts were drank, each succeeded by discharges from the field-pieces of the artillery. In the evening the city was beautifully illuminated.

The next day the president dined with the Georgia Society of the Order of Cincinnati at Brown's Coffee House. All toasts were responded to by salvos from the artillery.

In the evening a ball was given in honor of the president at the long room in the filature. At half past eight he honored the company by his presence; and, by one of the managers, was introduced to ninety-six elegantly dressed ladies, "some of whom displayed infinite taste in the emblems and devices on their sashes and headdresses out of respect to the happy occasion."

"The room, which had been lately handsomely fitted up and was well lighted," so says a writer in the *Georgia Gazette*, "afforded the president an excellent opportunity of viewing the Fair Sex of our City and vicinity, and the Ladies the gratification of paying their respects to our Federal Chief. After a few Minuets were moved, and one Country Dance led down, the President and his Suit retired about 11 o'clock. At 12 o'clock the supper-room was opened, and the ladies partook of a repast, after which dances continued until 3 o'clock. The company retired with the happy satisfaction of having generally contributed towards the hilarity and gaiety of the evening."

Attended by General McIntosh and several gentlemen, General Washington, on Saturday morning, inspected the lines constructed in 1779 by the British for the defense of Savannah, and the approaches and batteries made by the allied army. Having himself participated in the siege and in the assault of the 9th of October, General McIntosh was able to convey to the president full information touching the whole affair. The earth-mounds covering the slain, the lines of circumvallation, the approaches, the sand-batteries and gun-chambers had not then yielded to the obliterating influences of time and an encroaching population. The scars of the siege were still upon the bosom of the plain, and some of the houses within the limits of the city bore the marks of the deadly mis-

¹ General Anthony Wayne.

siles which were then hurled. About him stood those who had passed through that baptism of fire. The president exhibited a deep interest in all he then saw and heard.

“In the afternoon the President honored the Citizens with his company at a dinner prepared for him under a beautiful arbor supported by three rows of pillars entirely covered with laurel and bay leaves so as to exhibit uniform green columns. The pillars were higher than the arbor, and ornamented above it by festoons, and connected below by arches covered in the same manner. The place on which it stood was judiciously chosen, presenting at once a view of the city and of the shipping in the harbor, with an extensive prospect of the river and rice lands both above and below the town. But the principal advantage which resulted from its situation and structure was the opportunity which it afforded to a great body of people to have a distinct and uninterrupted view of that object to which all eyes and hearts appeared to be attracted.

“A company of nearly 200 citizens and strangers dined under it, and the satisfaction which each one enjoyed in paying this personal tribute to the merit of a man who is, if possible, more beloved for his goodness than admired for his greatness, produced a degree of convivial and harmonious mirth rarely experienced. Every one beheld with delight, in the person of our President, the able General, the virtuous Patriot, the profound Politician—in a word, one of the most shining ornaments that ever dignified human nature.

“The Artillery Company dined under another arbor, erected at a small distance, and received merited applause for the great dexterity which they displayed in firing at each toast. Their fires were returned by Fort Wayne, and the ship *Thomas Wilson* which was moored opposite the arbor. Her decorations through the day, and illuminations at night, had a fine effect.

“The following toasts were given:

“The United States of America.

“Prosperity to the Citizens of Savannah and its vicinity. [By the President.]

“The Fair of America.

“The Vice-president of the United States.

“The Memorable Era of Independence.

“The Count d’Estaing.

“The Memory of General Greene.

“The Arts and Sciences.

“The Memory of those Brave Men who fell before the Lines of Savannah on the 9th of October, 1779.

“The Friends to Free and Equal Government throughout the Globe.

“All foreign Powers in Friendship with the United States.

“May Religion and Philosophy always triumph over Superstition and Prejudice in America.

“The present dexterous Corps of Artillery. [The President’s toast.]

“[After the President retired.] The President of the United States.

“The construction of the arbor and the manner in which the entertainment was provided and conducted did great honor to the gentlemen to whose direction the whole was committed.

“In the evening there was a handsome exhibition of fireworks, and the amusements of this day of joy and festivity were concluded by a concert.

“On Sunday morning the President attended Divine Service in Christ Church, and soon after set out on his way to Augusta. On taking his leave of the mayor and committee of the citizens he politely expressed his sense of the attention shown him by the Corporation and every denomination of people during his stay in Savannah. He was attended out of the city by a number of gentlemen, and escorted by a detachment of Augusta dragoons commanded by Major Ambrose Gordon. At the Spring Hill the President was received by General Jackson, where the Artillery and Light Infantry Companies were drawn up, and was there saluted by 39 discharges from the field pieces, and 13 vollies of platoons. After which he proceeded to Mulberry Grove, the seat of the late Maj. Gen. Greene, where he dined, and then resumed his tour.”

Shortly after his return to the seat of government President Washington, in acknowledgment of the special honors paid by, and in token of his appreciation of the drill and proficiency of the company, complimented the Chatham Artillery with two bronze field-pieces which had been captured at Yorktown. These guns still remain in the possession of that corps, and are held by its members in the highest esteem and veneration.

The committee which met General Washington at Purrysburgh em-

braced within its membership General Lachlan McIntosh, and the Hons. Noble Wymberley Jones, Joseph Habersham, John Houstoun, and Joseph Clay. By them was the president saluted with an address of welcome. During his sojourn in Savannah addresses were presented on behalf of the city and its authorities by Thomas Gibbons, mayor, on behalf of the Masonic fraternity by George Houstoun, grand master of the State, and on behalf of the Georgia Society of the Order of the Cincinnati by its president, General Anthony Wayne.¹ To all the president responded most appositely.

At the time of this visit the southern boundary of Savannah was South Broad street. Lincoln street bounded it on the east, and Jefferson street on the west. Outside these limits the houses were comparatively few.

On the 26th of November, 1796, the city was visited by a destructive conflagration which seriously impaired its integrity and entailed great loss. Originating in a baker's shop, it spread in every direction, rendering homeless many families and reducing not a few of the inhabitants to absolute penury. So severe was the catastrophe that the General Assembly intervened for the relief of the sufferers, and this timely aid was supplemented by private benefactions of a liberal character.

For many years after the independence of the United States had been acknowledged, the leading citizens of Savannah were accustomed to assemble annually on the 4th of July, listen to a patriotic address, dine together, and drink toasts. Of the nature of the sentiments proposed and drank on such occasions, let the following, which appears in the *Georgia Gazette* of July 5, 1787, be accepted as illustrative.

1. "The Day and its everlasting remembrance.
2. "Liberty without licentiousness, and Republicanism without alloy.
3. "Energy to Government and a Federal Head.
4. "May the Eagle of America never be the sport of her own arrows.
5. "The illustrious President of the National Convention.
6. "The Governor and State of Georgia.
- 7 "Louis the XVIth.

¹ The officers of the Georgia Society of the Order of the Cincinnati were, at that time, Major-General Anthony Wayne, president; Major William Pierce, vice-president; Major John Habersham, secretary; Colonel Richard Wylly, treasurer; John Peter Ward, esq., assistant secretary, and Edward Lloyd, esq., assistant treasurer. It was the custom of that society to hold its annual meeting in the city of Savannah on the 4th of July in each year. The members dined together and patriotic toasts were offered.

8. "May the State of Georgia ever respect the Union as the only method to preserve herself.
9. "May our sister State, Rhode Island, be convinced of her error without the necessity of coercion.
10. "The Memory of the departed Heroes of the Revolution.
11. "A truce with Land Speculation and Indian Wars.
12. "Universal Freedom.
13. "The American Mothers."

This custom was perpetuated to a period within the memory of the living; and not a few there are who still recollect with pleasure the Fourth of July orations, the military contests, and the patriotic dinners which rendered memorable the annual observance of the anniversary of the day upon which the Declaration of the Independence of the United Colonies was proclaimed.

While General Washington was lying a corpse at Mount Vernon, and the nation was mourning the departure of him who, in the language of the gallant Light Horse Harry Lee, was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," Savannah was called upon to encounter a special sorrow in the death of the Hon. Major John Habersham. He was the third son of the Hon. James Habersham—at one time governor of Georgia—a gentleman whose pure character, noble impulses, useful acts, commercial and agricultural enterprise, charitable aims, political services, and virtuous life were ever conspicuous and will always challenge admiration. His elder brother, the Hon. Joseph Habersham, was a brave officer during the War of the Revolution, and was postmaster-general during President Washington's administration. Inheriting the virtues of his father, Major John Habersham was, in all respects, an estimable man, fearless, honest, patriotic, public-spirited, and, in his domestic relations, tender and true. In the execution of the responsible trusts committed to him he was upright and efficient. As an officer of the Continental Army he was prompt, courageous, and self-sacrificing. To the cause of the Revolutionists, even in its infancy, was his fullest allegiance accorded, and he never swerved from its support until the independence of the United Colonies was fully established. The old cemetery on South Broad street, wherein sleep so many who were famous and loved in the early days of the colony and commonwealth, guards the dust of

this distinguished Georgian; and a beautiful county in the upper portion of the State perpetuates a family name which, for a century and a half, has been here saluted with gratitude and honor.

With the close of the eighteenth century our connection with the preparation of this memorial volume ends. During the sixty-seven years which have intervened since that memorable evening when Oglethorpe, having posted his sentinels, sought the friendly shelter of the pines upon Yamacraw Bluff, scarcely an incident of moment appertaining to Georgia as a colony, in revolution, or as a State, can be mentioned with which the history of Savannah is not either directly or remotely associated. Here was the source from which the streams of population flowed in all directions. Here was located the depot of supplies. Hither did all look for support, for protection, for the enforcement of law, and for the dissemination of all things needful. In this little metropolitan town and provincial capital dwelt the trustees' agents, the royal governors, and the early presidents of the youthful commonwealth. Here were regularly convened the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, the Colonial Legislatures, the Revolutionary Conventions, and the deliberative bodies which gave to Georgia her primal constitutions and laws under a republican form of government. Here were the first treaties of amity and commerce solemnized with the Indians, and here were important agreements consummated for the extinguishment of the title of the Aborigines to the granted lands. Here were measures inaugurated contemplating and compassing a separation of Georgia from the mother country and the erection of the province into the dignity of an independent State. Here occurred the first passage at arms with the king's forces, and before the fortifications which environed the town was bloodiest battle delivered.

Famous in arms, in politics, in religion, in commerce, and in the liberal professions are many who here dwelt, and devoted their best energies to the development and salvation of Georgia. First on the roll of honor we salute the founder of the colony—renowned alike in the field, in the council chamber, and in legislative halls,—the embodiment of loyalty and valor,—the model of manly grace and courtesy,—giving tone and character to his people and age. And near him stand the aged Col-

onel William Stephens,—faithful to king and trust,—the eloquent Whitefield—the Brothers Wesley—the elder Habersham—the venerable Tomochi-chi,—the saintly Bolzius,—the self-sacrificing Zouberbuhler, and the gifted but unstable Zubly. Then pass in succession the royal governors,—the dictatorial Reynolds,—the gentle and learned Ellis, and the capable Wright—loyal to Crown and province, attended by the members of their respective councils, generally the best representatives of the citizenship of Savannah. The scene shifts, and amid the storms of the Revolutionary period we behold the manly forms, hear the courageous voices, and admire the heroism of Noble Wimberley Jones, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, Edward Telfair, the Brothers Habersham, Samuel Elbert, Lachlan McIntosh, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton, William Ewen, John Werreat, Jonathan Bryan, William Gibbons, Joseph Clay, Richard Howley, Nathan Brownson, John Adam Treutlen, John Glen, John Milledge, James Jackson, James Screven, John Martin and their companions,—patriots all,—who have bequeathed memories of devotion, of valor, and of self-sacrifice of which any people might be proud. In that struggle there were friends, such as Howe, Pinckney, Lincoln, D'Estaing, Dillon, Noailles, Jasper, Pulaski, Wayne, White, Huger, and others scarcely less distinguished, who contributed freely of their blood and services to the heroic memories of place and period.

The war ended, there ensued in the city of Oglethorpe an era of expanding prosperity, of increasing civilization, of refinement, of hospitality, of augmenting wealth, of religious and educational progress, of individual manhood and municipal integrity which, as the curtain descended upon the eighteenth century, gave ample promise of peace, stability, honor, confidence, reputation, and good fortune in the years to come.

CHAPTER XXV.

MUNICIPAL HISTORY.

Visit of Aaron Burr—Severe Storm in 1804—First City Seal—War of 1812—Plans for Defending the City—Rejoicing over Naval Victories—Reception to President Monroe—Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1820—Tour of General Lafayette—His Reception in Savannah—Building of Fort Pulaski—Death of ex-President Jackson—Mexican War—Death of Colonel McIntosh—Visit of ex-President Polk—Death of President Taylor—Reception to ex-President Fillmore—Yellow Fever Epidemic—Destructive Gale in September, 1854.

THE history of Savannah from the time its site was selected as the home of the English colonists in 1733 to the close of the preceding century with all its wealth of stirring events, its trials, triumphs, and progress has been unfolded in the preceding chapters. It possesses peculiar interest to the student of history as the colonial starting point of a State that has given dignity and fame to American civilization, and new elements of truth and power to augment the wealth of the world's history. Through many changes has been recorded the march of the community from the first rude and crude settlement to the hamlet, the village, the town, the city. In the simple and homely phases of life which have been depicted there is a pathos and a glamour of tenderness, but under all circumstances illumined by the loftiest patriotism and the most exalted manhood which makes the earliest past of Savannah a proud heritage worthy to be studied for inspiration even by a generation to whom electricity is the supreme agency.

The first eleven years of Savannah's history as an incorporated city has been traced in preceding pages. It was a period of quiet city life, made memorable by the visit of the first president of the United States and the destructive fire of November, 1796. At the beginning of the present century the city contained probably 6,500 inhabitants, as the census taken two years previous gave the city a population of 6,226, of which only 237 were negroes. The financial losses the city had experienced in 1796 by the fire had well nigh been recovered when the present

century began, and from this time forward although no great advance was made either in wealth or population, the people for several years enjoyed a period of reasonable prosperity; the city had emerged from the effects of the Revolutionary struggle and was beginning to assume commercial importance.

At a meeting of the city council held on July 13, 1801, the yearly salaries of the city officials were fixed as follows: Recorder, usual fees; treasurer, \$400 and fees; clerk of council, \$350 and usual fees; clerk of the mayor's court, usual fees; marshal, \$350 and usual fees; sheriff, clerk of market, and surveyor, usual fees; messenger, \$150 and usual fees.

Vice-President Aaron Burr visited the city on the 20th of May, 1802, coming from Augusta. He was received on his way to the city by military and civil officials and companies of volunteer soldiers. Charles Harris, Edward Harden, and Richard Dennis welcomed him on behalf of the corporation, and B. Bullock, James Houstoun, and George W. Troup on behalf of the citizens of Savannah. On the Monday following his arrival a festival was given in his honor, which, said the *Columbian Museum and Advertiser*, was never equaled on any former occasion for brilliancy of entertainment, the number and respectability of the company, and the harmony which prevailed. Two medals were presented to the corporation by the vice-president, one descriptive of the arms of the United States on one side, and on the other the bust of President Jefferson. The other medal commemorated the capture of General Burgoyne by General Gates on one side, and on the other the bust of the capturing general. The vice-president remained three or four days, and during his stay his headquarters were on South Broad street, between Whitaker and Barnard streets, the home of his niece Mrs. Montmollin. It has been said the purpose of his visit was of a private nature and related to the settlement of an unfortunate family quarrel.

From nine o'clock in the morning until ten at night on the 8th of September, 1804, Savannah was visited by a storm which raged with destructive fury, causing widespread ruin and devastation. The inhabitants dared not venture out of their dwellings, but in many cases they were forced to flee to avoid being crushed in the ruins of their own houses. Hutchinson plantation and the rice plantations around the city

were inundated, causing over one hundred negroes to be drowned. Trees in every part of the city were blown down, and also several houses. The wharves were all torn up and many of the storehouses erected at the foot of the bluff were either totally destroyed or so much damaged as to render valueless everything within them. Eighteen vessels in the harbor were thrown upon the wharves and several were totally destroyed. Several persons were injured by the falling houses or chimneys and three died of the injuries received. The exchange, the filature, jail and courthouse on the bluff, with twenty-six business houses under the bluff were injured and their stock of goods swept away. The steeple of the Presbyterian Church, on the southwest corner of Whitaker and President streets, fell in a southwesterly direction, crushing in a house and cutting off a portion of a bed on which lay a sick man, but fortunately he was not injured. Strange to say the bell in the steeple was found unbroken and afterwards hung in the steeple of the Independent Presbyterian Church, where it remained until 1824, when a larger bell was presented to the congregation.

The first seal used by the city of Savannah was presented by Alderman Samuel Stirke, and it is unfortunate that no trace or imprint of it can be found. It was probably used for several years, as we find no record of a new one being provided until January 14, 1805, when a resolution was adopted by the council instructing the clerk to "procure a screw-press for the city seal the expense of which will be defrayed by the council." Little use seems to have been made of the seal, however, as no impress of it has been found.

Little of historic note occurred in Savannah in the opening years of the present century. The city made little progress in population or wealth, and the quiet town life of the people was barren of matters of great importance, with the exception of the movement to advance the educational interest of the city, and this feature of Savannah's history is fully treated in another portion of this volume.

The period of the War of 1812 was one of turmoil and excitement in the history of Savannah. The city's proximity to the sea made it liable to assault at any hour, and although it was not attacked, the people were kept constantly on the alert. The events which culminated in hostilities between the United States and England were clearly understood

and closely watched, and when human agency seemed unavailing to avert the coming conflict a notice appeared in the *Savannah Republican* of January 28, 1812, asking the people on Thursday next to meet in the Roman Catholic Church "to beseech the Father of Mercies to avert from this nation the calamities which threaten it." From this time forward meetings were often held by the citizens to discuss the means for protecting the city. The military companies of the city were in fine condition, and composed of the best young men of Savannah, who were somewhat anxious to engage in practical warfare. Interest in the approaching struggle was intensified by the arrival in the city of Major-General Thomas Pinckney of the Southern Division of the army. He arrived on Monday June 22, 1812, accompanied by Colonel Morris, his aid-de-camp. He was greeted by the Chatham Artillery and the Rangers who repaired to his lodgings and fired a salute of welcome. On the day following his arrival, the general, in company with several other gentlemen, took a view of the city boundaries for the purpose of advising the best means for defending the city. According to his suggestions the committee of superintendence of fortifications, appointed by the city council, composed of Aldermen Proctor, Charlton, and Duke, determined upon a plan of fortification for Fort Wayne and called the citizens to send laborers to prosecute the work.

In the summer of 1812 war was declared, and on the twenty-fifth of June the news was brought to Savannah. General Pinckney immediately thereafter left the city and work was soon after begun upon plans he suggested for the fortification of Savannah, the committee of superintendence, composed of Aldermen J. B. Reed, G. V. Proctor, and T. U. P. Charlton, causing the following advertisement to appear in the city paper: "Whereas, Major General Thomas Pinckney has determined to cause to be built immediately on the Scite of Fort Wayne such works as are deemed advisable, and will adopt such other measures recommendatory of its enlargement, as in his judgment may seem proper, And whereas the Major-General has recommended to the City Council, to direct their attention to the erection of such works on the south common agreeably to a plan pointed out and explained as of great importance to the protection of the City.

"Resolved that the Committee of Council appointed for the purpose

of superintending the works intended to be erected in this city by the corporation and the citizens of Savannah, Thereby adopt the General's recommendation and now call upon the citizens to contribute their aid and furnish the laborers subscribed by them, to commence the works to be erected on the south common, which will be under the direction of Captain McRae as engineer."

In carrying out the plan suggested by General Pinckney a line of defenses was thrown up extending from the marsh on the east, at the foot of Broughton street, to the west side of Lafayette square, thence diverging to Liberty street lane, thence crossing Bull street to Spring Hill, thence along the high ground east of Ogeechee Canal and terminating at the foot of Fahm street. The line was very irregular and unusually full of salients and re-entering angles.

The Savannah volunteer companies, Chatham Artillery, Savannah Volunteer Guards, Republican Blues, and Georgia Hussars, and other companies which organized for the war were constantly on duty. The Savannah Guards, Republican Blues and other Savannah volunteer companies comprising the first regiment of Georgia militia, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson, were mustered into the service of the United States for local defense. The enemy not approaching Savannah, however, this service continued only one month. Early in the war half of the Savannah Guards and Republican Blues were sent on an expedition against St. Augustine, Fla., but before arrangements for the assault were made Florida was purchased by the United States.

Every victory of the American arms in Northern waters was hailed with joy in Savannah. The victories of Captain Isaac Hull in the capture of the British frigate *Guerriere*, of Captain John James Jones in the capture of the sloop-of-war *Frolic*, and of Commodore Decatur in the capture of the British frigate *Macedonian*, in the latter part of the year 1812, caused the city council to designate the 1st of January, 1813, as a day to be set apart for the citizens of Savannah to give "expression of their gratitude to the Supreme Being for the aforesaid signal victories and the high sense they entertain of the gallant conduct of the said naval commanders, their officers and crews, and also for the general joy which these naval victories have produced upon our citizens."

A meeting of the citizens of Savannah was held in the Exchange on

June 2, 1813, for the purpose of raising funds to be appropriated to the defense of the city. Hon. William Stephens was made chairman of the meeting, and James M. Wayne, secretary. Four thousand dollars was the amount deemed necessary to effectually defend the city from the attack of the enemy. John Bolton, James Johnston, John Cumming, James Bilbo, Frederick Herb and John Eppinger, jr., were appointed a committee to co-operate with a committee of the city council to raise this sum.

A "committee of vigilance" was appointed by the council on July 20, 1813, to consist of an alderman and two or more respectable citizens from the different wards of the city, to carry into effect the act of the Assembly against idle or disorderly persons having no visible estate or lawful employment in the city or who may hereafter come here."

The British brig of war, *Epervior*, carrying eighteen guns was brought into the Savannah River by the United States sloop-of-war, *Peacock*, Lewis Warrington, commander, in May, 1814. When captured the *Epervior* had on board \$110,000, which was confiscated and distributed according to law. In commemoration of the event the council passed the following resolution :

"Whereas, another victory has added to the glory, the lustre, and renown of the American Navy, the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Savannah are anxious on this, as they have been on other occasions of similar triumphs to pay the tribute of respect to unparalleled skill and valor of the heroes of the ocean. Be it therefore unanimously resolved, that the mayor and aldermen of the city of Savannah do feel sincere gratitude and respect for the distinguished conduct and noble services of Captain Warrington, the gallant officers and crew in the late victory over the British sloop of war *Epervior*."

The victory of Captain Porter, commander of the *Essex*, over the British frigate *Phæbe* and the sloop-of-war *Cherub*, was another occasion in commemoration of which, on the 22d of July, 1814, the city council gave expression to the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, another great and brilliant exploit has bestowed on the skill, courage, Self Devotion and Patriotism of the hero Porter, his officers and crew, a splendour and glory never before acquired under similar circumstances and given a reputation to the American Navy which neither

vaunts nor misrepresentations of the enemy can prevent carrying fear and terror to his thousand ships, and whereas this glorious achievement united to the noble efforts of the illustrious Porter, his officers and crew, to promote the fame and the interest of their Country in their long, perilous and unexampled cruise demand not only heartfelt gratitude of every citizen of the Republic, but particularly of every public body and department of the Country. Be it therefore unanimously resolved by the mayor and aldermen of the city of Savannah that for and in behalf of themselves, and their Fellow Citizens of Savannah, they beg leave most respectfully to tender to Captain David Porter, late of the *Essex* Frigate, his officers and crew this high opinion of his skill, Perseverance and Patriotism evinced throughout the long and perilous cruise of the *Essex*, as well as the sincere profound and unaffected gratitude with which they have been inspired by the great glorious and unexampled skill and heroism displayed by Captain Porter, the brave officers and gallant Seamen in the unequal contest of the *Essex* with the British Frigate *Phæbe* and the Sloop of War *Cherub*."

The aldermen elected on September 14, 1814, were John B. Norris, Isaac Fell, T. U. P. Charlton, J. B. Read, R. Mackay, George Jones, J. Hersman, H. McIntosh, E. Harden, Alexander S. Roe, M. McAllister, Th. Bourke, William B. Bullock. A committee of vigilance was selected composed of Aldermen Roe, Charlton, and Morris who were charged to "guard against the introduction of suspicious characters into the city, and to have weekly returns from all taverns, lodging and boarding-house keepers of the numbers of names and business of such persons, and to act towards them as the law and ordinances direct, and they are required to aid in ascertaining the earliest information of the approach of the enemy by land or water and are empowered to appoint a secretary to record proceedings. Resolved, that the sum of five hundred dollars be and is hereby appropriated and put at the disposal of the committee for the public good." This committee, however, was discharged in December following, as the arrival of Brigadier-General Floyd with a large military force near the city persuaded the council the city was amply protected against the attack of the enemy. This feeling of security soon after gave place to fresh alarm, and in January, 1815, the council requested Commodore Hugh G. Campbell, then in command of the flotilla stationed off

Savannah to sink vessels at any point he deemed expedient to obstruct the river. The victory of General Jackson at New Orleans in February following, made such action unnecessary, and the president's proclamation of peace on February 28th dispelled all fears, and was the cause of rejoicing among the people.

Saturday the fourth of March, 1815, was designated by the council as "a day for innocent amusement and recreation, in consequence of the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, with Great Britain, founded on a Basis of perfect reciprocity and honorable to this Nation resolved that the board having heretofore devoted all the means and energies in the prosecution of just war, now hails the return of Peace and Amity and Commerce which it is hoped will follow this gratifying event, and declare itself equally devoted to the Maintenance of Peace and Friendship with the subjects of Great Britain. Always having had in view the sacred and patriotic duty of considering in the scope of its authority, all persons 'enemies in war, in peace friends.'"

The return of peace was most grateful to the people of Savannah who for three years had been in a state of anxiety and suspense which had prostrated all avenues of prosperity. Mementoes of the War of 1812 are still to be found in Savannah, in the naming of its squares and streets, several bearing the names of naval heroes or victorious battles, as Chipewa and Orleans squares, Hull, McDonough and Perry streets.

James Monroe, the fifth president of the United States, visited Savannah on May 8, 1819, and was received with that hospitality for which the city has always been noted. He remained while in the city at the home of William Scarborough on West Broad street. A public ball was given in his honor in a building erected for the occasion in Johnson square. He remained for five days, and on the last day of his visit he enjoyed a novel excursion to Tybee on the steamboat *City of Savannah*, the first steamship ever built in the United States. On the same day a public dinner was given in his honor in a booth built for the occasion. The features of this important event were thus described in a Savannah journal: "The booth was ornamented with wreaths and branches of laurels. At the head of the table was an arch composed of laurels beautifully decorated with roses, so disposed as to form the name of James Monroe. The company having dined, the following toasts were announced from

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"1. Our country. In her infancy she is mighty in the first class of nations, what will be the meridian of her life?

"2. The Federal Union. May the head be accursed that shall insidiously plot its dissolution, the arm withered that shall aim a blow at its existence.

"3. The Constitution of the United States, framed by the wisdom of sages, may our statesmen and our posterity regard it as the national ark of political safety never to be abandoned.

"4. The military, naval, legislative and diplomatic worthies of the Revolution. It is our duty and delight to honor them and to tell their deeds with filial piety.

"5. General George Washington, revered be his memory! Let our statesmen and our warriors obey his precepts, our youth emulate his virtues and services, and our country is safe.

"6. The cession of the Floridas—Honorable to the administration and useful to the United States, it completes the form of the Republic.

"7. Major-General Andrew Jackson—The hero of New Orleans, the brave defender of his country and vindicator of its injured honor.

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“By John H. Ash—Colonel James Marshall, a skillful officer, and the friend of his country.

“By Major Gray—We are a free and happy people, and while enjoying every blessing let us not forget the great Author from whom all good emanates.

“By Josiah Davenport—The union of our country. May the last trump alone dissolve it.”

In 1820 Savannah experienced the horrors of a conflagration far surpassing in violence and destruction the fire that occurred in 1796. It commenced on the morning of January 11, and before the flames were extinguished four hundred and sixty-three houses, exclusive of outbuildings, were destroyed. With the exception of the Planters' Bank, the Episcopal Church and three or four other brick buildings, every house between Broughton and Bay streets was destroyed, the loss being estimated at four million dollars. At this time Savannah did not contain more than 7,500 persons, and the distress caused by the fire was felt by every one. The *Georgian* of January 17, 1820, was largely devoted to a description of the scenes and incidents of the great conflagration, and the following extract from this journal gives a vivid picture of the fearful desolation wrought by the fire: “The city of Savannah, after a lapse of twenty-four years has again experienced the horrors of a conflagration, far surpassing in violence and destruction the melancholy fire in 1796. The buildings then were of little value compared to those recently lost. The genius of desolation could not have chosen a spot within the limits of our city, where so widespread a scene of misery, ruin and despair might be laid, as that which was recently the center of health and industry, now a heap of worthless ruins. On Tuesday morning, between the hours of one and two o'clock, an alarm of fire was given from the livery stable of Mr. Boon, on the trust lot of Isaac Fell, esq., situated in Baptist Church square, in the immediate vicinity of Market square, around which the buildings were almost exclusive of wood. They were in a most combustible state, from a long continuance of dry weather. When the conflagration reached Market square, a heavy explosion of gun-powder added greatly to the general destruction. For the information of readers at a distance the principal streets of the city run parallel with the river nearly east and west, beginning at Bay street, one side of which

only is built up at the distance generally of about three or four hundred feet from the top of the bluff, beneath which runs the river. These streets are intersected by others at right angles and at regular intervals, spacious squares are left open into which the property rescued from the flames was hastily thrown. Broughton street, the most considerable in the city, runs parallel with Bay street, above described and five smaller streets and lanes thickly built are comprehended between those two streets. Ninety-four lots were left naked, containing three hundred and twenty-one wooden buildings, many, often double tenements, thirty-five brick, four hundred and sixty-three buildings, exclusive of outbuildings. The estimated loss is upwards of four millions. The fire was extinguished between twelve and one o'clock the next day, and if possible the scene became more painfully distressing. Wherever an open space promised security from the flames, property of every description had been deposited in vast heaps. Some were gazing in silent despair on the scene of destruction, others were busily and sorrowfully employed in collecting what little was spared to them. Alas, never did the sun set on a gloomier day for Savannah, or on so many aching hearts. Those whose avocations called them forth that night, will long remember its sad and solemn stillness, interrupted only by the sullen sound of falling ruins. During the excitement while the heart of the city was wrapped in flames, each one was too busy for reflection, but when the danger was past and the unfortunate sufferers had leisure to contemplate the extent of their losses, a generous mind may conceive, but it is impossible to describe their feelings of despair."

Generous was the aid that flowed from Northern and Southern cities to the distressed people of Savannah after the fire of 1820, while the generosity of those in the afflicted city who were in position to render assistance was characteristic of a naturally kind hearted and generous people. Before, however, the people had recovered from the effects of this great disaster they were confronted by a death dealing pestilence which was the most severe blow that had yet befallen the city by the sea. On the fifth of September a vessel arrived from the West Indies having yellow fever on board. A few days after several cases were reported in the city. The dread disease spread rapidly, and on the 6th of November following two hundred and thirty-nine persons had been stricken down.

When the fever began its relentless sway the population of the city was 7,523, which was quickly reduced by flight, there being only 1,494 persons in the city at the end of October. Among those who remained the loss of life was fearful, but was mostly confined to the foreign population which had come the previous winter and had not become thoroughly acclimated.

During the early years of Savannah as an incorporated city, the mayor served without salary, but as the duties of the office increased, remuneration for his services seemed to impress the "city fathers" as just and proper, and in 1821 a committee was appointed to prepare a bill entitled "An ordinance for allowing the mayor a salary annually."

The recovery from the effects of the fire of 1820 and the ravages of yellow fever was slow. The financial conditions of the city had become much depressed and it took several years of hard persistent work to regain what in a few hours had been swept away by the fire, fire, and the losses caused by the suspension of all business during the visitations of the yellow fever epidemic. The holiday spirit of the people had become somewhat regained in 1825, and the occasion of General La Fayette's visit during this year was made a season of the most imposing civil and military displays ever witnessed in Savannah.

The tour of General LaFayette in the United States during 1824 and 1825 was made a national event. Everywhere the "Nation's Guest" was received with an enthusiasm, which has been accorded to few men in the world's history. From the time of his arrival in New Orleans in August, 1824, until he landed at the east bluff of Savannah on the 19th of March, 1825, the papers of this city had contained full accounts of his triumphal tour. His reception in Savannah was fully chronicled by the local papers as the following description of this interesting occasion fully shows: "Almost up to the last hour the time of the probable arrival of our venerated Guest was but conjectural; opinions were various as to the moment at which he might be expected, and all the preparations for giving eclat to the visit were confined to little more than a week. How well the time was improved the detail of the circumstances attending it will shew; it was a labour of affectionate respect, in which all appeared to join with heart and hand. As the time approached, the interest proportionately increased. The stages and packets, particularly from the

South, were crowded with passengers. The Liberty County Troop of Light Dragoons, under the command of Captain W. M. Maxwell, and the Darien Hussars, Captain Charles West, had early evinced their anxious desire to do honour to the occasion, and had reached town on the Tuesday preceding. On Friday evening all appeared to be in a buzz of expectation, and numerous parties were collected in almost every spot on Bay street and elsewhere; every one with a face of pleasure and expectation. At half past five o'clock on Saturday morning, by a signal from the Chatham Artillery, the Military were warned to repair to their several parade grounds. The line was formed at eight o'clock, soon after which, there being no appearance of the Boat, the troops stacked their arms and were dismissed until the arrival. At an early hour the French and American flags were hoisted on the Exchange steeple, the Revenue Cutter *Gallatin*, Captain Matthews, was also decorated with flags, and the Merchant Vessels were dressed in the same manner. On Bay street, on each side of the entrance to the city from under the bluff, were placed two French brass pieces, one of which, tradition informs us, was received in this country by the same vessel that brought over LaFayette; they were manned by a company of masters of vessels, and others who volunteered for the occasion. The resort to the Eastern part of the bluff was general at an early part of the morning, continuing to increase during the day; and at the time of the arrival was crowded with ladies and citizens at every point which could command a view of the landing. A temporary landing was erected at the wharf, consisting of a flight of steps and a platform. . . . At an early hour the committee of reception deputed from the Joint Committee, together with Colonels Brailsford and Randolph, aids of his excellency Governor Troup, proceeded to Fort Jackson in three barges, decorated with flags, rowed by seamen in blue jackets and white trowsers, under the command of Captains Nicolls, Campbell, and Dubois. The first notice of the arrival of the welcome vessel was by a few strokes of the Exchange Bell. A few minutes after the volume of smoke which accompanied her was perceptible over the land; she was then about twelve or fifteen miles off, but rapidly approaching. The intelligence, 'The boat's in sight,' spread with electrical rapidity, and the bustle which had in some measure subsided, recommenced and every one repaired to the spot where his landing was to take

When the fever began its relentless sway the population of the city was 7,523, which was quickly reduced by flight, there being only 1,494 persons in the city at the end of October. Among those who remained the loss of life was fearful, but was mostly confined to the foreign population which had come the previous winter and had not become thoroughly acclimated.

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place. The troops were immediately formed and marched to the lower part of Bay street, where they were placed in position on the green in front of the avenue of trees, their right on East Bay. A more gallant and splendid military display we have never seen; the effect was beautiful, every corps exceeded its customary numbers; many who had not appeared under arms for years, shouldered them on this occasion, and the usual pride of appearance and honourable emulation was ten times increased by the occasion.

“Those who knew the Volunteer Companies of Savannah will believe this to be no empty compliment. As the Steamboat passed Fort Jackson she was boarded by the Committee of Reception. On their ascending the deck, the General was addressed by their chairman, George Jones, Esq. The boat now came up in gallant style, firing by the way, and a full band of music on board playing the Marseillaise Hymn and other favourite French and American airs. Her appearance was imposing and beautiful, to which the splendid and glittering uniforms of the officers from South Carolina who attended the General greatly added. As the Steamboat came up to her anchorage a salute was fired by the Revenue Cutter *Gallatin*, Captain Matthews. General LaFayette was now assisted into the first barge accompanied by the Committee and others, the other boats being occupied by the remainder of the suite. As the boat reached the shore the excitement in every face increased. A line was then formed from the landing place on the wharf, facing inwards, composed of the mayor and aldermen of the city, the clergy, the judge and officers of the District Court, the Superior Court, and the Court of Oyer and Terminer, the Union Society, deputations from the Hibernian Society, with their badges and banners; from the St. Andrew's Society with their Badges, and from the Agricultural Society with their badges, and citizens. The officers and gentlemen who accompanied the General in the Steamboat from Charleston, besides the governor of that State, were Colonel Huger, Major-General Youngblood, General Geddes, Adjutant-General Earle, Colonel Keith, Colonel Butler, Colonel Chesnutt, Colonel Brown, Colonel Clonnie, Colonel Fitsimmons, Colonel Taylor, Major Warley, Major Hamilton, Captain Moses, and Messrs. Bee and McCloud; Colonel Huger and Major Hamilton alone accepted the invitation of the committee to land and participate in the ceremonies of the procession. .

. . . As the General placed his foot upon the landing-place a salute was fired by the Chatham Artillery in line on the Bluff, with four brass field-pieces, four and six-pounders, one of which was captured at Yorktown. He was here received by William C. Daniell Esq., mayor of the city. Six cheers were now given by the whole of the citizens, who were assembled on the gratifying occasion; for which the General expressed his grateful acknowledgments to those nearest him. Supported by the mayor and attended by the committee of reception, he now ascended the bluff, followed by his suite, the Members of the Corporation, the Societies and Citizens. Here he was again enthusiastically cheered. On arriving at the top of the Bluff, on the green, he was presented to Governor Troup, by whom, in the most cordial manner, he was welcomed to the soil of Georgia. LaFayette replied in feeling terms. The General was then introduced to several Revolutionary soldiers; among those present were General Stewart, Colonel Shellman, Eb. Jackson, Sheftall Sheftall, and Captain Rees. The utmost animation appeared to sparkle in the eyes of the General at this time. This was particularly the case when the latter, addressing him with a cordial grip of the hand, said, 'I remember you, I saw you in Philadelphia,' and proceeded to narrate some trifling incidents of the occasion; to which the General replied, 'Ah, I remember!' and taking Captain Rees's hand between both of his, the eyes of each glistening with pleasure, they stood for a few moments apparently absorbed in recollections of the days of their youth. The officers of the brigade and of the regiment were then introduced. Whilst these introductions were going on a salute was fired along the whole line of infantry. The General and suite, together with the governor and suite, the Revolutionary officers, mayor, committee of reception, guests, General Harden and suite, Colonel McAllister, and the field officers from the adjoining Counties proceeded on foot down the front of the line in review. After passing the troops the General ascended the carriage prepared for his reception, and the procession moved in the following order:

" 1st. F. M. Stone, Marshal of the City, with staff of office.

" 2d. Divisions of the Georgia Hussars, Liberty and McIntosh Troops of Cavalry, Jas. Barnard first Marshal with Staff.

" 3d. General LaFayette and Governor Troup, in a Landau drawn by four grey horses.

"

- "4th. The Mayor of the City and Colonel Huger; in a second Carriage,
 "5th. G. W. LaFayette and Mr. LeVasseur in a third carriage.
 "6th. Revolutionary officers in a fourth carriage.
 "7th. Brigadier General, the suites of the Governor and the General.
 J. Habersham, second Marshal and Staff.
 "8th, The Committee of Council of the Citizens and of Officers.
 "9th. Aldermen.
 "10th. The Reverend Clergy, Judges, Officers of the United States
 Consuls, Officers of Courts, H. Cope, third Marshal, with Staff, E. Bour-
 quin, fourth Marshal.
 "11th. The Union, The Hibernian, The St. Andrew's, and Agricult-
 ural Societies in ranks of eight, Citizens in ranks of eight. Sam. M. Bond,
 fifth Marshal, Jos. S. Pelot, sixth Marshal.
 "12th. Divisions of the Georgia Hussars, Liberty and McIntosh
 Troops of Cavalry.
 "13th. Field Officers of other Regiments.
 "14th. Officers of the Army and Navy.
 "15th. Company Officers of the first and other Regiments. Lieuten-
 ant Colonel, Chatham Artillery, United States Troops, Savannah Volun-
 teer Guards, Georgia Volunteers, Republican Blues, Savannah Juvenile
 Guards, Major and Regimental Staff.

"The procession moved up East Broad street, to Broughton street,
 from thence to West Broad street, from thence to South Broad street,
 down that street to Abercorn street, and through Abercorn street to
 Oglethorpe square. When the procession began to move, a third salute
 was fired by the Marine Corps which we have heretofore mentioned.

. . . The procession moved as prescribed in the arrangements of the
 day, and about half past five o'clock in the afternoon he arrived at the
 lodgings appropriated for him at Mrs. Maxwell's, the same in which Gov-
 ernor Troup resided. The time of his landing was at three o'clock; so
 that the reception and procession took up about two hours and a half.
 The troops then filed off to the South Common and fired a National sa-
 lute, after which they returned to the quarters of the General to whom
 they paid the marching salute.

"During the passage of the procession, the windows and doors, as well
 as the spacious streets through which he passed, were crowded to excess;

and the expression of enthusiastic feeling was repeatedly displayed by all, from the highest to the lowest. He was saluted by the ladies from every place affording a view of the procession, by the waving of handkerchiefs; which he returned by repeated and continued inclination of the head, bowing in acknowledgment. At sundown another salute was fired by the Marine Volunteer Corps. Such was the inspiring and joyful spectacle produced by the reception of General La Fayette in our City."

During General LaFayette's visit to Savannah he laid the corner-stones of the Greene and Pulaski monuments, the former in Johnson and the latter in Chippewa squares. The corner-stone of the Greene Monument, in commemoration of the event, bears the following inscription: "This corner-stone of a monument to the memory of Major-General Nathanael Greene, was laid by General LaFayette at the request of the citizens of Savannah, on the twenty-first of March, A. D. 1825." Upon the other was: "On the twenty-first day of March, A. D. 1825, was laid by General LaFayette, at the request of the citizens of Savannah, this foundation stone of a monument to the memory of Brigadier Count Pulaski."

The house in which General LaFayette was entertained during his stay in the city still stands. It faces Oglethorpe square and is now the residence of Mrs. H. W. Thomas. It was built in the early part of the present century, and still presents much of the appearance it did when LaFayette was a guest beneath its roof.

In 1831 was commenced the erection of Fort Pulaski, the most important defense of the city against hostile approach by sea, commanding as it does the mouth of the Savannah River. It is situated fourteen miles from the city, on Cockspur Island, and was named in honor of Brigadier-General Count Pulaski. The site for it was selected by Major Babcock, of the United States Engineer Corps, about 1827-8, and work was begun upon it by Captain Manfield, United States engineer, at the time stated. It was completed in 1847, at a cost of a million dollars, but was never occupied by troops until in January, 1861, when it was taken possession of by Confederate troops by order of Governor Brown.

The erection of permanent barracks in Savannah began to be discussed in the winter of 1831. The mayor and aldermen presented to Congress a memorial which the War Department favorably received, and immediately issued orders to find suitable quarters within the city for

troops during the summer months with the view of ascertaining the healthfulness of the location. The theater was secured for such purpose, and here a detachment of the regular army was quartered during the summer of 1832. This venture convinced Captain Merchant, who with fifty-five men was stationed here, that Savannah was a most desirable location for the erection of army barracks, and in October, 1832, he made a report to the War Department to this effect. During the next session of Congress an appropriation of \$30,000 was made for a site and the building of a barracks. They were constructed about 1832-5, and covered two blocks and the lane between, extending from Liberty to Harris streets, and from Bull to Drayton, fronting on Bull street.

The period from 1830 to 1840 witnessed the inauguration of some of the most important events in the history of Savannah, as the formation of the poorhouse and hospital society, the Georgia Infirmary, and the Central Railroad incorporation. The last named enterprise has had a most important bearing on the destinies of Savannah. The first sixty-seven miles of the road was completed in 1838, and gave a wonderful impetus to the commerce of the city. Improvements began on every hand. In 1839 there was scarcely a building adapted for commercial purposes untenanted. Stores and counting-houses arose at every turn, and the little city with its 11,000 inhabitants in 1840 was supreme in the Sea Island cotton, rice and lumber trades. Steam-mills were put into operation, steam packet lines were established, and, to keep pace with the commercial growth of the city, means of culture for the inhabitants were not neglected as is evidenced by the formation in 1839 of the Georgia Historical Society, which from that time to the present has been one of the most beneficent institutions of the city.

The 4th of July, 1845, was observed by the citizens of Savannah as a day of mourning for Andrew Jackson, the late president of the United States. In commemoration of the life, services, and character of this illustrious soldier and statesman an eulogy was pronounced by Matthew McAllister at the Independent Presbyterian Church. Francis M. Stone was chief marshal of the day and had charge of the procession in which the following civil and military officers, organizations, societies, and companies took part:

The United States troops, and volunteer companies of the city of Sa-



Engraving by G. S. Cook

J. M. Mahon

vannah, commanded by Colonel White, the orator and committee of arrangements, the reverend clergy, judges and officers of the Superior Court, justices and officers of the Inferior Court and Court of Ordinary, judge and officers of the Court of Common Pleas and Oyer and Terminer, the mayor and aldermen, and all officers deriving their appointments from the city, justices of the peace, foreign consuls and officers, the collector and other officers of the customs, officers and soldiers of the Revolution, officers of the revenue marine, officers of the militia, the Union Society, the Medical Society, the Library Society, the Hibernian Society, the St. Andrew's Society, the German Friendly Society, the Georgia Historical Society, the Catholic Temperance Society, the Mechanics' Temperance Society, the Agricultural Society, Georgia Chapter No. 3 and Masonic Lodges of Savannah, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the United Ancient Order of Druids, teachers of public schools and their pupils, teachers of Sabbath-schools and their pupils, the pilot of the port of Savannah, captains and officers of vessels and marines.

When hostilities between the United States and Mexico commenced in 1846, a call was made upon Georgia for a regiment of soldiers to be sent to the seat of war. All the infantry volunteer companies of the city offered their services to the State to make up the regiment, but only one company could be taken and it was decided by lot which it should be. The lot fell upon the Irish Jasper Greens, which was accepted and formed a part of the regiment, which, under the command of Colonel Henry R. Jackson, shared the honors won by American soldiers on the plains of Mexico. The Jasper Greens were composed of the following named officers and men: J. McMahan, captain; G. Curlette, D. O'Conner, lieutenants; John Devaney, M. Carey, P. Martin, sergeants; Leo Wylly, M. Feery, P. Tierney, T. Bourke, Owen Reilly, corporals; William Baudy, W. D. Burke, P. Bossee, Francis Camfield, J. Chalmers, P. Clark, P. Cody, John Coffee, William Coffee, John Coulihan, Elijah Coudon, Joseph Davis, Dennis Dermond, Michael Downy, Michael Duggan, Francis Datzner, Charles Farrelly, Thomas Fenton, David Fountain, James Fleeting, James Flynn, William P. Fielding, James Feely, P. Gerrin, Moses Gleason, O. B. Hall, Michael Hoar, Timothy Howard, R. M. Howard, E. W. Irwin, John Keegin, Humphrey Leary, W. S. Levi, David Lynch, Michael Lynch, L. Mahoney, Henry Moury, John Makin, Bryan Morris, James McFehilly,

Hugh Martagh, Henry Nagle, Daniel Nichols, M. M. Payne, George Perminger, Thomas Pigeon, John Reagan, Francis Reeves, R. Richardson, J. Rinehart, B. Rodebuck, R. M. Robertson, J. D. Ryan, Thomas Ryan, John Sanderlyn, Michael Shea, Peter Seizmel, David Stokes, C. F. E. Smyth, R. L. S. Smith, Patrick Shiels, Patrick Tidings, Daniel F. Fowles, J. W. Warden, James Waters, Michael Weldon, John Whaling, James Waters, jr., Jacob Zimmerman, privates; William Gatehouse, George Gatehouse, musicians.

In May, 1847, Daniel Webster, accompanied by his wife and Miss Sutton, visited Savannah and was accorded a public reception in Johnson square. The citizens gave him a public dinner at the Pulaski House, and he was also similarly entertained by the bar of Savannah; at the latter Hon. M. Hall McAllister, and Hon. William Law presided. The distinguished orator and jurist was highly gratified with his reception, and made a feeling speech of thanks.

Col. James S. McIntosh, of Savannah, one of the heroes of the Mexican War, died in October, 1847, of wounds received in the battle of El Molino del Rey on the 8th of September, 1847. His remains were brought to Savannah, where his funeral obsequies were held on Saturday, March 18, 1848. The Savannah paper of March 20, 1848, gives the following notice of the services:

"Our fellow-citizens generally on Saturday forsook their usual avocations to mingle around the bier of the veteran soldier, the gallant leader of the Third Infantry, and acting brigadier-general in more than one well fought battle on the plains of Mexico. The Music of the Military, at an early hour of the forenoon, summoned the Members of the respective Volunteer Corps, attached to the First Regiment, and their full ranks attested the admiration of the Citizen Soldier for the character of the warrior who now rested from his labors.

"The National Banner was displayed at half-mast at the Garrison and on the Chatham Light Artillery Armory—and all the shipping in Port displayed their colors also at half-mast. The following corps formed as a battalion on the Bay. The Georgia Hussars—Captain Bailey. The Chatham Light Artillery—Captain Stephens. The Republican Blues—Captain Anderson. The Savannah Volunteer Guards, Captain Richardson. The Irish Jasper Greens—Captain M'Mahon. The German Volunteers, Captain Stegin. The Phoenix Riflemen, Lieutenant Polin.

“ Under the command of Colonel Knapp the battalion proceeded to the residence of Major Wm. J. McIntosh, where the mortal remains of his gallant brother reposed. The veteran lay in a leaden coffin, inclosed in one of Mahogany, with the following inscription: Colonel Jas. S. McIntosh, Fifth Regiment, United States Infantry, died first October, 1847, of wounds, received in the battle of El Molino del Rey, Mexico, eighth September, 1847. The American flag was thrown as a pall over the coffin, and the sword with the dress of the deceased, (pierced by eight bullet holes), which was worn by him at the fatal battle of El Molino del Rey, rested upon the coffin. Reverend Rufus White of St. John's Church, assisted by Edward Neufville D.D., officiated at the house, and read the funeral service of the Episcopal Church. Escort, Clergy—Pall Bearers, W. B. Bullock, Judge J. M. Wayne, Major Wade, U. S. A., Lieutenant Colonel Law, Colonel Williams, Colonel J. W. Jackson, Captain Stephens, Major Talcott, U. S. A., Family, Colonel John G. Park, and Major M. D. Huson, the Commander on the part of the State in charge of the body from Mexico—Officers of the Army and Navy, Brigadier General White and Staff, Committee from the Floyd Rifles and Macon Volunteers under Captain Conner; Officers of the First Regiment—Grand Marshal not on Duty—Mayor and Aldermen—Citizens.

“ On entering the old Cemetery, the services at the grave were performed by Reverend Rufus White. After the coffin was deposited in the vault which contains the remains of General Lachlan McIntosh, a patriot of the Revolution, three volleys were fired over the grave of the warrior by the Rifles and the four Companies of Infantry. The battalion then returned to the Bay, and the Companies were dismissed to their respective commands. Thus has the grave closed over the remains of one who in life we cherished as a gallant citizen, ready at any moment to lay down his life for his Country.”

Saturday, March 10, 1849, was made memorable in the municipal history of Savannah by the arrival in the city of ex-President James K. Polk. He was received by the mayor and aldermen of the city and a committee of twenty-one citizens. He came by boat from Charleston and was accompanied by his wife, nieces, and Hon. Robert J. Walker, ex-secretary of the treasury. The battalions composed of the Hussars, Lieutenant Blois; the Blues, Captain Anderson; the Guards, Captain Rich-

ardson ; the Irish Jasper Greens, Captain Wyly; the German Volunteers, Captain Stegin ; and the Phoenix Riflemen, Captain Mills, turned out in honor of his presence. He remained from Saturday evening until Monday morning, when the Republican Blues escorted him to the Central Railroad depot, whence he proceeded to Macon.

In August of the following year the people of Savannah, in common with the people all over the country, mourned the death of the chief magistrate of the nation, Zachary Taylor, whose victories in Mexico had so shortly before won the hearts of the American people. The mayor and aldermen adopted suitable measures for the commemoration of his death, which were carried out on Thursday, the 8th of August. W. W. Oates was made chief marshal of the day, and a committee of arrangements, composed of R. R. Cuyler, W. Thorne Williams, F. S. Barton, William Law, W. P. White, W. B. Felmaine, J. L. Locke, Alderman J. Lippman, Robert Habersham, E. J. Hardin, A. R. Lawton, Chas. S. Henry, Geo. Schley, R. D. Arnold, Aldermen R. H. Griffin and M. Cumming was appointed. A procession was formed, composed as follows: The escort of volunteer companies, chief marshal, the standard of the United States, the orator and committee of arrangements, the reverend clergy, teachers of public schools, the mayor and aldermen and their officers, judges and officers of the Superior Court, justices of the Inferior Court and their officers, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and Oyer and Terminer and officers, magistrates and officers of the city and county, foreign consuls, officers of the United States, collector and officers of the customs, military and naval officers of the United States, brigadier-general of the First Brigade and staff, major of cavalry and staff, field staff and company officers First Regiment, the Union Society, the Medical Society, the Library Society, the Hibernian Society, the St. Andrew's Society, the German Friendly Society, the Georgia Historical Society, the Irish Union Society, Temperance Societies. During the march of the procession the Chatham Artillery fired minute-guns to the number of sixty-five, the age of the deceased, and at sunset a national salute was fired. Banks, public buildings, stores and private dwellings were draped in mourning, and during the ceremonies all business was suspended. Francis S. Bartow delivered the funeral eulogy on the public life and character of the illustrious dead at the new Methodist Church in St. James square.

The present custom-house was erected in 1850, under plans designed by John S. Norris. The customs had been collected for several years previous to the erection of the present building in the Exchange.

On the 22d of April, 1854, ex-President Fillmore, accompanied by Hon. John P. Kennedy, arrived in Savannah. They were received at the Central Railroad depot by a large concourse of citizens, the Chatham Artillery firing a salute as the train came in. The reception ceremonies were held in the extensive warehouse of the Central Railroad, after which the distinguished guest and suite were honored by a civic and military escort to quarters provided at the Pulaski House. "On Saturday, the day following his arrival, the ex-president," says the *Georgian* of Tuesday April 25th, "visited Bonaventure." "On Sunday morning he attended Christ Church, Reverend Bishop Elliott, officiating. In the afternoon he attended the Independent Presbyterian Church, and listened to a sermon from Reverend Chas. Rogers, in the absence of the Pastor, Reverend Doctor Preston. In the evening he attended the Unitarian Church, Reverend John Pierpont, Junior, to which denomination we believe he is attached as a member. Yesterday from ten to eleven o'clock a public levee was held at the Pulaski House. The citizens without distinction paid their respects to the ex-President. At eleven o'clock by invitation of Captain Hardie, Mr. Fillmore and suite visited the Steamship the *Key Stone State*. He was welcomed by a salute of twenty-one guns. Afterwards the Steamer *Seminole* was placed at his disposal—the ex-President and his friends viewing the scenery down the river. Dinner followed, and many toasts were enjoyed on board the *Seminole*. The Boat returned to the city at an early hour of the evening, in time to attend the ball, where there was a large gathering. On Tuesday morning the party departed for Charleston accompanied by several citizens."

The year 1854 was an era of extraordinary calamity. Throughout the civilized world its history is written in pestilence, war, and disasters of the most fatal and appalling character. The fields of Eastern Europe were strewn with the dead of contending armies who fell by the sword and by pestilence. Over our own country swept two fatal epidemics, the cholera in the North and West and the fever in the South, while disasters at sea, collisions on land, tornadoes and conflagrations added to the destruction of life and property in a degree perhaps unparalleled in any

previous year. Savannah was severely scourged by yellow fever. The disease made its appearance on the 12th of August in the eastern district of the city among the Irish population in Washington ward. Here the sickness was confined to a limited space for a week or ten days, before its epidemic character had been sufficiently developed to excite general apprehension. It soon, however, spread over a larger surface in the eastern district, after which it extended with great rapidity through the center of the city westward, spreading from St. Julien to South Broad street and reaching to the extreme western limits of the town. By the first of September the epidemic was diffused in every direction, and the mortality reached its maximum height about the 12th of that month, on which day fifty-one interments were reported. For several days there was little abatement observable in the sickness or number of deaths, and it is very certain that but for the exertions of the mayor of the city, the medical faculty, the Board of Health, the clergy, the Young Men's Benevolent Association, organized about that time, and the many benevolent citizens who devoted themselves to the alleviation of the general suffering among all classes of the citizens, the list of mortality would have been increased to a still more frightful figure. The decline of the sickness began about the 20th of September. During the week ending on the 26th of that month the deaths from all diseases numbered 121, being 68 less than the previous week, and 79 less than the week ending on the 12th, when the mortality reached 210. From the 26th the number of deaths gradually decreased until the 29th of October, the date of the last report of the Board of Health, when only one death by yellow fever was recorded.

The epidemic continued about nine or twelve weeks and during that time the mortality from all diseases reached upwards of one thousand, and the number of sick during the same period, including the dead, was at least five thousand. The census taken by the Young Men's Benevolent Association when the sickness was at its height gave a white population of 6,000, being only one-third of the permanent white population. Of the 6,000 who remained in the city a very large majority were sick, while many of those who had left had been sick and had recovered, or were attacked after leaving the city. The medical faculty and the clergy were conspicuous in their devotion to the plague stricken city, most of

them remaining at their post of duty while several fell while battling with the disease. Ten physicians and three medical students were numbered with the dead while many others were sick. Of the clergy three died and every one of their number who remained was attacked. Of the editorial corps, all of whom remained at their posts until attacked, two died.

The fearful ravage of yellow fever was not the only calamity the people of Savannah were called upon to endure in 1854, for on the 10th of September of this year a severe storm fell upon the city which wrought great havoc. Hutchinson and Fig islands were covered with water, a number of houses were washed away, and several persons were drowned. Most of the trees on South Broad street were blown down, buildings were unroofed, shipping in the river was driven upon the wharves, and the large dry-dock parted from its mooring, floated up the river, and damaged several vessels. Never had the people of Savannah been more sorely tried. Disease, tempest, and tides had united to complete the work of destruction. The deplorable condition of the people strangely appealed to the sympathy of the benevolent all over the country and contributions of money to the extent of nearly sixty thousand dollars, and of provisions poured in from every quarter. The thanks of the people for this timely and generous assistance were expressed at a meeting of the city council, when Alderman Screven offered the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

“Whereas, by the dispensation of Providence, this city has been afflicted with an epidemic of the most fatal character, and its inhabitants during its prevalence have been the recipients of the munificence and benevolence of various public bodies, charitable associations, and individuals. Be it therefore resolved that the thanks of this body are due, and are hereby tendered to the corporate authorities of our sister cities for the sympathy they have manifested in the afflictions of this city, and for their generous contributions in aid of its suffering and destitute inhabitants. Resolved, that the thanks of this body are due, and are hereby tendered to all benevolent and other associations and to individuals who have in any manner contributed to the relief of the afflicted in this city. Thanks to the resident physicians for their noble conduct during the epidemic; to transient physicians for their profes-

sional gallantry when our physicians were falling in our midst, victims to the faithful discharge of duties. Thanks to the devoted clergy who, without exception, pursued their holy calling. Thanks to the Young Men's Benevolent Association."

The progress of the city from 1855 to the beginning of the war was of the most satisfactory character in its social, religious, business, and material interests. The great political questions which agitated the country during this period largely engrossed the public attention, and the events immediately preceding 1860 and during the years of the war are so important that a separate chapter has been devoted to this period of the city's history.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE WAR PERIOD.

Exciting Event in 1860—Secession of South Carolina—Rejoicing in Savannah—Call for a State Convention—Governor Brown's Order—Seizure of Fort Pulaski—State Convention in Savannah—Unfurling of the Confederate Flag—Departure of the Oglethorpe Light Infantry—Death of General Bartow—Defenses of Savannah—General Lee in Savannah—Attack on Fort Pulaski—Surrender of the Garrison—Naval Assault on Fort McAllister—Sherman's March from Atlanta—Proclamation by the Mayor—The Federal Army before Savannah—Fort McAllister Attacked by a Land Force—Graphic Account of the Assault and Its Capture—Plans for Evacuating the City—General Sherman's Demand for the Surrender of Savannah—Evacuation of the City—How the City was Surrendered—General Sherman's Order—Confiscation of Cotton—Destructive Fire of January, 1865—Return of Peace and Prosperity.

IN Savannah, as well as all over the country, political affairs monopolized a large share of the public attention from 1855 to 1860. National politics, before the latter year closed, had reached the point of revolution. The people of the South and North were beginning to assert themselves away beyond their leaders, who had worked them up to the extremity where discussion and persuasion ceased to have any weight or effect. Savannah had enjoyed a career of business prosperity for a few years preceding the war, but when the first sound of war's alarms was

heard throughout the land the march of progress diverged from its accustomed course. Building operations were, to a great extent, discontinued, and business in some of its departments was paralyzed to a greater or less extent.

In the present quiet and peaceful days in Savannah it is hard to realize the intensely excited state of public feeling in the latter part of 1860. That the two sections were on the verge of open rupture all felt, but few appreciated the magnitude of the struggle that was to take place. Still the hum of preparation was heard on every side, and the ranks of the various volunteer companies were crowded with new members. There was an eager restlessness that filled every soul, and while the older citizens may have felt some forebodings for the future, there can be no doubt that the great mass of the people thought the time for argument had passed and were ready to maintain what they believed to be their rights at the hazard of their lives.

The newspapers of Savannah were faithful chroniclers of these times. Every move of the diverse populations of the Union was recorded and every changing shade of public opinion. For months, and until the inauguration of Lincoln, all eyes were turned upon Charleston, S. C. It was the theater of exciting events, and even local affairs were lost sight of in view of the contest between that State and the Federal authorities. The diplomatic movements of the distinguished agents and commissioners of the State, and afterward of those of the Confederate States were carefully noted and criticised and furnished occasion for some fierce outbursts against the North. The resignations of Cobb, Floyd, Thompson, and Thomas were occasions eagerly seized for an eulogy upon these statesmen, and the formation of the provisional government of the Confederacy, and the organization and assembling of troops kept the public constantly on the *qui vive*.

The announcement of the secession of South Carolina in December of 1860 was hailed with almost as much delight in Savannah as in Charleston. A secession flag bearing the representation of a large rattlesnake, with the inscription "*Don't Tread on me,*" was unfurled from the top of the Green Monument in Johnson square, while the newspapers were filled with calls for meetings to ratify the course of South Carolina. The old volunteer companies, the Chatham Artillery, Savannah Volunteer Guards,

Republican Blues, Georgia Hussars, *Phoenix* Riflemen, Irish Jasper Greens, Oglethorpe Light Infantry, De Kalb Riflemen, and German Volunteers, promptly tendered their services for any duty that might be required of them.

A call for a State convention to be held in Savannah was issued in December, 1860, and throughout the State was received with ready response. An election for delegates to this convention was held in Savannah on January 2, 1861, and resulted in the selection of Francis S. Bartow, John W. Anderson, and Colonel A. S. Jones, all of whom favored immediate secession and separate State action.

When the news of the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and the occupation of Fort Sumter by United States troops, under Major Anderson, reached Savannah the excitement reached fever heat. The evident intention of the United States government to gain possession of all the forts commanding the harbors of the Southern States determined Governor Joseph E. Brown to take the bold step of seizing the fortifications of the United States built upon Georgia soil to prevent their occupation by the Federal government. At this time the First Volunteer Regiment of Savannah was the only military organization larger than a company at his command, and accordingly an order was transmitted to Colonel A. R. Lawton, then in command of the regiment, directing him at once to take possession of Fort Pulaski, "and to hold it against all persons." The full text of this memorable document was as follows:

" HEADQUARTERS, GEORGIA MILITIA, }
" SAVANNAH, January 2, 1861. }

" *Col. A. R. Lawton, Commanding 1st Regiment, Georgia Vols., Savannah:*

" SIR,—In view of the fact that the government at Washington has, as we are informed on high authority, decided on the policy of coercing a seceding State back into the Union, and it is believed now has a movement on foot to reinforce Fort Sumter, at Charleston, and to occupy with Federal troops the Southern forts, including Fort Pulaski in this State, which if done would give the Federal government in any contest great advantage over the people in this State; to the end therefor that this stronghold which commands also the entrance into Georgia may not be occupied by any hostile force until the convention of the State of

Georgia, which is to meet on the 16th instant, has decided on the policy which Georgia will adopt in this emergency, you are ordered to take possession of Fort Pulaski as by public order herewith, and to hold it against all persons, to be abandoned only under orders from me or under compulsion by an overpowering hostile force.

“Immediately upon occupying the fort you will take measures to put it in a thorough state of defense as far as its means and ours will permit; and for this purpose you will advise with Captain Claghorn, Chatham Artillery, who has been charged with all matters relating to ordnance and ordnance stores, and their supply.

“You will further arrange with Captain Claghorn a series of day and night signals for communicating with the city of Savannah, for the purpose of calling for reinforcements, or for other necessary purposes. And you will arrange with Mr. John Cunningham, military purveyor for the time being, for the employment of one or more steamboats, or other means of transportation by land or by water that may be necessary, and for other supplies (except for ordnance stores, for which you will call upon Captain Claghorn) as may be required.

“If circumstances should require it the telegraph will be placed under surveillance. I think from our conversations you fully understand my views, and, relying upon your patriotism, energy, and sound discretion in the execution of this important and delicate trust, I am sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

“JOSEPH E. BROWN,

“Governor and Commander-in-Chief.”

“Upon the issue of this order,” says Colonel Charles H. Olmstead in his history of the First Georgia Regiment, published in the *Savannah News* of May 5, 1886, “the city was in a fever of excitement. Here at last was the first step in actual war—a step that placed State and central government in open antagonism, the beginning whose ending no man could foretell. There may have been faint hearts that trembled in view of resulting possibilities, but among the military of Savannah the order was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Dissatisfied ones there were, but only because they were not among the chosen few who were to carry out the orders of the governor.

“At an early hour on January 3, 1861, detachments from the Chat-

ham Artillery, Captain Joseph S. Claghorn, the Savannah Volunteer Guards, Captain John Screven, and the Oglethorpe Light Infantry, Captain Francis S. Bartow, marched to the wharf at the foot of West Broad street and embarked on board the steamer *Ida* to take possession of Fort Pulaski.

“Truth compels the statement that the expeditionary force carried enough baggage to have served for a division later in the war. Every soldier had his trunk or valise, his cot and his roll of bedding, while to every three or four there was a huge mess chest large enough for the cooking outfit of a full regiment. The recollection of all these things brings a smile now, but there is only proud exultation as those who took part in the stirring event recall the generous enthusiasm, the fervid patriotism, that glowed in every heart. Alas! how many of those noble young hearts were soon to beat no more; how many gallant youths who on that bright morning gloried in the honor of serving our mother, Georgia, were soon to ‘illustrate’ her by their death. Some led the way in the first shock of arms upon the plains of Manassas; some in the fierce seven days’ grapple around Richmond; some at Sharpsburg, at Fredericksburg, at Gettysburg, at the Wilderness, at Murfreesboro, at Chickamauga, at Kenesaw, at Atlanta, at Franklin, at Nashville, and some at the last fatal struggle at Sailor’s Creek.

“In due time Fort Pulaski was reached; its garrison, one elderly United States sergeant, made no defense, and the three companies of the first volunteer regiment marched in with drums beating and colors flying, and so for them a soldier’s life began.

“The armament of the fort at that time consisted of but twenty old-fashioned long 32-pounders mounted upon cast-iron carriages, rusty from age and lack of care, the magazines were nearly empty, a few solid shot were all the projectiles that could be found. And yet the little garrison felt ready to meet the entire navy of the United States, for which, by the way, we looked for at every high tide. The duty of the hour called for hard, vigorous work, and it was refreshing to note the alacrity with which this citizen soldiery turned their hands to everything, from scraping the rust from gun carriages to polishing the casemates. There was an individuality in each man, that marked characteristic of the Southern soldier that afterwards, upon so many battlefields held grimly to posi-

tions, from which, by all the rules of warfare, the Confederates should have been swept. All the routine of garrison duties was promptly inaugurated by Colonel Lawton, whose West Point training and army life here served him in good stead. Guards were regularly mounted, drills at the heavy guns began at once, and a rigid system of military discipline maintained.

“In course of time the first three companies were relieved from this duty and others took their places, until every command in the city, including the Georgia Hussars and Savannah Artillery, had again and again served at this excellent school of military instruction. True, it was long ere an enemy appeared before the walls of Pulaski, but the lessons learned in garrison life there were fit preparation for active service on other fields. Meanwhile military spirit ran high in the city, and during the first part of 1861 several new companies were formed and added to the regiment under the provisions of the act above quoted. Among these were the Pulaski Guards, the Irish Volunteers, Company B Irish Jasper Greens, the Forest City Rangers, the City Light Guard, the Washington Volunteers, the Coast Rifles, the Montgomery Guards. Each and all were full companies, and did valiant service throughout the war.”

In the meantime the people in Savannah were kept in a state of excited feeling. The adoption of the ordinance of secession by South Carolina caused a spontaneous feeling among the people of Georgia that they should take the same stand with their sister State. A large gathering of the citizens of Savannah was held at the Masonic Hall, on the corner of Bull and Broughton streets, at which eloquent speeches were made in favor of secession, and a series of resolutions advocating such a course were adopted, and when a short time thereafter in January, 1861, the ordinance of secession was adopted by the State of Georgia in no quarter of the State was it hailed with more delight than in Savannah. All now prepared for the conflict which they saw was inevitable. The State convention reassembled in Savannah on the 7th of March, 1861, and after adopting a constitution for the State adjourned. The day following this assembling the flag of the Confederate States was thrown to the breeze from the custom-house by Major W. J. McIntosh, and a salute of seven guns—one for each State in the Confederacy—was fired in honor of the occasion.

After the Confederacy had been brought into existence, orders were rapidly issued from its capitol at Montgomery in reference to the marshaling of the forces of the South. One of the first orders appointed Colonel A. R. Lawton to a brigadier-generalship, and his connection with the first regiment was severed. Under his orders Fort Jackson and Oglethorpe Barracks were seized and occupied by Savannah soldiers. The vacancy occasioned by the promotion of General Lawton was filled by the election of Hugh W. Mercer to the colonelcy of the First Regiment. At the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Stiles having resigned to enter the service with the Savannah Volunteer Guards, of which corps he was also an officer, Major W. S. Rockwell was elected lieutenant-colonel, and Charles H. Olmstead, major. Edward Lawton succeeded to the adjutantcy.

The Oglethorpe Light Infantry of Savannah, under command of Captain Francis S. Bartow, was the first of the Savannah companies to respond to President Davis's call for troops. They departed from the city on May 21, 1861, for Richmond, being escorted to the cars by the volunteer companies of the city and a large concourse of citizens, who little dreamed that in a few short weeks they would be mourning the death of the company's gallant captain. Such, however, was the case, for the same dispatch which told of the victory at Manassas on the 22d of July, 1861, brought the sad news of General Bartow's death. His remains were brought to the city on the 27th of July, and his funeral was one of most solemn and imposing spectacles ever witnessed in Savannah. General Bartow's¹ remains lie buried in Laurel Grove Cemetery.

¹ General Bartow was born in Savannah on the 6th of September, 1816. After graduating at Franklin College, at Athens, Ga., in 1835 he began the study of law in the office of Berrien & Law of Savannah, and afterwards attended the law school at New Haven, Conn. After his admission to the bar he became a member of the law firm of Law, Bartow & Lovell of Savannah. He was elected to the State Senate and served several times in the House of Representatives. In 1860 he took a decided stand in favor of secession. He represented Chatham county in the State convention which carried Georgia out of the Union, and was selected by the convention to represent his native State in the Confederate Congress which met in Montgomery, Ala., and was chosen chairman of the military committee. Soon after his arrival in Virginia with the Oglethorpe Light Infantry, of which he had been captain from 1857, he was appointed colonel of the Eighth Georgia Regiment, and at the first battle of Manassas was commanding a brigade composed of the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Eleventh Georgia and the First

During the summer of 1861 the First Regiment was scattered to various points along the Georgia coast. They helped to build and equip the numerous fortifications with which the coast was lined. They were stationed at Forts Pulaski and Jackson and at other points on the Savannah River, on Tybee Island, at Causton's Bluff, Thunderbolt, Green Island, and St. Catherine's Island. During the war there were three lines of defense adopted to protect Savannah, and a fourth begun but abandoned after an inconsiderable amount of work had been done. The first or exterior line of defense was constructed early in the war, to protect the coast from attack by the Federal navy, and to prevent the landing of troops. This line extended from Causton's Bluff, four miles east of Savannah, to the Ogeechee River, and embraced the following points, at which works were erected: Greenwich, Thunderbolt, Isle of Hope, Beaulieu, and Rosedew. Detached works were also constructed on Whitmarsh, Skidaway, and Green Islands, but these latter works were only occupied a portion of the time, and towards the close of the war were mostly abandoned. The general character of the works at the points mentioned were water batteries, constructed of earth and reveted with sand-bags, sods, and facines, with traverses, bomb-proofs, etc. The armament of these works generally consisted of heavy ordnance *en barbette*. Where rifle guns and columbiads could not be procured smooth bore 42 and 60-pounders were employed. The river batteries, located

Kentucky Regiments. During the forepart of the battle his command suffered heavily, and at noon when it became necessary for the left of the Confederate army to fall back to its original position occupied early in the morning his regiments also retired. During this movement General Bartow rode up to General Beauregard, the general commanding and said: "What shall now be done? Tell me, and, if human efforts can avail, I will do it." General Beauregard pointing to a battery at Stone Bridge, replied: "That battery should be silenced." Seizing the standard of the Seventh Georgia Regiment and calling upon the remnants of his command to follow him, he led the van in the charge. A ball wounded him slightly and killed his horse under him. Still grasping the standard, and rising again, he mounted another horse, and waving his cap around his head cheered his troops to come on. They followed. Another ball pierced his heart and he fell to the ground, exclaiming to those who gathered around him, "*they have killed me, but never give up the field,*" and expired. His dying injunction was obeyed. His command proceeded on the charge and silenced the battery under the protection of which the enemy had hurled the missile of death into the heart of one whose fall plunged a struggling nation into mourning.—Abridged from a sketch in the "Historical Record of Savannah."

at and around Fort Jackson, were intended for the protection of the main water approach and to constitute the extreme left of the above mentioned line. Prominent among the works referred to was Fort Bartow at Causton's Bluff. This was the largest and most complete work on the entire coast, and the character of the work and labor expended in its construction attested the importance attached to this position as a salient point on this line, and, so to speak, the key to Savannah. This was a bastioned work inclosing an area of seventeen acres, with glacis, moat, curtains, and in fact every appointment complete, bomb-proofs and surgeon-rooms under ground, with advanced batteries and rifle pits in front near the water line. The other works on this line were not from this character deserving of special notice. Fort Bartow was pronounced by some of the ablest Southern officers a splendid work and recognized by all as the most important in the defenses of Savannah. This work was constructed by Captain M. B. Grant, of the Engineer Corps, who also had immediate charge of a considerable portion of the work around the city.

Fort McAllister, located on the south side of the Ogeechee River at Genesis Point, was an inclosed work, of about one acre, detached and isolated, irregular in form, but compactly built, and adapted to its isolated condition and surroundings. The armament of this work was heavy, and the gallant and successful defense repeatedly made here against the enemy's ironclads, and at the last against one of Sherman's corps from the land side, have given it a name and place in the history of Savannah's defenses, that is imperishable and preëminently grand. Though a little and insignificant earthwork it was by location and circumstances called upon to act a giant's part. On this exterior line there were no other points deserving special notice.

The second line constructed was what was known as the interior line of defense. This line was almost semi-circular in contour, and distant from the city on an average of three-fourths of a mile, its left resting at Fort Boggs, next to the rice lands on the Savannah River, its right resting at a point a little south of Laurel Grove Cemetery, and on the low lands of the Springfield Plantation. This line, as the term interior signifies, was to resist any direct assault upon the city should a force succeed in passing the exterior line. This line consisted of detached lunettes at regular intervals, constructed with mutual flank defense, and having sec-

tors of fire, covering the entire space in front of the line, all growth having been cut away for a half mile in advance. The curtains were not of the same heavy character as the lunettes, but consisted of rifle pits and covered ways for direct communication. Abatis were constructed in front of many of the lunettes. No portion of this line was ever subjected to an attack, and there was nothing to create or give distinction to any special lunettes. There were, however, on this line certain works which should be mentioned, viz :

Fort Boggs, on the left of the line, was a bastioned work, inclosed (commonly known as a Star Fort), about an acre and a half in area. It was situated on the bluff, in a commanding position, and would have proved a very strong and important work had it been attacked.

Fort Brown, near the Catholic Cemetery, was a point of some importance on this line, more, however, from its early location and construction than any special merit.

The bombardment and capture of Port Royal in November of 1861 occasioned great alarm in Savannah as it was feared that the large Federal fleet employed there would next attack the city, yet the people did not despair of successfully combating the enemy. But with the Federals intrenched in Port Royal it was deemed impracticable with the resources at command to defend all the outlying islands of the Georgia coast. Among others Tybee Island was evacuated and Fort Pulaski became the outwork of the line of defense. About this time Colonel Mercer was promoted to a brigadier-generalship and the following changes were made in the field officers of the First Regiment: Major Charles H. Olmstead was made colonel, W. S. Rockwell retained the lieutenant-colonelcy, and Captain John Foley, of the Irish Jasper Greens, was promoted major, H. M. Hopkins was appointed in place of Edward Lawton promoted.

General Robert E. Lee, then commanding the military district of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida arrived in Savannah on the 11th of November, 1861, and remained until the February following. During his stay he visited Fort Pulaski and gave minute instructions for protecting the garrison from the fire of shells from Tybee Island. At this time rifled cannon of large caliber had not been tested and their penetrative power was of course unknown, and even General Lee did not think the

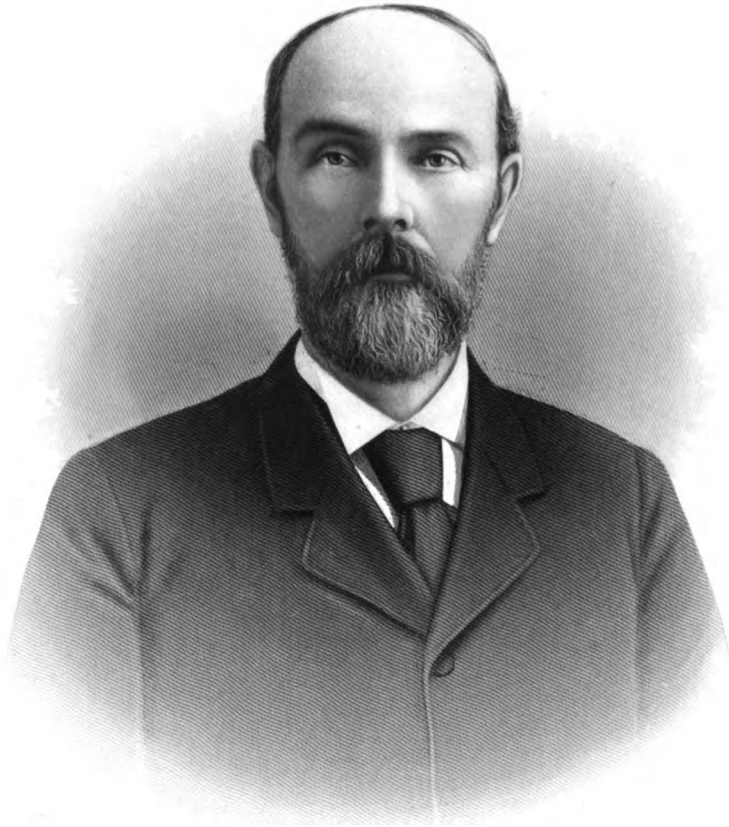
walls of Fort Pulaski could be broken at the distance the Federals were stationed, saying one day to Colonel Olmstead, while looking at the nearest point on Tybee Island occupied by the Federals, some 1700 yards distant, "Colonel, they will make it pretty hot for you here with shells, but they cannot breach your walls at that distance."

"The garrison," says Colonel Olmstead in the article previously quoted from, "went vigorously to work to carry out the orders of General Lee. Pitts and trenches were dug on the parade to catch rolling shells, huge traverses were built between the guns *en barbette*, and all the casemate doors in the entire circuit of the fort were protected by heavy blindages of ranging timber."

"In the month of January, 1862, there were signs of great activity among the enemy, who succeeded in establishing a battery upon the banks of the Savannah upon the north, between the fort and the city, and also in commanding the channel of the river on the south by gunboats from Wilmington River and St. Augustine Creek. After this but one expedition from the city reached the fort. Commodore Tattnall, with his little fleet of river steamers, fought his way down bringing two barge loads of provisions for the garrison, and then fought his way back again in the style that came so naturally to that single-hearted brave old gentleman. From that time the isolation of the fort was complete.

"The garrison thus invested consisted of about four hundred men and officers, comprising the German Volunteers, Captain Stegin; Oglethorpe Light Infantry (Company B), Captain Sims; Washington Volunteers, Captain McMahan; Montgomery Guards, Captain Guilmartin, of the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia; and the Wise Guards, Captain McMullen.

"This latter command was from the vicinity of Oglethorpe, Ga. They were unused to heavy artillery service, but when it became apparent that the fort would be attacked and needed reinforcements, they had volunteered to come to our aid. Captain McMullen was just such a man as might have been expected to perform such an action, and he was well seconded by his Lieutenants Montfort, Blow and Sutton. The memory of this service should be treasured by the First Regiment. All during the months of February and March the isolation of the fort continued, and during these months it was made plain that the enemy were hard at



1870

Yours truly
Charles H. Constant

work behind the ridge of sand hills that border the shore of Tybee Island. There was no sign of working parties during the day time, but at night a faint hum would come across the waters of the south channel nearly a mile away, telling of activity and preparation."

Early in April the Federals had erected eleven sand batteries upon Tybee Island, these batteries distributed along a front of 2,550 yards, mounted by thirty-six heavy guns—ten heavy rifle cannon among them—and a number of mortars. These guns were well protected. The farthest was 3,400, and the nearest 1,650 yards from the fort.

Early on the morning of the 10th of April General David Hunter, commanding the besieging force, sent, under a flag of truce, an order "for the immediate surrender of Fort Pulaski to the authority and possession of the United States," to which Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, commandant of the fort, sent the following laconic and brave response :

"HEADQUARTERS, FORT PULASKI, April 10, 1862.

"*Major-General David Hunter, Commanding on Tybee Island:*

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge receipt of your communication of this date, demanding the unconditional surrender of Fort Pulaski.

"In reply I can only say that I am here to defend not to surrender it.

"Your obedient servant,

"CHARLES H. OLMSTEAD.

"Colonel First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia Commanding Post."

"Upon the receipt of this reply by the Federal commander, orders were immediately issued for the commencement of the bombardment. The first shell was fired from Battery Halleck at a quarter past eight o'clock, and soon all the Federal batteries, including Stanton, Grant, Lyon, Lincoln, Burnside, Sherman, Scott, Sigel, McClellan and Totten, were engaged. "The garrison," says Colonel Olmstead in an admirable account of the bombardment, "went to their work with enthusiasm, and in a few minutes the roar of artillery, the screaming of shot and bursting of shells made hideous that lovely April morning. All day long the firing continued with damage to the fort that was painfully apparent to its defenders. Indeed it was noticed early in the morning that one rifle shot striking the wall under an embrasure while still intact, had bulged the bricks inward in the interior. A sample of the power of the new projectile that we were unprepared for.

"A few men were wounded, but, thanks to the labor that had been bestowed upon the defenses and shelters, they were very few. At nightfall the firing slackened and opportunity was had for examining into the injury received by the fort. It was appalling, nearly all of the barbette, guns and mortars bearing upon the position of the enemy had been dismounted, and the traverse badly torn, many of the casemate guns were in a similar plight and the line of officer's quarters and kitchen were wrecked, but most serious of all was the condition of the southeast angle of the fort.

"There the fire of the enemy had been concentrated with a view to making a breach, and it needed but one look to convince that an hour or two longer of such pounding would most certainly accomplish what was intended. The whole outer surface of the wall had been battered away and nearly filled the moat, and what was left standing between the piers of three casemates was shaken and trembling. The danger of the position was that this wall once down the same projectiles that had done the mischief there would have free sweep across the parade against the wall of the main service magazine on the opposite angle of the fort. During the night the firing continued at short intervals, and in the early morning was commenced with great rapidity again.

"One by one the guns of the fort were disabled, until there were only two or three that could be brought to bear at all upon the batteries that were doing us most injury. The walls of the injured casemates were soon shot away entirely, and now solid shot and shell were pounding upon the traverses that protected the entrance to the magazine. About two o'clock in the day an officer reported that a shell had penetrated through the traverse and exploded in the alley-way of the magazine.

"Then it appeared to the commanding officer that longer resistance would be useless, and the signal of surrender was given.

"General Gillmore came to treat for the surrender, and the following terms were agreed upon :

"ARTICLE 1. The fort, armament and garrison to be surrendered at once to the forces of the United States

"ARTICLE 2. The officers and men of the garrison to be allowed to take with them all their private effects, such as clothing, bedding, books, etc. This not to include private weapons.

"ARTICLE 3. The sick and wounded under charge of the hospital steward of the garrison to be sent up under a flag of truce to the Confederate lines; and, at the same time the men to be allowed to send up any letters they may desire, subject to the inspection of a Federal officer.

"Signed the eleventh day of April, 1862, at Fort Pulaski, Cockspur Island, Ga.

CHARLES H. OLMSTEAD,

"Col. First Vol. Reg't of Ga. Comd'g Fort Pulaski.

"Q. A. GILLMORE,

"Brig. Gen. Vols. Comd'g U. S. Forces, Tybee Island.

"Among the wounded was one of two brothers from Berrien, Ga. He was badly mangled, it was plain that he could not live, and the distress of his brother at the prospect of leaving him was pitiful. Adjutant Matthew H. Hopkins had received a wound in the eye, and, in accordance with the terms of surrender, was entitled to be sent to Savannah. With a magnanimity which did not surprise those who knew his true heart, he relinquished his right to release, and chose the lot of a prisoner of war in order that the brothers might not be separated."

The garrison surrendered numbered 365 men and 24 officers, and was composed of the following companies: German Volunteers, Captain John H. Stegin; Washington Volunteers, Captain John McMahan; Wise Guards, Captain M. J. McMullen; Oglethorpe Light Infantry, Company B, Captain F. W. Sims; Montgomery Guards, Captain L. J. Guilmartin. The following constituted the field and staff officers: Colonel Charles H. Olmstead, commanding post; major, John Foley; adjutant, M. H. Hopkins; quartermaster, Robert Erwin; commissary, Robert D. Walker; surgeon, J. T. McFarland; sergeant, Major Robert H. Lewis; ordnance sergeant, Harvey Lewis; quartermaster's sergeant, William C. Crawford; quartermaster's clerk, Edward D. Hopkins; commissary clerk, E. W. Drummond.

The captured garrison was removed by steamer to Port Royal and from thence by the steamer *Oriental* to Governor's Island, New York. The officers were confined at Columbus and the men in a fort on the same island known as Castle William. In the course of two months the officers were sent to the prison on Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, O., and the men to Fort Delaware. In September, 1862, a general exchange of prisoners was effected and the Fort Pulaski officers returned to Savannah.

The conduct of Fort Pulaski's garrison during the trying days of the siege was most heroic, and the people of Savannah, of whom nearly all were natives, have no reason but to feel a justifiable pride in their deeds. Although three thousand shot and shell were thrown into the fort only four were seriously wounded and some fourteen slightly, while the Federals had several killed and wounded. On the second day of the bombardment, when the enemy's fire was hottest, occurred an incident, which for cool and undaunted bravery is especially deserving of mention. The halyards of the flag of the fort having been cut away by the incessant firing of the enemy, Lieutenant Christopher Hussy, of the Montgomery Guards, and John Latham, of the Washington Volunteers, immediately sprang upon the parapet, exposed to a rain of shot and shell, and seizing the flag carried it to a gun-carriage at the northeastern angle of the fort, where they rigged a temporary staff, from which the flag proudly floated until the surrender. "When," says Colonel Jones in his historical sketch of the Chatham Artillery, "the heroic memories of the momentous struggle for Confederate independence are garnered up, and the valiant deeds recorded of those who in their persons and acts illustrated the virtues of the truly brave under circumstances of peculiar peril and in the hour of supreme danger freely exposed themselves in defense of the national emblem, let the recollection of this illustrious incident upon the parapet of Fort Pulaski be perpetuated upon the historic page, and the names of these two courageous men be inscribed upon the roll of honor."

The reduction of Fort Pulaski and subsequent movements of the Federals led to the opinion that Savannah was to be attacked, but after results showed that the feints of the enemy in that direction were only intended to distract the attention of the Confederate military commanders who would thus be led to keep a large force here while hostile operations were conducted elsewhere. The military authorities in Savannah believing the city would be attacked laid plans to defend it to the last extremity, and that their work in this direction met the heartiest approval of the citizens, the following preamble and resolutions adopted by the city council on the 29th of April, 1862, clearly shows :

"WHEREAS, A communication has been received from the commanding general stating that he will defend this city to the last extremity, and whereas, the members of the council unanimously approve of the determination of the commanding general, therefore be it

“ *Resolved*, That the council will render all that is in their power to sustain the general and to carry out his laudable determination.”

The district of Georgia at this time was commanded by Brigadier-General A. R. Lawton, but in May following General Lawton was ordered with five thousand men to report to General Lee in Virginia, and shortly after departed. He was succeeded in command of the district by General Hugh W. Mercer, who remained until Lieutenant-General W. J. Hardee assumed command in 1864, a short time prior to the evacuation of the city. General Mercer was a lineal descendant of the heroic Mercer of Revolutionary memory, who, in the darkest hour of his country's hopes, fell mortally wounded while leading the van at the battle of Princeton.

Fort McAllister is so inseparably associated with the record of valorous deeds of Savannah soldiers, that a history of the military operations in connection with the defense of this famous military post is necessary. It is situated about sixteen miles from Savannah, on Genesis Point, on the right bank of the great Ogeechee River, and was among the first of the numerous earthworks constructed for the defense of the city, being intended as a stronghold from which to dispute a passage up the river.

It was first attacked on June 29, 1862, when four gunboats tested the strength of its works and the efficiency of its garrison then composed of the De Kalb Riflemen under the command of Captain A. L. Hartridge. This attack was unsuccessful, and only two men were wounded. The fort was again made a target of by several vessels on the 2d of November of the same year, the Emmett Rifles, Captain George A. Nicoll, being in command of the garrison. This attack was followed by another on the 19th of November, when the Republican Blues, under Lieutenant George W. Anderson, assisted the Emmet Rifles in defending the fort. At this time three men of the garrison were wounded. On this occasion the enemy again encountered a repulse which was but a prelude to others more signal.

On the morning of the 27th of January, 1863, the Federal ironclad *Montauk*, accompanied by three gunboats, a mortar schooner and a tug opened fire upon the fort.

The *Montauk* was armed with one fifteen-inch and one eleven-inch Dahlgren gun. For five hours and a half the big guns of the *Montauk*

hurled their heavy projectiles against the sand parapet of the fort. Despite this formidable demonstration, however, the earthworks were comparatively uninjured and none of the garrison was injured. "To this bombardment," says Colonel Jones in the historical sketch of the Chatham Artillery, "remarkable historical interest attaches, because, on this occasion, a *fifteen-inch gun was first* used in the effort to reduce a shore battery; and the ability of properly constructed sand parapets to resist the effect of novel projectiles, far surpassing in weight and power all others heretofore known, was fairly demonstrated. To the honor of this little fort and the praise of its heroic defenders let these facts be recorded and perpetuated."

Not satisfied with the experience of their repeated attacks, the Federals, with the *Montauk*, four gunboats, and a mortar boat again began to bombard the fort early on Sunday morning of February 1st of the same year. After a six hours' contest the enemy for the fifth time was compelled to retire from the contest vanquished and discomforted. During the engagement Major John B. Gallie, commandant of the fort, was struck on the head and instantly killed, and seven others of the garrison were slightly wounded. Upon the death of Major Gallie the command of the fort devolved upon Captain George W. Anderson, who bravely continued the fight. This signal victory was made the subject of the following complimentary order from General Beauregard, commanding the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida: "The thanks of the country are due to this intrepid garrison who have thus shown what brave men may withstand and accomplish despite apparent odds. Fort McAllister will be inscribed on all the flags of all the troops engaged in the defense of the battery."

The last naval attack upon Fort McAllister was made on the 3d of March, 1863. The enemy appeared early on that day with a formidable fleet consisting of four ironclads, five gunboats, and two mortar schooners. The terrible conflict which followed the commencement of the engagement was graphically and fully detailed in the *Savannah Republican* of March 11, 1863, from which we make the following extract: "About a quarter before nine o'clock the fort opened on the *Passaic* with a rifled gun, the eight and ten-inch Columbiads following suit, to which the *Montauk* replied, firing her first gun at nine o'clock.

She was followed by her associates in quick succession. The fire on both sides was continued for seven hours and a half, during which the enemy fired two hundred and fifty shot and shell at the fort, amounting to about seventy tons of the most formidable missiles ever invented for the destruction of human life. . . . The fort fired the first and last shot. The enemy's mortar boats kept up a fire all night, and it was evidently their intention to renew the fight the next morning, but finding that the damage done to the fort the day before had been fully repaired, and the garrison fully prepared to resist, declined. . . . Notwithstanding the heavy fire to which the fort was subjected, only three men were wounded: Thomas W. Rape, and W. S. Owens of the Emmett Rifles, the first on the knee and the latter in the face; James Mims of Company D, First Georgia Battalion, Sharpshooters, had his leg crushed and ankle broken by the fall of a piece of timber while remounting a Columbiad after the fight. . . . The night previous to the fight Lieutenant E. A. Ellarbe, of the Hardwick Mounted Rifles; Captain J. L. McAllister, with a detachment consisting of Sergeant Harmon and Privates Proctor, Wyatt, Harper, and Cobb, crossed the river and dug a rifle-pit within long rifle range of the rams and awaited the coming fight. During the hottest part of the engagement an officer with glass in hand made his appearance on the deck of the *Passaic*. A Maynard rifle slug soon went whizzing by his ears, which startled and caused him to right-about face, when a second slug, apparently, took effect upon his person, as with both hands he caught hold of the turret for support, and immediately clambered or was dragged into a port-hole. It is believed that the officer was killed. The display on the *Passaic* the day following, and the funeral on the *Ossabaw* the Friday following gave strength to the opinion. As soon as the fatal rifle shot was fired the *Passaic* turned her guns upon the marsh and literally raked it with grape shot. The riflemen, however, succeeded in changing their base in time to avoid the missiles of the enemy. Not one of them was hurt. Too much credit cannot be bestowed upon the daring act of a few brave men. . . . Captain George W. Anderson, of the Republican Blues, commanded the fort on this trying occasion, and he and his force received, as they deserved, the highest commendation. Captain George A. Nicoll of the Emmett Rifles, Captain J. L. McAllister, Lieutenant W. D. Dixon, and

Sergeant T. S. Flood (the latter was sick at the hospital when the fight commenced, but left his bed to take part in the fight), Corporal Robert Smith and his squad from the Republican Blues, which worked the rifle gun, Lieutenant Quin of the Blues, Sergeant Frazier, Lieutenant Rockwell, and Sergeant Cavanaugh, Captain Robert Martin and detachment of his company, who successfully worked a mortar battery, Captain McCrady, and Captain James McAlpin were entitled to and received a large share of the honors of the day."

This brilliant victory drew from Brigadier-General Mercer, commanding the district of Georgia, a general order complimenting the garrison for their heroic defense, stating that the "brigadier-general commanding again returns his hearty thanks to the brave garrison, and expresses the confident hope that this heroic example will be followed by all under his command. For eight hours these formidable vessels, throwing fifteen-inch hollow shot and shell, thirteen-inch shell, eleven-inch solid shot, and eight-inch rifle projectiles—a combination of formidable missiles never before concentrated upon a single battery—hurled an iron hail upon the fort; but the brave gunners, with the cool efficient spirit of disciplined soldiers, and with the intrepid hearts of freemen battling for a just cause, stood undaunted at their posts, and proved to the world that the most formidable vessels and guns that modern ingenuity has been able to produce are powerless against an earthwork manned by patriots to whom honor and liberty are dearer than life. As a testimonial to the brave garrison, the commanding general will be solicited to direct that 'Fort McAllister, March 3, 1863,' be inscribed upon their flags." This request General Beauregard complied with in a general order, stating that he "had again a pleasant duty to discharge—to commend to the notice of the country and the emulation of his officers and men the intrepid conduct of the garrison of Fort McAllister, and the skill of the officers engaged on the 3d of March, 1863."

This was the last naval attack upon this battery. So far it had proved itself an overmatch for all that had been sent against it. Seven times had the Federals been repulsed before its Bermuda covered parapets. After the engagement of the 3d of March the fort was considerably strengthened, especially its rear defenses, and its armament increased by the addition of some heavy and light guns. Late in 1864 its battery

consisted of one ten-inch mortar, three ten-inch Columbiads, one eight-inch Columbiad, one forty-two-pounder gun, one thirty-two-pounder gun, rifled, four thirty-two-pounder guns, smooth bore, one twenty-four-pounder howitzer, two twelve-pounder mountain howitzers, two twelve-pounder Napoleon guns, and six six-pounder bronze field guns. The fort was finely equipped to resist a naval attack and to defend the Great Ogeechee River. It was never intended to resist a serious or protracted land attack.

The destructive march of General Sherman's army from Atlanta to the defenses of Savannah occupied the time from the middle of November until the early part of December, 1864. The merits of this military movement it is not our purpose to discuss. That the methods employed in this predatory march were in many instances unnecessary and cruel the conservative military leaders of the world have long ago admitted. That the objective point of General Sherman's expedition was Savannah was fully realized by the people of this city early in his campaign. Every effort was made to guard the city from attack. The patriotism of the people was fully aroused, and they freely responded to the following spirited address of the mayor :

"MAYOR'S OFFICE, }
"SAVANNAH, November 28, 1864. }

"FELLOW CITIZENS,—The time has come when every male who can shoulder a musket can make himself useful in defending our hearths and homes. Our city is well fortified, and the old can fight in the trenches as well as the young; and a determined and brave force can, behind entrenchment, successfully repel the assaults of treble their number.

"The general commanding this division has issued a call for all men of every age, not absolutely incapacitated from disease, to report at once to Captain C. W. Howard at the Oglethorpe Barracks, for the purpose of organizing into companies for home defense. I call upon every man not already enrolled into a local corps to come forward *at once* and report to Captain Howard. Organization is everything. Let us emulate the noble example of our sister cities of Macon and Augusta, where the whole male population is in arms. By manning the fortifications we will leave free the younger men to act in the field. By prompt action a large local force can be organized from our citizens above the military age, and from those who have been exempted from field service.

"No time is to be lost. The man who will not comprehend and respond to the emergency of the times is foresworn to his duty and to his country.

R. D. ARNOLD, Mayor."

On the 10th of December, 1864, Sherman's army enveloped the western and southern lines of the defenses of the city, and with this date the history of the siege of Savannah properly commences. Although every effort had been made to concentrate a large force for the defense of Savannah, such was the pressure upon the Confederacy and so reduced the troops that at the inception and during the siege there were not more than ten thousand men fit for duty in the Confederate lines around the city, and against this small number was brought to bear the Federal army consisting of some sixty thousand infantry, fifty-five hundred cavalry and a full proportion of artillery. This large force completely enveloped the western lines erected for the defense of the city, extending from the Savannah River at Williamson's plantation to the bridge of the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad across Little Ogeechee. The Confederate line, according to Colonel Jones in his "Siege of Savannah," was subdivided and commanded as follows: "The right, extending from the Savannah River at Williamson's plantation to within about one hundred feet of the Central Railroad crossing, garrisoned by the Georgia militia and the State line troops, was under the command of Major-General Gustavus W. Smith. Twenty guns were in position on his front.

"The batteries at the Central Railroad and Louisville Road crossings, and extending from that point to the head of Shaw's dam, were commanded by Major-General Lafayette McLaws. Twenty-nine pieces of artillery were posted on his front.

"Lieutenant-General William J. Hardee was in general command with his headquarters in the city of Savannah. For holding this long line less than ten thousand infantry, dismounted cavalry, and artilleryists were assembled; and for the space of ten days this little more than a thin skirmish line confronted, at close quarters, Sherman's investing army over sixty thousand strong.

"The light artillery companies were distributed as the necessities of the line demanded, and were either actively engaged in handling the guns in position, or were posted at such convenient distances in the rear that they could move immediately to any designated point in their respective fronts. Only two of them were held in reserve park.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Jones, jr., was chief of artillery.

“On Major-General Smith's front Captain R. W. Anderson acted as chief of artillery of that division. Captain J. A. Maxwell was detailed as chief of artillery on Major-General McLaws' front, and Captain John W. Brooks acted in a similar capacity in Major-General Wright's division.

“By assignment of the general commanding, Major Black of his staff was designated as inspector on Major-General Smith's front; Colonel George A. Gordon, volunteer aid, inspector on Major-General McLaws' front; and Lieutenant-Colonel S. B. Paul, of the lieutenant-general's staff, inspector on Major-General Wright's front.”

So judiciously was the strength of the Confederate line located that the Federals failed to attack it, and with the purpose of securing an outlet to the sea by an avenue other than the Savannah River, General Sherman turned his attention to Fort McAllister, which, if it could be captured, opened up communication with an expectant fleet.

The fort at this time was in command of Major George W. Anderson, the garrison consisting of the Emmett Rifles, Captain George A. Nicoll; Clinch Light Battery, Captain W. B. Clinch; Companies D and E., First Georgia Reserves, the first company commanded by Captain Henry, and the second by Captain Morrison. The whole force of the garrison was about one hundred and fifty men.

Against this small body of men in an absolutely isolated condition and without the least possible chance of support or relief from any quarter, the Second Division of the Fifteenth Army Corps of the Federal army, consisting of seventeen regiments, under the command of Brigadier-General Hazen, was sent by order of General Sherman on December 13, 1864. General Hazen advanced at once to the assault, moving with his whole force against the fort and in a short time effected its capture with a loss to his command of one hundred and thirty-four officers and men killed and wounded. Major Anderson who was in command of the fort furnished a graphic account of this assault to Colonel C. C. Jones, jr., for publication in his “Historical Sketch of the Chatham Artillery,” from which we take the following:

“About eight o'clock A.M. [December 13, 1864,] desultory firing commenced between the skirmishers of the enemy and my sharpshooters.

At ten o'clock the fight became general, the opposing forces extending from the river entirely around to the marsh on the east. . . . Receiving from headquarters neither orders nor responses to my telegraphic dispatches I determined, under the circumstances, and notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, between the garrison and attacking forces, to defend the fort to the last extremity. The guns being *en barbette*, the detachment serving them were greatly exposed to the fire of the enemy's sharpshooters. To such an extent was this the case that in one instance, out of a detachment of eight men, three were killed, and three more wounded. The Federal skirmish line was very heavy and the fire so close and rapid that it was at times impossible to work the guns. My sharpshooters did all in their power, but were entirely too few to suppress this galling fire upon the artillerists. In view of the large force of the enemy—consisting of nine regiments, whose aggregate strength was estimated between 3,500 and 4,000 muskets, and possessing the ability to increase it at any time should it become necessary—and recollecting the feebleness of the garrison of the fort, numbering 150 effective men, it was evident, cut off from all support, and with no possible hope of reinforcement, from any quarter, that holding the fort was simply a question of time. There was but one alternative—death or captivity.

“Late in the afternoon the full force of the enemy made a rapid and vigorous charge upon the works, and succeeding in forcing their way through the abatis, rushed over the parapet of the fort carrying it by storm, and by virtue of superior numbers, overpowered the garrison, fighting gallantly to the last. In many instances the Confederates were disarmed by main force. *The fort was never surrendered. It was captured by overwhelming numbers.*

“I am pleased to state that in my endeavors to hold the fort, I was nobly seconded by the great majority of officers and men under my command. Many of them had never been under fire before, and quite a number were very young, in fact mere boys. Where so many acted gallantly it would be invidious to discriminate, but I cannot avoid mentioning those who came more particularly under my notice. I would therefore most respectfully call the attention of the general commanding to the gallant conduct of Captain Clinch, who when summoned to surrender by a Federal captain responded by dealing him a blow on the

head with his sabre (Captain Clinch had previously received two gun-shot wounds in the arm) immediately a hand to hand fight ensued. Federal privates came to the assistance of their officer, but the fearless Clinch continued the unequal contest until he fell bleeding from eleven wounds (three sabre wounds, six bayonet wounds and two gun-shot wounds), from which after severe and protracted suffering he has barely recovered. His conduct was so conspicuous, and his cool bravery so much admired, as to elicit the praise of the enemy and even of General Sherman himself.

“First Lieutenant William Schirm fought his gun until the enemy had entered the fort, and, notwithstanding a wound in the head, gallantly remained at his post discharging his duties with a coolness and efficiency worthy of all commendation.

“Lieutenant O’Neal, whom I placed in command of the scouting party before mentioned, while in the discharge of that duty and in his subsequent conduct during the attack, merited the honor due to a faithful and gallant officer.

“Among these who nobly fell was the gallant Hazzard, whose zeal and activity was worthy of all praise. He died as a true soldier to his post, facing overwhelming odds. The garrison lost seventeen killed and thirty-one wounded.”

Speaking of the gallant fight of these Confederate heroes in their defense of Fort McAllister, Colonel Jones in his “Siege of Savannah,” justly says: “Among the golden deeds wrought by Confederates in their gigantic struggle for right, property, home, and national independence, the defense of Fort McAllister against seven naval attacks and their final assault will be proudly reckoned. The heroic memories of this earth-work will be cherished long after its parapets shall have been wasted into nothingness by the winds and rains of the changing seasons. Utterly isolated, cut off from all possible relief—capture or death the only alternative—the conduct of this little garrison in the face of such tremendous odds, was gallant in the extreme.”

After the fall of Fort McAllister the Federals had full command of the Great Ogeechee River, and General Sherman was enabled to establish a convenient base of supplies for his army. Reinforcements could be had and heavy guns could be procured with which to prosecute the siege of

Savannah. That the Confederates could much longer hold the town was impossible and the early evacuation of the city became a necessity. The only line of retreat now open to the Confederates was by boats to Screven's ferry landing, and thence into South Carolina. All hope of successfully coping with the enemy was rightly abandoned by General Hardee and he concluded to evacuate the city and thus save his command to the Confederacy.

Orders were issued for the immediate construction of suitable pontoon bridges. The line of retreat selected by the engineers involved the location of a pontoon bridge extending from the foot of West Broad street to Hutchinson Island, a distance of about one thousand feet, a roadway across that island in the direction of Pennyworth Island, a second pontoon bridge across the Middle River, another roadway across Pennyworth Island, and a third pontoon bridge across Back River, the further end of which rested on the Carolina shore.

The work of building the bridges and constructing the roads was placed in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Frobels. On the evening of the 17th of December the first of the bridges was completed, and by half-past eight on Monday the 19th following the remaining bridges were completed and the route in readiness for the retreat of the Confederate garrison.

In the meantime, on the 17th of December, General Sherman demanded the surrender of Savannah and its dependent forts. This demand was addressed to General Hardee and conveyed to the latter officer under a flag of truce. In his letter General Sherman said: "I have already received guns that can cast heavy and destructive shot as far as the heart of your city, also I have for some days held and controlled every avenue by which the people and garrison of Savannah can be supplied, and I am therefore justified in demanding the surrender of the city of Savannah and its dependent forts, and shall await a reasonable time your answer before opening with heavy ordnance." To this demand General Hardee in part replied: "Your statement that you have for some time held and controlled every avenue by which the people and garrison can be supplied is incorrect; I am in free and constant communication with my department. Your demand for the surrender of Savannah and its dependent forts is refused."

Notwithstanding the defiant attitude of General Hardee and the apparent attitude of the Confederate forces to continue in the defense of the city, the work for preparing the way of retreat went steadily on. To deceive the enemy, on the 19th and 20th of December the Confederate artillery and infantry fire was heavier than it had been on any other previous days. The work of spiking the guns and destroying of ammunition was silently and skillfully done, and on the evening of December 20 the evacuation of the city began, and by three o'clock of the following morning the rearguard of the Confederate army had passed over to Hutchinson Island and the evacuation of the city was complete.

General Hardee in speaking of the successful retreat of the garrison, remarked the day after the evacuation to Colonel C. C. Jones, jr., chief of artillery during the siege, "that while sadly deploring the loss of the city he was persuaded nothing had been neglected which could have contributed to the honor of our arms; and that under the circumstances he regarded the safe withdrawal of his army from the lines around Savannah as one of the most signal and satisfactory exploits in his military career."

The intention of General Hardee to evacuate the city with his command was known to the civil authorities of the city, and on the night of December 20, when the troops had begun their successful retreat, Dr. R. D. Arnold, mayor of Savannah, and Aldermen Henry Brigham, J. F. O'Byrne, C. C. Casey, Henry Freeman, Robert Lachlison, Joseph Lippman, J. L. Villalonga and George W. Wylly met in the Exchange and resolved that the council should repair to the outer defenses of the city before daylight to surrender the city and secure such terms as would secure protection to the persons and property of the citizens. The history of events which closely followed this meeting is admirably told in Lee and Agnew's "Historical Record of Savannah," from which the following account is taken:

"The council dispersed to assemble at the Exchange at a later hour where hacks would await to convey the members to the outer works. As they came out of the Exchange a fire was observed in the western part of the city, and by request Messrs. Casey, O'Byrne and Lachlison went to it with a view of taking measures for its suppression. The fire was caused by the burning of a nearly completed ironclad and a lot of

timber near the mouth of the Ogeechee Canal which had been fired by the retreating troops. The wind was blowing to the west, and after observing that no danger to the city need be apprehended from the flames, these gentlemen returned to the Exchange where the other members of the council had assembled and were in a hack prepared to start. They stated that other hacks had been provided, but General Wheeler's cavalry had pressed the horses into service. Mr. O'Byrne procured his horse and buggy and conveyed Mr. Casey to the junction of the Louisville road with the Augusta road—about half a mile beyond the Central Railroad depot—and leaving him there returned for Mr. Lachlison who had walked in that direction. The party in the hack, meanwhile, had come up to Mr. Casey, and taking him up drove up the Louisville road. Mr. O'Byrne met Mr. Lachlison, and with him returned to where Mr. Casey had been left, but not finding any of the party there concluded they had gone up the Augusta road, and proceeded up it, hoping to overtake them. They advanced but a short distance when they heard the report of a gun and a minnie-ball whistled between them. They halted, and were then ordered by the picket to turn around, (they had unawares passed the enemy's picket and had not heard the command to halt), and come to them. They did as commanded, and after informing the officer of the picket who they were, were conducted to Colonel Barnum to whom they stated the object of their mission. He then conducted them to General John W. Geary. They told him that the city had been evacuated, and that they, having started with the mayor and council to surrender it; but becoming separated from them, would assume the authority of consummating a surrender. General Geary at first did not believe them, and questioned them very closely. After becoming satisfied that they were what they assumed to be, he consented to receive the surrender. The aldermen then asked that the lives and property of the citizens should be respected and the ladies protected from insult. General Geary promptly replied that the requests should be complied with, and that any soldier detected violating the orders which would be given to restrain them should be punished with death. Messrs. Lachlison and O'Byrne then asked that a detachment should be sent to look after the mayor and other aldermen, which was granted. General Geary then put his troops in motion and with Messrs. Lachlison and O'Byrne

acting as guides, advanced toward the city. At the Central Railroad bridge they were met by the mayor and aldermen who had been overtaken by the detachment sent for them and returned with it. They, on being introduced to the general and told what had been done by Messrs. O'Byrne and Lachlison, confirmed their action. The line of march was then taken up to West Broad street, down to the Bay, and thence to the Exchange, in front of which the troops were drawn up. The officers and members of the council proceeded to the porch, from which General Geary addressed the troops, complimenting them upon their past deeds and upon the additional honor they had conferred upon themselves by capturing 'this beautiful city of the South.' During this speech Colonel Barnum observed a sergeant step out of the ranks to the store at the corner of Bull and Bay street, enter and come out wearing a fireman's hat. On coming down from the porch he called the sergeant to him, and drawing his sword ordered him to hold out the hat, which he did, and the colonel with one stroke of his sword cut it in half. He then stripped the chevrons from the sergeant's arms and reduced him to the ranks.

"After the speech the troops were dispersed in squads throughout the city, and, notwithstanding the strict orders they had received, committed many depredations, among them the wanton destruction of valuable books and papers in the Exchange and court-house belonging to the city and county. General Geary established his headquarters in the Central Railroad Bank, and his subordinate officers in the various unoccupied stores along the bay. On the 24th of December he issued an order regarding the posts and duty of the provost guards, and instructing the civil authorities to resume their official duties."

General W. T. Sherman arrived in Savannah on the 25th, and after telegraphing President Lincoln he would present him Savannah as a "Christmas gift," he issued the following order from his headquarters at the Green mansion opposite Oglethorpe Barracks:

"HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, }
 "In the field, Savannah, Ga., December 26, 1864. }"

"SPECIAL FIELD ORDER, }
 "No. 143. }"

"The city of Savannah and surrounding country will be held as a military post and adapted to future military uses, but as it contains a popu-

timber near the mouth of the Ogeechee Canal which had been fired by the retreating troops. The wind was blowing to the west, and after observing that no danger to the city need be apprehended from the flames, these gentlemen returned to the Exchange where the other members of the council had assembled and were in a hack prepared to start. They stated that other hacks had been provided, but General Wheeler's cavalry had pressed the horses into service. Mr. O'Byrne procured his horse and buggy and conveyed Mr. Casey to the junction of the Louisville road with the Augusta road—about half a mile beyond the Central Railroad depot—and leaving him there returned for Mr. Lachlison who had walked in that direction. The party in the hack, meanwhile, had come up to Mr. Casey, and taking him up drove up the Louisville road. Mr. O'Byrne met Mr. Lachlison, and with him returned to where Mr. Casey had been left, but not finding any of the party there concluded they had gone up the Augusta road, and proceeded up it, hoping to overtake them. They advanced but a short distance when they heard the report of a gun and a minnie-ball whistled between them. They halted, and were then ordered by the picket to turn around, (they had unawares passed the enemy's picket and had not heard the command to halt), and come to them. They did as commanded, and after informing the officer of the picket who they were, were conducted to Colonel Barnum to whom they stated the object of their mission. He then conducted them to General John W. Geary. They told him that the city had been evacuated, and that they, having started with the mayor and council to surrender it; but becoming separated from them, would assume the authority of consummating a surrender. General Geary at first did not believe them, and questioned them very closely. After becoming satisfied that they were what they assumed to be, he consented to receive the surrender. The aldermen then asked that the lives and property of the citizens should be respected and the ladies protected from insult. General Geary promptly replied that the requests should be complied with, and that any soldier detected violating the orders which would be given to restrain them should be punished with death. Messrs. Lachlison and O'Byrne then asked that a detachment should be sent to look after the mayor and other aldermen, which was granted. General Geary then put his troops in motion and with Messrs. Lachlison and O'Byrne

acting as guides, advanced toward the city. At the Central Railroad bridge they were met by the mayor and aldermen who had been overtaken by the detachment sent for them and returned with it. They, on being introduced to the general and told what had been done by Messrs. O'Byrne and Lachlison, confirmed their action. The line of march was then taken up to West Broad street, down to the Bay, and thence to the Exchange, in front of which the troops were drawn up. The officers and members of the council proceeded to the porch, from which General Geary addressed the troops, complimenting them upon their past deeds and upon the additional honor they had conferred upon themselves by capturing 'this beautiful city of the South.' During this speech Colonel Barnum observed a sergeant step out of the ranks to the store at the corner of Bull and Bay street, enter and come out wearing a fireman's hat. On coming down from the porch he called the sergeant to him, and drawing his sword ordered him to hold out the hat, which he did, and the colonel with one stroke of his sword cut it in half. He then stripped the chevrons from the sergeant's arms and reduced him to the ranks.

"After the speech the troops were dispersed in squads throughout the city, and, notwithstanding the strict orders they had received, committed many depredations, among them the wanton destruction of valuable books and papers in the Exchange and court-house belonging to the city and county. General Geary established his headquarters in the Central Railroad Bank, and his subordinate officers in the various unoccupied stores along the bay. On the 24th of December he issued an order regarding the posts and duty of the provost guards, and instructing the civil authorities to resume their official duties."

General W. T. Sherman arrived in Savannah on the 25th, and after telegraphing President Lincoln he would present him Savannah as a "Christmas gift," he issued the following order from his headquarters at the Green mansion opposite Oglethorpe Barracks:

"HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, }
 "In the field, Savannah, Ga., December 26, 1864. }

"SPECIAL FIELD ORDER, }
 "No. 143. }

"The city of Savannah and surrounding country will be held as a military post and adapted to future military uses, but as it contains a popu-

lation of some 20,000 people who must be provided for, and as other citizens may come, it is proper to lay down certain general principles, that all within its military jurisdiction may understand their relative duties and obligations.

"I. During war the military is superior to civil authority, and where interests clash the civil must give way, yet where there is no conflict every encouragement should be given to well disposed and peaceful inhabitants to resume their usual pursuits. Families should be disturbed as little as possible in their residences, and tradesmen allowed the free use of their shops, tools, etc. Churches, schools, all places of amusement and recreation should be encouraged and streets and roads made perfectly safe to persons in their usual pursuits. Passes should not be exacted within the lines of other pickets, but if any person should abuse these privileges by communicating with the enemy or doing any act of hostility to the government of the United States, he or she will be punished with the utmost rigor of the law.

"Commerce with the outer world will be resumed to an extent commensurate with the wants of the citizens, governed by the restriction and rules of the treasury department.

"II. The chief quartermaster and commissary of the army may give suitable employment to the people, white or black, or transport them to such points as they choose, where employment may be had, and may extend temporary relief in the way of provisions and vacant houses to the worthy and needy until such time as they can help themselves. They will select first, the buildings for the necessary uses of the army; next a sufficient number of stores to be turned over to the treasury agent, for trade stores. All vacant storehouses or dwellings and all buildings belonging to absent rebels will be construed and used as belonging to the United States until such times as their titles can be settled by the courts of the United States.

"III. The mayor and city council of Savannah will continue to exercise their functions as such and will, in concert with the commanding officer of the post and the chief quartermaster, see that the fire companies are kept in organization, the streets cleaned and lighted, and keep up a good understanding between the citizens and soldiers. They will ascertain and report to the chief C. S., as soon as possible, the names and members of worthy families that need assistance and support.

"The mayor will forthwith give public notice that the time has come when all must choose their course, viz. : to remain within our lines and conduct themselves as good citizens or depart in peace. He will ascertain the names of all who choose to leave Savannah, and report their names and residences to the chief quartermaster that measures may be taken to transport them beyond the lines.

"IV. Not more than two newspapers will be published in Savannah, and their editors and proprietors will be held to the strictest accountability, and will be punished severely in person and property for any libelous publications, mischievous matter, premature news, exaggerated statements, or any comments whatever upon the acts of the constituted authorities; they will be held accountable even for such articles though copied from other papers.

"By order of MAJOR-GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

"L. M. BRAYTON, Aid-de-camp."

The people of Savannah in a spirit of moderation, and actuated by the most sincere motives, quietly undertook the work of adapting themselves to the conditions imposed upon them by the fate of war. A meeting of the citizens was held in the Masonic Hall two days after General Sherman issued his order to "take into consideration matters appertaining to the present and future welfare of the city, Dr. R. D. Arnold presided, and after several conciliatory speeches had been made, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted :

"WHEREAS, By the fortunes of war and the surrender of the city by the civil authorities, the city of Savannah passes once more under the authority of the United States; and whereas, we believe that the interest of the city will be best subserved and promoted by a full and free expression of our views in relation to our present conditions; we, therefore, the people of Savannah in full meeting assembled do hereby resolve:

"That we accept the position, and in the language of the President of the United States, seek to have 'peace by laying down our arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution, leaving all questions which remain to be adjusted by the peaceful means of legislation, conference and votes.'

"Resolved, That laying aside all differences, and burying by-gones

lation of some 20,000 people who must be provided for, and as other citizens may come, it is proper to lay down certain general principles, that all within its military jurisdiction may understand their relative duties and obligations.

"I. During war the military is superior to civil authority, and where interests clash the civil must give way, yet where there is no conflict every encouragement should be given to well disposed and peaceful inhabitants to resume their usual pursuits. Families should be disturbed as little as possible in their residences, and tradesmen allowed the free use of their shops, tools, etc. Churches, schools, all places of amusement and recreation should be encouraged and streets and roads made perfectly safe to persons in their usual pursuits. Passes should not be exacted within the lines of other pickets, but if any person should abuse these privileges by communicating with the enemy or doing any act of hostility to the government of the United States, he or she will be punished with the utmost rigor of the law.

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"That we accept the position, and in the language of the President of the United States, seek to have 'peace by laying down our arms and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution, leaving all questions which remain to be adjusted by the peaceful means of legislation, conference and votes.'

"*Resolved*, That laying aside all differences, and burying by-gones

in the grave of the past, we will use our best endeavors once more to bring back the prosperity and commerce we once enjoyed.

Resolved, That we do not put ourselves in the position of a conquered city, asking terms of a conqueror, but we claim the immunities and privileges contained in the Proclamation and Message of the President of the United States, and in all the legislation of Congress in reference to a people situated as we are, and while we owe on our part a strict obedience to the laws of the United States, we ask the protection over our persons, lives and property recognized by these laws."

Soon after the Federal troops had arrived in Savannah they threw up intrenchments to resist any attempts that might be made by the Confederates to recapture the city. Intrenchments were also thrown up on the Thunderbolt road upon which guns were mounted, bearing upon the city, being intended as a rallying point if they should be driven from the other intrenchments. In building the latter line, they ran their works through the Catholic Cemetery, tearing up the ground and in many cases mutilating or covering up the monuments and tablets erected over the dead. In some instances it was claimed bones were dug up, and left scattered about. The officers who authorized the work, when remonstrated with, claimed the work was necessary and excused their inhumanity on the ground of "military necessity."

The confiscation of the cotton which was stored in Savannah was the most severe financial blow suffered by the city during its occupancy by the Federals. At the time the city was evacuated there were 30,500 bales of upland and over 8,000 bales of Sea Island cotton stored in the warehouses, only 1,000 bales it is claimed belonging to the Confederate States government. The United States quartermaster seized all of this cotton and shipped it to New York where upland cotton at this time commanded \$1.25 per pound and Sea Island \$3 per pound, making the total value of the seized cotton about \$28,000,000.

While the people were suffering all the annoyances and hardships incident to military rule they were called upon to bear a calamity which at one time threatened to destroy the entire city. This was the fire of the 27th of January, 1865, which destroyed over one hundred buildings. It commenced in a stable in the rear of old "Granite Hall" and it was claimed was started by the Federal soldiers. Granite Hall had been used by the

Confederate authorities as an arsenal, and in it on this occasion were stored thousands of rounds of ammunition. Under the direction of a United States officer the citizens and soldiers commenced to remove the ammunition, but before much of it had been removed the fire was communicated to the powder and explosion after explosion followed in rapid succession. Fragments of shells flew in all directions, killing a negro and wounding two or three citizens. "During this novel bombardment," says a local historian, "which put a stop to the working of the engines in the vicinity and allowed the fire full sway, a piece of shell struck the reservoir. A jet of water immediately sprung out, which for novelty and beauty surpassed any fountain, looking in the fiery glare like a sheet of molten silver." Before the flames were extinguished over one hundred houses located on West Broad, between Pine and St. Gaul streets, and a few on Broughton and Congress streets were destroyed.

No act of General Sherman's while in Savannah called forth more bitter denunciation than his order requiring the wives and families of Confederate officers to be sent into Confederate lines. Word was sent privately to the ladies that it was the intention to remove them and that they must register their names by a certain time. All did not comply with this request as is evinced by the following order of Major-General C. Grover then in command of Savannah :

"OFFICE PROVOST MARSHAL, DISTRICT OF SAVANNAH. }
March 28, 1865. }

"The wives and families of Confederate officers who have not registered their names at this office will do so at once."

"By order, BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL C. GROVER, Commanding.
"ROBERT P. YORK, Provost Marshal District of Savannah, Ga."

Three days after this order was issued the ladies and children were placed on the steamer *Hudson* to be carried to Augusta, but when the boat arrived at Sister's Ferry, about sixty-four miles from Savannah, the captain refused to proceed further. Captain Edward C. Anderson, who was stationed at this point, had the ladies and children transferred to the shore and transported to Augusta in wagons, the only means of conveying them to their destinations. The suffering and exposure they had to endure was, however, of short duration, for shortly after their arrival in

Augusta the armies of Generals Lee and Johnston surrendered and they were soon united at their homes with their lawful protectors.

With the end of the war the restrictions which had been placed upon the commerce and business of Savannah were gradually removed, a civil government was restored, and the people brave and courageous, with no useless regret, took up the work of retrieving their fallen fortunes and restoring the city they loved to its rightful place among the commercial centers of the South. With unhesitating confidence they put the past with all its ruin and blasted hopes behind them, and beginning at the very bottom, applied themselves to planting in steady labor, frugal living and self-denial, the shattered foundation of public and individual prosperity. The progress they have made challenges wonder and admiration. To-day Savannah has no disturbing element; order, industry and thrift are everywhere, while its growth in material wealth, and population suffers no disparagement in comparison with any Southern city.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HISTORY OF THE MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF SAVANNAH.

Growth of Military Ideas—Chatham Artillery—Savannah Volunteer Guards—First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia—Georgia Hussars—Colored Military Companies.

FOR an even century no American city has had a more brilliant military history than Savannah. The causes which fostered and developed the sentiments which have made the city conspicuous in this regard, Colonel C. H. Olmstead admirably explains in his prelude to a history of the First Georgia Regiment, published in the *Morning News* of May 5, 1886, from which we make the following liberal extracts:

“From the eventful day on which General Oglethorpe landed upon the bluff at Yamacraw until the present time, the city of Savannah has been noted for the vigorous hold of the military ideas upon the minds and hearts of its citizens. Military spirit born of necessity has always

been high, and a belief in the military virtues has been inherited by generation after generation, imbibed as it were with mother's milk.

"The earliest picture of the city represents a few scattered houses surrounded by a wall of living forest, but upon the left a flag flutters in the breeze and a battery of cannon points over the waters of the river, promising even in that early day a hot welcome to every foe. The colony was planted upon ground claimed by the Spaniards. Within easy distance was the strong fortress of St. Augustine, a base from which again and again the land and naval forces of his Majesty Philip the Fifth were hurled against the little handful of Englishmen. A regiment was one of the first of Oglethorpe's wants, and from the beginning each colonist felt in his inmost soul that the safety of altars and firesides depended upon stout arms and brave hearts. No wonder that then was born the spirit that has never since died. The war of the Revolution certainly had no tendency to weaken the sentiment, but rather added fuel to the flame, and to this day the imagination of every native of the old city kindles to a white heat, as he recalls the rush of Pulaski's Legion and the fall of that gallant chieftain, the desperate assault upon Spring Hill redoubt by the allied forces, and the death of Jasper. We mourn over the fortunes of that fatal day as though it had been yesterday, and how our hearts rejoice as we think of the glorious morn when the British ships sailed away never to return save as the 'white winged messengers of peace' and the 'Ragged Continentals' once more marched in to enjoy their own again.

"These events were talked of at the fireside by old men and women, even as late as forty years ago. As little children they had witnessed them, and the story was handed down from one to another, ever exciting a generous ardor in noble souls to prepare for the day when their manhood, too, might be put to the crucial test, their courage and self-denial tried as by fire. What Savannahian who ever saw him, can forget the venerable figure of Sheftall Sheftall, that old soldier of the Revolution, pacing back and forth in the quaint old uniform in which he had fought for liberty, and who can tell what influences his simple life in the community may have had in moulding military thought and desire?

"The War of 1812 found Savannah still an outpost. The proximity of Britain's great naval stations in the West Indies, kept our people keenly

on the alert to repel invasion. Florida was still a dangerous neighbor, and so once again the maps of the city show the homes of its inhabitants guarded by cannon. From the river on the east around to the river on the west we see a line of strong redoubts and salients, telling the story of a people ready to defend themselves, a people who had added to natural bravery the skill and military capacity which belong only to those who study the arts of war in the piping times of peace.

“The legitimate outgrowth of this gallant spirit was the banding together of the young men of Savannah as volunteer soldiery. Scarcely had the echoes of the Revolution died away, when the ‘Dextrous Company of Artillery’ was formed—that splendid organization whose guns pealed forth a welcome to Washington and thundered a mournful farewell over the grave of Greene. . . . Other companies were formed in quick succession, each doing its full share in fostering the manly virtues received of their fathers, and in transmitting to their successors the traditions of a glorious past.”

The Chatham Artillery, the oldest artillery organization in the State of Georgia, was organized on May 1, 1786, mainly through the efforts of Edwin Lloyd, a Revolutionary soldier, who was elected the first captain of the company. The first public service rendered by the battery was performed in association with other companies of the regiment of the Chatham county militia, and other troops from Beaufort district, in the State of South Carolina in attacking and dispersing on May 6, 1786, a camp of runaway negroes, who, styling themselves the King of England’s soldiers, had fixed their lawless homes on Bear Creek, in Effingham county. The first funeral honors paid by the corps were rendered upon the occasion of the burial of Major-General Nathanael Greene on June 20, 1786.

During the visit of General Washington to Savannah in May, 1791, he was constantly attended by the Chatham Artillery, then under the command of Captain Elf, the second captain of the battery. General Washington after his visit presented to the battery two of the guns taken at Yorktown, which are still in their possession and cherished with much pride. The third commander of the battery was Josiah Tattnall, the father of Commodore Tattnall, a man upon whom was bestowed the highest civil and military honors within the gift of the State of Georgia.

James Robinson was the fourth captain of the Chatham Artillery, being elected in July, 1794. The battery under his command participated in the Creek Indian disturbance along the southern coast of Georgia. Benjamin Wall succeeded Captain Robinson as commander of the battery. Captain Wall was followed by Richard Montgomery Stiles. Under the command of Captain Robert McKay, the Chatham Artillery as a part of the First Regiment of the Georgia militia, entered the service of the United States in the War of 1812, and for a time formed a part of the garrison at Fort Jackson, besides being actively engaged in the construction of earth-works for the immediate protection of Savannah. The eighth captain of the Chatham Artillery was Colonel William T. Williams who was elected in 1816, and continued as captain until his election in 1824 as major of the First Regiment. Colonel Williams was several times elected mayor of Savannah, and was a man of the highest integrity of character.

During the command of Captain Blois, who succeeded Colonel Williams, the city of Savannah was honored by a visit from General Lafayette, upon which occasion the Chathams extended military honor to the friend of Washington.

On February 2, 1826, Charles M. King was elected the tenth captain of the Chatham artillery, and for a period of six years he remained in active command. He was followed as captain by Charles Stephens, an officer of the regular army who had seen much service in the southwest under General Jackson. It was under his command that the Chatham artillery tendered its services to the governor of the State when the United States became involved in the war with Mexico. They were not accepted because their services were not required. For seventeen years the command of the company was retained by Captain Stephens. He was succeeded by Captain John B. Gallie, who during the civil war, while in command at Fort McAllister, with the rank of major, was killed on February 1, 1863. It was during the captaincy of Major Gallie that the company assisted in celebrating the centennial anniversary of the settlement of Liberty county in 1853, on which occasion the Chatham Artillery, Republican Blues and the Savannah Guards formed a military organization known as the Washington Legion.

John E. Ward succeeded Major Gallie as captain. In 1858 Joseph

S. Claghorn became the fourteenth commander of the company. Under the captaincy of the latter the battery was mustered into the service of the Confederate States on July 31, 1861, as a part of the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia, the commissioned officers being Jasper S. Claghorn, captain; Charles C. Jones, jr., senior first lieutenant; Julian Hart-ridge, junior first lieutenant; William H. Davidson, senior second lieutenant, and Bernardino S. Sanchez, junior second lieutenant.

On May 1 preceding their being mustered into service, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the corps was celebrated with most interesting ceremonies, on which occasion an oration commemorative of its history from its earliest organization was pronounced by the senior first lieutenant, Charles C. Jones, jr. On October 14, 1862, Lieutenant Jones was promoted and commissioned as lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and by Brigadier-General Mercer was ordered to the command of the light batteries in the military district of Georgia, in which capacity he continued to render most efficient service until the war closed. The remaining war record of the corps we have, with only slight changes, taken from the address of Hon. John E. Ward, delivered at the centennial anniversary exercises of the company, held in Savannah in May, 1886.

Under Captain Claghorn the company entered the Confederate service with over one hundred and twenty men, with horses, drivers and cannoneer, and as a thoroughly drilled and mounted battery. On December 24, 1861, a Blakely gun, throwing a conical projectile of nearly twelve pounds in weight, which had been brought through the blockade, was assigned to this battery by Brigadier-General Lawton, as a special mark of the esteem in which the battery was held by him, and as a reward for the proficiency and skill which it had already attained. For many months it continued in their possession, and was used by them in the battle of Secessionville. When the armament of the battery was changed, it passed out of the hands of the company, and was abandoned by Wagner's German artillery upon the retreat from Bryan county, when at the close of the war it was retiring within the Confederate lines on the old Darien road, upon the advance of Sherman's army.

The first hostile guns were heard in the encampments of the battery on October 30, 1861. On that day launches from a blockading vessel attempted to set fire to a schooner which had stranded near the Confed-

erate battery on the north point of Warsaw Island. This battery was at the time garrisoned by the Republican Blues of Savannah, and opened fire upon the launches, which resulted in an engagement which was terminated by the withdrawal of the Federals without accomplishing their purpose. This was the first passage of arms on the coast of Georgia.

Immediately after the battle of Seven Pines, General Lawton, who from the first moment when, as colonel of the State regiment under the order of Governor Brown, he had occupied Fort Pulaski, had with ability and patriotism devoted his entire time and all his energies to the defense of Georgia, received an order to prepare five thousand men to move on to Richmond at the shortest notice. His prompt reply was: "My men, to the number designated, are ready to march at once, and I earnestly request that I may be ordered to Virginia with them." This request was granted, and history records how he there illustrated his State, and gladdened the hearts of her people by his gallant deeds.

The Chatham Artillery, then a part of his command, earnestly solicited to be allowed to follow their general to the field of battle. Their application was warmly seconded by General Lawton, but was refused because their services were deemed absolutely necessary on the seacoast of Georgia.

On December 12, 1862, when by the exertions of Captain Claghorn the battery had been raised to the number of one hundred and sixty-five men, the animals carefully trained and all the appointments of the battery in excellent order, he resigned the command of the company to accept the appointment of lieutenant-colonel and ordnance officer upon the staff of Major-General Gustavus W. Smith, commanding the Georgia militia and the State forces. Passing through all the dangers of the war, Captain Claghorn died at his own home, in the city of Savannah, on April 8, 1879, honored, respected and beloved, having been as a man, all that wife, child, or friend could hope for. He was buried by the Chatham Artillery with military honors, leaving no ex-captain of the company surviving but John E. Ward.

The vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Captain Claghorn was filled by the promotion of the then Junior First Lieutenant John F. Wheaton to the captaincy, who is yet the honored commander, having been captain for more than one-quarter of the entire period of the existence of the corps.

John F. Wheaton was born at Gilford, New Haven county, in the State of Connecticut, on January 22, 1822. After a short residence at Hartford and Bridgeport in his native State, he came to Savannah in 1852, and having selected this as his home, has been one of its most useful and valued citizens for more than one-third of a century. He became a member of the Chatham Artillery in May, 1856, was appointed chairman of the armory committee, 1859, which position he has held from that time up to the present. During that period the entire debt for the original cost of the armory, about \$12,000, under his judicious management has been retired. A large amount has been expended in repairs to the armory building, the company's quarters have been comfortably and tastefully furnished, and the armory has been improved at an expense of about \$7,000.

He was elected a corporal of the company in 1859, promoted to second sergeant in May, 1861, to orderly sergeant in February, 1862, to junior first lieutenant May, 1862, and to the captaincy in November, 1862.

Captain Wheaton assumed command not on a holiday parade, not amid the pomp and pageantry of mimic war, not in the hour of sunshine, but when the roar of battle was sounding, when danger stood in every path, when death lurked in every corner.

Faithfully and fearlessly, from that period to the present time, has he discharged every obligation resting upon him, as a soldier amid the carnage of battle, or a citizen treading the path of duty, encompassed by the "Pestilence that walketh in darkness," or as the chief officer of the city. Immediately after assuming command of the company the battery was ordered to James Island in Charleston harbor, and there for two years it endured all the hardships and participated in all the engagements and skirmishes that there occurred, serving at Battery Wagner with detachments of thirty men during the most eventful month of the memorable siege of that fort.

Transferred from the coast of South Carolina to the everglades of Florida, under the command of General Colquitt, the company was engaged in the famous battle of Olustee, where by the skillful handling of their battery they greatly contributed to the winning of that glorious victory. It participated in the reconnoissance and engagement at Cedar Creek and at Columbia, S. C. Retreating with General Johnston's army

through South Carolina from Columbia to Smithville, thence to Raleigh and thence to Greensborough, where it was surrendered in April, 1865, with Johnston's entire command. Immediately after the surrender the company was marched to Augusta, Ga., where it was disbanded as a Confederate organization. Thus, from the time when the curtain rose at Pulaski to its fall at Greensborough, the Chatham Artillery was nobly performing its part in this great drama which had fixed the attention of the world for four years, and been baptized in the blood of thousands engaged in constant and active service, enduring cheerfully every privation, fearlessly encountering every danger, and during the most trying periods led by John F. Wheaton as commander.

During the dark days of reconstruction the company was not permitted to retain its military character, yet all the members assembled in citizens dress whenever summoned by their officers for the transaction of business. Although their armory was seized by the forces of the United States in December, 1864, and placed under the control of the Freedman's Bureau until June, 1868, the interest due on the armory's scrip was at all times paid, and the general welfare of the organization was carefully looked after and attended to. The social characteristics that had so long been features of the company, were retained and continued during that humiliating period. On February 22, 1866, the company gave a grand picnic, and since that date has given one every year, in which its members, their families and friends participated.

On January 19, 1872, the anniversary of the birthday of General Robert E. Lee, the company made its first uniformed appearance after the war, and since that date has paraded on all its regular parade days on all public occasions, retaining in its advanced age its true military bearing, its social instincts, its patriotic and public spirit, remaining true to the principles that actuated the fathers and promoters of this grand old association from its organization.

As soon after the surrender of the Confederate army as the nature of the case and the exigency of the times would permit, the company was reorganized upon a peace basis. Their Washington guns, which had been carefully buried and concealed during the war, were resurrected from their hiding-place, and remounted and restored to their former position as honorary field-pieces of the battery. The old spirit still survived,

and the Chatham Artillery was again restored to its pristine vigor and its high reputation among the volunteer companies of Savannah. The objects of the founders of this military organization are thus expressed in the preamble to the rules and regulations of the company :

“ Impressed with a firm belief that the safety of the glorious institutions under which we live, and which have been bequeathed to us as a sacred and inestimable legacy, purchased by the blood and toil of the fathers of the Republic, depends upon a well regulated and strictly disciplined militia, and that such a militia is especially necessary in the community in which we live, from the peculiar character of our population which renders it necessary to be always prepared, and ever on the alert to meet a danger which may have its being among us without our knowledge, and may break forth in our most unsuspecting moments ; fully convinced that it is the duty of every citizen to contribute not only to the pecuniary exigencies of his country when demanded, but to be prepared in times of danger when the peace and welfare and dignity of that country are threatened to interpose his person as a shield and safeguard between her and dishonor ; that to obtain this laudable and honorable object, a proper organization and a strict bond of union and action are required as well in peace as in war, and that a corps devoted to the service of field armory is an honorable, important and efficient branch of the national or State defense, affording the best opportunities to render valuable those services which it is our duty and desire to proffer to our beloved country on all occasions when the support of her right or interest may demand them, we the officers, noncommissioned officers and privates of the Chatham Artillery whose names are hereunto subscribed for the purposes above recited, and with a view to obtain a knowledge of military tactics, and especially that portion more particularly embraced under the title of our association, do hereby solemnly agree to the following rules of the government of the Chatham Artillery, and we do hereby pledge our honor, for which our signature is witness, that we will to the best of our ability and understanding devote ourselves to the advancement of the interests of the corps, to which we have voluntarily attached ourselves by all honorable means, and ardently co-operate in the increase of its strength, respectability and discipline, and that we will foster and maintain sentiments of respect and affection towards each other as soldiers and citizens,

and united as a band of brothers, devote ourselves, when occasion requires it, to the service of our Country."

It may in just pride be affirmed that the members of this ancient company have under all circumstances and on all occasions endeavored to redeem the pledges and maintain the sentiments thus early given and recorded. Surviving the vicissitudes of fortune and the shock of battle this organization after more than a century's existence, is still bouyant in spirit and strong in membership. The total strength of the company, rank and file, is fifty-eight men. The implements of war consist of two six-pounders, presented by General George Washington, one howitzer, one light six-pounder, and one gatling gun. The officers are: John F. Wheaton, captain; R. F. Harmon, senior first lieutenant; G. P. Walker, junior first lieutenant; J. R. Saussy, second lieutenant; I. A. Solomons, orderly sergeant; T. N. Theus, ordnance sergeant; E. E. Buckner, quartermaster sergeant; J. B. Law, guidon sergeant; J. S. Silva, secretary; J. F. La Far, treasurer.

Savannah Volunteer Guards. This is the oldest infantry corps in Georgia. It was organized as a company early in 1802, and was attached to the First Regiment, First Brigade, First Division of the Georgia Militia. Its first parade was on May 1, 1802, and it has ever since adopted and observed that day as its anniversary. On the 20th of the same month the corps took part in the reception extended to vice-President Aaron Burr. The uniform at that time was blue, trimmed with red, with gold bars across the breast.

Dr. John Cummings was the first captain of the Guards. He was an Irishman by birth—one of the leading and most influential merchants of Savannah at that time, and president of the Branch Bank of the United States. He was lost at sea on board the steamer *Pulaski*, on a trip from Savannah to Baltimore.

Captain Cummings resigned in 1808, and was succeeded by Captain James Marshall. During Captain Marshall's command the War of 1812 with Great Britain occurred, and the Guards with the other companies of Savannah composing the First Regiment were mustered into the service of the United States for local defense, and at one time a portion of the Guards with the Republican Blues were sent on an expedition against St. Augustine. We are unable to ascertain how long Captain Marshall con-

tinued to command the Guards. He afterwards became colonel of the regiment, and was so, as late as 1825. He was succeeded, however, as captain of the Guards by Frederick S. Fell, who had been first lieutenant of the company.

In 1818 Edward F. Tattnall was elected commander. Captain Tattnall was of the family of Tattnalls so distinguished in the history of Georgia. His father was Josiah Tattnall, who had been the third captain of the Chatham Artillery, colonel of the First Regiment Georgia Militia, general of the First Brigade, United States Senator from Georgia, and governor of the State. He was the elder and only brother of the celebrated Commodore Josiah Tattnall, who, himself, was a member of the Guards from his early manhood to his death, and whose remains they attended to their last resting place at Bonaventure on June 16, 1871.

Captain Tattnall had been a captain in the United States army in the war of 1812, and had greatly distinguished himself in an engagement with the British at Point Petre, near St. Mary's, Ga. Captain Tattnall entered upon the command of the guards vigorously and with zeal. He was evidently a born soldier; and, though a strict disciplinarian and very exacting in his requirements, he soon secured the absolute devotion of his command, and, infusing into it much of his own high, chivalric spirit, enhanced, if he did not create, that intense and admirable *esprit de corps* which has ever since been one of its chief characteristics. Under his leadership it attained a degree of efficiency and prosperity it had never known before, and received an impulse which it has not yet lost. He may be considered, in the largest sense, "the second founder" of the corps. On the occasion of President James Monroe's visit to Savannah on May 8, 1819, the Savannah Volunteer Guards, under his command, took part in the reception and parade. The second uniform adopted by the company was blue, trimmed and slashed with scarlet, and a full scarlet front—very similar to the uniform of the French *gens d'arme* at one time. And, in this connection, a pleasant incident is related as occurring on the occasion of Lafayette's visit to Savannah during his American tour in 1825.

It appears that the distinguished visitor landed at the foot of East Broad street. A contemporary account says: "The troops were placed in position on the green, in front of the avenue of trees, their right on

East Bay. A more gallant and splendid military display we have never seen; the effect was beautiful; every corps exceeded its customary numbers; many who had not appeared under arms for years shouldered them on this occasion, and the usual pride of appearance and honorable emulation was ten times increased by the occasion. Those who know the volunteer companies of Savannah will believe this to be no empty compliment."

The incident referred to is that, as Lafayette passed down the line, he reached Tattnall with his Guards, and either affected by the sight of a uniform so familiar to him in his own country, or attracted by the fine appearance of the company, he threw up both hands, and, with sparkling eyes, exclaimed, "Ah! *quels beaux soldats! quels beaux soldats!*"

Captain Tattnall continued in command until January, 1831, and after an interval of some time was succeeded by Joseph W. Jackson. Captain Jackson was a lawyer, a member of Congress and one of the most distinguished men of his day. His successor was William Robertson, proprietor of the *Savannah Daily Georgian*, who assumed command in November, 1836. Captain Robertson held his commission but a few months, resigning in July, 1837. He was succeeded by William P. Bowen, under whom was procured an act of the Legislature authorizing the corps to half pay members, the object of which was to lay the foundation of a fund with which at some future day, to build an armory or arsenal.

Captain Bowen resigned in 1844, when he was succeeded by Dr. Cosmo P. Richardstone, who was elevated to the position from the rank of private. Captain Richardstone proved to be an officer of extraordinary merit. During his term occurred the incorporation of the corps which in another part of the chapter is more fully discussed. Captain Richardstone died while holding the position of Captain of the Guards. He was dearly beloved by every member of the corps and his death was in the nature of a personal loss. He was buried with military honors on February 8, 1852.

Dr. James P. Screven, an exempt private, was elected the next Captain of the Guards, the first position of a public character he had ever consented to take. Soon, however, he became in quick succession,

mayor of the city, member of the State Senate and first president of the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad Company, now known as the Savannah, Florida and Western Railway. Dr. Screven's pressing public and private engagements induced him to resign in December, 1857, when he was succeeded by his eldest son, the present distinguished citizen of Savannah, Colonel John Screven.

Under the administration of Captain Screven the corps made rapid advance in all the avenues which mark the proficiency of a military organization. The first event of importance during the command of Captain John Screven was the acquisition of an armory. This was secured in 1859 by the purchase of the old Unitarian Church on the southeastern corner of Bull and York streets. It required some time and expense to prepare the building for the use of the corps, but it was finally converted into pleasant military quarters. During the occupation of the city by Sherman in 1864, it was used by some of his troops as a guard-house. Through their carelessness it took fire and was destroyed.

Soon after the acquisition of an armory a very rapid increase in the members of the corps began to take place, and it not infrequently happened that at an afternoon drill one hundred and fifty men or more would be out—a number quite too large to be handled with convenience as a single company. This state of affairs gave rise to the idea of forming an independent battalion. Steps were immediately taken to carry it into effect.

While preparations to form a battalion were going on South Carolina seceded from the Union, and on January 3, 1861, as related in the chapter devoted to the war period, fifty men of the Guards under Captain Screven, the Oglethorpe Light Infantry and the Chatham Artillery were taken by Colonel Lawton under orders from Governor Brown, and effected the seizure of Fort Pulaski. From this time for several months the volunteer companies took turns at Fort Pulaski. The Guards were there several times.

While these events were in progress, recruits rapidly poured in and the Guards hastened to effect the permanent battalion organization. The plan was to form two companies, A and B, by assigning members to them; and complete the organization by formal elections for officers, and to elect Captain Screven major of the battalion. But at this juncture



John Scoville

the then adjutant-general of the State maintained that there could not be a battalion of so few companies as two, commanded by a field officer. To obviate this difficulty as many officers as were necessary consented to go one grade lower. Thus organized, the officers of the corps, if it may be so styled at that time, were as follows: Captain John Screven, captain commanding company A; first lieutenant, W. S. Basinger; second lieutenant, Gilbert C. Rice; ensign, J. C. Habersham. Company B; captain, A. C. Davenport; first lieutenant, George W. Stiles; second lieutenant, Thomas F. Screven; ensign, M. H. Hopkins.

The battalion was mustered into the service of the Confederate States in March, 1861, for two months, and during this period was assigned to duty as the garrison of a battery at Thunderbolt. At the end of this time the corps returned to Savannah and was dismissed, but shortly after it was again mustered for six months, and immediately sent to take charge of a much heavier battery on Green Island, near the mouth of the Vernon River.

At the end of their second period of enlistment the members of the corps resolved to again muster for the war. They were informed that the battalion would be accepted as an independent organization and a field officer to command, if three companies could be formed. A third company was formed by taking as many members from Companies A and B as could be spared. The following officers were then chosen: Company A, captain, W. S. Basinger; first lieutenant, Thomas F. Screven; second lieutenants, William H. King and Frederick Tupper. Company B, captain, George W. Stiles; first lieutenant, Edward Padelford, jr.; second lieutenants, Edwin A. Castellaw and George D. Smith. Company C, captain, Gilbert C. Rice; first lieutenant, George M. Turner; second lieutenants, John R. Dillon and Eugene Blois. The organization was approved by the adjutant-general of the State, and commissions were issued to the officers above named. The corps was mustered into service for the war in March, 1862. This terminated the connection of the Guards with the first volunteer regiment. John Screven was commissioned by the Confederate government major of artillery, and assigned by General A. R. Lawton to the command of the Savannah Volunteer Guards Battalion.

The first service of this corps as a separate battalion was at Fort Boggs,

a fine large work on the bluff, about two miles below the city, overlooking Fort Jackson and the river, and constituting the extreme left of the inner line of defense. In the spring of 1863 Major Screven resigned the command of the battalion as the management of the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad—a line of communication and supply very important to the Confederate government—required as president, his personal attention. Captain Basinger succeeded him as major, Lieutenant T. F. Screven became captain of Company A, and the other officers went up each one grade, Sergeant P. N. Raynal being elected to the junior lieutenancy.

The battalion remained in charge of Fort Boggs until July, 1863, when it was sent with the First Volunteer Regiment and the Twelfth Georgia Battalion to reinforce the troops at Battery Wagner, and in the celebrated siege of July 11, took a prominent part, four of the Guards being killed and three wounded. Battery Wagner was abandoned late in August, 1863, and the Guards were ordered to Sullivan's Island to occupy Battery Marion. Here it remained until the following May, and during this period the troops were under almost constant fire.

In May, 1864, the Guards were ordered to Virginia to join the army of General Lee. Arriving in Virginia the corps was stationed at Mattoax to guard the bridge where the Richmond and Danville Railroad crosses the Appomattox River. In this sort of duty the corps remained until the following October. It was then ordered to the general line of the army and posted in the trenches on the north side of the James River, near Chaffin Bluff. Here the Guards passed the severe winter of 1864-5, enduring every hardship to which the illy equipped Confederate troops were subjected during this trying time. When General Lee's army was forced to abandon Richmond in April, 1865, fears for the result of the war began to creep into the minds of the most sanguine. This famous retreating march of General Lee was continued for several days, but on April 6 the rear guard was brought to bay near Sailor's Creek. General Gordon's corps was the true rear guard, but in the various operations and movements of that day General Ewell's corps got into the rear by force of circumstances. General Custer Lee's division, to which the Guards were attached, was in General Ewell's corps.

In the battle at Sailor's Creek the Guards took a prominent part, being placed so as to receive the first onset of the enemy. The attack was

unsuccessful, the enemy being driven off with the loss of two regimental flags and many killed, but with serious loss to the Guards also. The battalion then returned to the original line to take its part in the main battle. But again they were put in the same manner as before. The enemy was checked, but all of the Guards who escaped with their lives were made prisoners. It was afterwards ascertained that the enemy lost in the encounter 275 men, and of the Guards numbering 85 men engaged, 30 were killed and 22 wounded, every officer but one being killed or wounded. The killed were buried on the field by the enemy. The remains of such as could be identified were, at a later day, brought to Savannah and buried in the lot of the corps at Laurel Grove cemetery. The survivors were sent—the wounded to hospitals, the unwounded to Northern prisons—some to Point Lookout, the major and lieutenant-general to Johnson's Island. But the closing scene of the great struggle was then taking place, and a few days after the battle of Sailor's Creek, the surrender of General Lee's army ended the war. The members of the Guards held as prisoners of war were soon after released and sadly wended their way homeward, to face as best they could the new difficulties that lay before them.

After the close of the war no effort was made to reorganize any of the volunteer military companies of Savannah as long as the "carpet-bag" government was in power. The Guards by occasional meetings and by attending in a body the funerals of deceased members, endeavored to maintain their corporate existence, and to preserve their property. But when James M. Smith became governor of the State—his elevation being the virtual overthrow of the "carpet-bag" government—the corps, encouraged by him, determined to resume its usual functions. A large number of new men joined, officers were elected, the present uniforms adopted, and on the 19th day of January, 1873, the first parade of the corps after the war occurred. Major Basinger was re-elected to command the corps, and in 1879, in pursuance of a law of the State then passed which required all battalion commanders to be lieutenant-colonels, such a commission was sent to him, and the corps was numbered third in the list of volunteer infantry battalions.

Colonel Basinger resigned in August, 1882, and Lieutenant-Colonel William Garrard, the present popular commander, was elected to succeed him. Colonel Basinger was a member of the corps for thirty-one years,

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Colonel Basinger resigned in August, 1882, and Lieutenant-Colonel William Garrard, the present popular commander, was elected to succeed him. Colonel Basinger was a member of the corps for thirty-one years,

and was distinguished for his devotion and high soldierly qualities. He was longer in chief command than any of his predecessors, and in peace and war he sustained the honor of the corps with loyalty, intelligence and skill.

The commissioned officers of the battalion under Major Screven were as follows: Company A,—Captain, W. S. Basinger; lieutenants, Thomas F. Screven, W. H. King, John F. Tupper. Company B.—Captain, G. W. Stiles; lieutenants, Ed. Padleford, E. A. Castellaw, George D. Smith. Company C,—Captain, G. C. Rice; lieutenants, G. M. Turner, John R. Dillon, Eugene Blois. Lieutenant Dillon, acting adjutant. Captain G. C. Rice, acting quartermaster. Lieutenant W. H. King, acting commissary.

After Major Basinger assumed command Lieutenant T. F. Screven was made captain of Company A, and the following became lieutenants, namely: P. N. Raynal, W. E. Gue, and W. D. Grant, and E. P. Starr was appointed adjutant of battalion. After the war ended the officers under Major Basinger were: Company A,—Captain, George W. Stiles; lieutenants, P. N. Raynal, A. A. Winn, E. P. Starr. Company B,—Captain, T. F. Screven; lieutenants, J. C. Habersham, H. H. Woodbridge, Malcolm Maclean. Company C,—Captain, John R. Dillon; lieutenants, F. R. Sweat, H. C. Cunningham, John Reilly. Lieutenant Sweat was afterwards appointed adjutant, and Lieutenants Raynal and Cunningham became respectively captains of their companies, and the following became lieutenants at various times, namely: C. J. Barie, C. R. Maxwell, H. R. Symons, W. F. Symons, Cuthbert Barnwell, Joe C. Thompson, L. C. Strong, M. A. Barie, J. A. Cronk, J. W. Fretwell, W. P. Hunter (adjutant). Major Basinger became lieutenant-colonel in October, 1879. Thereafter the following became commissioned officers in the battalion: Lieutenants O. H. Lufburrow, I. G. Heyward and W. H. Turner, before Lieutenant-Colonel Garrard took command. The present commissioned officers of the battalion are: Lieutenant-colonel, William Garrard; adjutant, Wm. P. Hunter; quartermaster, John Kollock; judge-advocate, R. R. Richards; commissary and treasurer, John M. Bryan; sergeant-major, R. E. L. Daniels; quartermaster-sergeant, C. E. Dieterich. Company A — Captain, W. W. Williamson; first lieutenant, T. P. Huger; second lieutenant, Frank Screven; first sergeant, — Hutton. Com-

pany B,—Captain, Thomas Screven; first lieutenant, T. D. Rockwell; second lieutenant, G. S. Orme; first sergeant, G. M. Gadsden. Company C,—Captain, John Reilly; first lieutenant, W. W. Rogers; second lieutenant, G. W. Cann; first sergeant, J. Ferris Cann.

Soon after the election of Lieutenant-Colonel Garrard steps were taken to provide for the battalion a suitable armory building. The location secured was the site of the old State arsenal. In 1885 the erection of the building was commenced and one year later the armory was thrown open to the public on the occasion of a grand bazaar. It was 110 feet long, 60 feet in width and 64 feet from the street pavement to the deck of the domed roof and had three fronts, facing north on President street, west on Whitaker street, and south on York street. The cost of erection was about \$60,000, and it was considered the finest military building in the South. This fine structure, which was no less the pride of the battalion than of the citizens of Savannah, was totally destroyed by the destructive fire of April 6, 1889. It was insured for \$50,000, and with characteristic energy the battalion has begun preparation to erect a new armory which will rival in beauty the one destroyed.

The Guards have erected monuments to two of their deceased commanders. The first is a plain marble shaft in Bonaventure Cemetery (formerly the family seat of the Tattnalls) to Captain Tattnall, and bears the following inscription on its western face :

SACRED
to the memory of
EDWARD FENWICK TATTNALL,
who died in Savannah,
on the 21st day of November, 1832,
aged 44 years.
Erected by the Savannah
Volunteer Guards, which corps
he for a period of years commanded, as
a tribute of affection for his qualities
as a Man, a Soldier, and a Patriot.
*Muncia parva quidem, sed magnum
testantur amorem.*

Near by, in the same enclosure, is the tomb of his brother, Commodore Josiah Tattnall, one of the most honored of the honorary members

of the Guards. On this significantly rests the effigy of a sheathed sword, and it bears the following inscription :

COMMODORE JOSIAH TATTNALL, U. S. AND C. S. N.
Born near this spot Nov. 8, 1785.
Died June 14, 1871.

The second monument erected by the corps is in Laurel Grove Cemetery to Capt. Richardsone—a tasteful marble shaft with the following inscriptions. On the eastern face: "Erected by the Savannah Volunteer Guards in token of their regard for a beloved commander, and of their admiration for his virtues as a citizen." On the western face, on a shield within a bay wreath supported on cannon: "Cosmo P. Richardsone." On the southern face: "Born January 24th, 1804." On the northern face: "Died February 6th, 1852."

Within a few feet of the resting place of Captain Richardsone is that of his friend and immediate successor in command, Captain J. P. Screven.

In Laurel Grove Cemetery the Guards hold two burial lots, numbers 46 and 726. In the former are interred Privates S. F. Ripley and John D. Carter, who died of yellow fever respectively in 1854 and 1876, and Privates T. L. Robertson, John Maddox, John Johnson, A. F. Whitlock and James D. Pardue. In this lot also is one grave containing the remains of eleven members of the battalion, who fell at Sailor's Creek, the last battle of the Army of Virginia, namely: King, Turner, Rice, Abney, McIntosh, Rouse, Millen, Gordon, Vickers, Cook, and Barie, removed from Virginia along with Rice, James, Myddleton, Bowne, Grant, and Bennett, who are interred in their respective family lots. In lot number 726 (the gift of first Lieutenant Thomas J. Bulloch) are interred Privates Thomas D. Morel, James M. Mallette, Frederick Myers, and James O. A. Simmons.

Independent Volunteer Battalion of Savannah.—During the first part of the century the volunteer and uniformed companies of Savannah formed a part of the First Regiment, First Brigade, Georgia Militia, and paraded on stated occasions side by side with the "unterrified," un-uniformed, undisciplined companies of the "beats," as they were called. These organizations were but burlesques upon what a military command should be, and it is not to be wondered at that the volunteers became restive under the enforced associations. The desirability of forming a battalion

exclusively from the volunteers was most apparent. Steps were taken to that end, and on January 20, 1852, a bill was approved by which it was enacted :

“I. That the volunteer companies now existing in the city of Savannah and belonging to the First Regiment, First Brigade, First Division Georgia Militia be and the same hereby are organized and erected into a separate battalion, which shall be called the Independent Volunteer Battalion of Savannah, and be no longer a part of the said First Regiment.

“II. That any other volunteer companies of foot which may hereafter be organized in the city of Savannah shall be attached to said battalion until the number of said companies shall be eight, when the said companies shall be organized and erected into a regiment, which shall be called the Independent Volunteer Regiment of Savannah, and said regiment shall not consist of less than eight or more than fourteen companies.”

Section three of the act vested the command of the Independent Volunteer Battalion in a lieutenant colonel, with full regimental staff.

At the date of the passage of the above act the following were the volunteer companies affected by it, and which consequently formed the Independent Volunteer Battalion of Savannah : Chatham Artillery, Captain John B. Gallie ; Savannah Volunteer Guards, Captain James P. Screven, organized 1802 ; Republican Blues, Captain John W. Anderson, organized 1808 ; Phoenix Riflemen, Captain W. H. C. Mills, organized 1830 ; Irish Jasper Greens, Captain John Devanney, organized February 22, 1843 ; German Volunteers, Captain J. H. Stegin, organized February 22, 1846 ; DeKalb Riflemen, Captain John Bilbo, organized 1850. The whole was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander R. Lawton.

The Oglethorpe Light Infantry was organized under Captain John N. Lewis in January, 1856, and became a part of the Independent battalion, completing the eight companies to the regimental formation, when the battalion became the Independent Volunteer Regiment of Savannah.

The act of January 20, 1852, was in part and substance amended as follows :

Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., that the regiment formed under the second section of said act shall be known as “ The First Volunteer Regiment

of the Guards. On this significantly rests the effigy of a sheathed sword, and it bears the following inscription:

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“I. That the volunteer companies now existing in the city of Savannah and belonging to the First Regiment, First Brigade, First Division Georgia Militia be and the same hereby are organized and erected into a separate battalion, which shall be called the Independent Volunteer Battalion of Savannah, and be no longer a part of the said First Regiment.

“II. That any other volunteer companies of foot which may hereafter be organized in the city of Savannah shall be attached to said battalion until the number of said companies shall be eight, when the said companies shall be organized and erected into a regiment, which shall be called the Independent Volunteer Regiment of Savannah, and said regiment shall not consist of less than eight or more than fourteen companies.”

Section three of the act vested the command of the Independent Volunteer Battalion in a lieutenant colonel, with full regimental staff.

At the date of the passage of the above act the following were the volunteer companies affected by it, and which consequently formed the Independent Volunteer Battalion of Savannah : Chatham Artillery, Captain John B. Gallie ; Savannah Volunteer Guards, Captain James P. Screven, organized 1802 ; Republican Blues, Captain John W. Anderson, organized 1808 ; Phoenix Riflemen, Captain W. H. C. Mills, organized 1830 ; Irish Jasper Greens, Captain John Devanney, organized February 22, 1843 ; German Volunteers, Captain J. H. Stegin, organized February 22, 1846 ; DeKalb Riflemen, Captain John Bilbo, organized 1850. The whole was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander R. Lawton.

The Oglethorpe Light Infantry was organized under Captain John N. Lewis in January, 1856, and became a part of the Independent battalion, completing the eight companies to the regimental formation, when the battalion became the Independent Volunteer Regiment of Savannah.

The act of January 20, 1852, was in part and substance amended as follows :

Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., that the regiment formed under the second section of said act shall be known as “ The First Volunteer Regiment

of the Guards. On this significantly rests the effigy of a sheathed sword, and it bears the following inscription :

COMMODORE JOSIAH TATTNALL, U. S. AND C. S. N.

Born near this spot Nov. 8, 1785.

Died June 14, 1871.

The second monument erected by the corps is in Laurel Grove Cemetery to Capt. Richardsone—a tasteful marble shaft with the following inscriptions. On the eastern face: “Erected by the Savannah Volunteer Guards in token of their regard for a beloved commander, and of their admiration for his virtues as a citizen.” On the western face, on a shield within a bay wreath supported on cannon: “Cosmo P. Richardsone.” On the southern face: “Born January 24th, 1804.” On the northern face: “Died February 6th, 1852.”

Within a few feet of the resting place of Captain Richardsone is that of his friend and immediate successor in command, Captain J. P. Screven.

In Laurel Grove Cemetery the Guards hold two burial lots, numbers 46 and 726. In the former are interred Privates S. F. Ripley and John D. Carter, who died of yellow fever respectively in 1854 and 1876, and Privates T. L. Robertson, John Maddox, John Johnson, A. F. Whitlock and James D. Pardue. In this lot also is one grave containing the remains of eleven members of the battalion, who fell at Sailor’s Creek, the last battle of the Army of Virginia, namely: King, Turner, Rice, Abney, McIntosh, Rouse, Millen, Gordon, Vickers, Cook, and Barie, removed from Virginia along with Rice, James, Myddleton, Bowne, Grant, and Bennett, who are interred in their respective family lots. In lot number 726 (the gift of first Lieutenant Thomas J. Bulloch) are interred Privates Thomas D. Morel, James M. Mallette, Frederick Myers, and James O. A. Simmons.

Independent Volunteer Battalion of Savannah.—During the first part of the century the volunteer and uniformed companies of Savannah formed a part of the First Regiment, First Brigade, Georgia Militia, and paraded on stated occasions side by side with the “unterrified,” un-uniformed, undisciplined companies of the “beats,” as they were called. These organizations were but burlesques upon what a military command should be, and it is not to be wondered at that the volunteers became restive under the enforced associations. The desirability of forming a battalion

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The act of January 20, 1852, was in part and substance amended as follows :

Section 1. Be it enacted, etc., that the regiment formed under the second section of said act shall be known as " The First Volunteer Regiment

of the State of Georgia," and may embrace as many infantry corps formed in said city, as may choose to conform to the regimental organization.

Section 2. Provided for full field and staff.

Section 3. Provided that the rights and privileges accruing to said regiment shall not fall by the consolidation of two or more companies, or the withdrawal or dissolution of one or more companies, but the same shall vest in and be enjoyed by the corps composing the Volunteer Regiment.

Section 4. Withdrew the regiment from the First Brigade Georgia Militia and placed it exclusively under the command of its own officers.

Under the re-organization conformatory to this act the following officers were elected and commissioned :

A. R. Lawton, colonel ; George W. Stiles as lieutenant-colonel, and W. S. Rockwell as major. Bulloch Jackson was appointed adjutant ; John Fraser, paymaster ; J. D. Fish, surgeon ; J. W. Johnston, assistant surgeon. No further change occurred among the list of officers until the beginning of the war, when C. H. Olmstead was made adjutant in place of Bulloch Jackson, who resigned.

An account of the first service of this regiment in behalf of the Confederacy, will be found in the chapter devoted to the war period, as well as the changes in officers which followed in the first year of the war.

The regiment was reorganized by an order from the Confederate department headquarters in October, 1862, to conform to the requirement of actual service. The following companies were made to compose the regiment :

Company A,—First Company Irish Jasper Greens, Captain John Flannery.

Company B.—Second Company Irish Jasper Greens, Captain James Dooner.

Company C,—Republican Blues, Captain W. D. Dixon.

Company D,—City Light Guard, Captain S. Yates Levy.

Company E,—Irish Volunteers, Captain John F. O'Neill.

Company F,—Coast Rifles, Captain Screven Turner.

Company G,—Tattall Guards, Captain A. C. Davenport.

Company H,—Second Company Oglethorpe Light Infantry, Captain James Lachlison.

Company I,—German Volunteers, Captain C. Werner.

Company K,—Washington Volunteers, Captain John Cooper.

Field and Staff.—Colonel, Charles H. Olmstead; lieutenant-colonel, W. S. Rockwell; major, M. J. Ford; adjutant, Matthew H. Hopkins; quartermaster, Edward Hopkins; commissary, E. W. Drummond; surgeon, W. H. Elliott; chaplain, S. Edward Axson.

Non-commissioned Staff.—Sergeant-major, F. M. Hull; commissary-sergeant, W. H. Boyd; quartermaster-sergeant, William C. Crawford; ordnance-sergeant, Thaddeus F. Bennett.

During the winter, Captain Edward Hopkins died and was succeeded by Captain F. M. Hull, who was appointed quartermaster.

The service that followed the reorganization of the regiment is best told in the following language of its commanding officer, Colonel Olmstead:

“For many months the regiment continued to do service at various points on the coast. Companies A and B at the Savannah River batteries, Company C at Fort McAllister, Companies D, E and F at Fort Bartow, Causton's Bluff, and Companies G, H, I and K in the lines around the city, at Isle of Hope, and Whitmarsh and Wilmington Islands. Again was Company C fortunate—a second time, on February 1, 1863, it took part in repulsing a vigorous attack of the iron-clad monitors upon Fort McAllister. It was a brilliant affair, and the garrison handsomely earned the laudatory order from General Beauregard which authorized them to inscribe the name Fort McAllister upon their colors.

“Early in July, 1863, Companies G, H, I and K, in concert with the Eighteenth and Twelfth Georgia Battalions were hurried over to Charleston to assist in meeting the attack upon that city, which had just developed itself at the lower end of Morris Island. The Georgians, numbering five hundred or six hundred men, were thrown into Battery Wagner on the night of July 10, and at daybreak on the following morning took part in repelling a vigorous assault made by General Gillmore with a strong storming column. In this action Captain Werner, of Company I, was killed while bravely meeting the attack. Here the First Regiment met again its ‘friends the enemy,’ of the Seventh Connecticut, that command being one of the leading regiments in the assault. A number of them surrendered to the men who had been captured by them the year before.” Of subsequent service at Wagner, it is scarcely necessary to write in detail, but a clear idea of the character of the service there may

be gained from the following account, written by Major Robert C. Gilchrist, of Charleston, himself one of the most gallant and efficient of the defenders of the fort :

“ ‘Night and day, with scarcely any intermission, the howling shell burst over and within it. Each day, often from early dawn, the new Ironsides, or the six monitors, sometimes all together, steamed up and delivered their terrific broadsides, shaking the fort to its centre. The noiseless Cœhorn shells, falling vertically, searched out the secret recesses, almost invariably claiming victims. The burning sun of a Southern summer, its heat intensified by the reflection of the white sand, scorched and blistered the unprotected garrison, or the more welcome rain and storm wet them to the skin. An intolerable stench from the unearthed dead of the previous conflict, the carcasses of cavalry horses lying where they fell, in the rear, and barrels of putrid meat thrown out on the beach, sickened the defenders.

“ ‘A large and brilliantly colored fly, attracted by the feast, and unseen before, inflicted wounds more painful, though less dangerous than the shot of the enemy. The food, however good when it started for its destination, by exposure, first on the wharf in Charleston, then on the beach at Cummings’ Point, being often forty-eight hours in transition, was unfit to eat. The unventilated bomb-proofs filled with smoke of lamps and smell of blood, were intolerable, so that we endured the risk of shot and shell rather than seek their shelter. The incessant din of its own artillery, as well as the bursting shells of the foe, prevented sleep. Then, as never before, all realized the force of the prophecy: “In the morning thou shall say, would God it were even! and at even thou shall say, would God it were morning! for the fear of thine eyes, wherewith thou shall fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shall see.”

“In the spring of 1864, mighty preparations were made by both Federal and Confederate authorities for what was felt would be the decisive campaign of the war. Every effort was made to recruit the armies of the Confederacy to the greatest possible extent. Troops were withdrawn in every direction from the sea coast and sent to the armies of Lee and Johnston. The scattered companies of the First Regiment were brought together, and on a lovely spring morning the command left Savannah to join the army under General Joseph E. Johnston in North Georgia,

nearly 1,000 officers and men being in line. The regiment joined the army at Lost Mountain, in the vicinity of Marietta, on the day after the battle of New Hope Church. It was assigned to General Mercer's brigade in Walker's division, Hardee's corps, the other regiments in the brigade being the Fifty-fourth Georgia, Colonel C. H. Way, the Fifty-seventh Georgia, Colonel William Barkaloo, and the Sixty-third Georgia, Colonel George Gordon. The *morale* of the army at that time was of the highest type. There was on the part of every man unbounded confidence in the sagacity and generalship of our distinguished leader, and doubt as to the ultimate issue of the campaign, found no lodgement in any heart. There was in the movements of the men an elasticity and alertness indicative of high spirit and a bouyant belief in the success of our arms.

"From that time onward the First Regiment bore honorable part in the history of the army. The grapple between Generals Johnston and Sherman was without resting spells. Every day the two armies felt each other in sharp fights on the picket lines, in fierce artillery duels and sometimes in desperate charge against fortified positions.

"The regiment's first severe loss was in a hot skirmish just before the army retired to the line of Kenesaw Mountain. On that day the killed, wounded and missing amounted to about seventy, among whom was that gallant gentleman, Lieutenant Cyrus Carter of Company G, who received a mortal wound while encouraging his men. Much of the loss on that occasion was due to the inexperience of our men in bush fighting. . . . Every one familiar with the history of that summer, 1864, remembers how by continued reaching out of his flanks (an operation which his superior numbers gave him power to repeat again and again) Sherman gradually pushed Johnston back to the lines around Atlanta. At Smyrna Church, midway between Marietta and the Chattahoochee River, the First Regiment suffered severely in holding an isolated position on a little barren hill top some distance out in front of the main line, without supports on either right or left. Why it was sent there we never knew, for when the enemy did get possession of this hill and planted their artillery upon it, the position was so commanded from our lines that the guns were abandoned by the gunners so long as daylight lasted.

“The regiment took part in the battle of Peachtree Creek, but was very lightly engaged on that day. On July 22, however, in Hardee's flank attack upon Sherman (when the Federals lost McPherson, and the State of Georgia had to mourn the loss of the chivalrous Walker) Mercer's brigade was hotly engaged, and lost many noble officers and men. Captain Screven Turner, of Company F, was among the killed, and Captain Umbach, of Company I, received a wound that disabled him for the remainder of the war.

“Upon the death of General Walker his division was scattered. Mercer's brigade was assigned to the division of General Pat Cleburne. At the same time, General Mercer having been assigned to duty elsewhere, the command of the brigade devolved for a time upon the Senior Colonel. All during the closing days of July and in the month of August the lines of Atlanta were firmly held, but little by little the Confederate left was extended to meet a corresponding extension of the Federal right down the line of the Macon and Western Railroad.

“The movement terminated in the two days' fight at Jonesboro, where the fate of Atlanta was sealed. On the first day the corps of Hardee and Lee fought side by side, but on that night Lee's corps was withdrawn by General Hood towards Atlanta, leaving Hardee alone to breast the storm on the second day. He was fearfully overmatched, and nightfall found the corps almost encircled by the enemy, and our lines, to the extent of one brigade front, in their possession. With great skill General Hardee extricated himself from this hazardous position, leaving behind the desperately wounded who could not be moved. In the immediate front of the First Regiment the enemy were so near that we could hear them conversing as we moved off silently in the darkness. It was a sad march, the men were exhausted from the two days' struggle, but physical fatigue was nothing compared to the mental depression that came upon us as the lurid glare in the northern sky, and the dull, distant rumble of explosions of powder, as Hood burned the supplies he could not take away, told the story of Atlanta's fall and the defeat of the Confederate campaign.

“After a short season of rest and recuperation the army was again in motion. Our brigade being placed in command of General J. Argyle Smith, a brave officer but an exceedingly unfortunate one, in a matter of

wounds. It was said that he rarely was thoroughly recovered from one before he received another.

“Northward our line of march took its way, constantly threatening Sherman’s line of communications. The post of Rome was captured ; then a further march, still to the north, then a square turn to the west, and we swept across the northern part of Alabama until the town of Tusculumbia was reached. Then it became known that a winter campaign into Tennessee was ahead of us.

“The army crossed the Tennessee River upon a long pontoon bridge at Florence, Ala., on a bright, frosty Sunday morning, and a brilliant, inspiring scene it was.

“Resting for a short time at Florence the order for the advance was again given, but here Smith’s brigade was detached and sent to a point about thirteen miles distant, known as Cheatham’s Ferry, to help a supply train over the river and convey it to the army.

“The operations around Murfreesboro were marked with much suffering among the troops. The weather was intensely cold, the ground rigid with frost and covered with sleet and snow. While the men were poorly clad, without overcoats, and many of them barefooted.

“Smith’s and one other small brigade, constituted the whole of General Forrest’s infantry force, the rest being cavalry, with one section of light rifled guns.

“When Hood was defeated at Nashville this little force was in a precarious position, as General Thomas’ army was between it and the Confederate army.

“We were saved, however, by the skill of General Forrest, who knew every inch of the country, and who conducted his command by a forced march in a detour around Thomas’s left, reaching Hood at Columbia, where he had made a stand.

“No member of the First Regiment, who was on that march will ever forget its hardships. Bloody tracks of bare feet upon the snowy ground, shivering bodies, exhausting fatigue ; these are some of the memories evoked, but with them comes also the recollection of manly endurance and a patient courage that no suffering could subdue, no danger appall.

“At Columbia General Hood organized a rear-guard under General Forrest composed of his cavalry and eight small brigades of infantry, under the immediate command of General Walthall, of Mississippi. Smith's brigade had the honor to be chosen for this hazardous service. It was intended that the infantry portion of this rear-guard should be at least three thousand men, but after the sick, the wounded and the barefooted had been sent to the rear the effectives of the entire eight brigades numbered but 1,601 men—skeleton brigades, indeed. Few in numbers, yet with brave hearts and, as the event proved “enough” for the duty required of them.

“Surely every man who was there has a right to be proud of the record. The rear-guard was formed on the morning of December 20, 1864, and it at once held the line of Duck River, while the main army pressed southward toward Bainbridge, near which point the pontoons were laid for the passage of the Tennessee.

“At an early hour on December 22 the enemy crossed Duck River at some distance above Columbia. General Forrest then slowly retired, making a bold front from time to time.

“There was considerable skirmishing and fighting during December 22, 23 and 24. At midnight on Christmas eve the exhausted troops encamped upon a bleak hill-top in front of Pulaski, Tenn. At early dawn on the day of “peace and good will to men,” we were in motion again, and on our way through the town.

“Seven miles south of Pulaski, at Anthony's Hill, the pursuit of the enemy being vigorously pressed, General Forrest decided to make a stand. Four of the small brigades, including Smith's, were placed in line on the crest of the hill, or just beyond it, so as to form a partial ambushade, cavalry being upon each flank. The enemy pushed boldly up the hill, but were received by a destructive fire followed by a charge of our entire line. They retired in confusion, leaving a number of prisoners in our hands, a good many horses and one piece of artillery.

“The attack was not repeated that day. The Confederates again resumed the line of march, a cold winter's rain having set in which added immeasurably to the discomfort of the men.

“On the night of December 27 we arrived in the vicinity of the River (Tennessee) and early on the morning of December 28, the rear-guard crossed the bridge and joined the army on the south side.

“ After a necessary period of rest at Corinth and other points in Mississippi, the army was called to the East. Passing rapidly through Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, Smith's brigade once more found itself under its old leader, General Joseph E. Johnston, in North Carolina. It was closely engaged at the battle of Bentonville, where many of the men were killed, and where the fourth color-bearer of the First Regiment received his death wound.

“ At Smithville, N. C., a general consolidation of the army was made. New regiments were formed from the fragments of old ones. Under this arrangement what was left of the First, Fifty-seventh and Sixty-third regiments was brought together under the colors of the First Regiment, and once more our ranks were full. Of the rejuvenated regiment C. H. Olmstead was colonel, C. S. Guyton, of the Fifty-seventh, lieutenant-colonel, and J. V. H. Allen, of the Sixty-third, major.

“ The men were veterans who had literally borne the ‘heat and burden of the day.’ Tough, elastic and hopeful, even in that dark hour, because of the brave hearts within them, they formed a magnificent command, of which any soldier would have been proud. But the war was practically over, and the regiment did not fire another gun. The army was surrendered by General Johnston at Greensboro', N. C., and in a few days the troops were upon the homeward march.

“ An attempt was made to keep the various commands together as much as possible until their respective States were reached. This failed in most instances, but the First Georgia carried its colors and its organization to the city of Augusta, where its service ended and officers and men separated.”

It was not until the reconstruction era was passed that the First Regiment was permanently reorganized. It is now in a most flourishing condition and an honor to the city and State. The members of the field and staff are as follows: George A. Mercer, colonel; Peter Reilly, lieutenant-colonel; J. Schwarz, major; R. G. Gaillard, adjutant; M. A. O'Byrne, quartermaster; John T. Ronan, commissary; S. B. Adams, judge advocate; E. Karow, paymaster; W. W. Owens, surgeon.

Savannah Cadets.—H. M. Branch, captain; J. F. Brooks, first lieutenant; R. S. Mell, second lieutenant; E. H. Nichols, surgeon; R. P. Lovell, first sergeant.

Oglethorpe Light Infantry.—R. Falligant, captain; W. S. Rockwell, first lieutenant; C. F. Law, sergeant; J. T. Ronan, quartermaster.

Irish Jasper Greens.—J. Flannery, captain; J. McGrath, first lieutenant; P. F. Gleason, second lieutenant; J. T. McMahan, first sergeant; J. M. Reynolds, quartermaster.

German Volunteers.—John Derst, captain; H. C. Harms, first lieutenant; H. Kolshorn, second lieutenant; M. G. Helmken, orderly sergeant.

Republican Blues.—W. D. Dixon, captain; F. P. Haupt, first lieutenant; J. J. Gaudry, second lieutenant; G. Gregor, first sergeant.

The Georgia Hussars is the oldest cavalry company in Savannah. They were organized in 1785. In September, 1861, under Captain J. F. Waring, they entered the service of the Confederate States government and served throughout the war with the army of Northern Virginia. Captain Waring was promoted to colonel of the Jefferson Davis Legion. The other officers of the company at the time of enlistment were lieutenants, ranking in the order named, David Waldhauer, W. W. Gordon, A. McC. Duncan. Waldhauer was promoted to captain, Gordon to captain on General Mercer's staff and Duncan to the rank of first lieutenant. At the time these latter promotions were made J. L. McTurner was chosen second lieutenant, and Robert Saussy third lieutenant.

A second company (known as Company B) was organized in November, 1861, under Captain W. H. Wiltberger, (promoted to major of the Fifth Georgia Cavalry); Lieutenants R. J. Davant, (promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment); M. E. Williams and F. Williams. In 1862 the company was reorganized under Captain Wiltberger, Lieutenants James A. Zittrouer, E. P. Hill, and Phillip Yonge. Lieutenant Hill resigned and Fred. H. Blois was elected lieutenant. At the promotion of Captain Wiltberger Lieutenant Zittrouer became captain. The company was with the Fifth Georgia Cavalry and served with distinguished credit around Savannah, on the South Carolina coast, in Florida, and with the Western Army.

Since the war the Hussars has been thoroughly reorganized and are now in excellent condition, both as to numbers and efficiency of drill. The total strength is one hundred men armed with sabers and pistols. The uniform consists of blue jackets trimmed with silver stripe and regu-

lation helmet. The present officers are W. W. Gordon, captain ; G. B. Pritchard, first lieutenant ; G. C. Gaillard, and P. W. Meldrim, second lieutenants, and F. A. Habersham, first sergeant.

The colored citizens of Savannah are represented by the First Battalion Georgia Volunteer Regiment, which was organized in 1878. Its officers are John H. Deveaux, lieutenant-colonel ; A. K. Desverney, adjutant ; A. Bowen, quartermaster ; T. J. Davis, surgeon ; T. Sanders, paymaster. This regiment is composed of the Chatham Light Infantry Company, the Savannah Light Infantry, Lone Star Cadets, Colquitt Blues-Forest City Light Infantry, and the Union Lincoln Guards.

There is also one colored cavalry company known as the Savannah Hussars, and an artillery company known as the Georgia Artillery.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BENCH AND BAR.

THOSE bright and able intellects which, for a round century, have ornamented Savannah's bench and bar, make lustrous every page of even their unabridged history.

Meagre and vague indeed, are the annals of juridical practice in Georgia prior to the period which began with the close of the Revolutionary war. The oldest records of Chatham county's courts to be found in the record vault, date back only to 1782. What evidence is extant and available, tends to show that for the first half century of Savannah's life, litigation was not a weakness of the people. They were just getting a foothold in this part of the New World, and were too intent on planting securely their homes and laying the basis of fortunes to settle differences in the courts. But, during the last two decades of the eighteenth century the dockets were burdened with causes. This heavy practice developed and trained the legal minds of the practitioners and gave to them a marked depth and scholarly finish. To this day, the traces thereof are broad and clear. How much for instance, of the credit is due to Savan-

nah's bar for the Judicial Act of 1799 is a subject which, in the absence of special research in that direction one hesitates to speak positively upon, but that it is no little can be safely held. That Act will stand for all time as a monument of the wisdom and to the wisdom of its framers—a judiciary system which the great Lord Brougham ranked above all others in the world. It was just about this time that the bar of Savannah began to shine with those members who carried it to the fore by their eloquence, profound knowledge of the law and high code of ethics.

Berrien and Wayne and Law and the Charltons are but a few of the names caught as the memory runs down the list. These were truly great lawyers. Since their day other sections of the State have boasted, and with reason, of eloquent and brilliant lawyers and judges, but the standard of ethics observed by Savannah's bar is the highest of all, and in every respect as applicable to the bar of to-day as they were to that of eighty years ago, are those words of the elder Charlton: "The fidelity, integrity and I may add the talents of our bar will bear a parallel with that of any other country."

The date of the establishment of Savannah's first court is fixed to a nicety. This took place July 7, 1733, "after dinner." All the forenoon General Oglethorpe had been busy naming wards, dividing them into tithings, and assigning lots to a shipload of new settlers who had just arrived. At this time Savannah was five months old. With the influx of so many new settlers, it occurred to the founder that there might soon be need for a court and in the afternoon of the day above named, a town court of record was established. Three bailiffs and a recorder were inducted into office, twelve freeholders, good men and true, were sworn as jurors and the first court ever opened in Georgia was held.

As marks of office, the bailiffs were required to wear magisterial gowns of purple edged with fur, and the recorder donned a black robe tufted. The members of Georgia's first grand jury were: Messrs. Samuel Parker, Thomas Young, Joseph Cole, John Wright, John West, Timothy Bowling, John Milledge, Henry Close, Walter Fox, John Grady, James Carwell and Richard Cannon. On an old map giving a view of Savannah in the latter part of March 1734, is represented a building which was used for a tabernacle and court house. This was a rude little building, 12 by 30 feet, which stood on a spot now covered by the rear of the custom-house at Bull street and Bay lane.

Justice as administered in courts did not get an auspicious start in Georgia. Before departing for England in the spring of 1734, Oglethorpe entrusted the care of the infant colony to the three bailiffs. He was barely out of sight of land when one of the bailiffs, John Causton, undertook to play the usurper. He assumed all authority and made his two associates yield to him and agree with him. So intolerant did he become that the colonists went to work to have him removed. One charge which they preferred against him was, that he had threatened jurors who did not find verdicts which pleased him. Again, he had compelled eight freeholders, with an officer, to attend at the door of the court-house while the court was in session, with their guns and bayonets, and they had orders to rest their fire-locks as soon as he appeared. Jurors were actually afraid to act according to their consciences the arraignment stated, and it further set forth "that the British nation was deceived (by Causton) with the fame of a happy, flourishing colony, and of its being free from that pest and scourge of mankind called lawyers, for the want of whose legal assistance the poor, miserable inhabitants are exposed to a more arbitrary government than ever was exercised in Turkey and Muscovy." Upon receiving this complaint, the trustees removed Causton and Mr. Gordon was sent over commissioned to assume the power and duties of chief magistrate. The deposed justice like many modern office holders, objected to being put out. So he took a novel way to force his successor to resign. Causton was keeper of the public store and it was his duty to sell provisions to all applicants. When Mr. Gordon tried to buy, he was refused. He could not stand that and in six weeks gave up his position, left the bench and sailed for England. Causton lost no time in putting on the purple and returning to his old seat.

The first notable trial in the colony was held shortly afterwards, Causton sat as chief judge. In truth he did more than preside, for he was a witness and advocate too, against the defendant, Captain Joseph Watson. The latter had taken an active hand in having his honor removed. Causton wanted revenge and he trumped up charges against the militia officer, accusing him of having aroused a bad feeling in the minds of the Indians. The jury's verdict was to the effect that Watson was not guilty of any crime save that of having made some thoughtless and unguarded remarks. This verdict was not what the judge wanted

and he charged the jury to go out and agree on another. The jurors refused to change their opinion and they returned with the same verdict. Causton charged the jurors again, telling them distinctly that they should find that Watson was guilty and a lunatic, and recommend him to the mercy of the court. This time the accused was found "guilty of lunacy." Captain Watson was thereupon sent to prison by his enemy, and was there kept for nearly three years without having sentence pronounced upon him.

Francis Moore, who visited the colony in 1736, wrote an interesting account of what he saw, and mentioned that "the town is governed by three bailiffs, and has a recorder, register, and town court, which is holden every six weeks, where all matters civil and criminal are decided by grand and petit juries as in England." And this chronicler adds: "But there are no lawyers allowed to plead for him; nor no attorneys to take money, but (as in old times in England) every man pleads his own cause. In case it should be an orphan, or one that can not speak for themselves, there are persons of the best substance in the town appointed by the trustees to take care of the orphans and to defend the helpless, and that without fee or reward, it being a service that each that is capable must perform in his term." Continuing, Mr. Moore wrote: "They have some laws and customs that are peculiar to Georgia; one is that all brandies and distilled liquors are prohibited under severe penalties; another is, that no slavery is allowed, nor negroes; a third, that all persons who go among the Indians must give security for their good behavior. . . . No victualler or ale-house keeper can give any credit, so consequently cannot recover any deb."

In an account of the public buildings in 1738, this appears: "The public works in this town are, 1. A court house, being one handsome room, with a piache on three sides." This likewise served as a church for divine service. No place for religious worship had been built, although the trustees in their public acts acknowledged the receipt of about seven hundred pounds sterling from charitable persons for that express purpose. Opposite the court-house stood the log-house or prison (which was the only one remaining of five or six that had been successively built.)

A memorial presented to the General Assembly in 1751 notes that

the court-house needed repairs, and three years later one end of it fell down while Governor John Reynolds and the council were sitting in it. The history of the bar prior to the federation of States at the close of the Revolutionary War is, unhappily, fragmentary and unsatisfactory. When the stamp act troubles began, early in 1766, all judicial business was suspended, and the courts were closed. The new court-house erected about this time had "in addition to a court-room, a jury-room with other conveniences."

The Revolutionary War was followed by a great deal of litigation. The Superior Court bench consisted of a chief justice and two associate judges. Richard Hawley was the first chief justice under the new judiciary system, 1782, and his associates were Joseph Clay and William O'Bryan. An appeal could be taken from this court to the Continental Congress, and the first murder case was appealed by John Houstoun, esq., counsel for the convicted defendant, Sampson Wall. So heavy did the litigation become that the grand jury at the March term of the Superior Court, 1785, called attention to it in this strong language: "We present as a Grievance replete with distress the enormous Docquet of the Civil actions now before the Court, and it is much to be lamented that the Legislature did not adopt some mode to prevent the ruin of our citizens."

In 1784, the judges of the Superior Court observing several causes on the docket, brought by and in behalf of British subjects, ordered that the attorneys who brought them should discontinue them, or the court would dismiss them agreeable to a former determination that no British subject should be permitted to sue or implead a citizen of the State, until regulations in that regard should be made by an act of the Legislature.

Between 1780 and the end of the century the leading attorneys were Samuel Stirk, James Whitfield, William Stephens, Nathanael Pendleton, Abraham Jackson, Messrs. Hawley, Houstoun and Matthew Hall McAllister, the father of the famous Ward.

The judge was dependent upon fees for his compensation just as the clerk was. Collections were poor at times, and in November, 1782, Judge O'Bryan passed an order to the effect that all fees due the judge and clerk should be paid into the hands of the clerk before any action, suit or condemnation should be deemed complete.

About this time a jury in a certain case brought in a verdict, but refused to announce it until paid for their attendance. When the payment of the jurors' fees was arranged the foreman announced that their verdict was in favor of the plaintiff for £326.

In October, 1789, there was no provision for a motion for a new trial in case either party to a suit was dissatisfied. This was only temporary.

The new court-house and new jail question which appears every quarter of a century agitated the city as well as the bar in the closing years of the last century.

A grand jury in 1790 recommended a new jail. Judge Osborne in charging a grand jury in 1790, remarked that the City Council ought to make an appropriation for repairing the court-house "which at small expense could be made a beautiful ornament of the city as well as a building of public utility."

A judge of the Superior Court from 1792 to the organization of the Supreme Court of the State in 1845, was an official of much more power and importance than now, for there was no appeal from his final judgment. Counterfeiting and mutilating coins were common offenses, though punishable by death, and convicted persons were to be executed without the benefit of clergy.

Some odd and interesting things are found in the records of the courts about this time. In 1785 the chief justice of the Superior Court was George Walton, who "intending to pass the summer in the country near Savannah, appointed Thursday of every week to hold chambers at the clerk's office in Town at the hour of 11 in the forenoon." On the Fourth of July of that year his honor observed "that there was a general diffusion of an extraordinary gladness on account of the day." In those days the power of the chief justice in this State, with respect to bail, was considered to be like that of the King's Bench in England. Chief Justice Walton ordered peremptorily on one occasion that the gentlemen of the bar should not bring any proceedings before him without the fees, except in cases already begun.

Chief Justice Nathanael Pendleton in addressing his first grand jury in March, 1789, said that he "assumed the office of chief judicial magistrate of the State with diffidence and apprehension proportioned to the great importance and difficulty of the position." One of the most remark-

able incidents connected with the history of Savannah's Bench and Bar, was the imprisonment of the whole panel of one grand jury by the court, followed almost immediately by the arrest and imprisonment of the judge himself. This extraordinary proceeding occurred in 1804. Jabez Bowen, jr., a Northern lawyer, probably from Rhode Island, had been elected to the bench of the Superior Court of Chatham county by the Legislature. On April 23, 1804, he convened his court for the regular term. When the jurors were sworn and had taken their seats his honor, who was an impolitic justice, delivered a charge which consisted mainly of a bitter and malignant attack on slavery. His strictures on the social customs of the people, the Legislature and the authorities of the State were rabid. His expressions would have caused amazement in any court room. Directed as they were at length, and with so much pronounced feeling, at a Georgia jury, they incensed the grand inquisitorial body beyond measure. No reply was made at that time, but when the jurors retired to their room they discussed nothing else. They resolved that they would show their resentment by ignoring the court. Accordingly not one of the twenty-two jurors appeared the next morning when the court was opened. Judge Bowen then fined each one ten dollars for contempt. Scarcely had this order been recorded when the jury marched into court, and through the foreman delivered a presentment setting forth that they "having taken into consideration the political strictures delivered to us yesterday as a charge by his Honor Judge Bowen, do, upon our oaths, present that it is injudicial, insulting to our government, and repugnant to the general interests of our country, and by disseminating principles that may tend to involve the community in the horrors of domestic insurrection." The members of the body further declared that without violence to their consciences and a total disregard of the dearest ties of society and its welfare, they would not proceed to business. They recommended that the judge's charge should not be published, but that a copy of it and of their presentment should be forwarded by the clerk of the court to the governor, and be laid before the next session of the Legislature.

This bearding of the judge on his bench was signed by Wm. Smith, foreman, William Blogg, Richard Turner, Wm. Lewden, John Cline, Isaac Minis, Saul Simons, John Y. White, Joseph Machin, Sampson Neyle,

Timothy Barnard, jr., Banack Gibbons, Jas. Mackintosh, S. Shad, James Atger, John Gibbons, William Brown, James Belcher, Joseph Rice, John Pettibone, David Gugil, Henry Putnam. The court-room was thronged with auditors who illy concealed their excitement. It was not imagined that Judge Bowen would be soothed by the vigorous arraignment and deserved rebuke which he received. Nor was he, but on the contrary his indignation was aroused, and he issued an order committing his jurors, one and all to jail. He accepted the presentment as a gross insult and resented it to the extent of his power. He further ordered that his charge should be published in the *Georgia Republican*, giving as the reason that it was the opinion of the judge that the dissemination of the principles contained in his address "could alone secure the happiness and eventually the very existence of his country."

The lawyers and the people were in sympathy with the grand jurors and did not allow them to remain in jail long. On the following day, April 25, an application was made to the judges of the Inferior Court for a writ of *habeas corpus* for the purpose of releasing the imprisoned citizens. Messrs. Mitchell, Noel, Miller and Berrien appeared as council for the prisoners.

Judge Bowen's order was held to be vague, informal and illegal by Justices Edward Telfair, Edward Harden and John G. Williamson. In discharging the jurors the judges complimented them in this language: "The patriotism, firmness and dignity with which you have conducted yourselves with the patience and fortitude you have displayed will hand your names down to posterity with applause."

In the meantime Justice of the Peace John Pooler had issued a warrant for Judge Bowen charging him with an attempt to excite a domestic insurrection in the State. Under the warrant the judge was arrested and sent to jail. The grand jurors had been confined for twenty-four hours. His Honor did not get out for two weeks. On Thursday June 8, his father, Hon. Jabez Bowen, of Rhode Island, secured the release of the judge upon giving an \$8,000 bond that Jabez Bowen, jr., should keep the peace and in all respects conduct himself as a good and faithful citizen of the State for five years. Judge Bowen never again presided over a Georgia court, but left the State soon after his release.

On the first day of the succeeding term Judge George Jones, who

had been elected by the General Assembly to fill the vacancy caused by Judge Bowen's departure, remarked in his charge to the grand jury that the practice of delivering written addresses to grand juries had perhaps grown into greater use in this than in any other State. He suggested that the practice could be traced to have its origin in the war of Independence and even to have contributed to it though in what way he does not explain.

In 1805 the first clash of authority occurred between the Superior Court and the city. One Walter Roe had been arrested by City Marshal Charles Cope for violating the quarantine law. Roe applied to the Superior Court for a writ of *habeas corpus* and secured his release from custody. Upon the order of Mayor John Y. Noel, Roe was re-arrested by the city marshal and was required to give bond. Thereupon Judge Jones of the Superior Court ruled the mayor and the marshal for contempt of court and after giving them an opportunity to show cause why they should not be punished, he fined the mayor \$50 and the marshal \$10 and held that the Superior Court had jurisdiction over the city of Savannah, a judgment which the later mayors have questioned.

It is interesting to note that a grand jury in 1808 presented "the too frequent and irreligious custom of duelling as we view it with horror. We recommend some penalty that may effectually restrain it."

Actions for debt comprised a large part of the business of the Superior Court in this decade.

Even so early as this another war with England was foreseen, and more than one reference was made to the impending war cloud by Judge T. U. P. Charlton.

In no section of the country was greater energy displayed either in support of the laws or of the authority of the magistracy. Justice for years moved on with a firm and steady pace uninterrupted by any of those commotions which theorists had predicted would be found to be inseparably connected with Republican institutions. The course of events as they were blended with judicial proceedings proved also, beyond the reach of refutation, the exalted moral character of the citizens of this judicial district. Judge Charlton observed in this connection in the year 1810: "For nearly eight years back the public sensibility has not been shocked by the pageant of an execution, and for six years of that time

punishment by branding and whipping has been inflicted only upon three persons and one of these was not a native of this country." Amidst so large a population such a diminution of crime was spoken of as unparalleled.

The last century was just rounding off when there came to the Savannah bar a youth who was destined to become the brightest star of his profession, the noblest ornament of the bench. For more than half a century from 1799 to 1856 John McPherson Berrien was an active member of the legal profession, the virtues of which he illustrated, adorning it by the exhibition of rare and eminent talents. Dying, he left an example of spotless purity and integrity of life. His memory is still sweet, and it is not rare to hear his name mentioned with pride by the older members of the present bar. He was born in New Jersey, in 1781, but his parents soon came to Georgia. Young Berrien read law in the office of the Hon. Joseph Clay, and was admitted to the bar in 1799 before he completed his eighteenth year. Ten years later he was elected solicitor-general and in 1810 became judge of the Eastern Circuit. The latter office he held four terms. While on the bench, the question of the constitutionality of the alleviating law came before him, and in a convention of all the judges at Augusta, he delivered the opinion declaring the act to be unconstitutional. This was a triumph of law over popular excitement. Distressed in financial matters the people had elected a majority to the Legislature to grant relief, even to the suspension of debts, or at least of the process of enforcing them.

During the war with Great Britain Judge Berrien commanded a regiment of volunteer cavalry, but he had no opportunity of engaging in a conflict. The only time when a judicial act of his caused dissatisfaction was when he passed sentence on Hopkins, found guilty of the murder of one McIntosh. After the crime Hopkins was aided in making his escape by his overseer, who had no further connection with the offence. Both were convicted of manslaughter. Judge Berrien sentenced Hopkins to the penitentiary without labor and the overseer was subjected to hard labor for a term of years. This aroused the indignation of the public who considered the judgment discrimination—the wealthy criminal undergoing simple confinement and his poor innocent friend toiling at the work-bench. Judge Berrien demanded an investigation, and the Legislature

of 1818 unanimously vindicated him. The judge had been actuated by motives of humanity. Hopkins was in feeble health, and labor would have been taking his life by judicial execution when a less punishment was all that the law authorized. In 1822 and 1823 Judge Berrien served Chatham county in the State Senate, and in 1824 he was elected to the United States Senate. In that body he took a commanding position. Only on important questions did he take part in the debates and then maturely prepared, as he never failed to be, his arguments were sustained by a logic and an eloquence which gave universal delight. Chief Justice Marshall called him the "honey-tongued Georgia youth." He also won the title "American Cicero."

It is said that he was the only man to whom Daniel Webster softened his voice when he turned from his seat to address him. President Jackson invited Judge Berrien to a seat in his first cabinet, and Judge Berrien became the attorney-general of the United States. Judge Berrien's daughters with the other cabinet ladies cut Mrs. Eaton, wife of the secretary of war, and from that arose the unpleasantness in the Cabinet which resulted in the withdrawal of Judge Berrien, Secretary of the Treasury Ingham, and Secretary of the Navy Branch. In accepting the attorney-general's resignation, the president wrote: "I take pleasure in expressing my approbation of the zeal and efficiency with which its (the office's) duties have been performed, and in assuring you that you carry with you my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness."

To Judge Berrien the bar is indebted for that compilation of the statute laws of England then in force in Georgia known as Schley's digest, for it was prepared under a resolution introduced by him when he was chairman of the Georgia Senate Judiciary Committee.

The old criminal code was violative of the principle that life and the right to enjoy it with dignity were sacred things. That code attached very little value to human life or dignity, and in many instances men could be deprived of their lives when imprisonment and labor might have fulfilled all the purposes of punishment. In almost every case there was a disproportion between the crime and the punishment. Judge Thomas U. P. Charlton, who preceded and succeeded Judge Berrien, took a stand against the penal laws and put himself on record so in his first charge to a grand jury.

The principal law firms in Savannah for some years, prior to and subsequent to 1840, were those of Berrien & Law, MacAllister & Cohen, Charlton & Ward, and Miller & Kollock. Francis S. Bartow's name was added to the firm Berrien & Law about that time. This firm reaches far back and touches the present. In the earlier years of the century the firm of Davies & Berrien was formed. Then it became Berrien & Law, then Law & Bartow, then Law, Bartow & Lovell, then Law, Lovell & Falligant, the next Law & Falligant, and now as sole survivor of a firm which began three-quarters of a century ago is Captain Robert Falligant, the wit and poet of the bar of to-day, the fourth member of the firm to fill the Superior Court bench.

Half a century ago there was no greater character, in a certain sense, at the Savannah bar than John Millen. He bore plainly the stamp of originality. He had ability without eloquence. Brevity, directness and force marked his manner. In 1837, or thereabouts, he pledged his personal character and obtained the respite of a convicted client, a slave named Adam, found guilty of having, with the assistance of another slave, Bella, murdered the latter's master, Warren. Bella was hung. On the gallows she made a confession and exonerated Adam, who was afterwards pardoned.

Levi S. DeLyon was directly descended from the colony of Israelites who located in Savannah soon after it was laid out. His personal magnetism, his fidelity to his clients, his fluency of speech, and his ability soon drew to him a lucrative practice. By his professional labors he made a comfortable fortune. He eschewed politics, except in the line of his profession, and was for several years judge of the city court of Savannah.

One of the most promising of the young attorneys admitted to the bar in the decade between 1830 and 1840, was Nicholas Marlow. He was a pupil in Dr. White's school in Savannah for a year or two. His early opportunities had been limited, but he had a good mind and he was a diligent student. During his brief career at the bar he won an enviable reputation by his conduct of a case involving certain rights of slaves. John Dugger, jr., had by will directed that certain slaves of his should be sent out of the State to some place where they could be free. The Court of Ordinary refused to probate the will on the ground that its

provisions were contrary to the laws of the State touching the manumission of slaves. Mr. Henry Rose, of Savannah, became interested in the case and employed young Marlow to secure the slaves their rights. It had been the general opinion of the bar that such a will was void, but Judge R. M. Charlton, then the youngest judge in the State, at the instance of perhaps the youngest attorney at the bar, decided against that general opinion, and in favor of the liberty of the slaves. Subsequently the Georgia judges in convention rendered the same judgment in a similar case, and the Supreme Court of the State afterwards affirmed the ruling in many cases. Through the case the young judge and young Marlow both made a name. Marlow's success was assured, but death cut short his career about three years later, at which time he was the partner of Hon. Joseph W. Jackson.

The lawyers of fifty years ago were Jeremiah Cuyler, Counselor Leake, William B. Bulloch, Mordecai Sheftall, sr., John M. Berrien, George W. Owens, Richard W. Habersham, James M. Wayne, Joseph S. Pelot, Levi S. De Lyon, Joseph W. Jackson, Wm. Law, M. H. MacAllister, Chas. S. Henry, Mordecai Myers, Geo. Glenn, John C. Nicoll, John M. Clark, Robert W. Pooler, William W. Gordon, Richard R. Cuyler, Robert M. Charlton, John Miller, Wm. H. Bulloch, Alexander J. Drysdale, Wm. H. Miller, J. De La Motta, jr., William H. Stiles, George J. Kallock, Ed. J. Harden, John E. Ward. William B. Bulloch was a bank officer, Mordecai Myers was an officer of the city government, J. De La Motta was an editor of the *Savannah Republican*, William H. Bulloch of the *Georgian*, and Robert W. Pooler was clerk of the Superior Court; Messrs. Owens, Habersham, Jackson and Stiles represented Georgia in Congress; John E. Ward was speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives and was minister to China. Three old lawyers at that time who were not natives of Georgia were Wm. B. Fleming, Solomon Cohen, and Mulford Marsh. Both the Charltons, father and son, were men of extensive legal knowledge, possessed of remarkable powers of memory, and were ripe scholars. Their names are linked with the history of the Savannah bar throughout the first half of the century. The elder Charlton, T. U. P., was twice judge of the Superior Court, and for one term was solicitor-general. His son, Robert, was judge of the same court from 1835 to 1837. Judge Wayne was for years judge of the United States District Court. Judge

Edward J. Harden, of the city court, was a practicing lawyer for almost forty years. He came to the bar in 1834 and died in 1873. His name always suggests the ready recognition of a generous and kindly sympathy, of which he seemed by common consent, to be the center and exponent. As a judge he was upright and just; as a counselor he was wise, prudent and safe; as an advocate he was earnest, zealous, faithful and stern in integrity. He was distinguished in his profession by his laborious industry, by his great legal acquirements, and by his devotion to his duties and to the interests of his clients. During the existence of the Confederacy he was on the bench of the Confederate States Court here in Savannah.

Though rarely seen in the court-house now, there are members of the bar yet who connect the first half of the century with the present. General Henry R. Jackson, General Alexander R. Lawton, and Captain John M. Guerard were attorneys before the fifties. Another who lives, though retired from practice, is Judge Richard Clarke, and still another is John E. Ward, who was solicitor-general in 1836, mayor of Savannah many years ago, ex-minister to China, and now is practicing his profession in New York. But all honor to Savannah's *post bellum* bar. Four years of army life made a great scar in the professional careers of every one. Those who had made a start before the war broke out were rusty, and had to begin again when they returned. The rivalry between intellects which followed was keen. The briefless young attorney and the experienced heads started off with enthusiasm. New men kept coming in. Cases were many, and the battles of the bar were fought with admirable skill. General Henry R. Jackson took a leading position, delighting by his poetic thought, classic diction and eloquence. He had been a Superior Court judge eleven years before the war opened, and had been United States attorney, representing the government in the most notable case ever tried in the Federal courts here, that of the captain of the bark *Wanderer*, and others who were interested in bringing to Georgia from the African coast a cargo of slaves. After the war General Jackson was engaged in many of the most famous civil cases in this judicial district, and some of the cases he fought through the Supreme Court of the United States. General A. R. Lawton was for several years a partner of General Jackson's, and was associated with him in some large cases.

Then for several years General Lawton was general counsel for the Central Railroad and Banking Company, a position upon which devolves a voluminous business.

During the last years of its existence the law firm of Hartridge & Chisholm stood at the head of the bar of the State. Judge Walter S. Chisholm and Hon. Julian Hartridge were strong lawyers. Judge Chisholm had the training acquired from eleven years on the bench, and Mr. Hartridge had served as solicitor general and had considerable experience obtained as a member of various public bodies. Mr. Hartridge died a member of Congress. Ex-judge Chisholm is the general counsel of the Plant Railroad and Steamship System and of the Southern Express Company. His greatest case in the Georgia courts was the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad suit which he won, and for which he received the largest fee ever paid a Savannah lawyer, \$80,000. For five years he has resided in New York although he has an office here, his associate in it being Robert G. Erwin, esq.

Captain Guerard retired from practice a few months ago. He has read widely and his familiarity with the old English law has many a time surprised court and opposing counsel.

Thomas M. Norwood, esq., ex-Congressman and ex-United States Senator, is one of the leading lawyers of Georgia. His strength has been his logical mind and dreaded sarcasm, equipped on one hand for the court and on the other for effect before a jury. For years he drew a handsome salary as the counsel for a large corporation with western interests.

Not to be forgotten is the late S. Yates Levy who was a litterateur as well as counselor, and whose talent won admiration in which field so ever he worked.

Georgia probably has no abler legal firm than Denmark, Adams & Adams. B. A. Denmark and S. B. Adams had an enviable reputation before ex-Judge A. P. Adams resigned from the Superior Court bench to enter the firm. Judge Adams was conceded to be the finest jurist on the Superior Court bench in the State, and his decisions were keen and logical analyses of the law. For his ability the Supreme Court entertained the highest esteem and so expressed itself. The bar sincerely regretted his retirement, for the members admired him. He has rare logi-

cal powers, is a hard student and has great powers as a pleader. Judge Adams' associates at the bar regard him as the coming lawyer of the State, for he is yet a young man.

S. B. Adams, esq., his brother, is the attorney for the city of Savannah and is an able lawyer.

B. A. Denmark has an exceptionally practical business mind, and he is the attorney of several large corporations.

Judge William D. Harden of the City Court is still reckoned among the younger members of the bar. His attainments are varied, the expression "well rounded" being very applicable to him. Aside from the law, his fund of general information is so wide that he might be taken for a specialist in any one of half a dozen pursuits.

Fleming G. du Bignon, president of the last State Senate, rose rapidly. While most men are laying the foundation he reared the walls. Scarcely more than six years ago, if that long, he came back to Savannah after a residence of some years in Milledgeville. Elected Solicitor-General of this judicial district, he proceeded to administer his office with a fearlessness and ability which quickly gained him the good will of all save the criminal classes, and they respected him. He is a magnetic, eloquent speaker, particularly strong in graphic dramatic descriptive style of oratory such as is often wonderfully effective in criminal trials. Mr. du Bignon rarely lost a case when he was the State's counsel, and he has no superior to-day in Georgia as a criminal lawyer. His greatest cases have been: The Pfluger, Dawson, and Smith-Cassidy murder trials in the Superior Court, and the moonshine case in the United States Court.

Charles N. West is a brainy lawyer and a tireless worker. He never gives up so long as there is the smallest chance. Not infrequently has he carried his point when opposed by a long line of counsel, sometimes by half the members of the bar in important assignment and receivership cases. Mr. West has a large, valuable and steadily growing practice.

J. R. Saussy, esq., is a strong civil lawyer, to which practice he chiefly confines himself. If he cannot win a jury or at least a large part of it, no one can for his side of the case. Mr. Saussy has figured in some of the largest cases here, notably the Telfair will case and the Rose will case. As an authority on testamentary law he is at the head of the bar. His law library is one of the largest in the State.



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J. G. duRoi

Messrs. Garrard & Meldrim, while not by any means old lawyers, are about the oldest firm in the city. They are successful too. Colonel William Garrard fortifies himself with authorities. Mr. Peter W. Meldrim wins a jury through the evidence and his address and the court he addresses with strong reasoning.

Inheriting the ability of father and grandfather Walter G. Charlton easily attained and maintains a leading position at the Savannah bar. He was solicitor-general for a term, and before that had practically filled the position for a term or two. A fearless prosecutor of violators of the law was he, too, and a lasting benefit did he confer on the city in making the first move to break up the gambling hells and gangs of footpads. Mr. Charlton is an effective speaker, ready at repartee, cool and when he chooses to resort to it bitterly sarcastic.

His law partner W. W. Mackall, esq., has a name as a sound counselor and is often selected by the courts to act as master in cases.

Wallace W. Fraser is the present solicitor-general. He is a native of Liberty county and is popular all over the circuit. Mr. Fraser excels as a civil lawyer and he always knows his cases when he appears in court.

Alex. R. MacDonell is among the young lawyers. His city code however, entitles him to rank with the older members of the profession. The work was carefully, thoroughly done and is a highly creditable law book, the best codification of ordinances Savannah has ever had.

The possessor of the most remarkable memory at the Savannah bar, yes at the bar of Georgia, is Joseph Cronk, esq., who cites opinions, titles of authorities, the numbers of the page or section of the codes with un-failing accuracy and without reference to memorandums.

Not another Savannah lawyer has prospered as J. L. Whatley, esq., has. He had a lucrative practice and he was farseeing, he invested and cleared handsomely and is now one of the wealthiest members of his profession. By the way, his partner, General Henry R. Jackson, is the wealthiest member of the bar. Mr. Whatley has not the disadvantage which handicaps so many lawyers, his mind is eminently practical, not theoretical.

If the name of one Savannah lawyer is destined to outlive all others in history William Clifton is that name. He is an original character with a memory for faces and names which is simply phenomenal. That

is the chief secret of Mr. Clifton's popularity. He knows by name more men, women and children than any one else in Georgia certainly. And while the city lawyers may defeat him in the courts in Savannah he invariably gets the better of them on the circuit. Mr. Clifton was a member of the last Legislature.

R. R. Richards probably has to turn more clients away because he is too busy than any of his legal brothers. Mr. Richards makes no pretensions to oratory but he wins cases from those who do. His acquaintance with corporation law and the statutes providing for damages for personal injury is wide and thorough.

Captain Henry Cunningham, associate counsel for the Central Railroad, is another lawyer who sifts a case until he gets at the issues and then he regards them in a practical business way. He has a lucrative practice.

Colonel Rufus E. Lester, for six years mayor of the city and now congressman from this district, might reasonably be supposed from his official career to be a leading lawyer. And he is. Colonel Lester is a good thinker. He gets at the merits of a case, if it has any, and he is strong before a jury. He has been a successful and prosperous attorney.

No lawyer stands higher at the bar than Colonel George A. Mercer who has a remarkably fine legal mind. Colonel Mercer has a deep knowledge of law and a careful judgment which give his counsel authoritative value. He is an unusually fluent and rapid speaker. His style in speaking is chaste and marked by its smoothness and grace. He is identified with many of the most important civil and criminal cases at every term of the courts.

The Superior Court judges and the Solicitor-Generals of the Eastern Circuit, since the Superior Court, as it now is, was instituted in 1792, have been: John Houstoun, 1792; William Stephens, 1796; John Glen, 1798; David Brydie Mitchell, 1798; Jabez Bowen, 1804; George Jones, 1804; Thomas U. P. Charlton, 1808; John M. Berrien, 1813; Thomas U. P. Charlton, 1821; James M. Wayne, 1822; William Davies, 1828; William Law, 1829; John I. Nicoll, 1834; Robert M. Charlton, 1835; Charles H. Henry, 1837; William B. Fleming, 1845; Henry R. Jackson, 1849; Joseph W. Jackson, 1853; William B. Fleming, 1853; William Schley, 1869; Henry B. Tompkins, 1875; William B. Fleming, 1879; Henry B. Tompkins, 1881; A. Pratt Adams, 1882; Robert Falligant, 1889.

Solicitor- generals, George Woodruff, 1795; David B. Mitchell, 1796; William B. Bullock, 1799; T. U. P. Charlton, 1804; John M. Berrien, 1809; Joseph S. Pelot, 1813; Edward F. Tattnell, 1816; William Law, 1817; John C. Nicoll, 1821; Nathaniel P. Bond, 1822; Charles S. Henry, 1825; Joseph W. Jackson, 1831; William H. Stiles, 1833; John Elliott Ward, 1836; Edward J. Harden, 1838; Richard N. Owens, 1838; William P. White, 1840; William P. Gaulden, 1847; George A. Gordon, 1855; Julian Hartridge, 1855; Claudius C. Wilson, Jan. 23, 1860; Frederick Tupper, qualified as solicitor-general March 4, 1861, and was acting as such on May 12, 1862; John W. Heidt, date of commission does not appear, evidently succeeded Tupper, first reference to him Jan. 29, 1863, was still acting May 24, 1866; Alfred B. Smith, date of commission does not appear, was acting in February, 1868, term expired January, 1873; Albert R. Lamar, January, 1873; Alfred B. Smith, January, 1877; Walter G. Charlton, January, 1881; Fleming G. du Bignon, January, 1885; Wallace W. Fraser, November, 1888.

The judges of the City Court of Savannah have been: James M. Wayne, 1820; John C. Nicoll, 1824; Charles S. Henry, 1834; John C. Nicoll, 1837; Levi S. D' Lyon, 1838; William B. Fleming, 1844; Edward J. Harden, 1845; Mordecai Sheftall, 1847; Alexander Drysdale, 1850; George Troup Howard, 1853; John M. Millen, 1856; Levi S. De Lyon, 1861; Walter S. Chisholm, 1863; William D. Harden, 1878.

The following names constitute the roster of Savannah's bar: A. Pratt Adams, S. B. Adams, J. Randolph Anderson, James Atkins, Isaac Beckett, G. E. Bevans, G. T. Cann, J. F. Cann, W. G. Charlton, W. S. Chisholm, jr., J. G. Clark, D. H. Clark, William Clifton, J. A. Cronk, H. C. Cunningham, B. A. Denmark, F. G. du Bignon, R. G. Erwin, Robert Falligant, W. W. Fraser, Davis Freeman, William Garrard, Eugene L. Gilbert, J. M. Guerard, Henry R. Jackson, W. P. La Roche, W. F. Law, A. R. Lawton, sr., A. R. Lawton, jr., S. L. Lazon, W. R. Leaken, R. E. Lester, W. W. Mackall, U. H. McLaws, A. H. MacDonell, A. M. Martin, P. W. Meldrim, George A. Mercer, G. H. Miller, A. Minis, jr., T. S. Morgan, W. E. Morrison, T. M. Norwood, M. A. O'Byrne, P. J. O'Connor, W. W. Osborne, George W. Owens, W. H. Patterson, William Pease, R. R. Richards, T. D. Rockwell, J. R. Saussy, sr., J. R. Saussy, jr., John S. Schley, R. D. Walker, Charles N. West, J. L. Whatley, H. E. Wilson, W. G. Woodfin, A. C. Wright.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION OF SAVANNAH.

Sketches of some of the most Prominent Physicians of Savannah, Past and Present
—Medical Colleges—Georgia Medical Society.

THE history of the medical profession of Savannah opens a wide field, but facts to form a perfect record are limited and imperfectly attainable. Physicians have little in common with each other to go to form a professional history, an aggregation of the personal attainments of each is therefore essential to its perfection and perpetuation. But to record the deeds of each, or even a bare outline of their achievements and personal history, would develop facts that should be preserved, yet the limited space of a work of this sort forbids its full cultivation.

Among the earlier settlers upon the site of the present city of Savannah, two disciples of Esculapius are found, Dr. Patrick Tailfer and Dr. Hugh Anderson, who in 1741 wrote a description of the settlement founded by Oglethorpe, in which they harshly criticised the unhealthfulness of the locality. These two doctors, without doubt, the first in this section of the country, were worthy followers of the "healing art," and their skill found abundant field of exercise among the members of Oglethorpe's followers. It is to be regretted that history furnishes us so little concerning these pioneer physicians.

Dr. Nunis, an Israelite, came among the settlers of Savannah in its early history and at an unfortunate period. The spirit of religious intolerance was most bitter, and he was informed that Jews and Roman Catholics were not welcome among a people whom it would seem had every incentive to be devoid of religious prejudice. Dr. Nunis therefore sought a home in a more generous community and settled in Charleston. Happily the spirit that characterised the earlier settlers of the colony of Georgia did not long exist, and at last gave way to broad and enlightened sentiments which found fit expression in the Declaration of Independence.

In the latter part of the preceding century, when Savannah was hardly

more than a thriving village, we find among its medical fraternity such distinguished physicians as Dr. Noble Wimberly Jones, Dr. John Irvine, and Dr. Thomas Young, men of refinement and liberal education, who occupied high positions in their profession.

Dr. Jones was born near London, England, in 1732, and was a son of Hon. Noble Jones, who came to Georgia with General Oglethorpe. At the commencement of the dissensions between Great Britain and the Colonies, Dr. Jones took a decided stand in favor of the latter. He was among the first of those who associated for the purpose of sending delegates to a General Congress at Philadelphia, and was chosen speaker of the Provincial Legislature. When Savannah fell under the British in 1778, he removed to Charleston, S. C., where he was arrested by order of the British commander and carried to St. Augustine. He was released after a short imprisonment and went to Philadelphia. While in Philadelphia he was appointed by the Legislature of Georgia a delegate to Congress, and continued in that capacity until 1782, when he returned to Savannah, where he resumed the practice of his profession. He died in 1805 honored by the community as an honest man, a sterling patriot, and a skillful physician.

Dr. John Irvine was born in Scotland, and before the Revolution came to Georgia where he practiced his profession. He was a Royalist, and we find his name among those dissenting to certain resolutions which sharply criticised the actions of the English government. When the colonies declared war against England he was obliged to leave Georgia and return to England, where shortly after he was appointed physician to the king. After the independence of the colonies was declared he returned to Georgia and again settled in Savannah, and became one of the founders of the Georgia Medical Society. He died in March, 1809.

Dr. Thomas Young was located in Savannah for several years. He was a physician of fine ability, and had an extended practice. He died in 1808.

In the beginning of the present century Savannah had a medical corps which, for professional attainments, was as brilliant as has ever marked the city's history. Besides those already named, it was composed of Drs. Thomas Schley, Henry Bourquin, James Bond Read, James Glen, George Vinson Proctor, William Cocke, Nicholas S. Bayard, John Grimes, Lem-

uel Kollock, James Ewell, John Cumming, Joshua E. White, Moses Sheftall, all of whom died prior to 1830.

Dr. James Glen was a grandson of Hon. James Glen, who was governor of South Carolina in 1739, and son of Hon. John Glen, first chief justice of Georgia. He died in 1816.

Beyond the date of death of the contemporaries of Dr. Glen, we have been unable to gather but little concerning their personal history. Dr. Bourquin died in 1819; Dr. Schley in 1812; Dr. Proctor in 1817; Dr. Cocke in 1821; Nicholas S. Bayard in 1822; Dr. Kollock in 1828; Dr. Sheftall in 1830.

Drs. George Jones, William Parker, Charles Williamson, W. C. Daniel, James P. Screven, Peter Ward, and Thomas Young, jr., were also located in Savannah and practicing their profession in the early part of the present century.

Dr. Daniel was born in Green county, Ga., in 1792, or 1794. He settled in Savannah in 1818. He introduced a new system for treating malarial fever, and was the author of a work on "The Autumnal Fevers of Savannah." He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, and died in Savannah in 1869. Dr. Daniel was a practitioner of great ability, took a prominent part in the material development of Savannah, and held many positions of honor in the management of municipal affairs.

Dr. W. R. Waring began practice in Savannah prior to Dr. Daniel, and for many years was one of the leading physicians of the city. He was a voluminous contributor to the medical literature of the profession, being the author of a valuable work on yellow fever. He was not only a skillful physician, but one of the most public-spirited and useful citizens of Savannah. He was at one time mayor of the city. He died in 1843.

Dr. James P. Screven was a descendant of Rev. William Screven, who came from England prior to 1674, and settled in Maine; moved to Charleston, S. C., in 1683, and founded the Baptist Church in that State. Dr. Screven was born in South Carolina in 1799, and moved to Savannah with his parents while an infant. His preliminary education was received under Dr. Moses Waddell. He studied medicine under Dr. W. R. Waring, of Savannah, and after graduating from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, spent two years in Europe receiving the benefits of the best educational institutions of the old world. He

commenced his professional labors in Savannah and soon attained deserved success in his calling. In 1834 he withdrew from active professional work to devote his time to his large landed estate and business affairs. In the material development of Savannah he bore an important part, being the originator of the water system, and the main projector of the Savannah, Florida and Western Railway System. Although for several years he did not practice medicine he continued to feel a warm interest in his profession. He was at one time mayor of the city, and for one term represented Chatham county in the State Senate. He died on July 16, 1859.

During the period from 1830 to 1850 the medical profession of Savannah was in its fullest glory. It was made up of as fine material as could be found in any city, many of its members possessing an enviable local reputation and some almost national repute. Space forbids complete biographical consideration but their names at least should be preserved. Of those not elsewhere mentioned there were in active practice during a portion of the above period Drs. William Parker, Cosmo P. Richardson, T. G. Barnard, J. R. Saussy, Stephen N. Harris, Joseph H. Burroughs, William A. Caruthers, R. D. Arnold, Thadeus Bartow, P. M. Kollock, Martin Tufts, J. D. Fish, Richard Wayne, J. Ashby Wragg, Alexander Cunningham, R. Wildman and William Gaston Bulloch.

Perhaps no member of the medical profession of Savannah was more generally known in this community or more highly honored than Dr. Richard D. Arnold. He was born in Savannah in 1808. After a thorough preparatory course of literary and scientific study at Princeton, N. J., he received the degree of doctor of medicine from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1830, at that time the foremost school of medicine in the United States, and soon after commenced the active duties of his profession in his native city. Earnest in his efforts for the acquisition of knowledge, possessing a mind with keen perceptive qualities, he soon attained a prominent position in his profession. Appointed in 1835 one of the physicians of the Savannah poor-house and hospital, which appointment was renewed annually for more than twenty years, he acquired a perfect familiarity with the diseases of this climate, and his published monographs on bilious and yellow fevers made him an authority on those subjects which is recognized by the best

medical writers in the country. He was a member of the American Medical Association from its inception in 1846 and co-operated heartily in the objects of its formation. He was one of the committee that framed the code of ethics by which the whole medical profession of the United States is governed, and at its fourth annual meeting held in Charleston, S. C., in 1851 was elected one of the vice-presidents of the association.

Upon the recommendation of the association that State medical societies should be formed as auxiliaries in the great work of medical reform, Dr. Arnold took an active part in the organization of the medical society of the State of Georgia, and as president, in 1851, in Atlanta delivered an able address upon "the reciprocal duties of physicians and the public towards each other," in which he advocated a more thorough preparatory course of instruction in English, Greek and Latin literature, as well as the collateral sciences, before commencing the study of medicine.

Upon the organization of the Savannah medical college in 1850, he became professor of the theory and practice of medicine and proved himself to be one of its most valuable instructors. He was naturally of a literary turn, and early in his professional career employed his leisure hours in writing for the *Savannah Republican*. In January, 1833, he became part proprietor of the *Daily Georgian*, and continued in the journalistic field until the early part of 1835, when he sold out and devoted himself entirely to the medical profession.

In the political affairs of the city and State, Dr. Arnold early in life took an active part. In 1839 he was elected to represent Chatham county in the Legislature, and distinguished himself by his fearless and able advocacy of all measures of local character. His entrance into political life was followed by many party triumphs. In 1842 he was elected to the Georgia Senate over General Francis S. Bartow, the candidate of the Whig party, and in September of 1843 was elected by a large vote as mayor of the city, previously having served several terms as a member of the Board of Aldermen. He was again elevated to the office of the chief magistracy of the city in 1851, then in 1859 and again in 1863, and continued in the position until the close of the war, when the city having been evacuated by General Hardee, he was compelled to ask the protection of General Sherman, upon its occupation by him in December 1864, and was permitted to remain undisturbed in possession of the office until the election of Colonel E. C. Anderson.

At the inception of the present system of public school education, Dr. Arnold became president of the Board of Education, and held the position until his death. His interest in the success of these schools was most earnest.

He was one of the original members of the Georgia Historical Society, and at the time of his death, and for many years previous, one of its curators. At the dedication of the present hall in 1875, he delivered a most interesting address in which the history of the society and the efforts of its most prominent early patron was given.

In 1854 when Savannah was devastated by the worst yellow fever epidemic the city has ever experienced, Dr. Arnold was noted for his utter self-abnegation. He was unremitting in his attention to the sick and suffering, and brought safely through some of the severest cases of fever, and many of his patients yet live to remember with gratitude his kindness and zeal. He was an efficient member of the Savannah Benevolent Association which was organized during those terrible days of 1854 and has maintained its organization ever since. Upon the organization of the Board of Water Commissioners some thirty years ago, Dr. Arnold was elected president and continued to hold the position through all successive city administrations up to the time of his death. He gave great attention to the subject of water supply and many of the improvements in the system are to be attributed to his sagacity.

In his intercourse with his professional brothers he was high-toned, honorable, generous, but no man looked upon anything having the slightest appearance of charlatanism or quackery with greater scorn and disgust than Dr. Arnold. His death though not unexpected, produced a profound sense of sorrow, and the spontaneous gathering of the whole community at his obsequies attested the appreciation in which he was held as the kind and skillful physician as well as the intelligent and faithful public citizen.

Dr. John D. Fish was born in Washington county, Ga, on September 28, 1822. His literary and classical education was obtained at Mercer and Oglethorpe Universities in his native State and his medical education at the University of New York, where he graduated in 1845. The following year was spent at Bellevue Hospital New York. In 1846 he settled in Savannah. He was a member of the Georgia Medical Society,

and filled all the offices within the gift of this organization. He published several articles on public health and delivered before the medical society an able address on the same subject. He was professor of obstetrics in the Savannah Medical College and an active member of the Savannah Benevolent Association. He died on February 12, 1879.

Dr. Cosmo P. Richardson was one of the most brilliant members of the Savannah medical profession for many years. He was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, but his father was a native of South Carolina. At the age of fifteen he came to Georgia and received his preparatory education under the direction of Rev. Carlisle C. P. Beman a well-known and remarkably successful teacher. He studied medicine in the office of Dr. W. C. Daniel of Savannah, and after completing a thorough medical course, commenced the practice of his profession in Savannah. He was far more than a successful practitioner—he was a generous-hearted, kindly man in whose life work was blended the exercise of the noblest Christian virtues. He died in 1852 and is survived by a widow, two daughters and a son.

Dr. William Gaston Bulloch was born in Savannah August 4, 1815, and was a grandson of Hon. Archibald Bulloch, Dr. John Irvine and Dr. Noble Wimberly Jones. Dr. Bulloch graduated at Yale College in 1835, and the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1838. His medical education was thereafter continued for nearly two years in Paris, France. He commenced the practice of his profession in Savannah in 1840, and for many years was one of the best known physicians and surgeons in Georgia, particularly excelling as an oculist. He was one of the founders of the Savannah Medical College, and for several years held the chair of surgery in that institution. In 1869 the Gynæcological Society of Boston elected him a corresponding member. During the late civil war he served as a surgeon in Richmond, Va., as a member of the Charleston Medical examining board, and also had charge of the Broughton Street hospital in Savannah. He was a useful citizen of Savannah, and at one time was a member of the city council. He was a physician of decided ability, thoroughly devoted to his profession, and a gentleman of the highest moral worth. He died June 23, 1885.

Dr. Stephen N. Harris was born in Liberty county, Ga., in 1824. He was educated at Athens University, Georgia, and was a graduate of the

Charleston Medical College in the class of 1840 or 1841. He commenced practice in Liberty county with his father, Dr. Raymond Harris, who for a short time was located in Savannah. In 1844 Dr. Harris moved to Savannah, and until his death, in 1854, when he died of yellow fever, he held a deservedly high position in the medical fraternity of the city. He was a member of the local and State medical associations, a practitioner of decided skill, and met his death while attempting to combat the ravages of the memorable epidemic of 1854.

Dr. John F. Posey died on January 15, 1860, and at the time of his death was the oldest practitioner in Savannah. He was a native of North Carolina. During the Mexican War he served as surgeon. At its close he settled in Savannah, where he remained until his death. He was a man of great information, meteorology being a favorite pursuit, while he was a regular correspondent of the Smithsonian Institute. His personal character was of the highest kind. For many years he served the city as one of its municipal guardians. He took a deep interest in the efforts of organized medicine, and at the time of his death was president of the Georgia Medical Society.

Dr. Joseph Clay Habersham was another physician whose professional attainments and moral worth added luster to the medical fraternity of Savannah during the period of which we are treating. He was a grandson of Governor Habersham and graduated at Princeton College, previously having studied under the celebrated physician, Dr. Grimes, of Philadelphia. He became very proficient as a geologist, and Prof. Lyle, the eminent geologist and mineralogist, in his works mentions Dr. Habersham as "the eminent Southern scientist, thoroughly versed in mineralogy and geology." In 1838, with Dr. W. C. Daniel, of Savannah, he visited northern Georgia to investigate the alleged gold fields in that section, and wrote a description of the mineral and other resources of that section, which is in exact accord with the result of later examination of the mineral region of Georgia. Dr. Habersham was thoroughly devoted to his profession, and during the yellow fever of 1854 was untiring in his exertion in behalf of the scourge-stricken people. His death was due to his overwork in this epidemic, although it did not occur until a year later.

The yellow fever of 1854 tested the metal of the medical profession of Savannah to the utmost. Drs. Harris, Arnold, Bulloch, Habersham,

Wragg, Cunningham, Daniel, and others, with desperate valor, faced the foe, and with few exceptions survived the battle. Other tests of professional integrity have occurred from the same source, and it is not too much to say that in every outbreak of this destroying disease, the profession almost to a man remained at the post of duty and heroically fought the terrible destroyer.

From 1850 to the present it would be an almost impossible task to even gather the names of all the physicians who have practiced in Savannah, much less to gather even limited information concerning their attainments or achievements. Among those who may be said to have gained a worthy place in their profession, and who are not now living, and not before mentioned, may be named: Drs. J. J. Waring, D. H. Morrison, William H. Cuyler, P. M. Kollock, J. Gordon Howard, James Stoney, James Campfield, Joseph West, C. W. West, Joseph Turner, John Wakefield Francis, Harvey L. Byrd, George P. Padelford, R. H. Footman, Frank Demere, E. H. Martin, R. M. Nunn, James S. Sullivan, Thomas Smith, J. C. Habersham, E. P. Starr, Easton Yonge, William M. Charters, A. B. Starr, James G. Thomas, Thomas Smith, Juriah Harriss, Thomas Stewardson, C. A. DeCortez, and J. M. Gordon.

Dr. J. J. Waring was born in Savannah in 1829, and was a son of Dr. William R. Waring. His literary and scientific education was obtained in Yale College. He graduated in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania in 1852, and for one year following was assistant resident physician of the Bleckly Hospital, in Philadelphia. In 1853 he went to Dublin, Ireland, where for some time he studied medicine under Prof. White. This was followed by an appointment as assistant resident physician in Bartholomew's Hospital, London. After a stay of some months in Paris, and extensive traveling in Switzerland and Italy, he returned to America, and in 1856 settled in Washington city and began the practice of his profession. In 1857 he was elected professor of physiology and obstetrics in the National Medical College, and in 1859 surgeon and curator of the Washington Infirmary. At the breaking out of the war he returned to Savannah, where he remained until his death in January, 1888. Dr. Waring was a man of great mental strength, a skillful physician, and no man held more of the confidence of Savannahians than did he.

Dr. Joseph Clay Habersham, jr., son of Dr. J. C. Habersham, grandson

of Major John Habersham, of the Continental army, and great-grandson of Governor James Habersham, one of the earliest settlers of the State, was born in Savannah on October 9, 1829. He studied his profession in Harvard Medical College graduating in May, 1853. He immediately entered the field of professional usefulness at Savannah. In 1861 he was made a full surgeon in the Confederate army, and held various posts of trust and importance. At the termination of the contest he resumed the duties of his profession at Savannah, and was actively and successfully engaged until his death, on January 11, 1881. In 1866 he was elected vice-president of the Medical Association of Georgia, and in 1876 president. In 1870 he was elected health officer, which position he held until 1875. During the yellow fever of 1876 he remained at his post and did his utmost to alleviate the scourge-stricken people. In 1878 he was again elected health officer, and held this position until 1880. His quiet and Christian-like life was marked by great devotion to the duties of his profession. By education and attainments he held a foremost place in the medical ranks of Savannah. The Georgia Medical Society, in its tribute of respect to his memory, among other words of praise said: "Sensitive on all points of honor, he scorned and manfully discountenanced any degrading or dubious action, and though entitled by birth and by a thorough medical education to be in the foremost ranks, he moved unostentatiously among his acquaintances and his patients, and has left in their recollections a pleasing and lasting impression. . . . While we bow with submission to the decree of Providence, it is with sincere grief, and that in our hearts we will ever cherish with kindly affection and esteem the memory of our departed brother."

Dr. William Morris Charters was born in Florida township, Montgomery county, N. Y., in 1806. His literary education was received in New York and Cincinnati, and in the latter city his medical education was commenced in the medical college of that city. His degree of M.D. was received in 1837. He began the practice of his profession in Lebanon county, O., where he remained for several years. In 1850 he settled in Savannah. He labored through the epidemic of 1854, and was particularly successful in the treatment of this malignant disease. Realizing the value to the profession of medical associations he became a most zealous advocate and supporter of such organizations. In 1838 he was

one of the organizers of the Lebanon Medical Society, and in 1843 was president of the society. At the time of his death he was a member of the Georgia Medical Society, the State Medical Association, the Georgia Historical Society, St. Andrew's Society, the Savannah Benevolent Society, and the Savannah Board of Education. The laws of hygiene and proper sanitary measures were his constant study. He was professor of chemistry in the Savannah Medical College, one of the trustees of the institution, and at one time president of the faculty. His contributions to medical literature consisted of addresses before the medical society, and numerous essays on medical subjects. He died on January 6, 1883.

Dr. E. P. Starr, was a son of C. H. Starr, who was born in Savannah in 1798, and died May 23, 1866. Dr. Starr was born in Bryan county, Ga., March 20, 1841. After spending considerable time in studying medicine he entered the Savannah Medical College, and was graduated in 1861. Immediately after graduation he entered the Confederate service as a private in the Eighteenth Georgia Battalion. He served with much credit, and in 1864 was appointed adjutant. During the latter end of the war he was taken prisoner and was confined until the summer of 1865, when he returned to Savannah. His enfeebled health at this time prevented his practicing his profession and he engaged in mercantile pursuits. Exposure during his military career, however, had so undermined his health that he was not permitted to prosecute his business. After vainly trying to establish his health by traveling he succumbed to the ravages of consumption in March, 1873. He was a young man of unusually bright intellect, and had he lived and been enabled to engage in professional work it is believed he would have gained high position.

Dr. Thomas Smith was born in Fredericksburg, Va., in 1839. He was educated in Washington city, where he studied medicine under Dr. J. J. Waring. After graduating at the Georgetown Medical College he went to Europe and pursued his medical education at London, Paris and Edinburgh. Returning to Virginia in 1861 he ran the blockade and became assistant surgeon in the Confederate service. After the war he came to Savannah, and for one year was associated in practice with Dr. J. J. Waring, his old preceptor, while in Washington city. He was engaged in the general practice of his profession and had attained a position of prominence when he died of yellow fever in 1876. He was a

professor in the Savannah Medical College and a member of the Local Medical Society of Savannah, and the State Medical Association.

Dr. Thomas J. Charlton who died in Savannah December 8, 1886, after a long illness, was born in Bryan county, Ga., March 5, 1833, and was a son of the late Dr. Thomas J. Charlton, and a grandson of Hon. Thomas U. P. Charlton, for many years judge of the Superior Court of Chatham county. Dr. Charlton received his preparatory education in Savannah and graduated with distinction from the University of Georgia. He pursued a course of medicine at the Savannah Medical College, graduating in 1856. During the time he was pursuing his medical education the city was ravaged by yellow fever, and Dr. Charlton did noble work among the distressed people. He was one of several Savannah physicians who went to Norfolk, Va., during the prevalence of the fever there in 1855. and remained during the epidemic, receiving with his copartners a gold medal from the city of Norfolk in recognition of his devoted services. Shortly after graduation he received an appointment as assistant surgeon in the United States Navy and was attached to the sloop, *Jamestown*. While stationed at Chelsea, at the breaking out of the war, he resigned and came home. Soon after he was commissioned as surgeon in the Confederate army. A short time after receiving his commission he was sent on a secret mission to France, and remained there about a year. Upon his return he joined the Confederate cruiser, *Florida*, and was captured with the vessel at Bahia, Brazil, and sent with the officers to Fort Warren, Boston. He was released on condition that he leave the country. He then went to England, where he remained some time, and finally settled in Halifax. At the close of the war he returned to Savannah. He was a member of the Georgia Medical Society, the Medical Association of Georgia, and for many years was one of the most prominent physicians in the State. Dr. Charlton took a lively interest in public affairs. He was a man of strict integrity and great strength of character, and held the esteem of every one who knew him.

Dr. John Wakefield Francis was another *ante bellum* physician who occupied a high place in the Savannah medical profession. After fully half a century of successful practice he died in 1861.

Dr. James Grey Thomas, descended from English and Welsh settlers in Virginia and Maryland in colonial times, was born near Bloomfield,

Nelson county, Ky., June 24, 1835. He was educated at the Bloomfield High School, and at the Roman Catholic College at Bardstown, Ky. He entered the medical department of the New York University, and from that institution in March, 1856, received the degree of M.D. During the ensuing four years he practiced in Bloomfield. During the war between the States he was commissioned surgeon in the Confederate States army; was chief surgeon of McLaw's Division, and at one time medical director of Hardee's corps. In 1865 he located in Savannah, where he remained in active practice until his death in 1884. He was a member of the Georgia Medical Society, and of the Georgia State Medical Association. Of his more important medical publications may be mentioned: "The Use of the Thermometer in the Practice of Medicine." "The Use of Water in the Summer Complaint of Children." "The Use of Water in Typhoid Fever." In 1874 he was elected to the Lower House of the Georgia Legislature. He was the author of the law creating the State Board of Health of Georgia, and requiring the registration of all deaths, births and marriages. He was president of the State Board of Health for several years, and in the two reports issued by that body in 1875 and 1876, is the author of several articles upon public hygiene.

For several years after the close of the war Dr. Alexander Means held the position of agricultural chemist for the State at the port of Savannah. He was born in Statesville, Iredell county, N. C., February 6, 1801. The Hon. Alexander H. Stephens contributes to "Johnson's Universal Encyclopedia" the following sketch of his life: "He received a classical education at the academy at Statesville; removed to Georgia in 1822; taught school for four years, then attended medical lectures at Transylvania University, Kentucky, and commenced the practice of medicine in Covington, Ga., in 1826. In the same year he was licensed to preach by the M. E. Church. In 1834 he was called to the superintendency of the manual labor training school near Covington. At the reorganization of Emory College at the same place, (now known as Oxford) in 1838, he was chosen professor of physical science, which position he held for eighteen years; in 1840 was appointed professor of chemistry and pharmacy in the medical college of Georgia located at Augusta; delivered a regular course of lectures there during the winter season, continuing at the same time for eight months in each year to fill his chair

in Emory College. In 1853 presided over the Masonic Female College in Covington a few miles from Oxford. In 1854 Dr. Means was called to the presidency of Emory College, but shortly after accepted the chair of chemistry in the Atlanta Medical College, which position he held twelve years, including the period of the war, lecturing during the summer season. In 1851 he traveled extensively through Europe. As a member of the State Convention of 1861 he spoke eloquently and effectively against the ordinance of secession, but when it was carried he thoroughly and promptly identified himself, his family and his fortunes with his native South. Since the war he has held the position of agricultural chemist for the State at the port of Savannah which he still (1875) holds, retaining also his time-honored connection with Emory College. His latest work is entitled the 'Centennial of Chemistry.'

The present members of the medical fraternity of Savannah, will as a class, compare favorably with those of any city in the country, and were it possible to have obtained the necessary information and space permitted their use we would have been pleased to give biographical sketches of many living practitioners who have obtained an honored place in their profession. The physician whose professional practice extends over the longest period is Dr. J. Bond Read who was born in Savannah in 1837, He was educated in Charleston, S. C., and at the University of Maryland, graduating from the medical department of the latter institution in 1849. He commenced practice in Savannah immediately after graduation and soon attained a high position in his profession. During the war between the States he entered the Confederate service as surgeon being stationed at hospital No. 4 at Richmond, Va. He has taken a prominent part in the various medical associations of his city and State and has frequently contributed to the literature of his profession. He is a member of the Medical Association of the State of Georgia and the Georgia Medical Society.

Dr. Robert P. Myers was born in Savannah January 20, 1839, but received his literary education in the county schools of Cobb county. In 1857 he commenced the study of medicine under Dr. R. B. Arnold of Savannah, supplemented by a course of lectures in the Savannah Medical College, graduating in 1860. After one year's practice he became assistant surgeon in the Confederate army, remaining in this capac-

ity until the final surrender of the Southern forces at Appomattox. After the war he returned to Savannah and in 1866 was elected coroner, being the first physician to serve in that capacity in Savannah. He was demonstrator of anatomy in the Savannah Medical College; has been permanent secretary of the State Medical Association and for thirteen years has been recording secretary of the Georgia Medical Society. For the last eight years he has been superintendent of the Georgia Infirmity. Dr. Myers' practice has been general in its character and his standing in his profession is deservedly high. Personally he is a pleasant, genial gentleman and is highly esteemed.

Dr. Richard J. Nunn was born in Ireland, December 13, 1831, and is the son of Dr. R. M. Nunn. After receiving his preliminary education in Ireland and a course of instruction in the Royal College of Surgeons of London and Apothecary Hall, Dublin, he came to America and settled in Savannah. Here he continued his medical studies and in 1854 graduated at the Savannah Medical College. The year following graduation he spent in Europe. Returning to America in 1855 he settled in Norfolk, Va., but soon after returned to Savannah, where he has since been engaged in the general practice of medicine. In the beginning of the late war he entered the Confederate service as captain of Company D, of the Twenty-second Georgia Artillery Battalion. He served in this position during the early part of the war, when his health failing he was discharged from service. After regaining his health he again resumed practice in Savannah in 1865, and has since been engaged in continuous professional work. He has spent considerable time in traveling in Europe both for pleasure and for the purpose of perfecting himself in medical science. He held the chair of practice in the Savannah Medical College and a similar position in the Oglethorpe College. He has always taken an active part in every movement to make medical associations more beneficial to the profession, and is a member of the county, State and American Associations. His contributions to medical literature have been numerous and have covered nearly every branch of practice, but while he does a general practice it is in the field of gynecology that he particularly excels.

Dr. William Duncan was born in Savannah January 4, 1840. He was educated at Chatham Academy, Springfield Academy and Ogle-



W. H. DUNCAN

W. H. Duncan

thorpe University, Georgia. He graduated in medicine from the Savannah Medical College in March, 1861, and the Rotunda Lying-in Hospital, Dublin, in 1865. He is also a licentiate in midwifery of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, Ireland, 1865. Besides the above he studied in King's College Hospital, London, and in Paris hospitals in 1865 and 1866, settling in Savannah the latter year. He is a member of the State Medical Association of Georgia and of the Georgia Medical Society; was treasurer of the latter in 1867 and vice-president in 1877. He was demonstrator of anatomy in the Savannah Medical College in 1867 and a few years later held the chair of Pathological anatomy, and from 1872 to 1881 was dean of the faculty. For the last twenty years he has been chief surgeon of the Savannah, Florida and Western Railroad; for over twenty years superintendent and one of the managers of the Savannah Hospital, and from 1870 to 1888 was secretary and treasurer of the Georgia Infirmary. During the four years of the late civil war he was assistant surgeon in the Confederate States army, and served in the field and in the hospitals at Savannah, Ga., and Harrisburg and Richmond, Va. He has been an alderman of the city of Savannah, and a member of the board of sanitary commissioners of the city. His practice is general, but largely pertains to surgery and obstetrics.

Dr. William Henry Elliott was born in Savannah, March 10, 1837. His father was Dr. Ralph E. Elliott of Beaufort, S. C., whose ancestors were from Cornwall, England, and his mother was Margaret C. Mackay, of Scotch descent. He received his literary and classical education at Hartford, graduating there in 1837, and his medical education at the University of Virginia and at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, graduating from the former in 1858, and from the latter in 1859. He has been president of the Georgia Medical Society and held the position of surgery in the Savannah Medical College. During the civil war he was assistant surgeon of the Confederate army. In March, 1862, he married Sidney, a daughter of Mr. B. E. Stiles of Savannah.

Dr. J. C. Le Hardy was born in Belgium, October 21, 1831. His literary, classical and scientific education was received at the Brussels Athenæum, the Brussels Universiteté libre and Ecole Ponts et Chaussee, and his medical and pharmaceutical studies in the Georgia Medical College at Augusta, Ga., and the Jefferson Medical College of Pharmacy,

Philadelphia. He graduated from the Jefferson College in 1855 and settled first near Rome, Ga., and afterwards in Savannah. He is a member of the Georgia Medical Society, of the American Medical Association, of Georgia. He is the author of several contributions to medical literature of which may be mentioned: "Treatment of Stricture of Uretha," "The Duality of Syphilitic Poison," "The Aerial and Terrestrial Influences on Disease." He held the position of professor of chemistry in the Oglethorpe Medical College and has been especially active in promoting the objects of organized medicine.

Dr. Raymond B. Harris, son of Dr. Raymond Harris, and brother of Dr. Stephen N. Harris, was born in Bryan county, Georgia, in May, 1830. He studied medicine under Dr. R. D. Arnold, of Savannah; in 1859 graduated at the Savannah Medical College, and also took a post-graduate course at the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1860 he was appointed demonstrator of anatomy in the Savannah Medical College. In 1861 he became assistant surgeon in the Second Georgia Hospital at Richmond, Va. He also had considerable field service with the Fifty-seventh Georgia Regiment, Army of Tennessee. He served throughout the war and during the latter part with General Smith's brigade. After the war he located in Darien, Ga., where he remained seven or eight years. He then returned to Savannah, where he has since been engaged in a general medical practice. He is a member of the Georgia Medical Society, and the State Medical Association, of Georgia.

Dr. John D. Martin was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1839, and at the age of nine years came to Savannah. His literary and scientific education was received at Emmettsburg, Md., and Georgetown College, Washington, D. C. He studied medicine in the office of Dr. R. D. Arnold, and in 1861 graduated at the Savannah Medical College. He was for a time associated with Dr. Arnold in practice. For the last twenty years he has been connected with the Savannah Hospital, and is a member of the medical staff of the Telfair Woman's Hospital. He is president of the Georgia Medical Society, and is a member of the State and American Medical Association.

Dr. Frank Lincoln is one of the younger physicians. He is a native of Savannah, and is conceded to possess one of the strongest and most remarkable intellects in the State.

Dr. George H. Stone was born in Albion, N. Y., on January 8, 1844, and in 1868 graduated from the medical department of the Georgetown College, Washington, D. C. He soon after settled in Savannah, where he has since been engaged in a general medical practice.

Dr. J. P. S. Houstoun is a native of Florida, and was born November 3, 1849. In 1869 he graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. C. N. Brandt was born in New York, on May 30, 1860, and is a graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York.

Dr. W. W. Owens is a native of Savannah, and was born in January, 1863, and since his graduation from the medical department of the University of Virginia, 1885, has been located in Savannah.

Dr. C. H. Colding was born in 1832, and is a native of South Carolina. In 1855 he graduated at the Savannah Medical College. He is the physician in charge of the Savannah Hospital.

Dr. Matthew F. Dunn was born in Savannah in 1859, and in 1885 graduated at the New York Medical College. He has since been practicing his profession in Savannah.

Medical College.—Efforts to maintain a medical college in Savannah have not been successful. Several causes can be attributed for this failure, but the main factor in the non-maintenance of such an institution can be found in the lack of hearty and united support of the medical fraternity. As early as 1838 an act was passed by the State Legislature of Georgia, incorporating the Savannah Medical College, and naming as trustees J. M. Berrien, R. M. Charlton, William C. Daniel, William Law, James W. Jackson, Colonel William Thorne William, William R. Waring, and Rev. Edward Neufville. Nothing, however, was done to carry the project into execution until in 1852, when on July 20 of this year a body known as the Savannah Medical Institute was incorporated by the Superior Court of Chatham County. These two corporate bodies soon after perfected an organization by electing two trustees to fill vacancies in the board of trustees, named by the original legislative act of 1838. R. D. Arnold and P. M. Kollock being elected in place of Dr. W. C. Daniel, and Rev. Edward Neufville; Dr. R. D. Arnold was elected president of the board of trustees, and C. W. West, secretary and treasurer. The college building was completed in 1853, at a cost of about \$19,000.

The first faculty of the college was elected in March, 1853, and was composed as follows: R. D. Arnold, M.D., professor of the theory and practice of medicine; P. M. Kollock, M.D., professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children; W. G. Bullock, M.D., professor of principles and practice of surgery; J. G. Howard, M.D., professor of anatomy; H. L. Byrd, M.D., professor of materia medica; E. H. Martin, M.D., professor of physiology; J. Bond Read, M.D., professor of pathological anatomy. C. W. West was elected dean of the faculty.

The first course of lectures was begun in November, 1853, and during the term thirty-six students were in attendance. At the end of the term six students were graduated, the class being composed of John M. Armfield, Elisha Harrall, Joseph L. Hawkins, Richard J. Nunn, George W. Cleland, and Joseph J. West.

Courses of lectures were continued to full classes, with occasional change in faculty, until the breaking out of the war between the States, when the unsettled condition of the country made it impossible to continue the college. Instruction was therefore discontinued until the war closed. In November, 1866, the college was again opened with the following faculty: Thomas Smith, M.D., adjunct professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children; Richard J. Nunn, M.D., adjunct professor of materia medica; Thomas J. Charlton, M.D., adjunct professor of surgery; William H. Elliott, M.D., adjunct professor of chemistry; J. G. Thomas, M.D., adjunct professor of pathology; William Duncan, M.D., demonstrator of anatomy; Robert P. Myers, M.D., curator; J. J. Waring, M.D., dean of the faculty.

The college proceeded without material change in instructors until in May, 1870, when the entire faculty resigned, and a new faculty was elected after a conference with the trustees and the members of the regular profession of the city. At the same time the number of trustees was increased from eight to twenty-one, the new board being composed of the following members: Joseph E. Johnston, J. W. Lathrop, Dr. Juriah Harriss, C. B. Nottingham, W. A. Green, Robert Batley, C. H. Hall, C. L. Redwine, E. H. W. Hunter, E. F. Knott, John C. Drake, J. J. Robinson, Samuel G. White, W. J. Johnson, R. J. Bruce, F. A. Stanford, E. A. Jelks, Rev. Robert W. B. Elliott, and W. P. Jennings. The faculty elected at this time was as follows: Juriah Harris, M.D., professor of the

principles and practice of medicine ; J. G. Thomas, M.D., professor of clinical medicine ; W. G. Bulloch, M.D., professor of principles and practice of surgery ; T. J. Charlton, M.D., professor of clinical surgery and venereal diseases ; J. D. Fish, M.D., professor of the principles and practice of obstetrics ; Thomas Smith, M.D., professor of clinical obstetrics and diseases of women and children ; W. H. Elliott, M.D., professor of anatomy ; R. J. Nunn, M.D., professor of materia medica ; William M. Charters, M.D., professor of chemistry ; A. J. Seemes, M.D., professor of physiology ; Hon. Solomon Cohn, professor of medical jurisprudence ; William Duncan, M.D., professor of pathological anatomy. J. D. Fish, M.D., was elected dean of the faculty.

Dr. Juriah Harriss and Dr. Thomas Smith, both members of the faculty, died in 1878, after which the entire faculty resigned and a new corps of instructors was selected as follows : W. M. Charters, M.D., professor of chemistry ; William Duncan, M.D., professor of clinical medicine ; W. H. Elliott, M.D., professor of surgery ; T. J. Charlton, M.D., professor of obstetrics ; B. S. Purse, M.D., professor of materia medica ; J. P. S. Houstoun, M.D., professor of physiology ; George H. Stone, M.D., professor of anatomy.

The college proceeded without material change in faculty until 1881, when, on account of death among the faculty and an apparent lack of interest in the institution by the resident profession, the college suspended work. In 1871 the trustees sold the college building, and from that time until 1881 lectures were given in the Savannah Hospital building. Dr. William Duncan succeeded Dr. Fish as dean of the faculty in 1872, and retained the position until the college suspended work.

Medical Society.—The medical association known as the Georgia Medical Society of Savannah, is one of the oldest in the United States. The act incorporating it was passed in 1804, and is as follows :

WHEREAS Noble Wimberly Jones, president ; John Irvine, vice-president ; John Grimes, secretary ; Lemuel Kollock, treasurer ; John Cumming, James Ewell, Moses Sheftall, Joshua E. White, William Parker, Thomas Schley, George Jones, George Vinson Proctor, Henry Bourquin, Thomas Young, jr., Peter Ward, William Cocke, James Glenn, and Nicholas S. Bayard, have by their petition represented, that they have associated in the city of Savannah, under the style and name of " The Georgia

Medical Society," for the purpose of lessening the fatality induced by climate and incidental causes, and improving the science of medicine. And in order to ensure and establish their said institution in a permanent and effectual manner, so that the benevolent and desirable objects thereof, may be executed with success and advantage, have prayed the legislature to grant them an act of incorporation.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in general assembly met, and by the authority of the same, it is hereby enacted, That the several persons herein before named, and others who are, or may become members of the said society respectively, the officers and members thereof, and their successors, shall be, and are hereby declared to be a body corporate, in name and deed, by the style and denomination of "The Georgia Medical Society;" and by the said name and style, shall have perpetual succession of officers and members, and a common seal to use; and shall have power and authority to make, alter, amend and change such bye-laws as may be agreed on by members of the same; provided such bye laws be not repugnant to the laws or the Constitution of this State or the United States.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, that they shall have full power and authority under the style and name of the Georgia Medical Society, to sue for in the name of their president and vice-president, for the time being, and recover all such sum or sums of money, as are, or hereafter may become due the said society, by any name or style whatever, in any court of law, or at any tribunal having jurisdiction thereof; and the rights and privileges of the said society in any court, or at any tribunal whatever, to defend and also to receive, take and apply such bequests or donations as may be made, to, and for the uses and purposes intended by the said society; and shall be, and are hereby declared to be vested with all the powers and advantages, privileges and immunities of an association or society of people incorporated, for the purposes and intentions of their said association.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, that this act shall be, and is hereby declared to be deemed and considered a public act, to all intents and purposes whatever.

ABRAHAM JACKSON.

JARED IRWIN, Speaker of the House of Representatives.
President of the Senate.

Assented to December 12, 1804. — JOHN MILLEDGE, Governor.

At the time of the formation of this society it was intended to serve as a State organization, hence the name Georgia Medical Society was adopted, but it has never been anything but a local association composed only of Savannah physicians.

The first president of the society was Dr. Noble Wimberly Jones, and the first vice-president Dr. John Irvine, a Scotchman, who came to Georgia before the revolution. The society proved a most beneficial institution to the small band of physicians in Savannah at that early day, and from that time to the present has been the means of advancing the good of the profession. The present officers of the society are: John D. Martin, president; M. L. Boyd, vice-president; George W. Lamar, recording secretary; J. C. LeHardy, corresponding secretary; W. W. Owens, treasurer, and M. F. Dunn, librarian. The present members of the society are: Drs. W. F. Brunner, J. G. Bulloch, T. J. Charlton, T. P. Chisholm, C. H. Colding, C. H. Cox, W. H. Elliott, J. M. Johnston, J. G. Kellar, F. T. Lincoln, J. D. Martin, E. H. Nichols, R. G. Norton, W. W. Owens, S. L. Phillips, B. S. Purse, J. B. Read, B. F. Sheftall, J. A. Wegfarth, C. N. Brandt, William Duncan, J. P. S. Houstoun, J. C. LeHardy, R. P. Myers, B. P. Oliveros, R. B. Harris, G. C. Hummel, J. Weichselbaum, M. L. Boyd, R. J. Nunn, G. H. Stone, M. F. Dunn, E. G. Lind, and W. K. Blakeney.

CHAPTER XXX.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES.

THAT port which exported the first bale of American cotton, from which sailed the first steamship that crossed the Atlantic, to-day the largest handler of one of the world's greatest branches of trade, queen of seven hundred miles of sea coast in one direction and of one thousand in another, may well be expected to have a commercial history of more than passing interest. And Savannah has.

Utopian ideas and plans of the projectors of the colony of Georgia handicapped the early settlers and delayed the birth of the new town's

commerce until sixteen years had passed. James Oglethorpe, in a day dream, may have seen his settlement grown into a great city, but the reality of a century and a half later, certainly, more than realizes the ephemeral pictures of his fancy.

Silk culture and the cultivation of the vine and flax were the principal objects at which the founders of the colony aimed. On one side of their corporation's common seal was a group of silk worms at their toil busily engaged and deeply absorbed in feeding on the succulent leaves of the mulberry. The motto of the worms and the corporation was, *non sibi sed aliis*—not for ourselves, but for others.

Silk and wine and hemp were to be the cargoes of the ships which the trustees hoped would sail out of the Savannah. They pictured their town such a spot as ancient Cyprus. Natural causes defeated this dream. Under the hot summer sun the vine withered and the mulberry did not flourish. One colonist had some success with the Oporto and Malaga grape on a small scale, but the general culture was a failure. From year to year a little silk was made, and twenty years from the settlement of Yamacraw by the whites a modest shipment of raw silk was made to England. It is an interesting fact, though not at all a surprising one, that the ideas of the trustees proved radically impracticable. Neither soil nor climate was well adapted for the culture of silk or grape, and after thorough trials the growth of both was abandoned. To-day, instead of sending abroad the ruby juice from the wine press and the delicate fibre of the cocoon, ships bear hence to every quarter of the globe, the unguent, distilled spirits from the pine tree and the soft, silvery fleece of Sea Island and Upland, ten thousand times the worth of that golden one which Jason and his comrades in the *Argo* carried off.

Oglethorpe foresaw a commercial town spreading along the river when he struck his bargain with Tomo-chi-chi. That he chose wisely time has proved. From the Chesapeake to the mouth of the Mississippi there is not a bar over which passes so much commerce as comes and goes across Tybee's.

That shipping was expected to be an important interest in Savannah is indicated by the historical fact that Mr. Hume offered a silver boat and spoon to the first child which should be born in Georgia. Whether the inducement had anything to do with it or not Mrs. Close's infant got

the prize. The spoon was practical, the boat emblematic. Another prize was offered for the first ship which should sail up the Savannah River and unload at the town. This prize was won by the ship *James*, of which Captain Yoakley was master. The *James* brought several new colonists. This first vessel to navigate the Savannah River was of one hundred and ten tons burden, carried six guns, and lay at anchor close to the town in fifteen feet at low water, where, it is stated, "is riding for much larger vessels." In 1734 a schooner coming in over the bar at Tybee reports finding at least three fathoms at low water, and in 1736 the *Peter* and *James* found "19 foot water in the shoalest part" of the bar on the first of the flood.

No difficulty was experienced by the vessels of that day in going up and down the river at any stage of the tide. Oglethorpe had written in one of his earliest letters from the colony: "Ships which draw twelve foot water can ride within ten yards of the bank."

As soon as he had affairs in the town in shape, the general ordered a lighthouse built on Tybee, and a frame one was put up on the north end of the island. The specifications provided that it should be of pine and cedar, twenty-five feet square at the base, ninety feet high and ten feet each way at the top.

To get goods from the bluff down to the river was an easy matter, but it was far different to get a cargo from the shore up on the bluff. Even after the crane was erected, in the latter part of 1733, the work was slow and hard. However, as months sometimes elapsed between the arrivals of vessels, the stringent lack of "terminal facilities" did not have much effect on the commercial prosperity of the place. Peter Gordon's map of Savannah as it was in 1734, locates the crane at a point on the bluff about mid-way between Bull and Whitaker streets.

Year after year went by, and the colonists did not always produce enough to maintain themselves. Supplies were obtained from Carolina and England. This state of affairs lasted until toward the close of the first decade of Savannah's history when a change for the better began to take place. The settlers gradually accumulated a little surplus. In 1744 a modest store and commission house was started. Charles Harris and James Habersham were the founders, and theirs is the credit of having established the first commercial house in Georgia. Harris & Habersham

was the name of the new firm. Their unpretentious place of business was under the bluff, by the water's edge, in the rear of the building on the Bay, which, for many years was occupied by Robert Habersham & Company's commission house. At first the settlers were opposed to middlemen, but they soon found that the new firm afforded them many conveniences which they had not previously enjoyed. Thomas Causdon had kept the public store and illy kept it according to the best accounts. Harris & Habersham gave great encouragement to the planters from whom they bought lumber, poultry, deer, hogs, skins and whatever produce the farmers had. Before long the public store was discontinued. All this time the trustees were trying to make a success of the silk and wine culture. Neither proved profitable. Finally, about 1748, the trustees got hold of a letter written by James Habersham, who spoke of the adaptability of Georgia for general agriculture. Thereafter the trustees allowed the colonists to spend the appropriations for other purposes than the cultivation of the grape and the mulberry.

Properly speaking, the year 1749 may be said to mark the beginning of Savannah's commerce. It was in that year the first vessel was loaded with a cargo in the Savannah River and shipped abroad. Harris & Habersham were the exporters. They loaded a small vessel with lumber, skins, hogs and other produce of the infant Georgia, and consigned the \$10,000 cargo to a London firm. This was the first effort to establish a foreign trade. In those days, and for years after, it was customary for a vessel to take on whatever was offered at Savannah, then to proceed to Charleston and perhaps take on more freight. Then if the vessel was not filled it would go on to New York and complete its cargo for England.

The trustees had great faith in the ultimate success of silk culture. In 1750 another effort was made to encourage the enterprise. A year later a filature, or house for manufacturing the raw silk was built on the west side of Reynold's square. By this time it was apparent that Savannah was in a fair way to have a commerce of imposing value. Some assistance was needed. Therefore, when the first General Assembly of Georgia met, which was in Savannah January 15, 1751, a paper was presented to the body declaring that a proper pilot boat was needed and that permission was desired to erect a building under the bluff for the

convenience of the boats' crews. The memorialists further set forth the want of standard weights and measures and scales. An appropriation was also asked for making a survey of the river. One other want recited was an order to prevent masters of vessels from throwing ballast overboard into the river. And still another want, though hardly a long felt one, was a commissioner of pilotage. The colony was now nearing the end of its second decade. A small measure of success attended the persistent efforts of the silk growers. In 1757, 1,050 pounds of cocoons were received at the filature. Unfortunately, the building was burned the following year, and 7,040 pounds of cocoons besides a large quantity of manufactured silk were destroyed. The filature was rebuilt and was used for the manufacture of silk for several years, after which it was used as a city hall and public house. In 1839 it was again burned and was never rebuilt.

Savannah has passed through many a crisis, but the port's commercial interests have never had a more trying year than 1757. Governor Henry Ellis arrived here in February, to take control of the colonial government. He soon became impressed with the idea that Hardwicke, which stood at the mouth of the Ogeechee, in Bryan county, should be made the capital of Georgia. He took the ground that Hardwicke was more centrally and favorably situated than Savannah; that the water was deeper and that lying farther from Charleston would enjoy a better commerce.

This step had been talked of before. Governor Reynolds, who preceded Ellis, had suggested it, and aroused strong opposition. Ellis made himself unpopular by advocating the removal. Uncertain as to the fate of the town, the citizens who feared that it would be deserted lost interest to some extent in the development of their homes and neglected to improve them. Though the project was not carried into effect, Savannah suffered by reason of the agitation. During the first quarter of a century of the colony's history little was done to encourage commerce. Up to 1759 not a wharf had been built. Those few vessels which visited the port sailed as near the shore as they could and threw the lighter articles on the bank, landing the heavier ones in small boats. This was primitive and tedious, and in the twenty-seventh year after Oglethorpe's landing the construction of a wharf was undertaken, at a point under the bluff

near the crane. Thomas Eaton was the builder. He worked under the direction of John G. William De Brahm, the surveyor-general of the southern provinces of North America. Wharf building was a far different art at that time from what it is now. The wharves which were built for several years thereafter were constructed on the same general plan, an idea of which may be obtained from a synopsis of the specifications. The builder was advised to drive two rows of piles as far asunder as he desired his wharf to be wide and as far toward the river as low water mark. Then he was to secure their tops with plates and to trunnel planks within on the piles. This done he was to brace the insides with dry walls of stone, intermingled with willow twigs. In the same manner he was to shut up the ends of the two rows with a like front along the stream, to build inside what cellars he had occasion for, then to fill up the remainder with the sand nearest at hand out of the bluff or the high shore of the stream under the Bay. One chronicler has remarked that the construction of this wharf greatly benefited the town, for during the following year 41 vessels were entered, many more than ever before, and during the year 1766, six years after, 171 were entered.

Governor Wright, who succeeded Governor Ellis, wrote of Georgia about the year 1760 that it was the most flourishing colony on the continent. As yet there were no manufactures in the colony, for they were rigorously disallowed in all the provinces, but commerce and agriculture were carried on with much zeal and success. In a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, Governor Wright said: "It is certain beyond a doubt that this province has, must, and will make a rapid progress, and in a few years will make as considerable a figure as most on the continent."

Savannah's population in 1760 was 9,700, of whom 6,100 were whites. In that year the rice exported amounted to 3,283 barrels, besides 208 barrels of paddy.

In the entire commercial history of Savannah there is no single event of greater interest or importance than one which occurred in the decade between 1760 and 1770. That event was the first foreign shipment of cotton made from the United States. Hitherto historians have sought in vain for the port which exported the first bale. It has long been well known that the first foreign shipment of what is now the great Southern staple was made in 1764. In that year William Rathbone, an extensive

American merchant in Liverpool, received from Mr. James Habersham of Savannah, a consignment of eight bags of cotton. On its arrival in Liverpool this cotton was seized by the custom house officials on the allegation that so much cotton could not have been grown in the American colonies, and that it was liable to seizure under the shipping act, not having been imported in a vessel belonging to the country of the cotton's growth.

This consignment was the first attempt at exporting cotton from America. It was sent from here to Liverpool through one Dillon, who was Mr. Habersham's agent in New York. A matter of additional interest in this connection is the fact that the original manifest of this shipment was preserved for exactly a century. Along with a mass of other papers it was sent to a point in interior Georgia for safe keeping during the war. In 1864 Sherman's looters burned it. Although this city was the first American port to begin the trade, it was not kept up here. Charleston, on the other hand, quickly discovered that the trade would be a valuable one and cultivated it.

This same year 15,212 pounds of cocoons were delivered at the filature. Over one half of the silk was received from the Salzburgers who were settled at Ebenezer. The silk industry was growing steadily and there was an encouraging prospect of its ultimate success. Two years later the production of silk reached its height in Georgia, and thereafter, despite the encouragement of parliament, it continued to decline until it was finally abandoned in 1771, operations at the filature being discontinued in that year. In 1765 Savannah's commercial men were thrown into a high state of excitement by the passage of the obnoxious stamp act. The commerce of the town had grown to large proportions. When the stamps arrived in December there were between sixty and seventy sail in port waiting to be cleared. The people consented that the stamps might be used for this purpose, but for no other. This was done and the port was opened. The other colonies took offense at this, and South Carolina was especially indignant. Her citizens resolved that they would not ship provisions here, and they called Georgia an "infamous colony." It was further resolved that whosoever should traffic with Georgians should be punished with no less a penalty than death, and every vessel trading here was to be burnt. The Carolinians were in a hot temper, and

two vessels on their way to Savannah were seized before clearing Charleston bar, and with their cargoes were destroyed. Six months later the excitement ceased when it was learned that the objectionable act had been repealed. Up to that time all the supplies of silks, linens, woollens, shoes, stockings, nails, hinges, and tools of every sort came from England. Rice, indigo, corn, peas, a small quantity of wheat and rye, pitch, turpentine, shingles and staves were the chief products. Considerable attention was paid to stock raising, and Governor Wright hoped to make some slight essay at raising hemp the next year. In 1768 the filature sent to London 1,048 pounds of raw silk, "equal in goodness to that manufactured in Piedmont." Import duties were not acceptable, and on September 16, 1769, Savannah's merchants met at Alexander Creighton's house and adopted a resolution to the effect that any person, or persons, whatsoever importing any of the articles subject to the new rate of duties, after having it in their power to prevent it, ought not only to be treated with contempt, but deemed as an enemy to their country. Pretty much the same relation existed between patriotism and the pocket-book that is declared to exist now. Almost to a man the importers were against any interruption of business, while the consumers were for resistance. Affairs ran on in an unsatisfactory way until the breaking out of the Revolution. The town grew, but there was a feeling of uneasiness. In 1773 the exports were valued at \$379,422, very nearly double the value of the exports ten years before. A bill passed by the General Assembly early in 1774 indicates that the trade of the city was enlarging, for it explains that "whereas the increase of trade and quantity of produce brought for sale to the several ports of this province requires a regulation in the rates of wharfage and storage, and the number of vessels resorting to the said ports, and in particular to the port of Savannah, makes it necessary to have some person appointed to overlook and regulate such vessels while in the said port."

By this act owners and lessees of wharfs were allowed to charge and demand certain fees which were then fixed. On rice the wharfage charge was one penny per half barrel. On rosin, turpentine, tar and beef the charge was one penny per barrel. Mahogany and logwood were imported largely, and staves, rice, turpentine, rosin and hides were exported.

Throwing ballast or rubbish in the river was forbidden and made



From the original in the possession of the author.

Thomas Ballantyne

punishable by a fine not exceeding £100 a short time before the outbreak of the Revolution. The long war for independence blighted commerce. A part of the time the English had possession of the city and trade was practically at a stand still. Almost in the very middle of the war South Carolina offered to annex Georgia. An inducement held out to Savannah was that the country along the river above the city would be cleared and settled, and an amazing increase of produce and river navigation would follow and would center here. On the other hand if Georgia persisted in remaining in a state of separation from Carolina a town would rise on the north side of the river and would draw not only the business on its own side of the stream, but would in time draw the greater part of the trade on the south side of the river, in which event there could be but one result, the commercial ruin of Savannah. The proposition was declined, the town of prophecy never rose, and Savannah, far from being ruined, is to-day a more important port than Carolina's metropolis.

Peace brought back a revival of trade and a new era of commercial prosperity began. The recovery of lost commerce, however, was slow. Practically, there was little capital. Private fortunes had shrunk during the seven years of hostilities. Five years after the war, in 1786, the exports were only \$321,377, which was \$58,000 less than the value of the exports in 1773, two years before the war started. A little cotton had been planted every year, and in 1788 Thomas Miller, who probably knew of Charleston's trade in the article, grew some and bought more and made a shipment to England. There are still living some old citizens who knew "Cotton Tom" Miller, as he was familiarly styled. Miller has been given, erroneously, the credit of having exported the first bale of cotton from Savannah. This is a mistake which has long been accepted as a part of true history. As heretofore mentioned, Mr. James Habersham had exported eight bales twenty-four years before Miller shipped his first bale abroad. It is true that Miller developed the trade. Arkwright's improvements in cotton spinning machinery were revolutionizing that industry.

Another interesting and important event, linking Savannah more closely to the history of the cotton trade, was the invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney, in 1793. This Yankee school-teacher set up his first

machine on his aunt's place, General Nathanael Green's plantation near Purysburgh, a few miles up the river. The young New Englander's invention was as great a factor in the development of cotton raising as Arkwright's inventions were in its manufacture. Whitney is still remembered, too. For a long time after those days, communication between Savannah and the North was by sailing vessels, and there are old citizens who when young men were fellow-travellers by sea with the inventor, then well advanced in years, however.

The gin acted as a great stimulus to cotton planting. This machine did away with the tedious and unsatisfactory hand method. Almost immediately the acreage in cotton was increased largely by the planters, who now saw in the culture of the plant a profitable crop. Charleston had early taken hold of cotton culture and was shipping it in considerable quantities to England before Miller became an exporter. His foreign trade did not grow rapidly at the start. In fact Savannah handled very little cotton until after Whitney constructed the gin. And indeed, although Charleston did pride herself on being the largest cotton port, it is certain that previous to 1794, the year after the gin proved a success, the annual amount of cotton produced in North America was comparatively inconsiderable. This is true even in the face of the declaration contained in the pamphlet entitled "A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon oath in the Court of Savannah," published in 1740, and in which it was averred of cotton that "large quantities have been raised, and it is much planted; but the cotton which in some parts is perennial, dies here in the winter; which, nevertheless, the annual is not inferior to in goodness, but requires more trouble in cleansing from the seed."

Two important facts connecting this city with the history of cotton have already been mentioned. There is still another. Savannah has not only the credit of having exported the first bag of cotton ever sent from America and of the invention of the gin, but it was near here that the first Sea Island cotton ever raised in this country was grown. The seed of the Sea Island was originally obtained from the Bahama Islands about 1785. It was known in the West Indies as the "Anguilla cotton." The first experiments with its culture on the American continent were made by Josiah Tattnall and Nicholas Turnbull, on Skidaway Island. Subsequently James Spaulding and Alexander Bisset planted the long staple on St. Simon's Island, and Richard Leake planted some on Jekyll Island.

The establishing of a cotton trade was the keystone of Savannah's commercial prosperity. Even for several years after the culture of the crop became general in the country around this city, Charleston continued to overshadow her efforts at advancement. The older city by her enterprise and greater wealth controlled a large portion of the valuable Sea Island cotton trade and all of Florida's business. More than this, Charleston became a closer competitor, as she penetrated through the inland route to the rice fields in the very neighborhood of Savannah, and secured a part of that crop. Toward the close of the century this city became a heavy importer of wines and rum. Through the merchants here, the wealthy planters along the coast and inland and a great many of the Carolina planters obtained from Europe the choicest vintages. Madeira was the favorite, and many and many a hogshead of it was brought here. By no means is it to be inferred that anything like all of it was sent out of the city. There were famous cellars in Savannah even then, nearly a century ago now, and there is wine down in some of them to-day that was brought over in the last century.

By the fire of 1796 the city, which was then flourishing, received a set back from which recovery was slow. Notwithstanding this the year 1800 found Oglethorpe's colony grown into a town of over seven thousand population, of whom not over five hundred were blacks. That year the exports were valued at over two million dollars.

Statistics of the port's commerce for the succeeding twenty-five years are difficult to collate. Everywhere though on the records there is abundant evidence that business steadily increased. There were periods of unusual activity and years of depression, as during the second war with Great Britain. Cotton and rice were the leading articles of export. Sugar, molasses, salt and wines were imported largely. From 1812 to 1815 the city's commerce shrank woefully. By 1818 the exports exceeded \$14,000,000 in value, a remarkable expansion of six hundred per cent.

Steam first became a factor in Savannah's commerce about 1817. In that year there was a Savannah steamboat company, but there is very little written history of the corporation during the first few years of its existence. Within two or three years there was a steamboat plying regularly between Charleston and Savannah. Then it ran farther down

the coast, and as the years went by the number of steam vessels coming here increased steadily. One of the early lines was from Savannah to Augusta, but in this instance the steamboat was used for towing flats and barges between the two cities. Between 1840 and 1860 a large part of the commerce was carried by steam vessels running regularly to Northern and European ports.

The year 1819 is a red letter one in the world's commercial calendar, for it was in that year that steam navigation of the ocean was proved to be possible. Savannah furnished that proof, for she sent the first steamship across the Atlantic. Among this city's chiefest honors is that of having been the pioneer in steam navigation of the ocean. In 1818, Messrs. Dunning, Scarborough, Sturges, Burroughs, Henry, McKenna and other leading business men here, at the suggestion of Captain Moses Rogers, had constructed in the North a combination steam and sailing vessel to ply between Savannah and Liverpool. The contract called for a vessel of 300 tons burden. When completed she was a full rigged clipper ship, fitted with engines and sidewheels. These wheels were made of wrought iron, were not covered and were so constructed that they could be folded over on the ship's deck. The supposition was that when the vessel had a good wind she would not need steam and a derrick was arranged to lift the wheels out of the water and take them in when not in use. The vessel was christened the *Savannah*. She sailed from this port May 20, 1819, bound for Liverpool. Pitch pine was used for fuel. As the supply was not inexhaustible it was husbanded. The wheels were used eighteen days out of twenty-two on the eastern voyage. The sails were used on eight days. Steam vessels were rare in those days. The English did not know what to make of the vessel when she approached their coast with wheels revolving rapidly and her canvas set.

When the *Savannah* arrived off Cape Clear she was signalled to Liverpool as a vessel on fire and a cutter was sent from Cork to assist her. The people crowded the Mersey's banks filled with "surprise and admiration when she entered the harbor of Liverpool under bare poles, belching forth smoke and fire, yet uninjured." The *Savannah* remained at Liverpool about a month and was visited by thousands of the curious. Captain Rogers was at liberty to sell his vessel, but he secured no offer which he would accept. From Liverpool he took his vessel to St.

Petersburg, where the *Savannah* attracted the attention of the Czar. On November 20, she steamed up the Savannah River, after a passage of twenty-five days, on nineteen of which she had used steam. She had experienced not a little rough weather, but she rode all of it out safely without an accident.

This first ocean steamer did not pay and the Savannah company sold her to New York parties, who took out her steam engine and made a packet vessel of her. She foundered off Long Island in a heavy storm a few years later. The *Savannah's* log-book and the cylinder from her engine are on exhibition in London.

At the close of the second decade of this century Savannah was on the threshold of an immense trade. Her commerce had grown rapidly, her merchants were prosperous, many of them were wealthy for those days, and the city began to show the effect of the general prosperity. Her citizens who had laid up fortunes lived royally and entertained handsomely. On the sideboard were the finest wines, and the stranger who came properly vouched for, was apt to be as mellow as the vintages before he departed. Luxury is *prima facie* evidence of easy circumstances. It was about this time that the people first knew the luxury—ice. Charleston had a large ice-house, and in 1818 the company established a branch here. In 1819 a company was organized to bring Northern ice to this port. An old advertisement in a paper of 1819 mentions that ice is highly desirable for cooling water, milk and wine. A decanter especially designed for the use of ice is advertised and recommended. At retail the ice was to be supplied for $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents a pound. Regular patrons could get special rates, but the price was so high that it is safe to say the traffic was not large for years afterwards.

The year 1820 was a sad one. Early in the first month a disastrous fire destroyed \$4,000,000 of property. This was a most serious blow. But it was not the only one nor was it the worst. Sporadic cases of yellow fever had appeared from year to year, and in May, 1820, there was a case. Not until September, however, did the plague become alarming. Sailors from a vessel just arrived from the West Indies introduced a few cases into the city, which had a population of 7,500. Of these 6,000 fled. Although there were less than 250 deaths during September and October, and the first week in November, when the disease was checked, busi-

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ness, which had been paralyzed, was slow in recovering. The next year the exports fell off to \$6,032,862, not one-half so much as they had been three years before. In 1818 the imports were valued at \$2,976,257 and in 1821 at only \$865,146. Not until six years after the visitations of fire and fever did commerce begin to attain its former proportions. In 1825 the cotton shipments coastwise and foreign amounted to 137,895 bags. The next year the shipments jumped to 190,578 bags. A quarter of a century later the exports scarcely exceeded in value those of 1818. It is doubtful if the city has ever had an era when her future looked brighter than in those two years (1818 and 1819), which saw the theater, the Independent Presbyterian Church, and the world's first ocean steamship, the *Savannah*, completed. When Savannah rounded her first century she was a thriving little city, after many mishaps once more enjoying a good measure of prosperity. Cotton and rice continued to be the chief articles of commerce. Cotton lead and was easily "king." The planters were the wealthy and aristocratic class, outnumbering the merchants. And this condition prevailed up to the war. During the quarter of a century between the port's entry on its second century and the great civil conflict Savannah's commerce flourished. It grew slowly, to be sure, but steadily. There were bad years and good years, just as in the history of every city. As a rule the dull years were more than offset by the seasons when crops, shipments and prices were fair and good. In 1841 the cotton shipments dropped off largely, but there was a heavy lumber trade. The next year there was a large cotton trade and the lumber shipments fell off. In 1845 the exports went away ahead of any previous year, with the cotton shipments coastwise and foreign amounting to 304,544 bags. About this time the lumber trade was a very valuable part of the commerce and in 1847 it threatened to displace rice and take second place itself. The commercial prosperity of the decade between 1850 and 1860, the last one prior to the war, was marred in one year, 1854, by another epidemic and by a violent storm. The latter caused almost a total ruin to the rice crop and the fever unsettled every line of trade. Not until the following year did the statistics show how business had been affected. Then it was seen that the rice shipment had shrunk almost entirely away and the lumber trade had dwindled fifty per cent. This bad year was quickly recovered from and not even

the re-appearance of the plague two years later hurt the commerce materially. The year 1858 was a poor year but the succeeding one was especially prosperous, 469,053 bales of cotton alone, being exported. Uneasiness as to the political future had its effect on the business of Savannah. Gathering clouds threatened a coming storm. He was obtuse indeed, who saw not that the commercial and financial pulse of the country was keenly susceptible to the tension to which it was subjected. Even a four months' presidential canvass in these piping times of peace unsettles trade for upwards of a twelvemonth. What wonder then that in 1860 and the few years immediately preceding, Savannah's commerce did not take the leaps forward it had done in former years!

The opening of the Central Railroad to Macon in 1843 had been followed by the development of the country along its line. New trade came to Savannah, and with the building of the railway, which is now known as the Savannah, Florida and Western, another large territory was put within easy communication. Again when the city was on the eve of what seemed to be a magnificent future, fate stretched out her hand and stayed the increased prosperity which was ready to pour itself over the State's metropolis.

The following table gives the exports, foreign and coastwise consolidated, of cotton, rice and lumber for a period of twenty years prior to the war:

YEAR	COTTON, BAGS.	RICE, TIERCES.	LUMBER, FEET.
1839.....	199,176	21,321
1840.....	284,249	24,392
1841.....	147,280	23,587	14,295,200
1842.....	222,254	22,064	8,490,400
1843.....	280,826	26,281	7,529,550
1844.....	244,575	28,543	5,923,251
1845.....	304,544	29,217	8,270,582
1846.....	186,306	32,147	18,585,644
1847.....	234,151	31,739	54,731,385
		CASKS.	
1854.....	317,471	30,748	49,855,700
1855.....	388,375	8,220	25,500,000
1856.....	393,092	29,907	34,887,500
1857.....	327,658	27,536	44,743,070
1858.....	292,829	31,345	28,365,656
1859.....	469,053	38,130	38,928,084
	FOR'GN ONLY.	FOR'GN TIER.	FOREIGN.
1860.....	314,084	6,790	20,723,350

Four years of war came and once more business was practically suspended.

In 1861, 1862, 1863 and 1864 the port was blockaded, consequently there were no exports or imports during these years excepting what was run through the blockade, of which no account can be given. In 1865, exports (the property of the Confederate States and of the citizens of Savannah) were carried on exclusively by the officers and men of the United States government in its ships. Late in December, 1864, Sherman seized all the cotton and numerous other articles. The cotton he shipped to New York, where it brought a high price. Commerce, which had been practically suspended for four years, now began to be resumed. Sherman had destroyed the railroads, and the State had been reduced from wealth to poverty. Men whose private fortunes had been swept away went to work to build up anew. The younger men too entered business for themselves, thus setting the precedent which has given Savannah to-day probably the youngest set of successful business men to be found in any city. The high prices obtained for cotton led the planters to increase their acreage, and the receipts here jumped up to over half a million bales in 1867, and to three quarters of a million in 1870. Since that year the receipts have reached 900,000 bales, and the day is not far distant when they will turn the one million point.

The opening of the Alabama Midland through a rich cotton belt in Alabama is bringing the products of that section here. The compressing of cotton has been an important business for years. Six powerful hydraulic presses handled 6,900 bales a day in the busiest seasons.

Up to 1882 New Orleans was the only port which received more cotton than Savannah. Since that year Galveston has held second place. This year Bay street's merchants are resolved to send Savannah's receipts to the million bales mark. The heaviest receipts on any one day were 15,000 bales in October, 1889.

The exports of cotton since the war have been :

YEAR.	FOREIGN.		COASTWISE.	
	UP-LAND.	SEA ISLAND.	UP-LAND.	SEA ISLAND.
1865	60,144	3,891	159,298	3,648
1866	101,737	8,137	140,396	6,700
1867	286,671	6,467	234,434	5,195
1868	164,674	3,329	184,690	3,298
1869	260,366	6,488	197,033	7,696
1870	478,941	2,568	248,326	4,424
1871	289,000	1,061	151,335	4,306
1872	373,793	2,395	224,048	5,307
1873	373,730	2,165	234,299	5,341
1874	426,090	3,472	222,073	4,480
1875	420,881	2,354	190,023	5,821
1876	368,844	1,374	165,900	5,516
1877	298,546	1,219	186,284	5,001
1878	348,596	2,939	261,742	8,430
1879	458,208	1,784	234,474	7,019
1880	423,896	796	305,059	10,480
1881	498,551	5,836	381,911	8,003
1882	336,648	2,137	394,833	15,404
1883	418,385	613	394,658	11,442
1884	358,150	1,649	296,345	7,606
1885	389,290	1,568	317,874	17,515
1886	400,437	1,483	383,316	21,307
1887	485,999	1,744	289,828	26,195
1888	384,440	1,386	478,935	22,647
1889	320,343	3,536	476,803	25,846

An important line of trade with a unique history, is the naval stores business. Naval stores in the commercial world, means spirits of turpentine and rosin, the product of the pine tree. Up to 1870 Georgia's forests were a mine of undeveloped natural wealth, as rich as a Comstock lode. And the former were above ground in plain view and known to hundreds of thousands. In 1883 the president of the Board of Trade wrote: "Twelve years ago a barrel of rosin or spirits of turpentine was scarcely known in this market, while to-day Savannah is known as the largest naval stores market in the world, our receipts for the past fiscal year being 133,139 barrels of spirits and 564,026 barrels of rosin, the aggregate value of which is about \$4,000,000, ranking second to cotton in value."

A North Carolina farmer or two were the pioneers in developing the naval stores trade of Georgia. Their own State was exhausted and they sought new fields. Georgia offered them the richest pine forests on this continent. From those forests, men who came to Savannah fifteen and twenty years ago with a few hundred dollars capital have made hand-

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1875	420,881	2,354	190,023	5,821
1876	368,844	1,374	165,900	5,516
1877	298,546	1,219	186,284	5,001
1878	348,596	2,939	261,742	8,430
1879	458,208	1,784	234,474	7,019
1880	423,896	796	305,059	10,480
1881	498,551	5,836	381,911	8,003
1882	336,648	2,137	394,833	15,404
1883	418,385	613	394,658	11,442
1884	358,150	1,649	296,345	7,606
1885	389,290	1,568	317,874	17,515
1886	400,437	1,483	383,316	21,307
1887	485,999	1,744	289,828	26,195
1888	384,440	1,386	478,935	22,647
1889	320,343	3,536	476,803	25,846

An important line of trade with a unique history, is the naval stores business. Naval stores in the commercial world, means spirits of turpentine and rosin, the product of the pine tree. Up to 1870 Georgia's forests were a mine of undeveloped natural wealth, as rich as a Comstock lode. And the former were above ground in plain view and known to hundreds of thousands. In 1883 the president of the Board of Trade wrote: "Twelve years ago a barrel of rosin or spirits of turpentine was scarcely known in this market, while to-day Savannah is known as the largest naval stores market in the world, our receipts for the past fiscal year being 133,139 barrels of spirits and 564,026 barrels of rosin, the aggregate value of which is about \$4,000,000, ranking second to cotton in value."

A North Carolina farmer or two were the pioneers in developing the naval stores trade of Georgia. Their own State was exhausted and they sought new fields. Georgia offered them the richest pine forests on this continent. From those forests, men who came to Savannah fifteen and twenty years ago with a few hundred dollars capital have made hand-

some fortunes, and retired from business. The history of commerce offers few cases which can parallel that of the naval stores industry for quick money making. Savannah is likely to continue to be the chief naval stores port of the world for several years to come. The time must come, however, when the vast forests will be worked out.

In the year which ended March 31, 1888, the receipts of turpentine were in round numbers 170,000 barrels. During the year which closed March 31, 1889, the receipts fell off about 10,000 barrels, but that was due to the voluntary shortening of the crop by the manufacturers who hoped to realize good prices thereby, and they succeeded.

Here is a table showing the growth of the trade for fifteen years, back of which the business was comparatively small :

YEAR.	SPT'S TURPENTINE.	ROSIN.
1874-75	9,555	41,707
1876	15,521	59,792
1877	19,984	98,888
1878	31,138	177,104
1879	34,368	177,447
1880	46,321	231,421
1881	54,703	282,386
1882	77,059	309,834
1883	116,127	444,873
1884	121,000	486,961
1885	111,447	452,370
1886	127,785	476,508
1887	164,199	609,025
1888	162,237	639,933
1889	173,863	610,302

The history of the rice and lumber trades has been sketched in connection with the growth of the port's general commerce. As already mentioned, rice was the principal article of export in the middle of the last century, 2,996 barrels being shipped in 1753, and 7,500 barrels in 1763. Lumber did not become an important article of export until 1841. Since that date, however, this trade has been most important. The Vale Royal lumber manufacturing mills west of the city have a history running back half a century. The rice mills are but little younger than the culture of the cereal.

Another business which has grown rapidly and has a promising future is the fertilizer trade. Savannah was for years a mere buyer and seller, a middleman pure and simple. Recently local firms have gone into the

manufacture of fertilizers from the South Carolina rock, and the city's trade is about \$2,500,000 a year.

The shipment of fruits and vegetables is no small item in the commerce of the port. During the spring and summer vast quantities of fruits, melons and vegetables are shipped north and west. The coffee importing trade, which amounted to \$200,000 a year, has declined owing to quarantine regulations. Salt, coal, tropical fruits, hides, wool, fish, oysters, pig iron, yarns and domestics form important articles of export and import. Professional hunters come here every winter and trap game for the pelts. Oysters and fish are shipped away in large quantities. The pig iron comes chiefly from the Alabama mines. A fact not generally known is that the "wire grass" wool is the finest clip shorn in America. It is free from dirt and oil, and brings the highest price. Engaged in bringing and carrying away Savannah's imports and exports are three railroad lines, and regular steamship lines to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The steamships and sailing vessels which come here go to every port in the world.

The statistics given below represent the value of the exports and imports by water alone for a period of sixteen years:

EXPORTS FOR YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31.	1887.	1886.	1885.	1884.
Cotton	\$ 39,378,480	\$ 38,807,726	\$ 36,191,441	\$ 33,221,875
Naval Stores	3,296,788	3,296,503	2,944,326	3,278,296
Lumber and Timber	1,094,318	1,015,580	914,535	924,454
Rice	271,142	210,367	344,232	855,937
Pig Iron	653,940	193,835	186,504	175,612
Hides and Wool	174,647	212,304	228,606	215,314
Fruits and Vegetables	1,723,723	1,834,713	1,767,852	1,790,210
Yarns and Domestics	1,649,000	3,334,950	3,500,620	3,757,311
Miscellaneous	6,522,044	2,127,212	2,225,100	2,206,504
Total Exports	\$ 54,764,082	\$ 51,028,190	\$ 48,313,216	\$ 46,425,513
IMPORTS.—Fertilizers	2,460,752	2,238,654	2,709,511	1,626,601
Coal	354,740	224,340	196,870	201,200
Hay and Grain	350,635	318,250	350,419	346,550
Salts	215,325	126,000	125,000	125,000
Coffee	487,319	512,000	500,000	500,000
Miscellaneous	48,790,462	47,699,280	45,999,280	46,312,965
Total Imports	\$ 52,659,233	\$ 51,118,524	\$ 49,881,080	\$ 49,112,316
	\$107,423,315	\$102,146,714	\$ 98,194,296	\$ 95,537,829

EXPORTS FOR YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31.	1883.	1882.	1881.	1880.
Cotton	\$ 41,773,265	\$ 40,495,221	\$ 48,019,799	\$ 38,233,425
Naval Stores	2,821,106	2,065,848	2,072,291	1,294,833
Lumber and Timber	949,031	1,047,524	835,176	853,081
Rice	582,624	914,905	879,480	877,248
Pig Iron	173,560	145,900	158,760	133,312
Hides and Wool	254,296	241,660	225,390	240,700
Fruits and Vegetables	1,512,302	1,460,205	1,200,150	1,140,625
Yarns and Domestics	3,860,450	3,625,460	3,729,605	3,312,412
Miscellaneous	1,989,300	2,007,525	1,865,250	1,750,775
Total Exports	\$ 53,915,934	\$ 52,004,248	\$ 58,985,901	\$ 47,836,411
IMPORTS.—Fertilizers	2,270,455	2,370,985	2,870,545	3,838,058
Coal	210,015	219,650	200,440	198,360
Hay and Grain	333,476	360,525	385,415	395,212
Salts	125,000	125,000	100,000	100,000
Coffee	500,000	500,000	400,000	400,000
Miscellaneous	44,260,850	42,375,945	44,760,500	40,590,850
Total Imports	\$ 47,699,796	\$ 45,952,105	\$ 48,716,900	\$ 45,522,480
	\$101,615,730	\$ 97,956,353	\$107,702,801	\$ 93,358,891
EXPORTS FOR YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31.	1879.	1878	1877.	1876.
Cotton	\$ 32,525,777	\$ 31,993,123	\$ 25,691,547	\$ 32,817,572
Naval Stores	998,682	774,207	577,988	208,176
Lumber and Timber	669,064	772,057	671,863	661,562
Rice	685,728	581,436	465,990	650,337
Pig Iron	125,200	106,210	95,300	65,250
Hides and Wool	240,915	228,656	206,550	219,400
Fruits and Vegetables	890,220	847,512	628,005	512,940
Yarns and Domestics	2,998,510	2,912,367	2,166,400	2,349,672
Miscellaneous	1,767,325	1,813,420	1,600,210	1,400,555
Total Exports	\$ 40,901,421	\$ 39,978,988	\$ 32,103,853	\$ 38,885,464
IMPORTS.—Fertilizers	2,784,667	3,116,788	2,715,728	2,091,902
Coal	209,840	187,350	190,525	175,450
Hay and Grain	360,555	382,012	400,880	393,765
Salts	100,000	100,000	100,000	80,000
Coffee	400,000	400,000	400,000	300,000
Miscellaneous	39,209,410	38,762,315	32,500,775	34,650,850
Total Imports	\$ 43,064,472	\$ 42,948,465	\$ 36,307,908	\$ 37,691,967
	\$ 83,965,893	\$ 82,927,453	\$ 68,411,761	\$ 76,577,431

EXPORTS FOR YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31	1875.	1874.	1873.	1872.
Cotton.....	\$ 44,005,476	\$ 47,774,638	\$ 61,314,818	\$ 34,266,847
Naval Stores.....	110,964	59,029	45,144
Lumber and Timber.....	660,582	667,189	562,740	548,895
Rice.....	646,360	531,796	208,250	187,649
Pig Iron.....	66,310	51,500	40,615	25,500
Hides and Wool.....	197,320	190,206	175,550	170,410
Fruits and Vegetables.....	468,500	451,680	410,790	492,015
Yarns and Domestic.....	2,606,450	2,897,315	3,148,167	2,405,960
Miscellaneous.....	1,520,320	1,638,200	1,920,325	1,412,440
Total Exports.....	\$ 50,282,282	\$ 54,261,553	\$ 67,826,399	\$ 39,509,716
IMPORTS.—Fertilizers.....	1,338,509	1,545,860	1,624,427	1,692,601
Coal.....	182,300	170,325	175,255	160,105
Hay and Grain.....	406,550	408,975	396,210	390,400
Salts.....	80,000	80,000	80,000	80,000
Coffee.....	275,000	275,000	250,000	250,000
Miscellaneous.....	38,790,400	35,890,525	35,609,490	30,274,950
Total Imports.....	\$ 41,072,759	\$ 38,370,685	\$ 38,135,382	\$ 32,849,056
	\$ 91,355,041	\$ 92,632,238	\$ 105,961,781	\$ 72,358,772

The above statement does not include receipts and shipments by rail, nor does it include the value of domestic traffic, local manufactures, banking, etc., but is confined strictly to value of exports and imports which have a direct bearing upon our water-ways transportation. While values have decreased during the past fifteen years about one-third, the values in 1886, compared with 1872 in volume, are nearly 50 per cent. greater. This is due to the large increase in tonnage. The item of "miscellaneous" in imports embraces bagging, iron ties, tobacco, boots and shoes, bacon, dry goods, hats, clothing, drugs, furniture, hardware, crockery, sugar, flour, cigars, canned goods, and manufactured articles generally.

During the Revolutionary War the river was so obstructed by wrecks and otherwise that at the close of hostilities it became absolutely necessary that the obstructions should be removed or Savannah would not have any commerce. So in 1787 an act was passed by the General Assembly of the State "levying a tax of 3 pence per ton on all shipping entering the port of Savannah, the same to be appropriated and set apart as a fund for clearing the river of wrecks." In 1822 steam passenger vessels were exempted from this tax, and the next year

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it was repealed. In 1772 there were entered and cleared at the custom house 161 sail of vessels. The imports for that year were valued at £810, and the exports at £2,963, a total of £3,773. In 1872, a century later, the entrances alone were 1,156 vessels, and the exports and imports were valued at more than \$72,000,000.

The magnitude of the shipping is shown by the statistics which follow and which are for the year 1888:

	VESSELS.	TONS.	CREW.
American vessels entered	8	3,560	111
American vessels cleared	8	2,583	63
Foreign vessels entered	229	146,075	3,288
Foreign vessels cleared	233	167,836	3,557
Total	478	320,054	7,019
Entered coastwise	411	539,576	14,907
Cleared coastwise	382	507,075	14,231
Total	793	1,046,651	29,138
Total foreign	478	320,054	7,019
Total coastwise	793	1,046,651	29,138
Grand total	1,271	1,366,705	36,157

Savannah has never had much to boast of in the way of manufactures outside of the rice mills and usual flour mills, foundries, machine shops, and such industries of that kind as are found in every city. Within a few years past, however, the manufactures have grown and not slowly. Planing and saw mills, furniture factories, fertilizer and chemical works for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, a cotton mill and cotton seed oil mill are the most important works. Cigars are made in large quantities, and a brewery is in successful operation. An artificial ice factory is one of the most novel as well as useful industries.

The Savannah Board of Trade was organized in April, 1883. It was the successor of the Naval Stores Exchange of which Mr. C. S. Ellis was president, and which changed its charter and its name and became the Board of Trade. This organization is composed of business men, the most of whom are engaged on the Bay, Congress and Broughton streets. At the Board rooms telegraphic reports of the naval stores, grain and provision markets are received and posted. Statistics are there kept of

the yearly transactions of the port in the various trades represented by the board. The first president of the Board of Trade was H. Fraser Grant. His successors have been James K. Clarke, Fred M. Hull, (two years) and John R. Young, who is now serving his second term. The superintendents have been, R. M. Rieves, George P. Walker, John Henderson, and S. McA. White.

CHAPTER XXXI.

RAILROADS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF SAVANNAH.

Central Railroad and Banking Company—History of its Organization and Growth—Ocean Steamship Company—Savannah, Florida and Western Railway—Savannah and Tybee Railroad—Central Railroad Bank—Merchant's National Bank—Savannah Bank and Trust Company—Southern Bank of the State of Georgia—National Bank of Savannah—The Oglethorpe Savings and Trust Company—Citizen's Bank—Title Guarantee and Loan Company—Building and Loan Associations.

THE relations of a city to its radiating lines of travel will always indicate the measure of its present and future prosperity. Georgia was one of the first States in the Union to encourage railway enterprise, and it is a notable fact that her pioneer road, the Central, made Savannah its starting point. The progress of this road is inseparably connected with the history of Savannah, and not only shows the city's advancement but that of the State as well. Its history is full of interest and instruction, and is well worthy of consideration.

The Central Railroad was chartered December 14, 1835. Colonel Crugar made the first experimental survey in 1834, at the cost of the city of Savannah. In 1835 the Central Railroad and Banking Company was organized with W. W. Gordon, the originator of the scheme, as president. In 1836 it began work, and on October 13, 1843, the road was completed to Macon, Ga., a distance of one hundred and ninety miles, on which day a train passed over the whole line to the depot at Macon. L. O. Reynolds was chief engineer of construction. In July, 1838, passenger trains began running regularly the first twenty-six miles. In 1838

the charter of the branch road to Augusta was granted, and Savannah subscribed \$100,000 to construct it.

During the year 1842 Mr. W. W. Gordon, the projector and genius of this enterprise, died, and Mr. R. R. Cuyler was elected president. Forty years later the Central Railway Company, in grateful recognition of Mr. Gordon's great service, erected a beautiful monument to his memory in the Court House Square on Bull street. No stronger tribute could be uttered to his memory than the words used by Chief Engineer Reynolds in his official report for the year 1842. "The steadiness and determination with which he pursued the great object of benefiting his native State and this city, and promoting their prosperity, ought to give his name a place among the most distinguished of public benefactors. It was an object which was remembered in his latest aspirations to heaven, but a few moments before he yielded up his spirit to Him who gave it."

In April, 1845, the railroad owed \$440,095 of bonds. Its stock had risen from \$20 a share to \$50, and its bonds from 75 cents to \$1.00 value. This year the Macon and Western Railroad was completed. The necessity of the connection with Augusta and Columbus was strongly pressed. The Central Railroad subscribed \$250,000 to the Southwestern Railroad Company. In 1849 William M. Wadley became superintendent, succeeding Mr. Reynolds. The Southwestern was opened from Macon to Oglethorpe in July, 1850. The Central Company invested in 1850, \$20,000 in the Milledgeville and Gordon Railroad, \$95,000 in the Augusta and Waynesboro, and \$100,000 in the Fort Valley and Columbus Railroad. The first named road was opened to Midway in October, 1851; the Augusta Railroad to Station 1 in November, 1851; the Fort Valley and Columbus in 1851.

In 1851 the capital stock of the Central was \$3,000,000, of which \$205,000 was appropriated to banking. The road was valued at more than \$3,000,000.

In 1853 Mr. William M. Wadley resumed control as superintendent. In this year the reports show for the first time the statements of kinds of freights. The road carried 119,019 bushel of corn; 2,709,863 pounds of copper ore, and 77,983 hides.

Although yellow fever desolated Savannah in 1854, but a single trip was lost on the line of this road, the company having at this time 283

miles of road on a capital of \$5,382,000, including the leased branches of the Augusta and Milledgeville roads. The year 1865 witnessed a remarkable growth of business. The reserve fund had grown to \$578,260. The cotton freights more than doubled, reaching 390,485 bales; hides, 179,374; copper ore, 14,348,146 pounds; wheat 427,358 bushels.

In 1856 the Central yielded up the lease of the Augusta and Waynesboro road. In 1857 the Southwestern Road was completed to Albany, in which the Central had \$318,000 of stock. The Mobile and Girard Railroad and the Charleston and Savannah Railroad were both under way. The Memphis and Charleston was finished, which gave the Central 737 miles of connection with the Mississippi at Memphis.

Emerson Foote became superintendent of the Central in 1857, but in 1858 was succeeded by Mr. George W. Adams. In 1857 the Central took stock in the New York and Philadelphia steamship companies, thus beginning the policy it has so largely carried out. This was both a bold and politic stroke of financial management. In 1859 this steamship investment was increased to \$280,000. This year the company carried 96,000 bales of cotton in one month, and made its first engine in its own works, and built its first passenger car.

Up to the close of the year 1859 the Central Railroad Company had done a great work, not only in the construction of its own lines, but in aiding to build the railroad system of the State. It had paid nearly half a million to the Southwestern Railroad; \$100,000 to the Augusta and Savannah Railroad; \$30,000 to the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, subscribed all of the iron used in building the Gordon and Eatonton Railroad, paid mostly for the steamship lines, and granted nearly \$400,000 of endorsement to the Western Railroad, the Columbus Railroad, and the Mobile and Girard Railroad.

The year 1860, the last year before the war, demonstrated a magnificent culmination of prosperous progress. The consolidated wealth of the road was \$6,590,173; railroad capital, \$4,366,880; bank matters, \$1,236,018; bonds and stocks in other companies, \$928,441; reserve fund, \$1,221,095; outstanding bonds only \$86,067; income from railroad, \$1,696,998; income from bank, \$113,371; railroad expenditures, \$950,450; dividends, \$458,340; carried to reserve fund, \$377,050; cotton shipments, bales, 413,314; way cotton shipments, bales, 129,405; pas-

sengers, 105,823; lumber shipments, feet, 8,170,378; fertilizer shipments, pounds, 18,540,980 cars, 729; engines, 59.

The war put its destructive hand on this great railroad. Its income was reduced at one stroke \$657,385, or over one-third. It carried freight for the Confederate government at fifty per cent. under its regular rates, and took into its treasury \$342,600 of Confederate treasury notes. In 1862 it leased the Augusta and Savannah Railroad and patriotically subscribed to various charitable and war funds. The transportation of troops was the principal business, and the cotton fell off almost to nothing.

The year 1864 was a particular severe one to the company. From Gordon to Savannah 139 miles of the railroad was destroyed by Sherman's army, and for forty miles wide its line was devastated. The president, Colonel R. R. Cuyler, died, and W. B. Johnston was elected in his place. The latter served for one year when he was succeeded by Colonel William M. Wadley.

At the time President Wadley assumed charge, but little had been done to put the road in running order. He immediately started energetically upon the rehabilitation of the road.

The year 1867 saw the Central Railroad well re-established. Its capital stock was \$4,661,800, representing the railroad and its appurtenances, worth \$4,472,000 and \$869,803 of stocks and bonds in other companies. The loss by war in bank operations had been \$485,055. The expenditure in renewing the railroad was \$1,357,140. The cotton business grew to 272,427 bales.

Seeing in the construction of rival lines and the loss of through business by competition injury to his road, Mr. Wadley began that far-reaching plan of expansion, which has resulted in the present massive and profitable railway and steamship scheme of transportation. It is at once the pride of Georgia, and has maintained against all encroachments the commercial supremacy of Savannah as a great cotton port. Mr. Wadley projected with a broad generalship, and his successors have carried out his grand ideas. In 1868 he invested in the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, the Western Railroad from Montgomery to Selma and the Mobile and Girard Railroad, and a through freight system with the New York steamers was established. In 1869 the Central Railroad leased the Southwestern Railroad, and bank agencies were established at

Macon and Columbus as well as at Albany. In 1870 Mr. Wadley bought for the company the Vale Royal Plantation, on the canal next to the river, where the splendid wharves of the road now lie. This year the guano business ran to 90,000,000 pounds. In 1871 Mr. Wadley leased the Macon and Western Railroad as another protective measure in his broad plan of development. He also began branches to Blakely and Perry. In 1872 Mr. Wadley bought six steamships, paying \$600,000 in bonds. In March of this year Captain W. G. Raoul became assistant roadmaster of the company.

In 1875 the Western Railroad of Alabama was bought by the Central Railroad and Georgia Railroad for \$1,643,128 each. This year the Ocean Steamship Company was chartered and organized with a capital stock of \$800,000, and the Central Railroad sold to this company its six steamships and wharf property. Mr. Wadley was elected president.

In 1876 the Southern Railway and Steamship Association was organized with Mr. Virgil Powers as general commissioner. Captain W. G. Raoul was made superintendent of the Southwestern Railroad. The Central had a prosperous line of steamers on the Chattahoochee River. During this year Savannah was visited by a yellow fever pestilence which desolated the city and cut down the receipts of the road. The road never stopped a day.

The year 1878 was signalized by the resumption of dividends which had not been paid in three years. Four new steamships were bought and put on the line. The capital stock of the steamship company was increased to \$800,000, while its property was worth \$1,300,000.

In 1879 the Central obtained a controlling interest in the Vicksburg and Brunswick Railroad Company and the Montgomery and Eufaula Railroad Company. In 1880 Captain W. G. Raoul was made vice-president of the company as the assistant of the president.

In 1881 the board issued \$3,000,000 of debentures, or certificates of indebtedness, to the stockholders. The Ocean Steamship Company had grown until its earnings ran to \$466,442, netting \$301,121. Four new steamers were bought this year, making the investment in steamships \$1,598,734. A line of steamers was bought to run to Philadelphia. It had built a cotton press, \$60,000; an elevator, \$23,254, and a warehouse, \$18,268. Among its purchases was the famous steamer *Dessoug*.

which had brought the Obelisk from Alexandria in Egypt to New York. This year Mr. Wadley effected the lease of the Georgia Railroad at a rental of \$600,000 a year.

On the 10th day of August, 1882, the genius of this magnificent Central system, Colonel William M. Wadley, died at Saratoga, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and in his seventeenth year as president of the company. General E. P. Alexander was elected president. His report summarizes the condition of the road: Mileages—1,150 miles, main system; estimating steamship company at 250 miles; connecting system, 458 miles; total, 1,608 miles; capitalized at \$25,995,150 and stocked at \$7,500,000, making an aggregate of \$33,495,150, or \$20,830 per mile. The 458 miles connecting system were the Central's proportion in 857 miles of railway, making the whole mileage it influenced 2,009.

The growth of the great corporation has been constant. At the close of the year 1888 the mileage of the road was as follows: Central Railroad proper and branches, 333 miles; Savannah, Griffin and North Alabama Railroad 60 miles; Upson County Railroad, 16 miles; Southwestern Railroad and branches, 334 miles; Montgomery and Eufaula Railroad, 80 miles; Columbus and Western Railroad, 157 miles; Mobile and Girard Railroad, 85 miles; Columbus and Rome Railroad, 50 miles; East Alabama Railroad, 37 miles; Eufaula and East Alabama Railroad, 40 miles; Eufaula and Clayton Railroad, 21 miles; Port Royal and Augusta Railroad, 112 miles; Port Royal and Western Carolina Railroad, 229 miles; Augusta and Savannah Railroad, 53 miles; Buena Vista and Ellaville Railroad, 30 miles; total, 1,637 miles.

Its lines cover Georgia and Eastern Alabama with a net-work of steel, and run through South Carolina from seaboard to mountains, worth altogether nearly \$50,000,000, and giving employment to thousands of men.

The freighting facilities of this road are unsurpassed, and a visit to the company's yard and wharves will reveal a wonderful scene of activity and interest. In the Central's yards in Savannah are 11 miles of track, two warehouses (800 and 300 feet in length respectively), and a cotton platform capable of holding 20,000 bales of cotton. The company's wharves are a revelation of enterprise, and constitute a scene of business activity not to be excelled anywhere. There are upon the wharf prem-

ises 30 acres of improvements, viz., 10 acres of platforms on piles, 10 acres under cover of sheds, 5,700 feet of wharf front, including 700 feet of lumber wharves, 5 acres of naval stores wharves, wharf room for 50,000 bales of cotton, storage houses for 100,000 tons of fertilizers, 10 miles of track, 4 great cotton warehouses, with a capacity of 30,000 bales, a grain elevator capable of holding 270,000 bushels, a cotton compress compressing 3,200 bales of cotton per diem, and numerous platform and track scales. The working force at the wharves (full complement) is 800 men and 18 special policemen, commanded by a sergeant, who is also assisted by numerous watchmen, assuring perfect order throughout all the departments.

The Ocean Steamship Company, which forms such an important part of the Central Railroad system, has a fleet of ten magnificent steamships plying between Savannah and the Northern ports, making regular schedules from this city to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The following steamships compose the fleet: *Nacoochee*, *City of Savannah*, *City of Augusta*, *Tallahassee*, *Chattahoochee*, *City of Macon*, *Gate City*, *Dessong*, *City of Birmingham* and *Kansas City*.

The *City of Birmingham* was added to the line in 1889, and was built at Roach's ship-yard Chester, Pa., for this company. She has triple expansion engines of 1,500 horse-power. Her cargo capacity is about 2,400 tons on a draft of 17 1-2 feet. She carries 7,000 bales of cotton.

The *Kansas City* made her first trip about the beginning of the present year. She is the fastest and finest steamship in the Atlantic coast trade.

The steamers of the fleet carry 5,000 to 7,000 bales of cotton each, and 100 or more first-class passengers, and have long been known to the traveling public as unsurpassed in safety, speed, comfort and elegance.

The Ocean Steamship Company contemplates building two additional steamers for the line, and in the comparatively near future a daily line of steamers will doubtless be in operation between Savannah and New York.

The line formed by the Ocean Steamship Company and the Central Railroad and connections is already carrying a large freight traffic between the east and Memphis, Kansas City, and other points west, actually competing successfully in rates and time with the all rail routes.

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General G. M. Sorrel is general manager of the Ocean Steamship Company. The general officers of the system are as follows: President, E. P. Alexander; cashier, T. M. Cunningham; general manager, Cecil Gabbett; general manager Ocean Steamship Company, G. M. Sorrel; comptroller, Edward McIntyre; traffic manager, W. F. Shellman; general freight agent, G. A. Whitehead; general passenger agent, E. T. Charlton; general counsel, Pat Calhoun.

The Central Rail Road and Banking Company is the greatest single instrumentality of advancement in this section of the country, and its splendid ocean steamships, extensive wharves, elevators, compresses, terminal facilities and banking houses, are magnificent monuments to the wisdom of its founders. Savannah has a particular reason to be proud of the "old Central," through whose achievements in no little degree is due her present wealth and population.

Savannah, Florida and Western Railway, a worthy contemporary of the Central, was first known as the Savannah and Albany Railroad. Under this title a charter was secured and an organization effected in 1853. Dr. John P. Screven was the president of the company until his death, and to his foresight and energy the State of Georgia and the city of Savannah are in a great measure indebted for this enduring monument of his public skill and wisdom. With Dr. Screven were associated Colonel Nelson Tift, the earliest projector of railroads in Northern Georgia, John Stoddard, Hiram Roberts, William Duncan, H. D. Weed, and Dr. R. D. Arnold.

In 1854 the name of the company was changed to the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad Company. The importance of securing for the city of Savannah the business of southern Georgia and Florida was perceived by the citizens of Savannah, and a subscription of one million dollars was obtained from the city toward building the road. About this time a charter was obtained by another company named the Atlanta and Gulf Railroad Company for the construction of the line west of Screven station, sixty-eight miles from Savannah, for which State aid was obtained amounting to one million dollars, while the city of Savannah also subscribed two hundred thousand dollars. The latter company, however, consolidated with the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad Company in 1863.

The road was completed to Thomasville when the war began, when further progress was arrested until 1867 when it was opened to Bainbridge. During the period of the war the company derived no profit from the property, and when the Confederacy terminated, the road was almost a ruin. For nearly one-third of its length the track was torn up and the depots and bridges burned. The work of re-construction, however, began soon after the war closed, and the road was opened for business in March, 1866. In the same year it was connected with the Florida Railroad at Lawton.

For some years after the war the road proved an unprofitable investment. The impoverished condition of the territory through which it then passed as well as unwise management, threatened its very existence. At this critical period Mr. H. B. Plant, with some other capitalists, bought the property, and under his management it has become a giant in the railroad world. After its purchase by its present owners its name was changed to the Savannah, Florida, and Western Railway Company, but is best known as the "Plant system."

The policy of its management has been comprehensive, far-seeing and sagacious, and it is now one of the best equipped railroads in the country. It has made connections, opened up new industries, tapped fresh regions of trade and created remunerative business. The line runs from Charleston through Savannah to the Chattahoochee river, and to Jacksonville, with branches to Albany, Bainbridge, Gainesville, Brunswick, Port Tampa, Thomasville and Monticello, with a steamship line from Tampa to Havana and Key West. Its own proprietary and leased lines make more than eight hundred miles under one management.

The business in naval stores was the creation of this company. A few years ago the State of Georgia did little in this line, and to-day it is the largest naval stores market in the world. In 1873 the production of naval stores was 19,000 barrels. In 1884 it was 425,761 barrels, and in 1887 it was 787,337 barrels.

One of the most important enterprises of the company was to build a short line from Waycross to Jacksonville, seventy-six miles, which reduces the distance by rail from Savannah to Jacksonville, to 172 miles. This line is known as the Waycross and Florida Railroad Company, and is under separate management, but belongs to the "Plant System." H.

S. Haines is president of the road, and William P. Hardee is secretary and treasurer. Another bold and progressive step of this company was the extension of the road from Bainbridge Junction to Chattahoochee, linking it to the great west by a connection at Chattahoochee with the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad, making a shorter route from the sea coast cities to Pensacola, Macon and New Orleans.

It will be seen that the Savannah, Florida and Western Railway has done a wonderful work. Aside from its local traffic in the orange Eldorado of the world, that wonderful sanitarium of the invalid, it is now the vital part of a great trunk line and the channel for foreign travel. Its officers are: H. B. Plant, president; W. S. Chisholm, vice-president; R. B. Smith, secretary; H. S. Haines, general manager; R. G. Fleming, superintendent; A. A. Aveilhe, assistant superintendent; W. B. McKee, comptroller; W. P. Hardee, general freight and passenger agent; J. M. Lee, treasurer; W. W. Dowell, cashier; O. W. Jackson, master transportation; C. D. Owens, traffic manager.

The Savannah and Tybee Railroad Company was incorporated in November, 1885. The construction of the road from Savannah to Tybee Beach, a distance of nineteen miles, was commenced in August, 1886, and completed in April, 1887. To Captain D. G. Purse, the president of the company, must be given principal credit for the accomplishment of this long desired road. Mr. Purse's grandfather Thomas Purse, was prominently identified with the construction of the first railroad in Georgia. Since the construction of the Tybee Railroad, Tybee Island has become easy of access, and is now the most popular resort of Savannahians.

BANKS.

Savannah passed through the monetary troubles incident to the disasters of the War of 1812, the bankruptcies of 1837, the monetary troubles of 1842, and the national panic of 1857 with unusual credit. But during the late civil war all of the Savannah banks invested in Confederate bonds and currency, and when the war ended all except the Central Railroad Bank were obliged to suspend. Besides the Central there were in successful operation previous to, and during the war, the Bank of the State of Georgia, Planters, Farmers and Mechanic's, Marine, Bank of Commerce, and the Bank of Savannah.



Eng. in. Journ. in N. Y. 1877

D. G. Purke

The oldest bank in Savannah is that of the Central Rail Road and Banking Company. It was incorporated in 1836. It, in connection with the railroad has had a most prosperous career. The policy of the bank has always been a conservative one, and it has thus been enabled to withstand the storms of severe crises and panics. The capital of the company is \$7,500,000. The officers of the bank are: E. P. Alexander, president; T. M. Cunningham, cashier; A. G. Ulmer, assistant cashier; directors, E. P. Alexander, S. M. Inman, C. H. Phinizy, E. M. Greene, J. C. Calhoun, A. Vetsburg, H. T. Inman, P. Calhoun, J. K. Garnett, Joe Hull, Evan P. Howell and James Swan. The bank building is located at No. 115 Bay street.

The Merchants National Bank was incorporated in 1866. Its present capital is \$500,000. This was one of the first banks of Savannah to resume business after the war. It is located on the northeast corner of Drayton and St. Julian streets. The officers are: J. L. Hammond, president; S. P. Hamilton, vice-president; Thomas Gadsden, cashier; directors, M. Maclean, F. M. Bloodworth, G. L. Cope, S. P. Hamilton, S. Guckenheimer, S. Herman and J. L. Hammond.

The Savannah Bank and Trust Company was organized in 1869, and has a capital of \$400,000. Its officers are: J. D. Weed, president; J. C. Rowland, vice-president; James H. Hunter, cashier; directors, J. L. Hardee, R. G. Irwin, J. D. Weed, C. A. Reitze, D. C. Bacon, J. C. Rowland, J. Lyons, M. Y. MacIntyre, W. Conly, Isaac G. Haas, Edward Karow, of Savannah, and W. Walter Phelps, of New York.

The Southern Bank of the State of Georgia was organized in 1870. Its capital is \$500,000. The present officers are: John Flannery, president; Horace A. Crane, vice-president; James Sullivan, cashier; directors, Eugene Kelly, of New York, E. A. Weil, John Flannery, J. B. Duckworth, S. B. Palmer, Lee Roy Myers, Horace A. Crane.

The National Bank of Savannah was incorporated in October, 1885, and commenced business with a capital of \$250,000. It is located at 120 Bryan street. The officers are: Herman Myers, president; William Garrard, vice-president; T. F. Thompson, cashier; A. L. Rees, assistant cashier; directors, Herman Myers, William Garrard, Joseph J. Dale, A. A. Einstein, William E. Guerard, Henry Bendheim, George J. Baldwin, Jesse P. Williams, Frank X. Douglass, S. A. Woods, and A. Backer.

The Oglethorpe Savings and Trust Company was organized in 1887, and has a paid up capital of \$125,000 and an authorized capital of \$500,000. The officers are: J. J. Dale, president; Herman Myers, vice-president; James Sullivan, cashier; directors, J. J. Dale, W. Garrard, H. Myers, J. Lyons, W. E. Guerard, A. Hanley, S. Meinhard, J. P. Williams, G. J. Baldwin, L. Kayton, C. C. Schley.

The Citizens Bank on the corner of Drayton and Bryan streets, was opened January 3, 1888. It has an authorized capital of \$500,000, but the present working capital is \$200,000. The officers are: William Rogers, president; C. H. Dorsett, vice-president; G. C. Freeman, cashier; directors, William Rogers, C. H. Dorsett, G. N. Nichols, J. H. Estill, D. Wells, J. R. Young, H. C. Cunningham, D. R. Thomas.

The Title Guarantee and Loan Company of Savannah has by its charter banking privileges. Its authorized capital is \$500,000. George H. Stone, is president; Isaac Beckett, secretary; E. L. Hackett, cashier, and M. J. Solomons, treasurer.

The private bankers are Charles H. Olmstead & Co., (Charles H. Olmstead, Henry Hull and Francis S. Lathrop) and Henry Blun.

Savannah has several loan, savings and building associations which have had a most salutary bearing on the financial history of the city for the last few years. They have been the means of encouraging small savings and the excellent manner in which they have been managed has made them profitable to all interested in them.

Among the oldest of these associations is the *Jasper Mutual Loan Association* which was organized in 1882. P. W. Meldrim, is president and secretary. The directors are, J. C. Rowland, H. Myers, Thomas Daniel, J. S. Wood, George Turner, R. B. Reppard.

The Railroad Loan Association was organized in 1883. The officers are, William Rogers, president; R. E. Mimms, treasurer; H. C. Cunningham, secretary and solicitor; the directors are, A. R. Lawton, jr., George N. Nichols, H. C. Cunningham, H. F. Train, E. McIntyre, W. S. King, W. W. Rogers, William Kehoe.

The Chatham Real Estate and Improvement Company was organized in June, 1885. Its present capital is \$300,000 but its authorized capital is \$500,000. The officers of the company are, J. H. Estill, president; C. H. Dorsett, vice-president; M. J. Solomons, secretary and treasurer;

A. R. Lawton jr., attorney; directors, C. H. Dorsett, Lee Roy Myers, M. J. Solomons, W. P. Schirm, H. P. Smart, H. C. Cunningham, C. S. Connerat, William Kehoe, W. G. Cooper, F. H. Thompson.

The Catholic Library Hall Association was organized in 1887. The capital stock is \$20,000. The officers are, John Flannery, president; P. F. Gleason, vice-president; William Kehoe, treasurer; directors, A. Hanley, P. F. Gleason, J. F. McCarthy, W. J. Harty, A. Fernandez, M. A. O'Bryne, P. J. O'Connor, J. F. Harty, J. Flannery.

The Metropolitan Savings and Loan Company was organized in 1887 and has a capital stock of \$100,000. The officers are: W. B. Stillwell, president; A. P. Solomon, vice-president; W. L. Gignilliat, secretary; W. L. Wilson, treasurer; directors, W. B. Stillwell, B. A. Denmark, J. P. Williams, M. Y. MacIntyre, G. W. Allen, C. H. Wilson, J. R. Young, A. P. Solomon, E. F. Bryan, W. J. Lindsey, H. M. Hutton, I. G. Haas.

The remaining associations of this character are:

The Equitable Building and Loan Association.—J. S. Collins, president; W. K. Wilkinson, treasurer; J. L. Whatley, secretary.

Excelsior Loan and Savings Company.—R. F. Harmon, president; W. A. Walker, treasurer; S. L. Lazaron, secretary; directors, R. F. Harmon, W. F. Chaplin, W. A. Walker, S. L. Lazaron, W. T. Leopold, J. T. Wells, B. C. Wright, H. S. Dreese, C. E. Broughton, G. M. Ryals, W. F. Hogan.

Franklin Savings and Security Company.—C. P. Miller, president; G. H. Miller, vice-president and secretary; directors, Levi Hege, R. S. Mell, A. J. Miller, J. O. Morse, C. F. Snedeker.

Pulaski Loan Association.—R. D. Walker, president; G. Bourquin, treasurer; William Garrard, secretary; directors, A. L. Hartridge, A. B. La Roche, G. S. Haines, N. O. Tilton, I. A. Solomon, R. F. Harmon.

Southern Mutual Loan Association.—M. J. Solomon, president; C. S. Hardee, treasurer, W. D. Harden, secretary and attorney; directors, R. B. Reppard, A. S. Bacon, J. H. Estill, J. C. Rowland, C. H. Dorsett, J. W. Fretwell.

The Merchants and Mechanics Loan Association.—D. G. Purse, president; A. Wyly, treasurer; J. Lawton Whatley, secretary; directors, J. C. Rowland, B. H. Levy, S. J. Wheaton, H. J. Reiser, G. F. Byrnes, M. Helmken.

The Workman's and Traders' Loan and Building Association.—George W. Lamar, president; W. L. Wilson, treasurer; J. L. Whatley, secretary; directors, V. S. Studer, S. J. Wheaton, C. A. Fleming, J. Asendorf, William Scheihing, L. Alexander.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHURCHES OF SAVANNAH.

First Religious Instructors—Careers of the Wesleys in Savannah—Work of George Whitefield—Christ Church—St. John's Church—Congregation Mickva Israel—B'Nai B'reth Jacob Synagogue—Lutheran Church—Independent Presbyterian—First Presbyterian—Methodist Churches—Baptist Churches—Roman Catholic Churches—Colored Churches.

AMONG the one hundred and twenty-five persons who, in 1733, accompanied Oglethorpe and assisted him in founding Savannah, was a minister of the Church of England, by the name of Henry Herbert, to whom was entrusted the spiritual guidance of this little flock, all of whom were believers in the Christian religion, as one of the conditions of their becoming colonists was that they should take the oath against the doctrine of transubstantiation. Catholics, consequently were excluded, and were not admitted in Georgia until it became a royal province in 1752. Henry Herbert organized the first Episcopal congregation in Georgia, and for one hundred and fifty-six years Christ Church, which he founded, has had an existence in Savannah. Services were held in Oglethorpe's tent, or in open air, as the weather permitted, until late in 1733, when a court-house was erected on Bull street, at what is now the northeast corner of Bay lane, in which services were held until 1750.

In 1736 the little hamlet of Savannah was increased in population by the arrival of three hundred settlers, among whom were two remarkable men, Charles and John Wesley, whose subsequent careers have influenced the theologies of England and America in a wonderful manner. The vessel carrying them cast anchor off Tybee Island on the 5th of Feb-

ruary, and early in the morning of the following day the voyagers landed on Coxspur Island, where, surrounded by his fellow-passengers, John Wesley, the father of Methodism, first lifted his voice in prayer, in a land where the present generation sees his followers exceeding in numbers those of any other Christian denomination.

John Wesley had been appointed by the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. On the 7th of March, 1736, he preached his first sermon in America upon the text from the Thirteenth Chapter of St. Paul, First Epistle to the Corinthians, "Christian charity," the service being held, so tradition says, on the site of Andrew Hanley's paint store on Whitaker street. Thus, through the Wesleys, is Savannah inseparably linked with the rise of Methodism in America, which is further proved by Wesley himself who says: "The first rise to Methodism was in 1729, when four of us met together in Oxford. The second was in Savannah in 1736, when twenty or thirty met at my house."

Another instance in the religious history of Savannah which gives peculiar prominence to the place was the establishment of a Sunday-school in the parish of Christ Church by Rev. John Wesley, which was without doubt the first attempt in this manner to instruct the young in biblical truths in the world. This occurred nearly fifty years before Robert Raikes began this form of Sunday instruction in Gloucester, Eng., and eighty years before the first school was established in New York. The Sunday-school started by Wesley was continued by Whitefield at Bethesda, and is still carried on, being the oldest Sunday-school in the world. Nor does this finish the identification of John Wesley with Savannah. Here his first book of hymns was written, which was printed in Charleston in 1737. But one volume has survived. It is a small book of some seventy-four pages, bearing a title page as follows: "A collection of psalms and hymns, Charleston, printed by Timothy Lewis, 1737."

The mission of the Wesleys proved, however, unfortunate and brief. Their religious zeal outran their discretion, and they were soon embroiled in conflicts with the authorities and the people whom they did not understand. There were faults on both sides. In the summer of 1736 Charles was sent back to England with dispatches by Oglethorpe, who followed him soon after, and on the evening of the 2nd of December, 1737, John Wesley "Shook off," as he said, "the dust off my feet and

left Georgia, after having preached the gospel there (not as I might, but as I was able) one year and nearly nine months." Embarking from Charleston about the 15th of December, John Wesley arrived in the *Downs* in February, 1738, passing his friend and brother Methodist of Oxford, George Whitefield, outward bound for Georgia, neither knowing the other's proximity.

Whitefield arrived in Savannah May 7, 1738, and having more tact and worldly wisdom than the Wesleys, and from his parentage and early associations better adapted to cope with the rude minds of which the colony was chiefly composed, he succeeded where they had failed and laid in Savannah the foundation of his subsequent American reputation as an earnest pastor, teacher, and eloquent pulpit orator. The announcement of his death in Newburyport, Mass., in July, 1770, was received in Savannah with profound sorrow. A clergyman of that day writing to a brother clergyman in England, said: "You can have no conception of the effect of Mr. Whitefield's death upon the inhabitants of the province of Georgia. All the black cloth in the stores was bought up. The pulpit and desks of the church, the benches, the organ-loft, the pews of the governor and council, were covered with black. The governor and council, in deep mourning, convened at the State house, and went in procession to church, and were received by the organ playing a funeral dirge. The Presbyterian church was also draped in mourning, and its pastor, Rev. Dr. Zuley, preached an appropriate sermon on his death, from the third verse of the twelfth chapter of Daniel, 'They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever.'"

Much relating to the early religious history of Savannah and the State of Georgia, has been recorded in the preceding chapters of this volume, and "It furnishes," says William B. Stevens, in his *History of Georgia* "a striking group of facts, that John Wesley, the leader of the greatest religious movement of the eighteenth century; that Charles Wesley, the purest and most popular hymnist of the age; that George Whitefield, whom Christian and infidel pronounced the greatest preacher of his generation; that James Oglethorpe, one of the noblest philanthropists of his country; that Christian Gottlieb Spangenburg, the first Moravian bishop in America, and David Nitschman, the founder of the settlement of Beth-

lehem, in Pennsylvania, were all personally and intimately connected with Georgia, and contributed to shape its character and its institutions."

In the following pages we have attempted to give as full a history of each religious denomination of Savannah as is possible in a work of this kind.

Christ Church.—The history of this church dates from July 7, 1733, when the lot upon which the present edifice stands was laid out, but no attempt was made to build upon it until in 1740 when a frame building was commenced. Six years later it was still in an unfinished condition as President Stephens at that time wrote of it: "The roof of the church is covered with shingles, but as to the sides and ends of it, it remains a skeleton." It was not completed until 1750 when on the 7th of July of that year, it was formerly dedicated. The great fire of 1796 reduced it to ashes, after which it was rebuilt but was greatly damaged by the gale of 1804. The present church built after the Grecian Ionic order of architecture was commenced in 1838, the corner-stone being laid on the 26th of February, of that year. Upon the stone the following inscription was placed.

I. H. S.

Glory to God. Christ Church.

Founded in 1743. Destroyed by fire 1796.

Refounded on an enlarged plan in 1803.

Partially destroyed in the hurricane of 1804.

Rebuilt in 1810. Taken down in 1838.

The corner-stone laid (February 26, 1838) of a new edifice to be erected (according to a plan furnished by James Hamilton Crouper, esq., of Georgia) by Amos Scudder, mason, and Gilbert Butler, carpenter, under the direction of William Scarborough, William Thorne Williams, Robert Habersham, William P. Hunter, Dr. F. Bartow, building committee.

Rev. Edward Neufville, pastor.

George Jones, M.D., William Thorne Williams, Robert Habersham, William Scarborough, R. R. Cuyler, William P. Hunter, and P. M. Kallock, M.D., vestrymen.

Rev. Henry Herbert was the first pastor of the congregation who as previously stated came to Georgia with Oglethorpe in 1733. He was however soon succeeded by Rev. Samuel Quincy who remained until 1735 when Rev. John Wesley became pastor. The latter's pastorate was brief, as in 1736 Rev. William Norris succeeded him, Rev. William Metcalf

was next appointed, but he died before he entered upon his duties, and his place was filled by Rev. Mr. Orton who died in 1742. The next pastor was the renowned Rev. George Whitefield under whose pastorate the church greatly flourished, and he may be almost regarded as the founder of the church as under him the parish was regularly ordained in 1843 and the first church building erected. Rev. T. Bosomworth who succeeded Whitefield was displaced and Rev. Bartholomew Zouberbuhler was appointed. The latter remained in charge until 1763, and during his rectorship Colonel Barnard presented the church with the first organ ever seen in Georgia. From 1763 to 1768 and from 1775 to 1810, and from 1815 to 1820 there is no record to show who were the rectors in charge. Rev. Hadden Smith was rector in 1774. He was a pronounced loyalist and his views gave great offense to the Liberty party. In July, 1775, he was forbidden to officiate in Georgia and the doors of Christ Church were closed against him. The *Savannah Gazette* declared him an enemy to America, and so excited was the popular feeling against him that he was forced to flee from the city with his family. Services were discontinued during the early period of the war but were resumed after the capture of the city by the British.

From 1810 to 1814 Rev. John V. Bartow, officiated as rector. During his pastorate the church was rebuilt. In 1815 the first confirmation services in Georgia were held in this church by Bishop O'Hara of South Carolina, sixty persons being presented by the pastor Rev. Mr. Cranston. Rev. A. Carter who succeeded Mr. Cranston, died in 1827. He was followed by Rev. Edward Neufville who died in 1851, after having filled his responsible position for nearly a quarter of a century. "He was," says Bishop William Bacon Stevens, "a charming man, a loving, tender pastor and was respected by the entire community. Never have I heard our litany read with more unction and effectiveness than by him, while his reading of the Bible was like an illuminated exposition of it, so exquisite were his modulations and so sweet and musical his voice." He was succeeded by Rev. A. B. Carter who remained only a short time, when Right Rev. Bishop Stephen Elliott became pastor. The latter resigned charge of the church temporarily in November, 1859, and Rev. Dr. J. Easter was in charge for a short time prior to the arrival of Rev. Dr. Batch in February, 1860. Bishop Elliott resumed the rectorship in

1861 when Rev. Charles H. Coley was called to assist him. Bishop Elliott died in 1866. He was a man of fine mental attainments, of great piety, and thoroughly beloved for his exalted Christian character.

Rev. Mr. Coley remained in charge of Christ Church, after Bishop Elliott's death, until the fall of 1868 when he accepted a call to another field of labor. The church was temporarily supplied for some months thereafter, when Rev. J. M. Mitchell was ordained rector. The present pastor of the church is Rev. Robb White.

St. John's Church.—St. John's parish was organized in 1840 and for some time services were held in a building on South Broad street west of Barnard street. This church is contemporaneous with the creation of the Episcopate of Georgia, and was consecrated on the 28th of February, 1841, five weeks after the consecration of the first bishop of Georgia, Rev. Stephen Elliott, who became the first pastor of the church. The present church building was erected in 1853 and dedicated by Bishop Elliott. It is a gothic structure, built after the style which prevailed in England in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. During the war the members of this church were particularly active in benevolent work. St. John's Aid Society being organized in December, 1861, and St. John's Hospital being opened in January, 1862, the latter being the first in the city to receive sick and wounded Confederate soldiers. The following rectors have officiated in this church: Revs. Rufus M. White, George H. Clarke, C. F. McRae, and Samuel Benedict. The present pastor, Rev. Charles H. Strong became rector in 1878, and under his labors the church has enjoyed a remarkable degree of prosperity. There are nearly five hundred families in the congregation and about the same number of communicants making St. John's the largest Episcopal parish in the State and one of the largest in the South.

Congregation Mickva Israel.—A few days after Oglethorpe's arrival on the site of Savannah, thirty or forty Israelites arrived direct from London. Most of them a few years later departed for the older and more prosperous town of Charleston. But three of the original families remained, the Minis, Sheftall and DeLyon families. This small number of Jews however brought with them two scrolls of the Law and the Ark, and soon after organized the congregation of Mickva Israel. It is impossible to ascertain with reasonable certainty the exact spot where the Hebrews

first assembled for the purpose of divine worship, but tradition has it that a room near the market in the neighborhood of Bay street lane was the place. Here they worshipped until the congregation was temporarily dissolved by the removal of most of the Hebrew families to Charleston in 1740 or 1741. Several years later an effort was made to reorganize the congregation. Mordecai Sheftall fitted up a room in his own house on Broughton street where services were held until the Revolutionary War caused their suspension. In 1786 the congregation was re-established and two years later a charter of the congregation was granted by Governor Edward Telfair.

It was not until 1815 that the first synagogue was erected on the site of the present building on the corner of Liberty and Whitaker streets. The lot was granted by the city council for the purpose. In 1829 this wooden structure of small dimensions was destroyed by fire, but fortunately the building was insured, and the Seraphim and Ark were saved from injury. A brick building was erected on the same site in 1838 and here the congregation continued to worship until the present Gothic temple was erected. During the early history of the congregation no regular clergyman was engaged to perform divine services which, added to the fact that the laws of the congregation prevented foreign Jews becoming members, caused the organization to make little progress. When the latter restriction was removed in the middle of the present century, new life was infused into it. In 1852 Rev. Jacob Rosenfeld the first regular minister was appointed. He continued until 1861, when he resigned and the congregation was again without a minister until 1867, when Abraham Einstein having been called to the presidential chair, Rev. R. D'C. Lewin was secured. Rev. Isaac P. Mendes the present pastor belongs to a family of ministers, his uncle Abraham P. Mendes presiding over the Hebrew congregation of Newport, R. I., and his cousin H. Pereira Mendes over that of Shearith Israel, New York city. The present pastor of Mickva Israel began his labors in Savannah in 1877, and has been very successful in promoting the interest of the congregation.

The Congregation of B'nai B'rith Jacob was founded in September 1860, and owes its origin to a society bearing the name of B'nai B'rith which existed prior to the formation of the congregation. In 1861 it

was chartered and commenced holding services in Armory Hall. The first president was Rev. J. Rosenfeld who officiated as minister until 1865 when Mr. Simon Gertsman commenced officiating as lay reader. In 1867 the corner-stone of the present building was laid by Rev. R. D'C. Lewin, and in September of the following year the synagogue was dedicated. In January, 1868, Rev. J. Rosenfeld was elected the first paid minister of the congregation.

The Congregation of Chebrah Talmud Torah was organized in recent years. B. M. Garfunkel is president.

Lutheran Church.—The early population of Savannah was largely composed of Salzburgers, who during the period between 1736 and 1744 fled to Georgia to avoid religious persecution. Those who remained in Savannah formed the nucleus of a church organization in 1744. For several years the members had no regular minister and only occasional services were held. A small church was built on the site of the present church on the eastern side of Wright square, where in 1759 Revs. Rabenhorst and Wattman officiated. Some time prior to the Revolutionary War Rev. Mr. Bergman took charge of the church. In 1787 the church was reorganized, but the services were conducted in the German language of which the younger portion of the congregation was ignorant and in consequence a want of interest was manifested, and the church was closed. No effort was made to revive the organization until 1824 when Dr. Backman of Charleston gathered the families of the Lutheran faith and succeeded in resuscitating the congregation. Rev. Stephen A. Mealy took charge of the congregation in this year and conducted the services in English. He remained until 1839 when he accepted a call to Philadelphia and was succeeded by Rev. N. Aldrich in 1840. In 1843 a brick edifice was erected, upon the site of the original church at a cost of \$15,000. In the last few years a new church building has been erected, which is the third edifice built on the same site. In the rear of the pulpit is a memorial window to Thomas Purse, a member of the church for more than half a century and one of Savannah's most respected citizens. In 1850 Mr. Aldrich was succeeded by Rev. A. J. Karn who remained until 1859, from which time the church was closed until 1861, when Rev. J. Hawkins took charge, but he remained only a few months. After his departure the church was again closed until June, 1863, when Rev. D. M.

Gilbert was installed pastor. The present pastor is Rev. W. S. Bowman under whose efforts the church has become much strengthened.

Independent Presbyterian Church.—The following history of this church is compiled from a sketch which appeared in the May number of the *Old Homestead*: "The congregation of this church it is reasonable to suppose was organized some time previous to 1756, as in this year it is ascertained the congregation obtained a grant of a lot upon which to build a church from the Colonial government trustees. The grant was made to James Powell, Robert Bolter, James Miller, Joseph Gibbons, William Gibbons, Benjamin Farley, William Wright, David Fox, and James Fox. This lot upon which the first church was built is between Bryan and St. Julian streets, facing west on Market square and extending east to Whitaker street. After the completion of the church, a brick edifice, a call was extended to Rev. John J. Zubly who accepted and remained pastor until 1778. He took charge of the church in 1760 and in 1770 the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the college in New Jersey.

"After Dr. Zubly, the pulpit was supplied by Rev. Mr. Phillips until 1790, and by Rev. Mr. Johnston until 1793. Both of these gentlemen were sent out to Savannah by Lady Huntingdon, to have especial charge of the orphan asylum established by herself and Whitefield at Bethesda, whose one hundred and thirty-ninth anniversary was celebrated Tuesday, April 23, 1889. Rev. Mr. McCall was called in 1794, but died in 1796. Rev. Walter Monteith came in 1797, and left in 1799, but it is uncertain whether he was the regular pastor or not. During his stay, in 1796, the church was destroyed by fire, and until a new one was built the congregation worshiped in the Baptist church, the Baptist congregation having no pastor until they called Dr. Holcombe; after which the Presbyterian congregation used the Baptist church half of each Sunday until the new church was finished, in the year 1800.

"This second church was built on a lot purchased by the congregation and situated on St. James square or Telfair place, between York and President streets. It was a frame building and was blown down during the great storm in 1804.

"In 1800 Rev. Robert Smith was called to take charge of the church. He died in 1803 and was succeeded by Rev. Robert Kerr who also died

soon after. Rev. Samuel Clarkson then discharged the duties of pastor until 1806.

"In 1806 all the original trustees being dead the Legislature passed another act chartering the church and appointed nine new trustees. In the fall of this year Rev. Henry Kollock became pastor. This distinguished divine was born in New Jersey in 1778 and at the early age of thirteen was licensed to preach. Under the administration of Dr. Kollock the congregation grew rapidly and in 1817 the corner stone of a new church was laid and two years later the building was completed. This edifice, recently destroyed by fire, stood on the corner of South Broad and Bull streets. It was one of the handsomest in an architectural sense in the country. It was described 'as a poem in architecture, a dream in stone, and a petrified religion.' The total cost of the building, not including the five lots, was \$96,108.67½. The proposed width of the middle aisle was 12 feet, but was afterwards reduced to 11. The side aisles were 5½ feet, the width of pews on broad aisle 3 feet 2 inches, length 12 feet; width of pews on side aisles, next the wall, 6 feet 4 inches, length 5 feet 6 inches, being nearly square, with seats on two sides. The other pews on the side aisles were 9 feet long and 3 feet 2 inches wide. The galleries were 13 feet wide. The size of the main building was 80 by 100 feet, and accommodated 1,350 people. The height of the steeple from the ground to the top of the lightning-rod was 223 feet. Inside the building, from the center of the dome to the floor was 44 feet.

"Notwithstanding the large capacity of the building, old members of the congregation say that during the services held by Dr. Kollock the building could not comfortably contain the congregation. John H. Green, of New York, was the architect, and for grandeur of design and neatness of execution it was not surpassed by any in the United States.

"On May 11, 1818, the pews on the lowest floor were sold at public auction for sixty thousand dollars, and that same year the church raised Dr. Kollock's salary to four thousand dollars and sent him to Europe for the summer. In May, 1819, the church was finished, and the services were deeply and solemnly impressive.

"On December 29, 1819, Dr. Kollock died very suddenly at the parsonage, aged forty-one years. His remains were surrendered to the

trustees at their earnest solicitation by his widow, on condition that her body should be placed by his at her death. A vault was erected in the old cemetery, in which his remains were deposited. A monument was placed over the vault, surrounded by an iron railing. The memorial tablet placed in the church was destroyed by the recent fire. At the death of this great man the city was draped in mourning, the stores were closed, and universal grief expressed. All the city officers, members of the bar, societies, judges, children of the schools, and citizens generally attended his funeral.

"The organ was finished in 1820, at a cost of \$3,500, and Lowell Mason, the well known composer of church music, was engaged. It was during this engagement of Lowell Mason's that he composed the well-known tune of 'Missionary Hymn,' and set it to the words of the hymn 'From Greenland's Icy Mountains,' written by Bishop Heber, for use at a missionary meeting in the church where it was sung for the first time.

"After the death of Dr. Kollock the pulpit was supplied by Rev. William Wallace and Rev. Mr. Capers for one year. In January, 1821, Rev. Mr. Otterson was engaged to supply the pulpit, at a salary of \$125 per month, and after him Rev. Mr. Magee preached for a short time. Rev. Daniel Baker was called, but declined. Rev. Dr. Snodgrass was called January, 1822, from North Carolina as regular pastor, at a salary of \$2,500, but remained only until June, 1823. The Rev. Samuel B. Howe D.D., of New Brunswick, was then called and remained until the summer of 1827.

"Rev. Dr. Baker temporarily filled the pulpit after Dr. Howe's death until the winter of 1831, when Dr. Willard Preston was called from Madison, Ga. He was a Congregational minister, who never had any connection with the presbytery. He preached his first sermon on Christmas, 1831, and received his call, at a salary of twenty-five hundred dollars, on January 14 following. He found two hundred and sixty-eight communicants when he took charge.

"The old organ, upon which large sums had been expended, was ruined by the great storm of September 8, 1854, and it was concluded to procure a new one by subscription. It was finished in 1856, at a cost of \$6,000. In this same year a furnace was placed in the church at a cost of \$522. Previously the church had never been heated.

"Dr. Preston's health being very feeble at this time, he applied for leave of absence, stating that he had served the church for twenty-four years and had been absent but four times. Leave was granted, and \$650 raised to defray his expenses. His health declined, and on April 26, 1856, he died, at the age of seventy-two, having been pastor for over twenty-five years. A tablet to his memory was placed in the church, and a monument to his name in Laurel Grove cemetery. In 1857 a lot was purchased in this cemetery to be kept as a burial spot for the pastors of the church who die in its service.

"After the death of Dr. Preston several ministers preached at different times. Those who remained the longest were Rev. W. M. Baker, from August 3, 1856, for six weeks; Rev. D. H. Porter, pastor of the First Church, for three months. That church was unfinished then. Dr. Hardenberg, of New York, filled the pulpit from November, 1856, until June, 1857; Rev. C. W. Rogers from June, 1857, until November, 1857, at which time Rev. I. S. K. Axson, D.D., was called from Greensboro, Ga., at a salary of three thousand dollars. He accepted the call in November. In 1863, on account of the fabulously high prices caused by the war, the congregation presented him with \$1,000, and in 1864 with \$3,500 more. In the latter year the trustees added \$1,500 to this amount, in addition to his regular salary. In 1866 Dr. Axson's life was insured for \$5,000 by the trustees, for the benefit of his family.

"As far as can be ascertained, the following are all the legacies which have been left the church: In 1841 Mr. James Wallace left the church \$2,000 for the purpose of erecting an iron railing about the lot. In 1855 the church became residuary legatee under the will of Mrs. Martha Williams, and though not yet in possession of the property, receives therefrom a nice annuity. In 1860 Mrs. Susan Couster left half of her property to the church and half to her son, but the trustees declined to receive it, relinquishing all claim in favor of the son. In 1861 Mr. Hutchinson left \$1,000 to the church. Miss Mary Telfair, who died in 1875, left the church the building on the southwest corner of Bull and Broughton streets, with the stipulation that the church should care for her lot in the cemetery, give \$1,000 every year towards the support of feeble Presbyterian Churches in Georgia; that the lot on which are now the ruins of the Presbyterian Sunday school should never be sold, and that neither the pulpit or galleries in the church should ever be materially altered.

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"In 1833 the lot was purchased on the corner of Bull and Hull streets, on which are now the ruins of the once handsomest Sunday-school building in the south. A commodious structure was erected in that year, and Mr. James Smith succeeded Mr. Coe as superintendent. He in turn was followed by Captain Bee, in 1835. The latter died in 1844, and Captain John W. Anderson served as superintendent until his death, in 1866. John D. Hopkins served from 1867 to 1874, during which year William H. Baker was chosen. He was succeeded by Mr. John I. Stoddard, the present superintendent. In 1884 a new Sunday-school building, a source of pride to the people and a credit to the church, was erected, at a cost of about \$27,000. It was built from the accumulations of dividends made available under the Telfair will.

"In 1886, on account of the failing health of its beloved pastor, the congregation made Dr. Axson pastor emeritus, and called Rev. Leonard W. Bacon, of New York, to the pastorate. He accepted and served one year, from December, 1886, to December, 1887. He was succeeded by Rev. Allan F. DeCamp, who acted as pastor for several months during 1888, and on February of this year Rev. J. Frederick Dripps, of Philadelphia, was called. He began his pastorate on Sunday, March 31, and occupied the pulpit but once before an event took place that fills a page in the history of the church and marks an epoch that will never be forgotten.

"On Saturday, 6th of April, 1889, a fire broke out in the city, at a point quite remote from the church. No one, at first, thought for a moment that the old structure could be menaced or imperiled by the flames. The building in which the fire originated was several blocks away, and wide streets and a large open square intervened. The wind was high, and the fire department being powerless, embers, sparks, cinders, and other burning material were carried across the area and lodged on the projecting works of the church's tower. No one was expecting a happening of this character, and no one was ready to extinguish it when a trifling blaze was kindled. When first noticed the blaze was so small that a cupful of water could quench it, but that small amount was not ready, and the flames gradually crept up the tower, growing greater in volume and intensity each moment, greedily and hungrily environing it in their baleful embraces and spreading out, over, around, and under it

and the roof, wrapped the sacred edifice in their destructive coils. The old bell, which for many years called the people to prayer and praise, rang out a mournful signal to the community, and the hearts of thousands of people who looked helplessly on were filled with an inexpressible sadness.

“The fire soon devoured the tower, which, tottering fell, and the old bell in its descent rang out its last plaintive note, which was human-like in its pitiful tones. The falling timber communicated its combustible material to the interior of the church, and the flames remorselessly swept on, leaping from pews to pulpit, from walls to dome, filling the stately edifice with an indescribable awe and horror. The old church was doomed, and in an inconceivably short time the stately edifice was a mass of ruins. Its old mahogany pulpit, its richly stained windows, its memorial tablets, its baptismal fonts, its magnificent organ, its records, and other things inseparably associated with it for years, were destroyed.

“The destruction of this church, while altogether inevitable under the circumstances, was a public calamity. It entailed a loss on the congregation of near \$150,000, and while it may be rebuilt in exact conformity with the original plans, yet the old associations, the venerable history, and the well remembered mahogany pulpit will not be there.

“The handsome Sunday-school building was also destroyed. That was another great loss; not so much in the money value, not so much for the intrinsic worth, but it severed what might have been a connecting link which would inseparably keep up the history of the church if the school had been saved and the church lost. The loss on this building and furniture was \$35,000. The only insurance on all the property was \$39,000, and that amount, with other available means on hand, will leave the trustees with about \$55,000 as a nucleus for a building fund.

“The following is a complete list of the pastors who have served the church :

“Rev. John Joachim Zubly, D.D., called in 1760, left in 1778; Rev. M. McCall, called in 1794, died in 1796; Rev. Robert Smith, called in 1800, died at the north in 1803; Rev. Henry Kollock, D.D., called in 1806, died in 1819; Rev. W. D. Snodgrass, D.D., called in 1822, resigned in 1823; Rev. Samuel B. Howe, D.D., called in 1823, left in 1827; Rev. Willard Preston, D.D., called in 1831, died in 1856; Rev. I. S. K. Ax-

son, called in 1857, made pastor emeritus in 1886; Rev. Dr. Leonard W. Bacon, called November, 1886, resigned November, 1887; Rev. J. Frederick Dripps, called in February, 1889, installed April 21, 1889. Rev. N. P. Quarterman, assistant pastor, called in 1869, resigned in 1873. Rev. E. C. Gordon, junior pastor, called in 1875, resigned in 1880; Rev. Robert P. Kerr, junior pastor, called in 1881, resigned November, 1882. The pulpit in the interim from this date until the installation of Dr. Dripps was temporarily filled by several clergymen.

"The early records of session having been lost, all the elders who served from the organization of the church are not known. Thomas Young was an elder during the year 1800, and subsequently John Gibbons, John Bolton, John Hunter, Edward Stebbins, and George Handle were elected. In Dr. Kollock's time John Millen, Dr. John Cumming, Benjamin Burroughs, and Moses Cleland served the church. Afterwards, and prior to 1829, George W. Coe, John Lewis, and George W. Anderson were elected, and since then the following served: Judge Law, James Smith, Captain Benjamin G. B. Lamar, John Stoddard, G. B. Cumming, John W. Anderson, John Hopkins, Charles Green, William H. Baker, C. H. Olmstead, T. H. Harden, Randolph Axson, Joseph Clay, W. L. Wakelee, and D. R. Thomas."

The congregation of the Independent Presbyterian Church have formally resolved to undertake the restoration of their church building to its original form, and the people of Savannah are promptly responding to the appeals of the committee authorized to solicit funds for this purpose.

First Presbyterian Church.—In 1827 George G. Faires, Lowell Mason, Edward Coppee and Joseph Cumming withdrew from the Independent Church, and with a few others organized the First Presbyterian Church of Savannah. Services were first held in the old Lyceum Hall, on the corner of Bull and Broughton streets. In 1833 the congregation took possession of a small wooden structure on the south side of Broughton street, between Barnard and Jefferson streets, where they worshiped until 1856. The present church edifice on Monterey square was commenced in 1856, but was not completed until June, 1872, when it was formally dedicated. The following have officiated as pastors of this church: Revs. Mr. Bogg, James C. Stiles, C. C. Jones, Mr. Holt, C. Blodgett, J. L. Merrick, T. F. Scott, J. L. Jones, B. W. Palmer, J. B.

Ross, John Jones, C. B. King, David H. Porter, and the present pastor, J. W. Rogan.

Anderson Street Church completes the list of Presbyterian churches. It is of comparatively recent origin. Rev. R. Q. Way is pastor.

The first preacher sent to Savannah to propagate the doctrines of Methodism was Rev. Beverly Allen, who came in 1785. He was followed by Revs. Hope Hull, Thos. Humphries, John Major, John Crawford, Phillip Mathews, Hezekiah Arnold, Wheeler Grisson, John Bonner, Jonathan Jackson, John Garvin, and Samuel Dunwoody. Notwithstanding the efforts of these worthy men, Methodism made slow progress, and it was not until 1806 that Samuel Dunwoody succeeded in organizing a Methodist society. Meetings were held in the houses of the members, and for a few years Rev. Hope Hull preached in a cabinet-maker's shop. In 1813, while the congregation was under charge of Rev. James Russell, a house of worship was commenced on the northeast corner of Lincoln and South Broad streets. It was completed in 1816 and was called Wesley Chapel. After being enlarged, remodeled and repaired several times it was sold in 1866 and converted into a private residence. The congregation then purchased the building at the corner of Wayne and Drayton streets, formerly belonging to the German Lutheran congregation. This was used for nearly eleven years. During this time the congregation was largely increased, and a more commodious building became a necessity. The erection of the Wesley Monumental Church was then undertaken, the corner-stone being laid in 1872 by the late Dr. Lovick Pierce. The church is now nearly completed, and will be one of the most imposing church edifices in Savannah. It is intended as a monument to John Wesley, the father of Methodism, and will be built from the united contributions of the Wesleyan Methodists throughout America, England and Canada.

Some of the greatest preachers in the South have been pastors in charge of old Wesley Chapel, among them being Revs. William Capens, James O. Andrew, and Geo. F. Pierce, all of whom were afterward elected bishops; Ignatius A. Few, the first president of Emory College; Elijah Sinclair, founder of the Wesleyan Female College; Daniel Curry, James Sewell, Lovick Pierce, E. H. Myers, R. J. Corley, all noted preachers, were pastors of Wesley Chapel, or Trinity Church, and did much to

strengthen the hold Methodism has taken in Savannah. Rev. A. M. Wynn, the present pastor of Wesley Monumental Church has been in charge since 1874.

Trinity Methodist Church on the west side of St. James square was commenced in 1848, during the pastorate of Rev. Alfred T. Mann, and completed in 1850. It is a plain structure, entirely unornamented, and unpretending in its architectural details, but is one of the most commodious churches in Savannah, having a seating capacity for two thousand in the auditorium and gallery. In members it is one of the strongest churches in the city.

New Houston M. E. Church was organized a few years ago. Its pastor is Rev. J. W. Simmons.

Baptist Church.—About the year 1795 a Baptist house of worship was erected on Franklin square by different denominations both here and in South Carolina. In 1799 Rev. Henry Holcombe was chosen pastor of the congregation, and on April 17th of the following year the church was dedicated. The lot upon which it was located was conveyed to the church in fee simple by the corporation of Savannah. The charter of the incorporation was granted in 1801. It was drawn up by Hon. John McPherson Berrien and signed by Governor Josiah Tattnall. Services were held in the Franklin square church until 1833, when the congregation moved to the new brick edifice on Chippewa square, which is still used by the congregation. The Church was enlarged in 1839 during the ministry of Rev. J. G. Binney, who died some years later while homeward bound from Burmah, India, where he had been laboring as a missionary.

Rev. Henry Holcombe, the first pastor of this church, served for twelve years. He was the author of the first literary work published in Georgia called the "Georgia Analytical Repository." In the order named the following served as pastors of this church after Mr. Holcombe: W. B. Johnson, D.D., Benj. Scriven, James Sweat, Thomas Meredith, Henry O. Wyer, Josiah S. Law, Charles B. Jones, J. G. Binney, and Albert Williams.

It was during the pastorate of the last named minister in 1847 that the church divided into two branches, known as the First and Second Baptist congregation, although the former never changed its corporate name. The Second congregation purchased the building then owned by

the Unitarians, on the southwest corner of Bull and York streets, where they continued to worship until February 6, 1859, when they dissolved and a reunion of the Baptists of Savannah occurred. The pastors of the Second Church were Revs. Henry O. Wyer, J. P. Tustin, and M. Winston.

Rev. Joseph T. Roberts succeeded Mr. Williams as pastor of the First Church in 1847. Rev. Thomas Rambant became pastor in 1849 and remained in charge until 1855, when Rev. J. B. Stiteler, after one year's service, was followed by Rev. S. G. Daniel. Rev. Sylvanus Landrum began his pastorate in 1859 and remained several years. The present pastor is Rev. J. E. L. Holmes.

The building of the Second Church was sold, and with the proceeds a lecture and school room was built in the basement of the First Church building in 1861, and in 1862 the former parsonage on the corner of Jones and Drayton streets was purchased.

Recently a wooden structure has been built on Duffy street, known as the Duffy Street Baptist Church, where Rev. W. S. Royal officiates as pastor.

The Catholic religion was established in Savannah during the latter part of the preceding century. The first church building was erected in Liberty square and was known as St. John the Baptist. The first priest to officiate here was a Frenchman by the name of L'Abbé de Mercier. His successor was of the same nationality, L'Abbé Cavi. In 1838 the congregation had so much increased as to render necessary a larger church edifice, and in 1839 a new building was erected on the southeast corner of Drayton and McDonough streets, now the present Catholic Library Hall. The Rev. J. F. O'Neill was the presiding priest at this time.

The Cathedral of St. John on the east side of Abercorn, at the corner of Harris street, is a magnificent and capacious edifice. It is in charge of Bishop Becker, Rev. Edward Cafferty, vicar general, assisted by Rev. T. M. Reilly and Rev. J. F. Colbert.

St. Patrick's parish was organized in 1865. An old cotton warehouse was soon after converted into a church by Right Rev. Bishop Ferat, but afterwards was torn down and rebuilt by Bishop Gross at an expense of \$60,000. Rev. Father McMahon is in charge of the parish.

The parish of the *Church of the Sacred Heart* was formed in recent

years. The church edifice is located in the southeastern part of the city and the congregation is under the care of the Benedictine Fathers, the Rev. William Meyer, O. S. B. being the pastor. These three parishes have a membership of about five thousand.

The Catholic diocese of Savannah comprising the entire State of Georgia was established in 1853. Right Rev. Thomas A. Becker is bishop in charge, and Very Rev. Edward Cafferty is vicar-general.

A church was erected on Bay street near Lincoln street for seamen in 1831 by Joseph Penfield and named in his honor *Penfield Mariner's Church*. It afterwards came under the management of the Savannah Port Society, which was organized in 1843 "for the purpose of furnishing seamen with regular evangelical ministrations of the gospel, and such other religious instructions as may be found practicable." John Lewis, W. W. Wash, Asa Holt, Robert M. Goodwin, John Ingersoll, William Duncan, Robert Lewis, Samuel Philbrick, S. Goodall, Benjamin Snider, J. R. Wilder, Thomas Clark, Michael Dillon, Charles Green, Rev. P. A. Strobel, Rev. E. F. Neufville, Rev. W. Preston, William Crabtree, Joseph Felt, John Stoddard, Joseph George, Edward Wiley, Green Fleetwood, Edward Padelford, Joseph Cumming, John J. Maxwell, Mathew Hopkins, J. C. Dunning, and D. B. Williams, were among the founders. The church on Bay street was subsequently sold and the purchase money applied to the erection of a church building on the west of Franklin square between Congress and St. Julian streets, where services were regularly continued for some years.

First African Baptist Church.—This is without doubt the first body of Christians wholly of the negro race organized in this country. A church organization was perfected in 1788, when Andrew Bryan, a man of pure negro blood, was ordained as the pastor by Abraham Marshall, a white Baptist minister. A church edifice was built on Bryan street near Farm, and here the present large brick house of worship stands. It is a commodious, neat structure, comfortably furnished and recently made attractive by the additions of stained glass memorial windows. It was in this church that the Rev. Andrew Marshall, a celebrated colored preacher, ministered for several years before the civil war, commanding the respect and confidence of white and blacks. Born a slave and twice sold, Rev. Marshall purchased his freedom from his third master and became a free-

man by his own exertions. In the pastorate of this church he was earnest, devoted, and intelligent, educating himself, and exercising a great moral influence. He possessed great natural eloquence and a cultivation of delivery acquired by association with his masters, who were gentlemen of education and refinement. The whites went frequently to hear him. His funeral in 1856 was one of the largest and most impressive known to Savannah; whites and blacks joining to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of a truly good and able man. The present pastor of this church is Rev. U. L. Houston.

Another colored church organization worthy of mention is the Episcopal Parish of St. Stephens, the outgrowth of the Savannah River Mission, which in 1855 was inaugurated by Rev. S. W. Kennedy under the direction of Right Rev. Bishop Elliott. When Mr. Kennedy began his labors, there were only five colored persons in the city who were members of the Episcopal Church. In three years fifty communicants had been secured. The congregation has now expanded into a large one and is now under the pastoral charge of Rev. J. S. Andrews

The remaining religious organizations not already mentioned are of comparative recent organization. They include: *Christian Church* on the southeast corner of Bolton and Howard, Rev. T. E. White, pastor; the *Congregational Church* on Taylor street, and the *New Church* society.

The colored population of Savannah is well supplied with churches. Those of the Baptist denomination are as follows: *Bethlehem Church*, north side of New Houston, west of Cuyler street; *First African*, corner of Price and Harris streets; *First Church*, corner of Montgomery and Byran streets; *Mount Zion*, West Broad street; *Second Byran*, corner of Waldburg and West Broad streets; *Second Church*, Houston street. The Methodist Churches are: *Asbury Church*, Gwinnett, near West Broad street; *Bethlehem Church*, East Broad, near Gwinnett street; *Mount Zion Church*, West Broad, near Gaston street; *Noah's Ark Church*, corner of Third and Drayton streets; *St James Tabernacle*, corner of Randolph and Perry streets; *St. Phillip's Church*, New street, near West Broad.

ACADEMIES AND SCHOOLS.

That the first school-house erected in Georgia was for the instruction of Tomo-chi-chi's Indians is a historical fact of more than casual interest.

Down on the west side of Savannah, in what is known now as Yamacraw, the Moravian missionaries put up a small building which they called the Irene. The old mico of the Yamacraws took a deep interest in the school and watched its progress day by day. This institution was a religious school, and the savages were instructed in the tenets of Christianity quite as freely as in the English tongue.

At first there were few children in the infant colony to teach. The same building, which was utilized as church and court-house, did service from time to time as a school-house. Catechisms and primers and testaments seem to have been the chief text-books. A list of the books donated and bought for the children of the colony of Georgia makes almost amusing reading in this age.

In 1737 Delamotte was teaching between thirty and forty children to read, write and "cast accounts," and John Wesley catechised them every Saturday and Sunday afternoon. Of the early teachers George Whitefield was by far the best. One of the Wesleys in his diary refers to Whitefield's successful labors as a pedagogue.

It was Charles Wesley who impressed upon Whitefield the necessity of founding an orphan school and home in Georgia. An application made by Whitefield to the Georgia trustees for assistance was met by a grant of five hundred acres of land as a home for the proposed institution. Funds were needed to erect buildings, and Mr. Whitefield went zealously to work in England to raise money, and he was successful in this too. He preached out in the open fields, and "so wonderful were these open air ministrations, so eloquent was he in utterance, and so powerful in thought and argument that multitudes flocked to him." Whitefield had been in Savannah about 1736. When he returned in 1740 he had one thousand pounds sterling toward his orphans home. In March of this last mentioned year Mr. Whitefield laid the first stone of the home. Though Bethesda, which is the name given the home, is several miles out of the city, it is fully as much a Savannah institution as though it were within the limits. This was the first effort on a large scale in Georgia to care for the young generation's education. Bethesda has ever done a great work, and the horizon of its usefulness is steadily extending. In the meantime the Moravian school had gone down and the missionaries moved to Pennsylvania. Whitefield's "house of mercy" grew so rapidly

that in 1764 the founder petitioned for the authority to convert his institution into a college. This request was refused, so he made it an academy, and in 1769, when he visited it, he found the school in every respect exceeded his most sanguine expectations. After the great preacher's death fire and financial distress and a hurricane followed each other in close succession and the home went down. Of late years the Union Society has had control of Bethesda and has restored it in a great measure to the condition in which its founder had left it.

Prior to the Revolutionary War Savannah's educational advantages were the finest in the colony, but they were necessarily meager. Private schools, something like the parish schools of to-day, offered about all there was to be had here in the way of instruction. The best teachers, generally, were the clergymen. While the great war was in progress all efforts for education were relaxed and absolutely nothing was done during the distractions of the period. Peace was followed by public schools, which had been provided for in the constitution of 1777, one section of which said that schools should be erected in every county, and maintained out of the income of the State. Savannah's chief educational institution for a century past, the Chatham Academy, was established by act of February 1, 1788. This institution and the academies of Effingham, Liberty and Glynn, were endowed from the proceeds of confiscated property and amercements of the estates of British loyalists. There were not many of these latter to be sure, but those whose estates were taken owned valuable property. Governor Wright and Lieutenant-Governor Grahame were in this number.

For the next half century the high schools of Georgia were limited to the academies of a few counties and the colleges to the single one Franklin, at Athens, now the State University. The academies of the low or seacoast country were those of Chatham, Effingham, Liberty and Glynn counties. Before matriculating at Franklin College, the Savannah boys had to travel more than 200 miles by stage or private conveyance. So inconvenient was this journey that many youths from the coast country went by sailing vessels to New York and Boston and entered Princeton, Yale, Harvard and Brown. Now and then one would cross to Liverpool and complete his education in an English school or university. The few Savannah boys who received a collegiate education were, as a rule,

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prepared at the Chatham Academy. Those who received what was termed an academic course were considered fortunate. Many of the brightest minds in the State could not reach even that, says one writer, and they had to be content with private country schools, generally called "old field schools."

In those old days back in the thirties Chatham Academy was for the times and the community a fine institution. The building was large, and its style of architecture, while possessing little that was especially striking, gave the institution "an air of consequence and gentility," as has been aptly remarked of it.

For many years Rev. George White, a native of Charleston, ruled over this school. He had half a dozen assistants, each with a room and from 30 to 50 scholars to himself. The average roll at this period was 250 boys and girls. Pure democratic principles governed the institution, and pupils attended without regard to sex or social condition. The poorest and the richest sent their children there. Dr. White's discipline over teacher and scholar was rigid. He was firm, industrious and faithful. His fundamental principle in teaching was to thoroughly "ground" the pupil. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, or "the three r's," were the foundations, and he sought to have them laid well. Then he aimed to have all his pupils excel in reading and elocution, and the boys he drilled in military tactics. It was not the principal's fault if his pupils did not spell, read, and declaim well when they left school. He had a room with some of the more advanced scholars, but he gave his personal supervision to all of the classes. He knew personally every pupil, studied the disposition of each one, and kept the relative advancement of all in his mind. No assistant was allowed to chastise. That privilege was reserved by the principal. The strap was his favorite for correcting, and he applied it frequently but rarely severely. Solomon's maxim of "spare the rod and spoil the child" he took literally. Therein though, he was not different from the other teachers of his day who had a similar belief.

It is recorded that toward the close of his life, when it was too late to be appreciated by the majority of the boys who were Dr. White's pupils, his views on corporal punishment underwent a change, and he regretted having formerly put such a strict construction upon the maxim. The strap was an instrument of punishment reserved exclusively for the boys.

When the girls violated a rule they were crowned with the peaked cap. A pretty story told by an old pupil is to this effect: On one occasion a girl was sent by her teacher to Dr. White's room for punishment. She was a little beauty that all the boys loved, and the doctor too. He either felt that she deserved extreme punishment or he desired her to escape any punishment. So he inquired what boy would take a whipping for her. Many were ready for the sacrifice, but Milton Luffburrow was the quickest, and he won the honor. The little beauty was Miss Valeria, one of the daughters of Captain Merchant, of the U. S. A.

Dr. White was the author of the "Statistics of Georgia," and the "Historical Collections" of Georgia. After teaching for several years he gave up the principalship of the academy, and devoted himself to the ministry.

From Dr. White's day to the present the Chatham Academy has maintained a high reputation. Its corps of teachers have usually been efficient, and the thousands of men and women in Savannah who never enjoyed other advantages than those afforded by this school attest its thoroughness. It is a part of the public school system, and is the city's high school for boys and girls. Of all its teachers not one has imparted instruction as Mr. Bogart, who retired from the profession in July, 1889, after being connected with the school for more than thirty years. Savannah's public schools have now an attendance of 4,500 children, 3,000 whites, and 1,500 blacks.

In addition to the public schools are many private schools, including two academies for boys and two for girls, The Savannah and The Academy for Boys, Oglethorpe Seminary and St. Vincent de Paul Academy. This last named school was organized in 1844 by the Sisters of Mercy and is still conducted by that order.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HISTORY OF JOURNALISM.

THIS is emphatically the age of the printing press and it may be said that the character of a community is known and best represented by its newspapers. Savannah has always given a liberal support to its newspapers, and journalism here has been conspicuous for its strong and conservative character. For more than a century and a quarter the city has not been without a newspaper. Four morning and two afternoon papers have existed at one time, and there has never been a time within the past fifty years that the city has not had at least two daily papers—either two morning papers or a morning and an afternoon paper.

The first paper published in Savannah was the *Georgia Gazette* which made its appearance on the 7th of April, 1763. This was the eighth newspaper to appear in the Colonies, and was edited by Mr. James Johnson. It flourished as a weekly until 1799 when it was suspended. This pioneer journal of Georgia was a great undertaking at the time even if it did compare unfavorably with the more pretentious papers of to-day. Local news was confined to marriages, deaths, and arrival of vessels, and most of the reading matter pertained to political affairs.

The *Georgia Republican* was the second newspaper to enter the field of Savannah journalism. The first number appeared on the 1st of January, 1802, as a semi-weekly, edited and owned by John F. Everett, under whose name it continued until March 10, 1807, when John J. Evans became associated with Mr. Everett under the firm name of Everett & Evans. Under the new proprietors it was changed to a tri-weekly issue and the name of *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger* was adopted. In June, 1810, Mr. Evans assumed entire control, and continued its publication alone until January 1, 1814, when Frederick S. Fell became editor and proprietor. Mr. A. McIntyre became a co-partner in March, 1817, under the firm name of F. S. Fell & Co. and a few months later the paper was enlarged in size and changed to a daily

and continued as such during the fall and winter months when it returned to tri-weekly issues.

Several changes occurred in the proprietorship of the *Republican* from 1817 to 1831, but during these years Mr. Fell continued as sole or part owner, his connection with the paper terminating with his death in the year last named. Emanuel De La Motta continued its publication, alone from 1831 to June 1, 1837, when I. Cleland became associated with him under the firm name of De La Motta & Cleland. Mr. De La Motta withdrew in 1839, and in the year following William Hogan joined Mr. Cleland as partner. A few months later Mr. Cleland withdrew and Charles Davis became part proprietor with Mr. Hogan. Under these proprietors the *Republican* began active advocacy of Whig principles: Adopting as a motto "Union of the Whigs for the sake of the Union," and was changed from an afternoon to a morning issue.

In August, 1849, Mr. Hogan disposed of his interest to Joseph L. Locke, when the latter became senior editor and Mr. Davis commercial editor and business manager. Mr. Davis's health having become impaired he sold his interest in the paper to Francis J. Winter in 1847, but the latter's death in 1848 left Mr. Locke sole proprietor.

Mr. Locke sold his interest to his editorial associate P. W. Alexander in 1853 who in connection with A. W. Moore published the *Republican* under the firm name of P. W. Alexander & Co. This copartnership continued for two years when Mr. Moore retired and James R. Sneed became a partner with Mr. Alexander. The latter withdrew in 1856 and sold his interest to Mr. Sneed and F. W. Sims. Mr. Sneed disposed of his interest in 1858, but continued as editor until the capture of the city by General Sherman.

The *Republican* office and its contents were taken possession of by military authority in December, 1864, under the direction of General Sherman, for the purpose of publishing a paper in the interest of the Federal government. John E. Hayes, the war correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, who had been following General Sherman's army, was installed as editor. He continued in the position of editor and proprietor up to the time of his death in September, 1868. At the death of Mr. Hayes the paper was sold at public auction to James R. Sneed its former editor and proprietor, who conducted it about a year when it was

sold to Colonel William A. Reed. At the end of a few months Colonel Reed announced its suspension. It was again revived by Messrs. Scudder & Hardee, who after a year's trial disposed of it to the *Advertiser*, a new paper started in 1868, which then appeared under the name of the *Advertiser and Republican*. Success did not attend the enterprise and in 1875 the subscription was sold to the *Morning News*.

Besides the editors and proprietors named in the foregoing pages there were connected with the *Republican* as associate editors during its prosperous years from 1845 to the last year of the war: S. T. Chapman, Edward DeLean, Thomas H. Harden, and Thomas W. Lane. The distinguished writer Dr. William A. Caruthers also contributed to its pages. During the first twenty years of its existence the *Republican* took sides with the then Republican or Jeffersonian party, and warmly sustained General Jackson for the presidency in 1828. It subsequently became a whig organ and throughout the existence of that party was loyal to that organization, but did not support General Scott for the presidency. When the secession of the Southern States was proposed it vigorously opposed the idea, but when Georgia seceded it allied itself with her destiny and until its voice was silenced by Federal power was foremost in giving encouragement to the aims and council of the Confederacy.

The *Savannah Georgian* commenced publication on the 25th of November, 1818, edited by Dr. John M. Harney. Dr. Harney's connection with Savannah journalism was brief. He was a man of considerable literary attainments, but an erratic character, and whose management of the *Georgian* did not meet with the approval and support of the people of the city. He became disgusted with his failure to receive encouragement, and after two years trial sold his paper to I. K. Tefft and Harry James Finn. He was the author of the well-known poem, in which in bidding farewell to Savannah he heaps curses upon the city. Mr. Finn was not long connected with the paper. He came to Savannah in 1818 when he appeared as an actor at the opening of the Savannah theater. After his newspaper venture he returned to the stage, and at the time of his death a few years later he had won wide fame as one of the best representatives on the American stage in the rôle of light comedy.

Mr. Tefft edited the paper for some time when he sold it to George Robertson, who associated his brother William Robertson with him. Dr.



Engr. by F. G. Raymond N. Y.

Yours truly
J. A. Estill

R. D. Arnold and William H. Bullock became joint editors and proprietors in 1832. In 1835 Mr. Bullock purchased Dr. Arnold's interest, and conveyed it to Henry R. Jackson and Philip J. Punch, who subsequently admitted S. S. Sibley as a partner. When General Jackson retired P. B. Hilton became part owner with Messrs. Punch & Sibley. After this several changes in proprietors occurred, until the *Journal and Courier* were merged with it, when it came under the control of Albert R. Lamar and a few years later in 1859 its publication was suspended.

The *Savannah Museum* appeared in 1820 as a daily edited by Keppele & Bartlett. It was in existence for some years, but it failed to find the road to success, and was discontinued.

The *Morning News* made its first appearance on January 15, 1850. It was issued from the premises 111 Bay street, where it had its quarters until it moved to where it is now published. The gifted and lamented Colonel W. T. Thompson was its first editor, and held that position, with the exception of a few months during the occupation of the city by the Federal army, until he was called to his reward in 1882. It was a vigorous paper from the first, maintaining then, as it does to-day, the standard of honest Democracy, independent of the dictation of politicians. It passed through the great struggle of 1861-65, and came out, like all other Southern newspapers, in a rather dilapidated condition. In June, 1867, the present proprietor, Colonel J. H. Estill, purchased an interest in the *Morning News*, and the following year he bought out the other owners, since which time he has retained the sole control.

Through the trying years, from 1865 to 1870, the *Morning News* maintained its position as a defender of the rights of the people, then threatened by carpet-baggers. It battled against those Radical leaders and their negro cohorts, who, with the aid of Federal bayonets, had seized the governments of the Southern States. It never compromised itself by in any way indorsing the rule of those plunderers or by recognizing their leaders. With the restoration of the government of the Southern States to the control of their people, Georgia became prosperous, and at once took her position as the Empire State of the South. The State had passed from under the Confederate rule to that of the United States, and the army being disbanded the people supposed peace was restored. A provisional governor (Johnson) was appointed by Pres-

ident Johnson. Then an election was held, and the people called that pure statesman, the late Charles J. Jenkins, to the gubernatorial chair. He was removed and General Ruger, an army officer, was made military governor. Under this bayonet government Bullock was forced upon the people. Legislatures chosen by the people were repeatedly dissolved or disbanded by the rough hand of despotism. At last, in 1870, Bullock fled the State. Georgia was reconstructed for the fifth time, but this time on the basis of free government.

These facts are only mentioned as a part of the history of the *Morning News*. Its fearless course during those trying years gave it a place close to the hearts of the people.

In addition to its political course it was a newspaper without a rival as a news-gatherer. No other paper in the South had as yet awakened to the importance of furnishing live news. It organized the first system of special correspondents, and, for several years, was the only Southern paper that kept a regular correspondent at Washington and New York the year round. The *Morning News* has never turned aside from its line of duty as a newspaper to engage in personal controversies, but has never hesitated to defend the right or attack the wrong. It has always been its aim to furnish the latest news in the most acceptable form to its readers, and discuss all matters open to discussion in a fair and impartial manner. It has never believed that a newspaper was a place wherein any and every man should be permitted to vent his undigested and often prejudiced views on important public questions, but has asserted its right to be its own judge of what should go in its columns and what should not.

In this progressive age there is probably no business that has undergone such great changes or has so much improved within the past twenty years as that of publishing a daily newspaper. A few years since a journal in the South that was provided with what is technically called a fast single-cylinder printing machine, of a capacity of 1,500 to 1,800 sheets per hour, was considered a well-equipped establishment. But few were provided with a machine for folding papers. In 1869 the *Morning News* introduced the first folding machine ever put to work in a daily paper office in Georgia, and it was considered by many a piece of reckless extravagance. Now the humblest of the dailies in the South folds

its issues by machinery. About the same time the machine for putting the addresses of the subscribers on papers was introduced into the *Morning News* office. This was the first mailer used in Georgia if not in the entire South. The addressing of papers with a pen or pencil, the same names written day after day, was one of the bugbears of a newspaper office. A mail writer who would not occasionally miss a page or two of the mail book was a *rara avis*. If a subscriber failed to get his mail it was impossible to say whether it was the neglect of the newspaper's mail clerk, or the carelessness of the post office officials. The mailing machine and the daily register of all mail sent out, is an unimpeachable witness as to who is at fault if a paper is not duly received. These facilities for publishing a newspaper came none too soon, as the pressure of the increasing telegraphic service, and the demand of the public for the latest news was already being felt by the newspapers.

A very radical change had also taken place in the editorial department during the period referred to. Before the construction of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad the fast mail from the North came by steamer from Charleston. The steamers rang their bells as they passed by the Exchange building on their way to the wharf at the foot of West Broad street. The telegraphic service in those days was very limited, and the live news was gleaned from Northern papers. The editors of the Savannah dailies—there were three at that time—agreed that if the steamer's bell rung after six o'clock in the evening they would not take their Northern papers out of the post-office until the following morning. At the time we speak of, however, fifteen years ago, many of the morning papers "closed up" their forms by 10 to 12 o'clock in the evening, except on extra important occasions.

One to two columns of telegraph news was considered a full service. With many it was supposed the zenith of newspaper publishing—at least in the smaller cities—had been attained. It was generally supposed that the limit of judicious expenditure had been reached. It had been with many newspapers. There was a remarkable decrease in the number of papers in the principal cities. The increased expenses could not be met by an augmented income, and the question was solved by the death of many old-time journals. The "fittest survived." The demand for later news caused the single-cylinder presses to give way to the double-cylin-

ders. Provision was made against accidents, and duplicate presses, folding machines, engines and boilers were added to the costly equipments. The telegraph service increased gradually from 1,800 words per day until it reached 6,000. These improvements were gradual. Two years ago, with one step almost, an immense advance was made in Southern journalism. This change was necessitated by the fast mails, which placed the large dailies of the North and West on the news stands in many of the Southern cities some time during the day after their publication.

The newspapers had been improving, but the people's desire for news was still ahead of the supply. The first move to meet the new state of affairs was an increase in the service of the Associated Press. The quota of words per day was increased to almost double what it had been, and a better system of gathering news established. Publishers a few years ago growled when their assessment for telegraphing was \$50 per week. The cost of this service increased tenfold, and where a column or two of freshly-gathered news sufficed, a page and more now scarcely supplies the demand. The *Morning News*, for instance, in the place of a few irregular correspondents, has now over one hundred and fifty accredited correspondents. To keep pace with these improvements the entire internal arrangements of the newspaper had to be changed. Ways and means for a quicker handling of the immense amount of news accumulating after 9 o'clock in the evening had to be devised, and, instead of a paper going to press at midnight, the working hours were advanced clear into the morning. Four o'clock in the morning became the closing hour. Here another difficulty presented itself—that of how to begin printing the edition of a morning paper at that hour and deliver it to all of its subscribers at the usual time. Everybody wants the latest news, and wants it at as early an hour as possible. A paper must not only be printed on time, but delivered on time, for the average reader of city papers would as soon go without his breakfast as without his favorite paper. The question of purchasing new and expensive machinery to overcome the time lost in waiting for the latest news was the next to present itself to the newspaper people. Some were in doubt as to the wisdom of investing a large sum of money in a perfecting press, which might scarcely be put in operation before a better one was invented.

The price of the improved machines ranged from \$30,000 to \$50,000. The increasing circulations of the papers of the Northern and Western cities had long since developed the necessity for faster machines even than the immense eight and ten cylinder presses then used to print the metropolitan dailies, and as "necessity is the mother of invention," the perfecting press was evolved from the thoughts of many brains. The web perfecting press developed new and presumably undreamed of facilities.

These machines print from an endless web of paper, which once started into the machine runs along, as it were, of its own accord. This dispenses with the "feeders," and permits of the papers being printed on both sides at the same time. The idea of printing from a long roll of paper seems to have occurred to manufacturers years before it was successfully applied. The question of original invention is somewhat disputed. A perfecting press was patented by Sir Rowland Hill, the famous advocate of cheap postage in England in 1835, but never came into practical use. Wilkinson, of New York, added various improvements to the Hill machine between 1842 and 1859. In 1849 Jacob Worms, of Paris, patented a small machine for book work, in which he used curved stereotype plates cast from matrixes made of papier maché. This invention made the perfecting press practicable.

Worms' machine, however, was not a success, because it could not deliver the sheets after they were printed. In 1853 Victor Beaumont, of New York, patented an effective cutting blade, which made the delivery of the sheet possible. This invention is now used in all web presses. In 1858 Bullock invented the press called by his name, making at that time a model from which fair work was obtained. This model was fed by rolls of paper at each end, double lines of paper passing each other at the center, but no machine was ever built on this plan. In 1859 Augustus Applegate, a well-known English mechanic invented a press something like a Bullock, but made no provision for delivering the sheet. No machine was ever built on this plan. Bullock in the meantime had not been idle, and in 1861 put up his first press in Cincinnati. It was not a perfect machine, but it was a step to the right direction, and he finally improved it so that his press printed and delivered 8,000 sheets per hour. Messrs. R. Hoe & Co. had not been idle. Taking advantage

of the experiments of others, and with their thorough knowledge of what was needed by newspapers, they set to work and produced a thoroughly satisfactory and rapid perfecting press, which for speed, economy, simplicity and good workmanship excelled all other machines then in existence.

The smaller newspapers looked on amazed at the increasing demands upon their capital to meet the expense of such machines. The price simply placed them beyond reach. The few newspaper men of this class who had enough money to buy one were more inclined to retire from business than to spend their all for a press. However, their hopes of a cheaper perfecting press, one suitable to the wants of the lesser dailies, were realized when a few years ago Hoe & Co. invented the perfecting press to print from movable type. This machine, costing about \$30,000, was at once put into a number of offices. In 1884, however, the same firm invented a new machine, to print from stereotype plates, of much more simple mechanism. But three of these presses had been built when one was ordered from Messrs. Hoe & Co. for the *Morning News*. The introduction of the web perfecting press marked a new era in the newspaper business in Savannah.

The *Morning News* building is six stories high (with a well-lighted basement), and is surmounted by a two-story tower.

The first floor of the building on the corner of Whitaker street and Bay lane is used exclusively for the business department. The space in front of the counter is paved with colored tiles. A neat iron railing encloses two-thirds of the floor, and inside is divided into the cashier's, the subscription clerk's and the advertising departments. In the rear is the proprietor's private office and another room for business purposes.

Just here it will not be out of place to state that the *Morning News* consists of the two distinct establishments under one name, and one management, namely the *Morning News* newspaper and the *Morning News* Steam Printing House. To those who are not familiar with its businesses it appears to be all one homogeneous concern, but to those who are acquainted with the workings it is distinctly and positively two businesses. One-half of the building, namely, on the corner of Bay lane, is almost exclusively used for the purpose of publishing and printing the *Daily and Weekly Morning News*, while the other half is entirely devoted to book and job printing, lithographing and blank book manufacturing.

The room next to the business office is the headquarters of the job departments. Reams of papers of all kinds, and the variety is legion, are piled upon the tables and shelves—cards and card boards, envelopes, and everything needed in a business which includes the printing of a visiting card to a big three-sheet poster, or from a city directory to a mammoth ledger.

Speaking tubes connect this floor with each workroom, and an Otis passenger and freight elevator gives ready communication with the floors above and below. Speaking tubes and a dumb waiter also give ready means of communication between the counting room and the editorial, reportorial and newspaper composing rooms.

The Savannah Daily Times which is the first successful evening daily ever published in Savannah, was founded December 1, 1882, by Richardson & McNulty. Mr. B. H. Richardson had been connected with the *Morning News* for several years, most of the time as city editor. Alexis McNulty had been bookkeeper for the publisher of the same paper. They started by issuing a four-page, six-column paper. The first of the year they increased the number of columns to seven. Afterwards it was enlarged to an eight-column paper. In the course of a year or two Mr. Richardson's name appeared alone as the publisher, his associate having retired. E. M. W. Johnston, a brilliant young writer occupied the chief editorial chair for a year or more, and then Captain W. T. Waller filled it, Mr. Richardson acting as business manager and managing editor. After changing the form of the paper to eight pages, six columns to a page, and publishing it in that form for two years he sold his interest and Gazaway Hartridge, esq., took charge on January 1, 1887. Mr. Hartridge is managing editor and president of the Savannah Times Publishing Company. The Sunday morning edition of the *Times* was discontinued in 1885.

Under its present management the *Times* has been markedly improved. It is Democratic and has a reputation for reliability, impartiality and independence. The measure of its prosperity may be judged by the fact that within fifteen months after it passed into the control of the present management, it had built a handsome new home, three stories high, on Bryan street, near Drayton, and was fitted out with new presses, new type and new machinery, so that it is now fully equipped. It receives

the United Press dispatches and has the largest city circulation of any paper daily or weekly.

For over thirty years William T. Thompson was editor of the *Morning News*. He was a man of well-known literary ability and author of "Major Jones' Courtship." Associated with him at different periods as editorial writers were Major T. A. Burke, E. O. Withington, J. N. Cardoza, Dr. James S. Jones and Z. W. Mason. For a number of years Joel Chandler Harris of world-wide reputation as a humorist, was associate editor upon the *News*.

The Evening Journal made its appearance in 1851, edited by J. B. Cubbidge. The following year the *Savannah Daily Courier* was started by S. T. Chapman, and the *Evening Mirror* by W. B. Harrison. The *Mirror* had but a brief existence, and the *Journal and Courier* were merged into one paper, known as the *Journal and Courier* and published by Chapman & Cubbidge. Mr. Chapman died in 1854, when the paper was suspended for a short time until it was purchased by R. B. Hilton. In 1857 it was merged in the *Georgian* and the consolidated papers were published under the name of the *Georgian and Journal*.

In 1859 the *Evening Express* was started by Ambrose Spencer and J. H. Estill. Its publication discontinued in 1860.

The Daily Advertiser, a free circulating journal was first issued in September 1865, by Theodore Hamilton and M. J. Divine. George N. Nichols soon after purchased the paper, and under his management it was twice enlarged. In January 1868, it was again enlarged and changed to a subscription paper under the editorial management of S. Yates Levy. Mr. Levy was a bold and vigorous writer and during the reconstruction period so keen were his articles upon the tyrannical action of the military that an order was sent from General Meade to either suppress the paper or moderate the tone of its editorials. Soon after Mr. Levy was obliged through military pressure to retire from the editorial chair. Edward L. Beard and George G. Kimball then took control of the paper and conducted it for a short time as a free journal.

The *Georgia Familien Journal* is an eight page German weekly. It is published every Saturday, and has a large circulation in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Florida and Alabama.

The Savannah Local was first issued as a free journal in 1877, by Mr.

Ely Otto. In 1878 its name was changed to the *Penny Local*, when it became a subscription paper. In January, 1885, its name was changed to the *Savannah Local*. It is published weekly as an independent family journal, but favors the prohibition cause. Ely Otto is editor and proprietor.

The other newspapers of Savannah are the *Savannah Independent and Brotherhood* and the *Savannah Tribune*. Both are weekly publications. The former is devoted to secret society news and is published by W. Orr & Co.; the latter is published in the interest of the colored people.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

LITERARY, ART AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS AND SPECIAL FEATURES OF ATTRACTION.

Georgia Historical Society—Catholic Library Association—Telfair Academy, Arts and Sciences—Savannah Parks and Suburban Attractions—Forsyth Park—Parade Ground—Beaulieu—Tybee Island—Thunderbolt—Isle of Hope—Jasper Springs—Dauskie Island—Bonaventure—Laurel Grove Cemetery—Cathedral Cemetery—Greene, Confederate, Gordon and Jasper Monuments.

JUST eighty years ago, on January 6, 1809, a meeting was held in the Exchange attended by men of all professions and callings—the lawyer, the physician, the minister, the merchant, the plain citizen—called together for the purpose of establishing a public library in Savannah. There were seventy-one gentlemen present, among them we find the names of Rev. Henry Kollock, Dr. Lemuel Kollock, John M. Berrien, Dr. J. Bond Read, James M. Wayne, Charles Harris, Dr. John Cumming, Dr. John Grimes, George Woodruff, William T. Williams, Alexander Telfair, James Bilbo, Dr. J. E. White, William B. Bulloch, George Jones, A. G. Oemler, D. T. Bartow, Alfred Cuthbert, John Bolton, William Gaston, A. Low, J. P. Williamson, Dr. William Parker, Hugh McCall, Thomas Young. These names are intimately associated with Savannah history. They, as well as the remainder of the seventy-one,

have all passed away but the work they inaugurated has been fruitful for good beyond the power of calculation. The assemblage of such a number of prominent citizens out of as small a population as Savannah then possessed is a proof of an interest in literary matters at that period, which it is doubtful has grown with the city's growth and strength.

This meeting was the initiatory step toward the formation of the Savannah Library Society, and at a subsequent meeting held on the 6th of March, following, a constitution and by-laws were adopted. Dr. John Cumming was elected chairman, A. G. Oemler, librarian, and the name of the Savannah Library Society was adopted. A room in the second story of the Chatham Academy was secured for library purposes which they were permitted to use free of charge.

Hon. John MacPherson Berrien succeeded Dr. John Cumming chairman, in 1810 by the title of president and continued in that office until 1818 when he was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Henry Kollock. After the death of Dr. Kollock, the presidents were in succession, Alexander Telfair, John C. Nicoll, R. W. Habersham, A. Telfair, W. W. Gordon, Dr. Cosmo P. Richardson, M. H. McAllister.

The society did not flourish. In 1837 it nearly collapsed. In 1838 a new impetus was given it principally through the exertions of Captain William Crabtree, jr., and Homes Tupper. In the latter year the following officers were elected: President, H. M. McAllister; vice-president, William Crabtree, jr.; secretary and treasurer, W. Morel; managers, Rev. George White, R. W. Pooler, A. G. Oemler, R. D. Arnold, Homes Tupper.

In 1838 Mr. William Morel resigned as secretary, treasurer and librarian and Captain William Bee was elected in his place. In 1839 the same officers were elected, except that J. Wray was substituted as manager in place of Rev. George White.

Georgia Historical Library.—It was in the spring of 1839 that a new movement was inaugurated to establish another society for the purpose of rescuing from oblivion the records of the past and furnishing authentic data for the history of Georgia. The origin of this society is given in the second volume of the "Georgia Historical Collections," from which the following is quoted:

"The necessity of some historical institution had long been felt by

literary men, but no effort had ever been made for its establishment. 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. William B. Stevens to proceed without delay to its formation. This measure was first decided on toward 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."

On May 24, 1839, a meeting was held at the Savannah Society room in pursuance of a call signed by I. K. Tefft, R. D. Arnold and W. B. Stevens. At an adjourned meeting held on June 4, following, the society was fully organized by the adoption of a constitution and by-laws, and the election of the following officers: President, Hon. John McPherson Berrien; vice-presidents, Hon. James W. Wayne, Hon. W. B. Bulloch; corresponding secretary, I. K. Tefft; recording secretary, William Bacon Stevens; treasurer, George W. Hunter; librarian, Henry Kirk Preston; curators, William Thorne Williams, Charles S. Henry, John C. Nicolls, William Law, Richard D. Arnold, Robert M. Charlton, Mathew Hall McAllister.

At the session of the Georgia Legislature of 1839 the society was duly incorporated, and it was made the custodian of the copies of the manuscript in the State paper office at London, relating to the history of Georgia which has been transcribed by the Rev. C. W. Howard as agent of the State.

In the act of incorporation the following names appear as the original incorporators of the society: J. M. Berrien, James M. Wayne, M. H. McAllister, I. K. Tefft, Wm. B. Stevens, Geo. W. Hunter, H. K. Preston, Wm. T. Williams, C. S. Henry, J. C. Nicoll, Wm. Law, R. M. Charlton, R. D. Arnold, A. A. Smets, J. W. Anderson, Wm. B. Bulloch, J. H. Burroughs, J. Balfour, Wm. H. Bulloch, T. B. Bartow, James Barnard, Morgan Brown, G. B. Cumming, Solomon Cohen, Joseph Cumming, D. C. Campbell, J. H. Couper, W. A. Caruthers, W. H. Cuyler, Edward Coppee, Wm. Crabtree, jr., Arichibald Clarke, Wm. Duncan,

Wm. C. Daniell, Geo. M. Dudley, J. De La Motta, jr., J. S. Fay, S. H. Fay, W. B. Fleming, J. F. Griffin, Robert Habersham, W. Neyle Habersham, J. C. Habersham, E. J. Harden, S. L. W. Harris, Geo. Jones, J. W. Jackson, P. M. Kollock, G. J. Kollock, Ralph King, T. B. King, Wm. McWhir, J. B. Mallard, John Millen, W. H. Miller, J. S. Morel, M. Myers, J. F. O'Neill, E. Neufville, E. A. Nisbit, A. Porter, Thos. Paine, Willard Preston, Edward Padelford, Thos. Purse, R. W. Pooler, Wm. Robertson, L. O. Reynolds, J. Bond Read, R. H. Randolph, F. M. Robertson, George Schley, James Smith, Wm. H. Stiles, B. E. Stiles, J. L. Shaffer, Chas. Stephens, Wm. P. White, John E. Ward, George White.

The Georgia Historical Society and the Savannah Library Society continued to occupy the same room on the northwest corner of Bay lane and Whitaker street, but maintained separate organization, until in June, 1847, when a union was effected, by which the Georgia Historical became the possessor of the books—some 2,500—and other property of the Savannah Library Society.

In June, 1849, the society took possession of quarters on Bryan street in a building erected for its use by private donation and the liberality of the city council. In this building, which still stands, the upper story was devoted to library purposes while the lower floor was occupied by the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank until the close of 1865.

The present home of the Georgia Historical Society is located on the corner of Whitaker and Gaston streets, fronting on Forsyth park. It is known as Hodgson Hall. This fine building was erected by Mrs. Margaret Telfair Hodgson (*nee* Telfair) as a memorial to her husband, Mr. William B. Hodgson, who was an active member of the society during his life in Savannah. The building 94x41 feet was begun in 1873, but Mrs. Hodgson dying without making formal provision for its construction, her elder sister, Miss Mary Telfair, took up the work and being Mrs. Hodgson's residuary legatee, made a deed in trust of the lot and building thereon, the residuary estate being charged with the expense of completing the structure. Miss Telfair died in 1874, but the work was carried on agreeably to the legal term of the deed and in September, 1875, the library of the society occupied Hodgson Hall. The formal dedication took place on the thirty-seventh anniversary of the society,

February 14, 1876, upon which occasion was unveiled the full length portrait of Mr. Hodgson which was painted by Mr. Carl L. Brandt.

The society has some 16,000 volumes and has published several historical works of value relating to Georgia and the city of Savannah.

The following is a list of the officers of the Georgia Historical Society, from its organization, June 4, 1839.

Presidents.—Hon. John M. Berrien, June 4, 1839, to February 12, 1841, and February 13, 1854, to January 1, 1856; Hon. James M. Wayne, February 12, 1841, to February 13, 1854, and February 12, 1856, to February 17, 1862; Hon. Charles S. Henry, February 17, 1862, to August 19, 1864; Right Rev. Stephen Elliott, D.D., September 12, 1864, to December 21, 1866; John Stoddard, esq., February 12, 1867, to February 12, 1868; Hon. Edward J. Harden, February 12, 1868, to April 19, 1873; George W. J. DeRenne, esq., June 2, 1873, to March 2, 1874; Hon. Henry R. Jackson, elected March 2, 1874.

First Vice-Presidents—Hon. James M. Wayne, June 4, 1839, to February 12, 1841; Matthew H. McAllister, esq., February 12, 1841, to February 12, 1851; Hon. Charles S. Henry, February 12, 1851, to February 17, 1862; Right Rev. Stephen Elliott, D.D., February 17, 1862, to September 12, 1864; John Stoddard, esq., September 12, 1864, to February 12, 1867; Hon. Solomon Cohen, February 12, 1867, to February 12, 1868; William M. Charters, M.D., February 12, 1868, to January 6, 1883; General G. Moxley Sorrel, February 12, 1883, to February 12, 1889; Colonel John Screven elected February 12, 1889.

Second Vice-Presidents.—William B. Bulloch, esq., June 4, 1839, to February 12, 1841; Hon. William Law, February 12, 1841, to February 12, 1853; Right Rev. Stephen Elliott, D.D., February 12, 1853, to February 17, 1862; John Stoddard, esq., February 17, 1862, to September 12, 1864; Hon. Solomon Cohen, September 12, 1864, to February 12, 1867; Hon. Edward J. Harden, February 12, 1867, to February 12, 1868; General Alexander R. Lawton, February 12, 1868, to February 14, 1870; Juriah Harriss, M.D., February 14, 1870, to November 7, 1876; General G. Moxley Sorrell, February 12, 1877, to February 12, 1883; General Alexander R. Lawton, February 12, 1883, to February 12, 1888; Colonel John Screven, February 12, 1888, to February 12, 1889; Colonel C. H. Olmstead, elected February 12, 1889.

Corresponding Secretaries.—Israel K. Tefft, esq., June 4, 1839, to December 12, 1853, and February 13, 1854, to June 30, 1862; Alexander A. Smets, esq., December 12, 1853, to February 13, 1854; Colonel Charles C. Jones, jr., July 14, 1862, to February 12, 1866; Richard D. Arnold, M.D., February 12, 1866, to February 14, 1870; William Grayson Mann, esq., February 14, 1870, to July 4, 1881; William W. Paine, February 13, 1882, to August 5, 1882; Captain Robert Falligant, elected February 12, 1883.

Recording Secretaries.—Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., June 4, 1839, to February 12, 1842; Henry K. Preston, esq., February 12, 1842, to February 12, 1844; Richard D. Arnold, M.D., February 12, 1844, to February 13, 1854; Rev. J. P. Tustin, February 13, 1854, to February 12, 1855; William S. Basinger, esq., February 12, 1855, to February 12, 1856; R. C. Mackall, M.D., February 12, 1856, to November 10, 1856; Easton Yonge, M.D., November 10, 1856, to February 15, 1880; Samuel B. Adams, esq., May 3, 1880, to February 12, 1884; William N. Holt, esq., February 12, 1884, until his death; Chas. N. West, March 1887, to February 12, 1889; Beirine Gordon, esq., elected February 12, 1889.

Treasurers.—George Wallace Hunter, esq., June 4, 1839, to February 12, 1841; Hon. Solomon Cohen, February 12, 1841, to February 12, 1844; Hon. Edward J. Harden, February 12, 1844, to February 13, 1854; William S. Basinger, esq., February 13, 1854, to February 12, 1855; Alexander A. Smets, esq., February 12, 1855, to May 9, 1862; William S. Bogart, esq., elected July 14, 1862.

Librarians.—Henry K. Preston, esq., June 4, 1839, to February 12, 1842, and February 12, 1844, to February 12, 1847; Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., February 12, 1842, to February 13, 1843; Alexander A. Smets, esq., February 13, 1843, to February 12, 1844; Robert H. Griffin, esq., February 12, 1847, to February 12, 1848; Richard D. Arnold, M.D., February 12, 1848, to February 12, 1849; Chas. E. Tefft, esq., February 12, 1850, to February 12, 1851; Louis Knorr, M.D., March 12, 1851, to February 12, 1853; John B. Mallard, esq., February 12, 1853, to February 13, 1854; Rev. William Epping, February 13, 1854, to February 12, 1857; James F. Cann, esq., February 12, 1857, to February 12, 1868; John S. F. Lancaster, esq., February 12, 1868, to July 5, 1869; William Harden, esq., elected July 5, 1869.

Savannah has two other library associations, the Catholic Library Association and the Youths' Historical Society. The former was organized in 1877 and has a library of 1,000 volumes and a membership of 125. The officers are: P. F. Gleason, president; W. P. Dowling, vice-president; J. J. Gleason, financial secretary; J. F. Harty, recording secretary; J. P. Doolan, secretary. The library hall is located on the southeast corner of Drayton and McDonough.

The Youths' Historical Society was organized in 1874 and has a library of about 1,500 volumes. The officers are: M. S. Herman, president; H. H. Hayms, treasurer; A. E. Dryfus, librarian.

The Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences is comparatively a new factor in the artistic and scientific life of Savannah, and owes its existence to the public spirit and liberality of Miss Mary Telfair, who died in 1874. At her death she left it in trust to the Georgia Historical Society, the family homestead, with her books, pictures, and statuary, for a perpetual art and science academy. The will was contested and several years were passed in litigation over the matter, but its validity was finally established, and on the 3d of May, 1886, the home of the Telfair family in Savannah was dedicated and opened as the Telfair Academy of Arts and Science. It is located on Telfair place formerly known as St. James square. It is a handsome building, with ample room and finely adapted to the purposes intended. Although in comparative infancy, it has been enriched with many fine paintings and products of the sculptor's art. It is under the control and management of a special committee of the Georgia Historical Library, and since it was opened Carl L. Brandt, an artist of decided ability, has been its director. Mainly through Mr. Brandt's efforts it may truthfully be said the academy has made more than a fair beginning towards making Savannah one of the art centers of the country.

Forsyth Park, the principle pleasure ground in Savannah, is one of the most beautiful parks in the United States, and one of which the citizens are especially proud. It was laid out by the city council, in 1851, and was named in honor of John Forsyth, at that time minister to Spain, but who had previously served the Commonwealth of Georgia in the Congress of the United States, and as governor. The park contains about twenty acres which are laid off in serpentine walks and grass-plots, inter-

persed with clumps of flowers, fanciful mounds and structures of ivy and other luxuriant runners and climbers. The forest of stately pines contrasting charmingly with the variety of trees of smaller growth and native scrubs, is perhaps the most pleasing feature of the park. A neat iron fence incloses the grounds. The main gates, fronting on Bull street, are capped with unexploded shells, memorials of the civil war, and open upon the broad walk, guarded at the entrance by sphinxes, which leads to the artistic fountain that graces the center of the park. This fountain is said by some to have been modeled after the design that took the prize at the first international exhibition at London in 1844, while others claim it to be a copy of the fountain in the Place de la Concorde, Paris. The basin of the fountain bears the broad, verdant leaves of water lilies upon its bosom, the whole encircled by a *parterre* of exquisite flower bearers, within an abundant well-kept hedge of enonymus, sustained by a solid iron railing.

The main plan of the park was designed by William Bischoff, a distinguished landscape gardener in his native country, Bavaria. John B. Hogg somewhat altered and modified the original plans, and to the skill and taste of both of these gentlemen the city is indebted for the pleasing effect the park presents, its greatest charm being its modesty, simplicity, and the unique conservation of the native forest pine.

South of Forsyth Park is the "extension" or parade ground of the volunteer soldiery of Savannah, containing about thirty acres which are yet unadorned except by a few trees and the Confederate monument. The boundaries of Forsyth Park and extension are Gaston street on the north, Drayton on the east, New Houston on the south, and Whitaker on the west.

The country around Savannah is beautiful in its peculiarities of landscape, composed of forest, swamp, highland and lowland, all richly dressed in luxuriant green of many shades, lighted here and there with the varied brilliant colors of leaves and flowers. It is in the main a flat country, but its majestic oaks, magnolias, towering pines, and an underwood of unsurpassed variety and beauty of foliage, furnish pictures of exquisite softness and hue. Savannah is therefore fortunate in her suburban relations. Bonaventure, Beaulieu, Daufuskie Island, White Bluff, Bethesda, Thunderbolt, Isle of Hope, Jasper Spring, Battery Park, and Tybee Island, all

of easy access from the city, present many attractions to the tourist, independent of their historical associations.

Beaulieu, a charming spot on the Vernon River, only a few miles from Savannah, was originally a plantation of five hundred acres, granted to William Stevens, president of the colonial council, and confirmed by General Oglethorpe. He gave it the present name on account of the fancied resemblance of the place to Beaulie, a manor of His Grace, the Duke of Montgomery. By some the name was spelled Biewly; how it was changed to Beaulieu is not ascertained. Upon Steven's settlement of the place, the few residents were constantly annoyed by predatory attacks from the Indians and Spaniards, and were compelled to fortify their huts in order to retain possession. The place was, during the Revolutionary War, occupied by a small force of British troops. On Sunday, the 12th of September, 1779, Colonel Thomas Pinckney, with a command of 1,200 men sent from the fleet of Count D'Estaing in long boats, landed at Beaulieu, the British troops to the number of thirty retiring upon their approach. It is stated, owing to the men under Pinckney being exposed in the boats, that had this little handful of "red coats" made any resistance, a landing could not have been effected without very serious loss, and possibly the patriot forces might not have been enabled to accomplish their object at all. Several skirmishes between the opposing forces subsequently took place at and around Beaulieu.

The place is delightfully located, and is now the site of a number of beautiful residences. It is about seven miles from the ocean, and is in every respect a most charming location. The surroundings of the place are picturesque, and elicit admiration of all visitors.

Tybee Island has become the most popular and valuable resort near the city. It is an ocean-washed island at the entrance of the Savannah harbor. The recently completed Savannah and Tybee Railroad, by means of which the island is easily reached, has had a powerful effect in popularizing the place. It is one of the chains of islands extending along the sea-coast from Charleston, South Carolina to Fernandina, Florida, and on its lovely beach, four miles long, the waves of the Atlantic roll up in gentle surf inviting to safe and delightful bathing. Near the light-house on the north end of the island, is the Martello Tower, a notable object of interest to tourists. It is supposed to have been built by

the Spaniards who visited the island before Oglethorpe's time. Tybee Island is noted in American history as the scene of the first capture of a British vessel by an American commissioned man-of-war at the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle, while it was an important point during the late civil war. In the last few years many improvements have been made to meet the wants of the thousands who visit the island in summer, and there are now to be found comfortable hotels on the front beach, in immediate sight of the ocean. Several residences and cottages in addition give the place the appearance of a first-class sea-side village.

Thunderbolt another popular resort with the citizens of Savannah, is situated on the branch of the Warsaw River, about four miles from the city. It is reached by the coast-line railroad of which it is the terminus, or by the shell road. It is a small village, with nothing particularly striking about the place other than its invigorating sea breeze, fine oaks, delightful shade, and excellent fish and oysters. It is the main source of the supply of fish and oysters for the Savannah market. According to local tradition, the place received its name from the fall of a thunderbolt and the gushing forth of a spring from the spot where the bolt struck. The spring is pointed out with faith and pride by the old inhabitants.

Isle of Hope is a pleasant seacoast village on the Skidaway River, six and a half miles from Savannah, and is reached by railroad. Its early settlement dates back to 1737. Henry Parker, John Fullafield and Noble Jones were the first settlers and proprietors, the last of whom had a fine residence at the south end known as "Wormsloe," of which the ruins can yet be seen. The island is in the shape of a horseshoe and from any prominent position on its bluff, overlooking the river, a good view of the surrounding country may be had. The waters in the immediate vicinity abound in fish, crabs and oysters, and it is considered one of the most healthful resorts on the coast.

Jasper Springs is located on the Augusta road, about two miles from the city and is noted as being the scene of the bold exploits of Sergeants Jasper and Newton, previous to the siege of Savannah. Sergeant Jasper, after his gallantry at Fort Moultrie, was granted a roving commission by Colonel Moultrie, commanding the Second South Carolina Regiment, with the privilege of reforming his own command. The scouts of Jas-



Engraving by W. H. Bennett

W. H. Bennett

per's were of great assistance to the American army, frequently obtained valuable information, which could not be procured in any other way. At one time Jasper came into Savannah, and remained here several days, during which time he collected valuable information concerning the number and position of the British forces, and furnished it to General Lincoln. On one occasion Jasper met, near Ebenezer, a lady named Mrs. Jones, who was in great distress about her husband. He had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Government; afterwards joined the American army, and was captured by the British, who determined to hang him, with others who were to be carried to Savannah, in fact were then on the way to the city for that purpose. Jasper's sympathies were aroused, and he promised to rescue Jones if it were possible. He consulted Sergeant Newton, who was with him, but no definite plan was arranged, though they decided to follow the guard, and take advantage of what opportunity offered for accomplishing their purposes. Early the next morning, after the interview between Jasper and Mrs. Jones, a guard of British soldiers, comprising a sergeant, a corporal and eight men, left Ebenezer for Savannah, with the prisoners in irons. The wives and children of two or three of the prisoners followed. Jasper and Newton kept on the trail of the party, and upon coming near the Spring, got ahead of them and hid in the bushes, presuming, as the sequel proved correctly, that the guard would halt to get water, and a chance to rescue the prisoners would be presented. Upon reaching a point in the road opposite the Spring, which was pleasantly located in the grove, the guard halted and stacked arms, two men being left with them in charge of the prisoners. The rest of the guard, not apprehending the slightest danger, went to the Spring. Jasper and Newton were not slow to appreciate the situation, and creeping up to the sentinels shot them down, secured the stack of muskets and called on the guard, (who returned hastily from the spring upon hearing the fire) to surrender. The Britishers perceiving that they were completely at the mercy of the two determined men concluded discretion was the better part of valor and surrendered. The irons were knocked off the prisoners and placed upon the soldiers who were conducted to the American camp at Purysburg. The Spring is visited every year by hundreds of strangers for its historical interest. The water is pure and cool.

Battery Park was opened in the summer of 1880, and is a resort established by private enterprise. It is at the terminus of a street railway line within the suburb known as Brownville. The grounds occupy a portion of the breastwork for a battery thrown up during the late civil war for the defense of Savannah. Within this park picnics and social parties meet during the summer. Attached to the grounds is a good rifle range with the conveniences for target shooting.

Daufuskie Island, a somewhat historic place, is another point of interest on the coast and is a favorite spot for excursion parties. The island is some six miles in length and has ever been noted for the abundance of fish, oysters, crabs, etc., to be obtained in the waters surrounding it. Daufuskie is the Indian name and it is presumed from the number of mounds, tomahawks and arrowheads that have been discovered that it was a favorite resort of the red men. One portion of the island is known as "Bloody Point" for which name, tradition thus accounts: The massacre of Bloody Point was previous to the Revolutionary War. The islands of Port Royal and St. Helena were pretty thickly settled with white population when Hilton Head, Daufuskie, Pinckney, and the other neighboring islands were held in possession by a few isolated Indians, or were altogether uninhabited; they formed a kind of neutral ground between the white and red men. The Indians from Georgia were in the habit of making frequent inroads upon the white settlements, killing the inhabitants, and carrying off whatever plunder they could gather, to their remoter homes in the further south—they formed large war parties, and would proceed as far north as Hilton Head, where they would *skulk* about until a fair chance offered, when they would cross Broad River, and ravage the neighboring settlements—hence the name Skulk Creek, (and not Skull as is now written.)

The Indians were in the habit of returning to Skulk Creek after these invasions, and would elude pursuit among its numerous nooks and windings. Upon one of these occasions, after having committed a number of murders, and having loaded their canoes with whatever plunder they could collect, and having secured a quantity of "fire water," it is presumed from the sequel, they passed through Skulk Creek on their return south without stopping at their old haunts, and never halted until they reached Daufuskie, where they thought they would be beyond the reach of the whites.

A very strong and determined party of whites went in pursuit of them. On reaching Hilton Head, they learned from a few Indians, of a friendly tribe, that their enemies had not halted, but had proceeded on south. Having induced these friendly Indians to join them as guides, they continued their pursuit further south; when they had gone as far as Daufuskie, they discovered from the smoke of their camp, that the Indians had halted at the southeast point of the island, and had put all their boats a short distance up what now is known as New River, to avoid the surf which breaks at that point; and when the whites landed at the northeastern portion of the island, the red devils, at the extreme southeast point, were enjoying themselves in an unwonted round of convivialty and feasting. Having effected a safe landing, the whites moved cautiously and stealthily around the island, until they got between the Indians and their boats, thus effectually cutting off the retreat of the savages. The first intimation the Indians had of the presence of the avengers, was a shower of bullets; they were shot down, bayoneted, sabered and were finally driven into the sea.

The surprise was complete—the massacre was dreadful—the white sands were crimson with blood, and the earth was strewn with wounded, dying and dead, and almost a whole tribe had been wiped out of existence in a few minutes. A few, very few, escaped by swimming, some to the opposite marsh, and one swam to Tybee, a distance of three miles. From the dreadful carnage at this spot, it received the name of "Bloody Point," which it still retains at this time, it being the extreme southeastern point of South Carolina.

Among the cemeteries of Savannah the old or brick cemetery on South Broad street, stands first in age. Here were interred the remains of the early settlers of Savannah and of their posterity until sanitary reasons required in 1852, that it should be closed, and another site for sepulture provided further removed from the dwellings of the living. The old vaults and tombs are left, though their contents, the hallowed remnants of mortality, have been transferred to the other cemeteries of latter date. A few, however, still repose undisturbed, and the cemetery is preserved in reverence.

Evergreen Cemetery, better known as Bonaventure, famous for its magnificent avenues of stately live oaks is almost an ideal resting place

of the silent dead. It is historic ground and the following description of the place was written by the late Commodore Josiah Tattnall, the gallant hero-sailor who sleeps beneath the moss covered branches of the oaks, near the spot where he was born.

"Bonaventure.—This beautiful tract of land bearing this name, and enclosing the Evergreen Cemetery was first settled in or about the year 1760, by Colonel John Mulryne, who came to this country from England, and removed from Charleston, S. C., to Georgia.

"The high ground, an extended river view, etc., made it one of the choicest sites near the city of Savannah and the first house—a large brick one—was erected at that time, facing the center walk of the old garden. This garden extended in terraces from the plateau to the river, the terraces being supported by blocks of tabby (a concrete of shell and lime) that yet remain in tolerable preservation. This house was destroyed by fire in the latter part of the last century, during a dinner entertainment.

"In 1761 this property came—by the marriage of Josiah Tattnall, of Charleston, S. C., with Mary, the daughter of Colonel John Mulryne, into the possession of the Tattnall family, Governor Tattnall (of Georgia) being born there in 1765.

"This marriage is of peculiar interest in the history of Bonaventure, since from it, date the avenues of magnificent trees which form the pride and chief feature of interest of the place. They were planted at that time, and tradition has it, in the forms of the letters M and T, the initials of the families of Mulryne and Tattnall. The majority of these trees were of the live oak species others being mingled with them. These latter the hand of time, and the gales of the Atlantic have long ago laid low, while the sturdy live oaks with their hoary heads of moss, still defy the wintry blasts, and their rustling leaves whisper a ceaseless lullaby over the quiet and peaceful sleepers at their feet.

"In the year 1847 this property passed (by purchase) into the hands of Captain P. Wiltburger, who had long associated the quiet and peace of the place, its patriarchal trees, and their deep, solemn shade, its calm and seclusion, as a fit receptacle for the departed of this earth, as a resting-place for the weary pilgrims of life. With him originated the idea of devoting Bonaventure to its present and final use, and his remains sleep under the foliage of its trees.

“Circumstances prevented for a time the execution of this wish, but it was taken up by his son, Major W. H. Wiltburger, and the formation of the present Evergreen Cemetery Company was the result of his efforts. In this connection it may be interesting to notice that the first adult buried at Bonaventure was the wife of Governor Tattnall, who died there in 1803, being soon followed to the grave by her honored husband. Previous to that time several children of the family had been buried there.”

Bonaventure came under the control of the Evergreen Cemetery Company in 1849. It is located about three and a half miles from the city and contains one hundred and forty acres. It contains many fine specimens of mortuary architecture, which time has invested with hallowed remembrances. Lofty oaks, draped with weeping festoons of moss, whose luxuriant growth makes the shade impenetrable to the sun's rays, have made this silent city of the dead a peerless combination of the sublime and picturesque.

Laurel Grove Cemetery, although not as grandly beautiful as the famous Bonaventure, is nevertheless an attractive “resting place of the dead.” The history of this cemetery is as follows: On the 9th of May, 1853, Hon. R. Wayne, mayor of Savannah, in accordance with ordinance previously adopted by council, issued his proclamation closing the old or brick cemetery on South Broad street, as a burial ground, on the first of July ensuing.

The ordinance adopted the 3d of June, 1852, set apart a tract of land on Springfield plantation belonging to the city, as a public cemetery, and conferred upon it the title “Laurel Grove.” The place was enclosed with a neat railing, connecting with a pillar of granite at each of the corners. The interior was laid out in avenues, walks, and lots; the plan of the same being furnished by James O. Morse, civil engineer.

The establishment of this cemetery was rendered necessary by the crowded state of the old cemetery, a small area of ten acres, which had been a place of sepulture for more than one hundred years. The rapid extension of the city limits, made that cemetery almost a central position, and on the score of health, it was deemed advisable to provide another place beyond the bounds of the city for the repose of the dead.

On the 10th of November, 1852, the cemetery was formally dedicated

with imposing ceremonies. The services were opened by a prayer from the Rev. Dr. Willard Preston, of the Independent Presbyterian Church, Hon. R. M. Charlton recited an eloquent and appropriate original poem, which was followed by a chaste and beautiful address by Hon. Henry R. Jackson. The ceremonies were then closed by an impressive prayer from the Rev. Dr. Lovick Pierce, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The first interment was made in October, 1852. Besides the many beautiful and artistic monuments and tombs which mark the graves of loved ones, there is an inclosure in the cemetery that attracts attention, the lots in which are deposited the remains of the Confederate dead. Here repose nearly fifteen hundred heroes of the civil war, who have been gathered from the distant battlefields on which they fell and had a soldier's burial. This noble work was accomplished by the Ladies' Memorial Association of Savannah, which with sacred care has watched over their graves, and on each recurring Memorial day decorates them with the bright flowers of spring and early summer. A marble statue representing Silence, which originally stood in the Park Extension, keeps guard over the bivouac of the heroic dead. Each grave is marked by a neat marble headstone.

The Cathedral Cemetery, or Roman Catholic burial ground, is situated on the Thunderbolt road, two miles from the city. It was opened in August, 1853. Right Reverend F. X. Gartland, the first bishop of the diocese of Savannah, and Bishop Barron, of a foreign diocese, were buried here, both victims of the yellow fever in 1854. Right Reverend John Barry, another bishop of the diocese lies buried in this cemetery.

The Jewish cemetery adjoins Laurel Grove.

No single feature of Savannah more favorably impresses the stranger than the monuments to heroic characters which grace the public squares of the city. The oldest of these is the Greene monument which stands in Johnson Square. It was erected as a tribute of gratitude to the distinguished Revolutionary hero, General Nathanael Greene. The cornerstone of the monument was laid by General Lafayette in March, 1825, but the monument was not finished until 1829. It is a plain marble shaft, on one side of which is an appropriate inscription, and on the other a medallion of General Greene in bronze.

At the same time General Lafayette laid the corner-stone of the

Greene monument, he performed a similar service to a proposed monument to Count Casimir Pulaski, which was to have been erected in Chippewa Square. This stone, laid in Chippewa Square, together with another of equal size united to it by copper bands, and containing the records of the day, was relaid in Monterey Square in October, 1853, when the corner-stone of the present Pulaski monument was laid with impressive ceremonies, the military under command of Colonel (now General) A. R. Lawton, the various Masonic bodies and the citizens *en masse* participating. The shaft is fifty feet high, and is surmounted by a statue of Liberty, holding the banner of the stars and stripes; on the front in relief, is the statue representing Count Pulaski after he received his mortal wound, in the act of falling from his horse, still grasping his sword. The date of the event, October 9, 1779, is recorded above.

The Confederate monument which stands in the Park extension was completed in April, 1875, by the Ladies' Memorial Association of Savannah, and unveiled shortly after, with imposing ceremonies, the entire volunteer military of the city, civic societies and associations participating, an appropriate address being delivered by Hon. Julian Hartridge.

The corner-stone of this monument was laid on the 16th of June, 1874, with Masonic ceremonies, the military being present in force. The ceremonies were opened by prayer from Grand Chaplain Richard Webb, Grand Master Irwin laying the stone. An address was delivered by Col. George A. Mercer, and the ceremonies were closed by a salute of eleven guns, fired by the Chatham Artillery, the oldest military organization in the State of Georgia.

The monument cost \$25,000, and is built according to a design furnished by Mr. Robert Reid, of Montreal, Canada. In style, the design is modern Italian, and stands about fifty feet in height from the base to the crown of the marble figure, by which it is surmounted. The monument sets on a terrace of earth work six feet high, by forty feet square, and surrounded by a stone coping; the terrace being reached by stone steps from either of the four facings. On the corners are pedestals which stand out from the Monument proper, and are each graced by a life size marble statue of a soldier on duty.

On the base of the pilasters are appropriate mottoes. The front panel on the first stage shows a figure in *alto relievo*, representing the

South mourning; the reverse panel shows another figure also in *alto rilievo*, of a military character. The two sides or lateral panels, bear inscriptions, one of which is

“TO THE CONFEDERATE DEAD;”

the other,

“COME FROM THE FOUR WINDS, O BREATH, AND BREATHE UPON THESE SLAIN, THAT THEY MAY LIVE.”—Ezek. xxxii, 9.

The shaft is capped by a bronze statue of a Confederate soldier at “parade rest,” the generous gift of G. W. J. DeRenne, esq. Ease, grace and manliness distinguish the figure, and the accessories of musket, worn hat and tattered clothing are true to the life, reproducing with wonderful exactness the rents, patches, darns and rude sewing that betray the hardship and deprivations the Southern Confederate soldiers had to endure in their gallant but painful struggle of four years of unsuccessful warfare.

The Gordon Monument which stands in Chippewa Square was erected by the Georgia Central Railroad and Banking Company in honor of W. W. Gordon, the first president of the company, a man of exalted character, and one who did much to advance the material prosperity of the State.

The Jasper monument in Madison Square was unveiled on the 22d of February, 1888. The occasion was a memorable one in the history of the city. The president of the United States, Grover Cleveland, and party, Governor John B. Gordon and staff, were among the notable persons present. A heroic bronze figure of Sergeant Jasper surmounts a pedestal holding aloft the flag. The poise of the figure is magnificent, and has been greatly admired. It is the work of Mr. Alexander Doyle, a sculptor who at an early age has achieved great success in his art.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BENEVOLENT ORGANIZATIONS AND HOSPITALS—SOCIAL AND
SECRET SOCIETIES.

NO city in the country according to its population is better supplied with societies for the amelioration of the wants of the poor and distressed and for the purpose of fostering fraternal relations than Savannah. This speaks stronger than anything else could of the natural kindness of heart of the people, and is a characteristic which has been prominent from the time the first settlement was made on the site of Savannah.

The renowned divine George Whitefield is prominently associated with Savannah as being the founder of Bethesda Orphan House. The project was suggested to him by General Oglethorpe soon after his arrival in 1738, and enlisted the full energies of his active and powerful nature. He secured from the trustees a grant of five acres of vacant ground anywhere he might select. With the aid of James Habersham a site was selected about ten miles from Savannah on a branch of the west fork of Burnside River. In 1740 the erection of the Orphans' House was begun. He, Whitefield, named it Bethesda and in behalf of his beloved enterprise he awakened by his eloquence the interest of the people of two continents.

Whitefield's Orphan House had a somewhat varied career. In 1750 we find Whitefield laboring to expand his noble charity into a college, and endeavoring to enlist the governor in the project. He was not successful, but nineteen years later he succeeded in converting Bethesda into an academy with the idea of making it similar in design to the one in Philadelphia. The capacity of the house was increased by the erection of two wings, each one hundred and fifty feet in length. At the first religious services held in the chapel of the new Orphan House Academy, the governor, Sir James Wright, the council and assembly were invited to attend. The *Georgia Gazette* of January 31, 1770, in giving an account of the services says: "Last Sunday, His Excellency the Governor, Council and Assembly, having been invited by the Rev-

erend George Whitefield, attended divine service in the Chapel of the Orphan Home Academy, when prayers were read by the Reverend Mr. Ellington, and a very suitable sermon was preached by the Reverend Mr. Whitefield from Zachariah, fourth chapter, ninth and tenth verses to the general satisfaction of his auditory. After divine service the Company were very politely entertained with a plentiful and handsome dinner, and were greatly pleased to see the useful improvements made in the house in so much forwardness, and the whole executed with taste and in a masterly manner; and being sensible of the truly generous and disinterested benefactions afforded to the province, through his means, they expressed their gratitude in the most respectful terms."

Whitefield's death which occurred in July, 1770, was a severe blow to this long fostered and cherished institution. After his death the Home passed to the care of Lady Huntingdon to whom Whitefield in his will bequeathed the charge in the following words: "I will and bequeath the Orphan House in Bethesda and likewise all buildings, lands, books, and furniture belonging thereto, to that lady elect, that Mother in Israel, that mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honorable Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. In case she should be called upon to enter upon her glorious rest before my decease, to Honorable James Habersham a merchant of Savannah."

Lady Huntingdon had only fairly begun her active charge of the Home when all the buildings were destroyed by lightning just previous to the War of Independence. This misfortune, together with the bloody struggle between the Colonies and the Mother Country was almost a death blow to this great charity. After the destruction of the buildings by fire, Lady Huntingdon contributed largely from her private means to restore them.

In 1788 another effort was made to make Bethesda what Whitefield had labored so zealously to accomplish, and in the *Georgia Gazette* of June 3d of this year appears the following notice: "To the public. Bethesda College near Savannah instituted by the Reverend G. Whitefield, Chaplain to the Right Honorable the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, is to be opened the twenty-fourth instant under the patronage of her Ladyship, whose warm zeal to promote the happiness of mankind in spreading religion and learning in this State, is above praise, and by

whose authority and appointment, the Reverend David Phillips, late from England, anxious to carry her Ladyship's pious designs into the fullest execution, solicits the attention of such Ladies and Gentlemen and Guardians of Youth, as are desirous of sending young gentlemen for instruction in every branch of useful and polite literature, comprehending English grammatically, Writing and the use of Figures, and every branch of the Mathematics, the use of the Globes, Latin, Greek and French including Board, Washing, etc., in the following terms, viz. thirty guineas per annum for each student without distinction of age, or class of education. Punctuality is expected in four quarterly payments. A line for admission to the Reverend David Phillips, Superintendent, or the Reverend Benjamin Lindsay, Rector of Christ Church Savannah, Classical Tutor of the said College, will have immediate attention from their devoted much obliged humble servant, David Phillips."

This last attempt to make Bethesda an educational institution was not successful, and after various vicissitudes the property was sold under an act of Legislature, passed December 23, 1808, and the proceeds divided as follows: one-fifth to the Savannah Poor House and Hospital Society and the remainder equally between the Union Society and Chatham Academy.

Union Society.—This benevolent society is nearly contemporaneous with Bethesda Orphan House founded by Whitefield. In 1750 five large-hearted men, of five different religious denominations, formed themselves into a charitable club with the particular purpose of caring for, and maintaining orphan children and relieving distressed widows. They styled themselves the St. George's Club as there was already in existence an association of Scotch emigrants confined exclusively to Scotchmen. At what time the "St. George's Club" was transformed into the Union Society does not precisely appear, as the records of the society were destroyed by the British troops when they evacuated Savannah in the summer of 1782. The assumption of its new name was an expression and a proof of a liberality of sentiment and feeling most honorable to its founders and their early associates, who laid aside distinctions of faith when so noble an object for combined effort was presented. It is to be regretted that, owing to the destruction of the records, we are able to give the names of only three of the original five members: Benjamin

Sheftall, a Jew; Peter Tondee, a Catholic, and Richard Milledge, an Episcopalian. Each member contributed two pence weekly to carry out the object of the organization. Three members formed a quorum for regular meetings, and the 23d of April, the calendar day of the canonization of England's patron saint, St. George, was the occasion of the anniversary celebration.

During the Revolution the society had a remarkable experience. When Savannah was captured by the British in December, 1778, a large number of the citizens, among whom were four members of the Union Society, were arrested and sent on board the prison ships. Some days afterwards, the prisoners holding office in the American army were sent on parole to Sunbury a few miles south of Savannah, on the sea coast, and among these were the four members of the Union Society—Mordecai Sheftall, John Martin, John Stirk, and Josiah Powell. They were retained here for four years, during which time they held their meetings and observed the anniversary of their society, John Powell having been elected president and John Martin secretary. At the first anniversary April 23, 1779, an entertainment was provided for the society by a number of British officers, who participated in it. The toasts and sentiments expressed mark the high-toned, chivalric courtesy of that period. The first was, the "Union Society" by the president; the second was "General George Washington" by a British officer; the third, "The King of Great Britain," by an American officer.

These four gentlemen preserved the existence of the society, which in 1786 was incorporated by the Legislature of the State, with the title of the Union Society. In 1854 the board of managers of the society purchased one hundred and twenty-five acres of the Bethesda estate and erected buildings for the accommodation of the orphans under its charge and removed them thither. The civil war again necessitated the temporary abandonment of Bethesda and it was occupied first by Confederate and subsequently by Federal soldiers. With the return of peace it was again restored to the uses to which it had been originally dedicated in the incipency of the Colony. In 1870 the main building was begun but was not finished for several years after. It stands near the site of Whitefield's "Big House of Mercy," a monument to that great philanthropist. The tree under which, it is said, Whitefield preached to the Indians is pointed out.

On the 23d of April, 1888, the one hundred and thirty-eighth annual report of the society was submitted by the president, in which it was stated that of the one hundred and six boys under the care of the society during the year, eighty-nine were still in the institution.

The following list embraces the presidents of the society so far as known. From 1750 to 1778 there is no record to show who filled the responsible position. In 1779 Josiah Powell was president, in 1786 William Stevens, in 1790 Noble Wimberly Jones, from which year to the present the following have respectively held the position: Joseph Clay, Joseph Habersham, William Stevens, George Jones, James P. Young, Mathew McAllister, Joseph Habersham, Charles Harris, General David B. Mitchell, William B. Bulloch, William Davis, J. McPherson Berrien, James Johnston, Dr. Moses Sheftall, John Hunter, Richard W. Habersham, Steele White, Thomas Polhill, Dr. R. D. Arnold, Solomon Cohen, Edward Padelford, Joseph S. Foy, Robert D. Walker, John M. Cooper, William M. Wadley, Abram Minis, J. H. Estill.

St. Andrew's Society, an association of Scottish sons, was organized about 1790, and in point of age it ranks second to the Union Society. By some it is claimed to be of equal age. The exact date of its birth is, however, uncertain. Its first president was General Lachlan McIntosh, with Sir George Houstoun as vice-president. The purpose of the society is stated to be "to cherish the recollections of our homes and the birth-place of our fathers; to promote good-fellowship among Scotchmen and their descendants in this adopted country; and to extend to unfortunate Scotchmen and their families assistance and counsel in case of necessity."

During the War of 1812 it seems the society was not maintained, as we find no record of its meetings. It was reorganized in 1819. In 1849, or 1850, the society purchased the lot on the southwest corner of Broughton and Jefferson streets and erected a commodious hall. During the late war the society became financially involved and was obliged to dispose of the property. Its fortunes were revived soon after the war, and the society is now in a flourishing condition. Meetings are held in Knights of Pythias' Hall. The present officers are P. M. Dougan, president; Thomas Ballantyne, first vice-president; J. M. Lang, second vice-president; H. A. McLeod, secretary and treasurer; W. W. Fraser, cor-

responding secretary; J. Malloch, William Falconer, and D. G. Alexander, stewards.

Female Orphan Asylum.—When the Union Society was organized in 1750, the purpose of the organization was the care and education of orphans and destitute children, without distinction of sex. In 1801 a separation was suggested by Rev. Henry Holcombe, pastor of the Baptist Church, in Savannah, which gave rise to the Female Orphan Asylum. The first board of directors was composed of the following ladies: Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, Mrs. Ann Clay, Mrs. Jane Smith, Mrs. Sarah Lamb, Mrs. Margaret Hunter, Lady Ann Houstoun, Mrs. Holcombe, Mrs. Hannah McAllister, Mrs. Susannah Jenkins, Mrs. Ann Moore, Mrs. Moore, Miss Rebecca Newell, Mrs. Mary Wall, and Mrs. Martha Stephens. The Legislature of Georgia granted an act of incorporation in 1810, and for the first thirty-seven years of its existence the work of the society was confined to the eastern portion of the city. The scope of the work gradually increased, and in 1838 the necessary funds to erect the building on the corner of Bull and Charlton streets were secured by Mrs. M. Marshall and Mrs. M. Richardstone. The present board is composed of the following ladies: Mrs. A. Minis, president; Mrs. John Hardee, treasurer; Miss L. Gilmer, secretary; Mrs. Charles Lamar, Mrs. George L. Cope, jr., Mrs. W. J. Sams, Mrs. C. F. Mills, Mrs. J. W. Lathrop, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Whitehead, Mrs. Bowman, Mrs. MacIntyre, Mrs. Van Vorst, Mrs. Hull, Miss Saussy, Miss Read, Miss Anderson.

The Hibernian Society—The oldest Irish organization in Georgia was organized on March 17, 1812, and from that time to the present has served a most honorable purpose in promoting harmony and sociability among its members and in works of benevolence. Among the first members were John Cumming, Zachary Miller, John Dillon, David Bell, Isaac Minis, T. U. P. Charlton and James Hunter. The rules of the society limit the number of its active members to one hundred, which is restricted to those of Irish birth or extraction. A constitutional obligation has rested on the members to dine together on each anniversary, and this obligation has been faithfully observed, except on the anniversary of 1863, when the condition of the country from the effects of the war precluded the idea of a convivial celebration. The present officers of the society are P. W. Meldrim, president; John R. Dillon, vice-

president; J. F. Brooks, treasurer; Charles F. Prendergast, recording secretary; J. M. Hogan, corresponding secretary; J. Ward, standard-bearer.

The Savannah Widow's Society was organized in 1822 by a number of ladies of the city for the purpose of affording relief to indigent widows with families, and other destitute women. The work was sustained for several years by annual subscription and voluntary donations. In 1834 the city council gave to the society two lots on South Broad street, whereon a row of small wooden houses was erected to serve as an asylum for aged pensioners. These quarters were used until 1859 when the society, through the bequest of Mrs. Doratha Abraham, came into possession of the building now used on the corner of Broughton and East Broad streets. This has since been known as the Abraham's Home, so named in honor of the donor. It is used as a home for aged women without regard to religious sect or nationality. The present officers of the society are Mrs. J. W. Lathrop, president; Mrs. Octavus Cohen, vice-president; Mrs. J. Champion, secretary; Miss Susan Tufts, treasurer.

The Hebrew Benevolent Society was organized mainly through the efforts of Rudolpe Einstein, Abraham Einstein and Solomon Cohen in 1851, when eighty-one members were enrolled. The object of the society is to minister to the necessities of indigent persons of the Jewish faith. J. Kohn is president of the society.

The Savannah Benevolent Association was organized on October 12, 1854, to meet the cases of distress occasioned by the yellow fever epidemic of that year. The organization did a grand work in this trying period of the city's history, and has ever since been maintained. The present officers are J. I. M. Solomons, president; G. C. Freeman, treasurer; J. M. Lewis, secretary; directors, W. W. Gordon, J. H. Johnston, J. L. Warren.

The Mary Telfair Home is a benevolent institution for the reception of widows with families of small children. The home consists of four brick buildings on President street, the gift of Miss Mary Telfair. They were first used in 1883. To each family is given a flat of three rooms, with partial support in health, and additional aid in time of sickness. The home is under the management of the Savannah Widow's Society.

The Industrial Relief Society and Home for the Friendless owes its origin to the exertion of Mrs. George W. Wylly, Mrs. Kollock, Mrs. L.

J. Rosenfeld, Mrs. Thomas Purse, Mrs. Robert McIntyre, Mrs. Alexander Campbell, Mrs. Luke Cannon, who in 1869 applied to the Superior Court for a charter for a charitable institution to be known as *The Refuge of the Homeless*. The society however was not organized until February, 1875, when the present name was adopted. The main object of the society is to assist the destitute and ignorant; to give them free instruction in industrial pursuits and at the same time to afford women and girls a temporary home. The society owns the building where its charities are dispensed on the southwest corner of Charlton and Drayton streets. Its present officers are Mrs. N. Lovell, president; Mrs. Octavus Cohen, first vice-president; Mrs. Julia McLeod, secretary and second vice-president.

La Société Française de Bienfaisance de Savannah was formed in 1871 and two years later was incorporated. The object of the society is to afford relief to distressed members and Frenchmen in need. Its officers are A. Bonnaud, president; A. L. Desbouillons, vice-president; and H. Thomasson, treasurer.

The Workingmen's Benevolent Association was organized in 1859 and was chartered in January, 1869. It has over 300 members and has been instrumental in accomplishing much good. T. Keenan is president and J. F. Fitzhenry, secretary.

Savannah Hospital.—This hospital is the outgrowth of the labors of a few benevolent citizens of Savannah who in 1819 erected by private subscription a commodious structure on Gaston street, between Drayton and Abercorn street, which was used for several years exclusively as a hospital for sailors. In 1830 \$18,000 was left to the institution by James Wallace and Thomas Young. In 1835 the society was incorporated under the name of *The Poorhouse and Hospital Society*, upon the applications of Joseph Cumming, S. C. Dunning, R. King, John Gardner, Mathew Hopkins, William R. Waring, Charles S. Henry, S. D. Corbett, Samuel Philbrick, N. G. Beard, Francis Sorrell, R. D. Arnold, and P. M. Kollock. The present commodious building, now used, was erected on the site of the old structure in 1877 at a cost of \$40,000. It is 200 by 60 feet, in dimensions and has accommodations for 100 patients. The qualifications for admission are that the applicant shall be poor and sick, irrespective of other circumstances. Pay patients are received and furnished with private rooms when desired. The *Savannah Hospital*, as it

is now called, is complete in all its appointments; its grounds are extensive and well cared for and the air of neatness and comfort pervades the whole institution. It is under the direction of a board of seven managers of whom George J. Mills is president, Dr. William Duncan, superintendent, and C. H. Colding, resident physician. The corps of physicians besides the two named is as follows: Dr. J. D. Martin, Dr. T. J. Charlton, Dr. J. P. S. Houstoun, Dr. W. W. Owens, Dr. M. L. Boyd.

The Savannah Hospital is supported by the interest upon its investments, the moneys received from pay patients, and annual appropriations from the city and county, the former appropriating \$3,600 and the latter \$1,000. Several bequests and donations have been made to the hospital, the largest being a donation of \$100,000 by Mrs. Charles F. Mills, according to an expressed wish of her husband previous to his death.

The Georgia Infirmary is a charity institution for the support of disabled colored persons. It originated from an endowment of Thomas F. Williams, Richard F. Williams giving the land upon which the building was erected. It was incorporated by the Georgia Legislature in December, 1832. The hospital building is situated on the east side of Bull street, near the toll-gate. The city donates \$3,600 annually to its support and the county \$1,500, which with a small amount from pay-patients, includes the revenue received for the support of the hospital. It is under the direction of a board of thirteen managers, of which John I. Stoddard is president.

St. Joseph's Infirmary, an eleemosynary institution which was organized in 1875, is supported by voluntary contributions and pay-patients. It is under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, Sister M. Eulalia being the Sister Superior. The infirmary is located on the northwest corner of Taylor and Habersham streets.

The Telfair Hospital is of recent origin. It is located on the southwestern corner of new Houston and Drayton streets, the fine brick building and grounds used being the gift of Mrs. Margaret Telfair Hodgson and Miss Mary Telfair. The officers of the hospital are Mrs. J. F. Gilmer, president; Mrs. John Williamson, secretary; and Mrs. James Rankin, treasurer.

Little Minnie Mission on the southwest corner of Jones and Lincoln streets, is a home for infants and is a memorial to a child whose death

prompted the project in behalf of the helpless little ones. Miss L. Pitzer is matron of the mission.

The Workingmen's Literary and Relief Association was organized in 1877. Its objects are the intellectual advancement of its members and to afford relief in case of accident or death. *The Savannah, Florida and Western and Charleston and Savannah Railroad Relief Association* is an organization of similar aims. The latter was organized in 1878.

For several years the Chatham Club was the leading social organization in Savannah. It ceased to exist a few years ago, when most of its members united with the Oglethorpe Club.

The oldest social club in Savannah is the *Harmonie* which was organized in 1865. It was instituted for social and mental improvement and made considerable progress under its first president Mr. Wolf. St. Andrew's Hall was first used as club rooms and here many pleasant balls and social gatherings were held, which added much to the winter amusements of the city. The club became a chartered organization in 1887. Its present home is on the corner of Bull and Jones streets, formerly a private residence. Emile Newman is president; I. A. Solomon, jr., vice-president; S. Binswanger, treasurer; A. S. Milius, secretary.

The Oglethorpe Club was organized with twelve members in 1875. It was first intended to make it a club with a very limited membership, but it has since extended its membership to 175. It is in a flourishing condition; is made up of the leading citizens of the city and has finely furnished and equipped quarters in the second story of the old Odd Fellow's building on the corner of Broughton and Bull streets. The presiding officers of the club are George S. Owens, president; T. M. Cunningham, vice-president; R. L. Mercer, secretary; and John Sullivan, treasurer.

The Savannah Turn Verein Club was organized in 1856. It is composed entirely of Germans and meetings are held the first Sunday in each month at their hall No. 187 Broughton street. The officers are John Wohanka, president; Henry Kolshorn, vice-president; J. G. C. Kruse, secretary; M. L. Byck, treasurer.

The Standard Club is a social organization but recently organized. H. M. Boley, is president; M. Solomons, vice-president; S. G. Lowenthal, secretary; and M. D. Hirsch, treasurer.

Savannah has three gun clubs, the *Chatham*, *Forest City* and the *Savannah Rifle Association*. Of the first named the officers are C. A. Drayton, president; H. W. Palmer, vice-president; W. H. Connerat, secretary and treasurer; G. S. McAlpin, ordnance officer.

Forest City Club.—E. J. Kieffer, president; J. Reideman, vice-president; C. A. Lamont, secretary and treasurer; J. Rocker, ordnance officer.

Savannah Rifle Association.—J. W. McAlpin, president; R. Falligant, vice-president; J. M. Bryan, secretary and treasurer; J. P. White, ordnance officer.

The Savannah Yacht Club was organized several years ago; is strong in membership and one of the most popular organizations in the city. The club-house is located near Thunderbolt, and during the summer months is a favorite resort. The officers are G. A. Mercer, commodore; F. S. Lathrop, rear-commodore; T. L. Kinsey, vice-commodore; W. D. Johnston, secretary; M. A. Cohen, treasurer; M. Henderson, John Screven, jr., S. P. Goodwin, sailing committee.

The history of Free Masonry is almost coeval with the birth of the city. Solomon Lodge No. 1 was chartered in 1735, only eighteen years after the organization of a Constitutional Grand Lodge in London. Although Georgia is the youngest of the original thirteen States, it is third in the list with chartered lodges, only Massachusetts and Pennsylvania being given priority in this respect.

Tradition has it that Solomon's Lodge was formed as early as 1733, but there is little to substantiate this assertion. Even the place of meeting during the earlier years of the Savannah Lodge is in doubt, but it is probable that no regular place was secured until some years after the lodge was chartered. Among those who accompanied Oglethorpe to the site of Savannah in 1733 there must have been several who were masons, for at a meeting of the Grand Lodge in London in the year of the settlement of the colony, it is recorded that "Deputy Grand Master Batson recommended the new colony of Georgia in North America to the benevolence of the particular lodges."

Free Masonry rapidly grew into a strong order in Savannah, and soon occupied an important position among the incorporated bodies of the town. In 1758 Solomon's Lodge was mentioned as one of the distin-

guished bodies that received Henry Ellis, the royal governor of the province of Georgia, upon his arrival in the city. Most of the prominent citizens of the city prior to and after the Revolutionary War, were enrolled members of Solomon's Lodge. Among the names found on the records were the Stephens, Jackson, Houstoun, Stirk, the Habershams, Elbert, Cecil, Hawley, Walton, Tatnall, McAllister, Shad, John Berrien, the Shefalls, Bulloch, Waldburg, Lillibridge, Hammonds and others, all distinguished in the early history of Georgia.

The first regular meeting of Solomon's Lodge of which there is any written record, was in January, 1785. On December 6, 1786, the first session of the Grand Lodge of the State was held in Savannah. *The Gazette of the State of Georgia* of Thursday, December 21, 1786, contains the following reference to this meeting :

"Last Saturday (Dec. 16), agreeable to notification, the different lodges, either by deputation or representatives, met the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge at their lodge room at the Coffee House, when the permanent appointments under the provincial regulations of England, were by the grand officers voluntarily abolished, and annual elections adopted. It is with regret to be communicated to the Craft that the Right Worshipful Grand Master of Georgia, the Hon. Major General Elbert, resigned the chair, when the following Grand Officers were elected for the year 1787 :

"The Right Worshipful William Stephens, Esq., Grand Master.

"Right Worshipful Brigadier General James Jackson, Deputy Grand Master.

"The Worshipful Sir George Houstoun, Baronet, Grand Senior Warden.

"The Worshipful Thomas Elfe, Esq., Grand Junior Warden.

"The Worshipful James Habersham, Esq., Grand Treasurer.

"The Worshipful Samuel Stirk, Grand Secretary.

"The Grand Lodge taking into consideration the generous and Masonic behavior of the late Grand Master, Brother Elbert, unanimously hailed him Father of Independent Masonry, and appointed a committee to present him the thanks of the Masonic State, with a Past Grand Master's emblematical jewel, in testimony of their respect and brotherly affection.

"The different Lodges in the State being thus cemented under one

common head, the day was celebrated with harmony and good fellowship."

The account does not give the number of lodges participating in the meeting. It is evident, however, that Savannah at this time had two lodges Solomon's No. 1, and Hiram No. 2, for it appears that five out of the six officers elected were members of the first named lodge, and the remaining office junior grand warden, was filled by a member of Hiram Lodge. The grand lodge organized at this time issued new charters to the two lodges named, and to a number of others soon after instituted.

Masonry flourished in Savannah under the grand lodge but the same prosperity was not enjoyed by the fraternity at large. In 1818 outside of the large towns the ancient institution had become almost extinct. In that year but ten lodges were at work, and of these, three were in Savannah, viz.: Solomon No. 1, Union No. 10, and L'Esperance No. 31. Hiram Lodge No. 2, which had been instituted immediately succeeding the war for independence, ceased to exist about the beginning of the present century. It was revived in 1826, but became defunct a short time afterward.

"At the annual communication of the Grand Lodge held in Savannah in 1820," says Colonel J. H. Estill, in his history of the two Grand Lodges, "the movement, from which was to result a complete revolution in the then existing system of Free Masonry, began. It was the consideration of 'the constitution or new code of by-laws submitted by a committee appointed at a previous communication.' This report was, after numerous alterations, adopted. Under this constitution it was provided that the first two meetings in the year (the Grand Lodge then held quarterly meetings) namely, those in March and June, should be held in Savannah, and the last two, those of September and December, in Milledgeville, then the capital of the State; the grand officers being elected in Savannah, at the March communication. This division of honors was devised for the purpose of harmonizing the conflicting interests of the upper and lower portions of the State, it being almost, if not absolutely, impossible for the representatives of all the lodges to meet together at either place at any time, owing to the lack of facilities for quick transportation, for those were the days when steamboats were just beginning to plow the waters, and railroads were still unknown. Though intended to better

the condition of affairs, it virtually made two grand lodges, with different officers and conflicting interests." It is not necessary in this connection to follow the history of the two grand lodges which a few years after were created, the one named the Savannah Grand Lodge and the other the Milledgeville Grand Lodge; but this result was most unfortunate for the advancement of Free Masonry in Georgia for several years. Solomon Lodge No. 1, Union No. 3, and Hiram No. 35, remained with the Savannah Grand Lodge, while the L'Esperance No. 8, joined the Milledgeville Lodge.

Union Lodge No. 3 at this time (1827) was an influential body of Masons, and its membership included some of the best citizens of Savannah. It was in this lodge that Royal Arch Masonry first made its appearance in Georgia, and within its portal was born that flourishing Masonic body known as Georgia Chapter No. 3. It had an elegant room on Bull street, corner of Bay lane, where the Grand Lodge for a time held its quarterly session. It ceased to exist in the great anti-Masonic crusade which occurred in the United States during the few years following 1826, shortly after the alleged expose of Free Masonry made by William Morgan of New York. During the excitement which spread all over the country at this time, and the warfare made upon the order, Hiram, Union and L'Esperance Lodges of Savannah suspended work, and were never revived. Solomon Lodge No. 1, alone withstood the storm.

In 1839 a union of the two grand lodges of Georgia was effected, and from that date the Masonic order in the State has had a most prosperous career. From a half dozen lodges it has grown to a present list of 300 lodges, and an affiliated membership of nearly 15,000 Masons.

The first hall erected for the meetings of the Savannah Lodges was situated on President street, near St. James Square. It was a two-story frame building, and for many years was used as a private residence. This building was torn down in 1888, and the *Morning News* of March 28, 1888, had the following account of the old landmark.¹ The next

¹ TEARING DOWN THE OLD MASONIC HALL, AN HISTORIC ROOKERY.—The two-story wooden building on a brick basement fronting on President street was erected by the members of Solomon's Lodge in 1799, and was used by the Masonic fraternity until 1858, when they removed to the building on the northeast corner of Bull and Broughton streets, having sold the old site to the city in 1856. The city bought the property and that adjoining on the west, which was at one time the residence of General Lach-

building used is on the northeast corner of Broughton and Bull streets, which was jointly used by the Masonic and Odd Fellows Lodges until these two orders erected separate buildings of their own. The present Masonic temple is situated on the northwest corner of Liberty and Whitaker streets. This is a substantial and handsome building. The first story is rented for stores. The second story is a fine, capacious hall for concerts, balls, dramatic representations, etc. The third story contains the chambers of the fraternity.

At the present time Savannah has five lodges of Master Masons, Commandery of Knights Templar, Council of R. and S. M., and a chapter of the Royal Arch as follows:

Palestine Commandery No. 5 was instituted on the 15th of April, 1867,

lan McIntosh of the Revolutionary Army, intending to erect thereon a guard-house or police station; but the people in the neighborhood objected to its being used for that purpose, and it was sold to the late John J. Kelley for one thousand dollars. That gentleman on his death bequeathed the entire property to the Union Society. The workmen yesterday pulled down the partitions that divided the old lodge-room into bedrooms, and it once more had the appearance of a meeting-place of the brethren. In the arched ceiling, almost obliterated by the numberless coats of whitewash that had been put upon it by people who have occupied the premises, could be seen the outlines of the "Blazing Star." The hooks in the walls and marks on the floor indicated that Royal Arch Masons had there seen for the first time the 'Sanctum Sanctorum,' and that they had worked in the quarries and showed evidence of their skill. It was in that old lodge-room that Honorable William Stephens, General James Jackson, Governor Josiah Tattall, and other illustrious Georgians and Masons met in the early days of the then young State. It was there also that the Cuban patriot, General Lopez, who was soon after garroted in Havana, was made a Mason in 1850. There are quite a number of members of the fraternity now living who were brought 'to light' in the old room, which today will disappear forever. It is with feelings akin to regret that we see these venerable structures torn down, while yet their inner timbers appear to be strong enough to stand for centuries. They, however, must make way for buildings more suitable to the uses of the present generation. A noble structure, the Whitefield Building, will succeed the old hall, and the site is virtually a Masonic contribution to that noble charity, the Union Society; for the land was the gift of the late John J. Kelley, Past Master of Zerubbabel Lodge, number fifteen, and the money with which the new structure is to be erected is a part of the bequest of the late William F. Holland, Past Master of Ancient Landmark Lodge, number two hundred and thirty-one. The building will be a fitting memorial to George Whitefield, the founder of the Bethesda Orphan House, and John J. Kelley and William F. Holland, two members of the society whose timely beneficence has added this valuable property to the assets from which is to be derived an income for the support of the orphans of the Union Society, the present guardian of Whitefield's sacred trust to the people of Savannah.

Present officers: Thomas Ballantyne, T. C.; W. A. Walker, G.; J. A. Roberts, P.; J. H. Cavanaugh, C. G.; R. R. Lovell, T. J.; J. F. La Far, R.

Georgia Council No. 2, R. and S. M., was established several years ago. The present officers are Thomas Ballantyne, Ill. M.; W. S. Rockwell, Ill. H. of T.; R. J. Nunn, Ill. H. A.; Robert H. Footman, T.; Henry T. Botts, R.

Georgia Chapter No. 3, Royal Arch, was established in 1818. The present officers are Thomas Ballantyne, E. P. H.; T. S. Haines, E. K.; J. H. Cavanaugh, E. S.; C. A. Drayton, C. H.; B. Brady, P. S.; P. H. Ward, R.; R. C. Kennedy, R. A. C.; C. G. Anderson, sentinel.

The lodges of master masons are as follows: *Solomon's Lodge No. 1*, as previously stated, was chartered in 1735. Among the treasures of the lodge is an old Bible, presented by General Oglethorpe, with writing on the fly-leaf. The present officers are W. B. Spann, W. M.; E. E. Buckner, S. W.; J. A. Thomas, J. W.; H. S. Colding, S.; R. H. Lewis, T.; J. H. Fox, tiler.

Zerubbabel Lodge, No. 15, was chartered on the 5th of November, 1840. The present officers are W. A. Walker, W. M.; J. Kiley, S.

Clinton Lodge, No. 54, was chartered on the 27th of October, 1847. Its present officers are J. E. Mallery, W. M.; W. Russell, jr., S.

Ancient Landmark Lodge, No. 241, was chartered on the 15th of November, 1859. The present officers are W. S. Rockwell, W. M.; J. S. Haines, S.

Landrum Lodge, No. 48, is the youngest of the Masonic lodges of the city. Its officers are A. H. McDonell, W. M.; S. P. Goodwin, S. W.; J. W. Pead, J. W.; H. E. Wilson, S.; C. H. Carson, T.; D. L. Jackson, tiler.

The colored citizens of Savannah are represented by four Masonic lodges, the *Eureka Lodge, No. 1*, *Hilton Lodge, No. 2*, *Mount Moriah Lodge No. 16*, *Pythagoras Lodge, No. 14*.

The society of Independent Order of Odd Fellows has five lodges, an encampment, and one canton of the uniformed division in Savannah.

Oglethorpe Lodge, No. 1, the first branch of the order established in Savannah, was instituted in 1843. The officers are H. Emmett Wilson, N. G.; J. H. Osborne, secretary.

Live Oak Lodge, No. 3, was instituted in 1843. Isaac Beckett is N. G.; John Houston, secretary.

DeKalb Lodge, No. 9, was instituted in 1843. Its officers are J. W. Smith, N. G.; J. Riley, secretary.

Haupt Lodge, No. 57, was instituted in 1869. Its officers are J. A. Shephard, N. G.; A. N. Manucy, secretary.

Golden Rule Lodge, No. 12, was the fourth lodge instituted in Savannah. Its officers are T. Stockton, N. G.; E. E. Cheatham, secretary.

Magnolia Encampment, No. 1, was instituted in 1845. W. J. O'Brien is C. P., and J. S. Tyson, secretary.

Chatham Canton No. 1 of the uniformed rank has the following officers: J. W. Jackson, commander; A. B. Brook, lieutenant; J. W. Pearson, ensign; A. N. Manucy, clerk; C. H. Dorsett, accountant.

The Odd Fellows General Relief Committee has been a most valuable auxiliary in affording aid to distressed members of the order. D. Morgan is president.

Odd Fellows Hall was for many years on the northeast corner of Broughton and Bull streets. In 1887 a new hall was completed on the northwest corner of State and Barnard streets. This fine building was totally destroyed by fire on the evening of April 6, 1889. Efforts are now being put forward to secure the erection of another building for the use of the fraternity.

The Knights of Pythias have several flourishing branches in Savannah. Among the lodges are *Forest City Lodge, No. 1*, *Myrtle Lodge, No. 6*, *Teutonia Lodge, No. 7*, *Excelsior Lodge, No. 8*, *Calanthe Lodge, No. 28*, *Du Guesclin Division, No. 1*. One branch of the Endowment rank, and of the Uniform Division. Knights of Pythias' Hall is situated on the southeast corner of Barnard and York streets.

Among the other secret societies of Savannah are *Alliance Lodge, No. 586*, Knights of Honor; and *Savannah Lodge, No. 1183*; *Tattnall Council, No. 884*, American Legion of Honor; *Isondiga Lodge, No. 18*, and *Sheperd Lodge, No. 17*, Ancient Order of United Workmen; *Branch No. 38*, Catholic Knights of America; *Savannah Lodge, No. 2*, Golden Chain; *Georgia Lodge, No. 151*, O. K. S. B.; *Pulaski Council, No. 153*, Royal Arcanum; *Jasper Council, No. 10*, Home Circle; three branches of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; two lodges of the Independent Order of Good Templars; one division of the Sons of Temperance; *Georgia Tent No. 151*, of I. O. of R.; *St. John the Baptist Society*, and *St.*

Patrick's Society of T. A. B.; two lodges of the I. O. B. B., and one lodge of the U. S. of T.

The soldiers who fought in the Confederate and Federal armies during the late civil war, have each an organization in Savannah, the object of which is for social reunion and benevolence. The *Confederate Veterans Association* was formed a few years ago and is in a flourishing condition. The officers are L. McLaws, president; H. R. Jackson, W. W. Gordon, vice-presidents; J. K. P. Carr, treasurer; E. A. Silva, secretary. The organization composed of honorably discharged Federal soldiers is known as the *Winfield Scott Hancock Post No. 48*. Its officers are T. F. Gleason, commander; W. Snow, senior vice-commander; E. Ybanez, junior vice-commander; S. F. B. Gillespie, adjutant.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

ESTILL, COLONEL J. H. The story of the life of a self-made man is almost always interesting, particularly to those who have their way to make in the world. The methods by which he won distinction, or acquired fortune, are eagerly studied by those who are ambitious and enterprising, with the hope of finding something that will assist them in their efforts to achieve success.

Colonel John Holbrook Estill is a conspicuous example of a self-made man. He owes his success in life to his own unaided exertions. He began at the bottom of the ladder, and has climbed steadily toward the top. Indomitable perseverance, great application, a high order of executive ability and excellent judgment in business matters are marked features of his character.

Colonel Estill was born in Charleston, S. C., October 28, 1840, in a building on Broad street which subsequently was occupied by that celebrated organ of secession, the Charleston *Mercury*. He was one of a family of eleven children. William Estill, his father, who was a book-

seller, bookbinder and printer, lived to the age of eighty-two, and died in Savannah in 1882. From his earliest years Colonel Estill has been connected in one way and another with the printing business. His father moved from Charleston to Savannah in 1851, and at the early age of eleven years Colonel Estill began his career in the office of the *Evening Journal*, his first work being setting type and distributing newspapers. During the next five years he was employed at different times in the offices of the *Savannah Daily Courier* and the *Savannah Georgian*. In 1856 he returned to Charleston, and served an apprenticeship in the printing house of Walker, Evans & Cogswell. In 1859 he was back in Savannah assisting in the publication of the *Evening Express*. The *Express* was a failure, however, and when the war of secession began he was a pressman in a job office which was situated on the site now occupied by the *Morning News* building.

Colonel Estill was, of course, in sympathy with the prevailing sentiment of his State in political matters, and promptly volunteered when troops were called for. He was one of those who garrisoned Fort Pulaski, and he went with his company, the Oglethorpe Light Infantry, commanded by the distinguished Colonel F. S. Bartow, to Virginia. He has always been proud of the fact that he was one of "Bartow's boys." He was wounded in battle, and was discharged from the army in 1863 because of his wounds, but he afterwards served as a volunteer in defense of Savannah.

At the close of the war Colonel Estill was penniless and without occupation. He was not, however, discouraged. He had confidence in himself and he was willing to work at anything that promised to yield him a living. He accepted employment at a dollar a day, but kept his eyes open for chances to improve his material condition. In 1866, while working as pressman in the *News and Herald* office, he purchased a small job printing office, and in 1867 he bought an interest in the *News and Herald*, and became its business manager. In the following year he secured entire control of that newspaper and changed its name to the *Morning News*.

It was not an easy matter to make a newspaper in Savannah pay at that time. There were two other morning newspapers, but the *Morning News* quickly became the favorite, and in a short time had the field to

itself. In 1876 the *Morning News* became financially strong enough to own a home of its own, and a four-story building was erected on the present site of the magnificent *Morning News* publishing house, which was built nine years later.

It may be asserted without fear of successful contradiction that the *Morning News* under Colonel Estill's management, has led the newspaper press of the South in every step of its improvement. It used a folder when there was not another in use south of Philadelphia, and the same is true with respect to the mailing machine. It was the first to print from stereotype plates, and it was the first in Georgia to organize a regular system of correspondence and to use the telegraph extensively in its special news service. In the *Morning News* publishing house there is an immense business carried on outside of the publishing of a newspaper. Job printing, lithographing and book-binding are done on an extensive scale. The patrons of the publishing house are found in about every city in the South.

Colonel Estill also owns the *Macon Telegraph*, the leading newspaper of Middle Georgia, and one of the four great dailies of the State. Outside of his newspapers he has taken a leading part in a great many business enterprises, and continues to do so. In all undertakings for the benefit of Savannah he is pushed to the front, and made to shoulder a large share of the burden. Within the last few years he has been endeavoring to relieve himself of many of the trusts confided to his care, but he has only partially succeeded. He is still, in a very marked degree, a servant of the public, and doubtless will continue to be. Among the places of trust and responsibility he now fills are the following: President of the Union Society, which includes the care of the Bethesda Orphan Home, founded in 1740 by Rev. George Whitefield; President of the Chatham Real Estate and Improvement Company; a member of the Board of Public Education, and a County Commissioner. Besides these he is either president or director in a dozen or more corporations. He built one of the street railways of Savannah entirely from his own means, and was the projector of the Belt Line Railroad. In addition to the various business enterprises to which attention has already been called he directs a rice plantation and cattle ranch which he owns in South Carolina.

Colonel Estill has never held an elective political office, except that



W. L. G. & Co. N. Y.

A. L. Knott

of public printer, to which he was twice elected. He has, however, been on the staff of the governor for many years, and is at present the Georgia member of the National Democratic Committee.

Colonel Estill is almost wholly a self-educated man. He received some benefits from the public schools, but he did not attend them regularly because he was so occupied that he could not. He has been a reader all his life, however, and being a thinker, as well as a man of many original ideas, his want of early educational advantages has not seriously interfered with his success in life. He is not contentious, but he adheres to his opinions with great tenacity when once they are formed. He yields gracefully when the facts are against him, however, and is quick to set himself right when he finds that he is in the wrong. He is an enemy of cant, hypocrisy and humbuggerly in whatever shape they present themselves, and does not hesitate to show his hostility to them, but he is inclined to treat leniently the faults and shortcomings of his fellow men. The late Colonel Thompson, who was the editor of the *Morning News* for a quarter of a century, said that had Colonel Estill given his undivided attention to editorial work he would have made a reputation second to that of no other editor in the country. Upon questions that interest him he writes with force and clearness. As an "All-around man" he probably ranks with the best of the newspaper men of the country, as he is equally at home in writing local matter, editorials, or directing the business department.

HARTRIDGE, ALFRED LAMAR, was born in Savannah, February 17, 1837, the son of Charles Hartridge, a cotton factor, a native of Savannah, of Saxon lineage, and was the youngest of four brothers, Julian, Algernon Sidney, Charles John, and Alfred Lamar. He was educated at the Georgia Military Institute, Marietta, Ga., and was senior captain of cadets when he withdrew from the institute to enter commercial life in Savannah in October, 1854.

At the time of the secession of Georgia he was a bank officer under G. B. Lamar, president of the Bank of Commerce. On the withdrawal of his State from the Union he joined the Chatham Artillery as a private, but was soon afterwards made first lieutenant of the DeKalb Riflemen, and on June 7, 1861, was mustered into the service of the Confederacy with his

company, and ordered to Genesis Point, at the mouth of the Great Ogeechee River. In August, 1861, he was elected captain of the DeKalb Riflemen, and re-enlisted with his company in the Confederate service for the war. He built and named Fort McAllister, calling it after his warm friend, Colonel Joseph L. McAllister, who was afterward killed in Virginia. During his command of this work Captain Hartridge had several engagements with the enemy, first with one and then with four gunboats, repulsing all attacks.

In August, 1862, he was transferred with his company to the First Battalion of Georgia Sharpshooters, under command of Major Robert H. Anderson, (afterward brigadier-general of cavalry.) In the spring of 1863 he was promoted to major of artillery C. S. A., and placed in command of the heavy batteries at Rosedew, on the Little Ogeechee River. The island of Rosedew was considered by General Beauregard as the strategic point from which the Federals would attempt to advance on Savannah. On November 18, 1864, Major Hartridge was ordered by General McLaws, then in command of the military district of Georgia, to take command of a force consisting of the Twenty-seventh Georgia Battalion of Infantry, the Ashley Dragoons, Captain Heyward, and a section of Maxwell's artillery under Lieutenant Huger, and to proceed to the Central Railroad bridge over the Oconee River, to hold it against what was then supposed to be a raiding party sent to destroy railroad communication with Southwestern Georgia; but which in fact was Sherman's army advancing from Atlanta. He held this bridge and Ball's Ferry for three days against the attacks of Osterhaus's division of Sherman's Army, being gallantly assisted by the Cadets of the Georgia Military Institute under the command of Major F. W. Capers, and by other State troops under the command of General H. C. Wayne, adjutant-general of the State of Georgia. On the third day Lieutenant-General W. J. Hardie visited this command, and seeing the overwhelming strength of the enemy, ordered the troops to fall back to Millen.

On November 30, 1864, he was placed in command of that portion of the outer line of the defenses around Savannah at Monteith, extending from the Charleston and Savannah Railroad bridge over the Savannah River to the Central Railroad, just to the southwest of Harrison's place. The troops under his command consisting of six companies of the Twen-

ty-seventh Georgia Battalion, Howard's Battalion, a North Carolina Battalion, two Cavalry companies and Captain Abell's Light Battery of four pieces. On December 6th the advance of the Federals appeared in front of this line, and on the day following a general attack was made by skirmishers, and in the afternoon by heavy columns. By order of the general commanding, the troops were withdrawn from this line on the night of December 7th, and Major Hartridge was placed in command of that portion of the inner line resting on the Williamson place on the river.

On December 13th Fort McAllister was captured, and on the 14th Major Hartridge was ordered to take command of the Little Ogeechee batteries from Rosedew to the railroad bridge crossing the river. This line he held until the night of December 20th, when all the lines around Savannah were abandoned, and the army withdrawn to the north side of the river, leaving Savannah defenseless. After the evacuation of Savannah he was placed in command of the Twenty-seventh Georgia Battalion, and served in General McLaw's Division in South and North Carolina, taking part in many skirmishes, and in the battles of Averysboro and Bentonville. He ended his war record as a colonel of infantry on April 19, 1865, at Greensboro, N. C., when General J. E. Johnston surrendered his army to General Sherman.

Since that year he has been actively at work in his native city, endeavoring to do his share towards reviving the shattered fortunes of his section. In 1876, during the yellow fever epidemic which devastated Savannah, he served as a volunteer in the Benevolent Association, and worked among the sick and poor without intermission from the beginning to the end of this fearful scourge. Particularly has he been untiring in his endeavors to aid those who are developing the Central Railroad Company of Georgia into one of the great railroad systems of the country, and in encouraging those who believe in the future greatness of Savannah.

MERCER, GEORGE A., born in Savannah, Ga., February 9, 1835. His father, Hugh W. Mercer, was born in Fredericksburg, Va., in 1808. His mother was Mary S. Mercer, *née* Anderson. Hugh W. Mercer was graduated at West Point in 1828, in the class with Jefferson Davis, and one class behind Robert E. Lee. He was the intimate, personal

friend of General Lee. Lieutenant Mercer was for several years on the personal staff of General Winfield Scott. He was sent to Savannah on duty as an officer of artillery. General Lee came to Savannah at the same time as an officer of the U. S. Engineer Corps. In 1833 General Mercer resigned from the army, settled in Savannah and married there Miss Mary S. Anderson, the daughter of Mr. George Anderson, a very prominent merchant and citizen of Savannah. Hugh W. Mercer became cashier of the old Planter's Bank of Savannah, and retained his position until the breaking out of the late war. He was one of the first brigadier-generals appointed by President Davis, and served throughout the entire war on the coast of Georgia and South Carolina, and in the army of Northern Georgia under Generals Joseph E. Johnston and Hood. At the close of hostilities General Mercer returned to Savannah; then he entered into a banking and commission business in Baltimore, finally went to Europe, and died at Baden Baden, Germany, in 1877, in his sixty-ninth year.

General Mercer's mother, the grandmother of Colonel George A. Mercer, was the daughter of the distinguished Cyrus Griffin, of Virginia, the president of the last Continental Congress. General Mercer was the son of Colonel Hugh Mercer, of Fredericksburg, Va., who was president of the old Farmers' Bank of Fredericksburg for many years. Colonel Hugh Mercer was the son of General Hugh Mercer of the Revolutionary army, who was killed at the battle of Princeton, N. J. He was the intimate personal friend of General Washington.

Of the three children now living of Hugh and Mary S. Mercer, George A. Mercer is the eldest, the other two being Mrs. Mary S. Walker, wife of General H. H. Walker, of the Confederate Army, now a resident of Morristown, N. J., and Robert Lee Mercer. George A. Mercer received his preliminary education in Savannah. At the age of thirteen he was sent to the celebrated school of Mr. Russell, in New Haven, Conn. Upon his return he became a pupil of the well-known teacher, William T. Feay, who prepared him for college. In August, 1853, he entered the sophomore class of Princeton, N. J., and was graduated in 1856. He attended the law school at the University of Virginia in 1857. In 1858 he went to Europe. Upon his return to Savannah he entered the law office of Messrs. Lloyd and Owens, and was admitted to the bar in 1859. After admission, he remained in the law office of Ward, Jackson & Jones for

one year. Soon after he began practice, in 1860, he was taken into co-partnership by George A. Gordon, esq., then counsel for the Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia. When the war broke out in 1861 both partners entered the Confederate service, and never resumed practice together. Colonel Gordon after the war moved to Huntsville, Ala., and died there. George A. Mercer during the war married Miss Nannie Maury Herndon, daughter of Dr. Brodie S. Herndon, a distinguished physician and surgeon in the Confederate Army, of Fredericksburg, Va. George A. Mercer entered the war as corporal in the Republican Blues, organized in 1808. He was soon promoted to a lieutenancy in said company, and in 1861 was tendered a position in the adjutant and inspector general's department, with the rank of captain and assistant-adjutant-general. He at first served upon the staff of General Mercer, at Brunswick, Savannah, and Charleston, and along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina. He was afterwards transferred to the Western Army, then under command of General Joseph E. Johnston. He participated in all the battles towards the close of General Johnston's command, and in those delivered by General Hood. Under Hood he was the adjutant-general of Smith's Brigade of Cleburne's Division. He saw much of General Cleburne prior to his death at the battle of Franklin, and appreciated and admired his fine soldierly qualities. He was ordered by the war department, just at the close of the war, to report to General Howell Cobb, at Macon, Ga., and was there captured with the Confederate troops by the forces under General Wilson, and paroled. He resumed his law practice in Savannah in the fall of 1865, as soon as the courts were open, and has since continued to practice his profession. In 1872 and 1873, and in 1873 and 1874, he represented Chatham county in the Georgia Legislature, but has filled no other political office. Upon the reorganization of the Savannah military, he was chosen captain of his old company, the Republican Blues, and remained in active command for fifteen years, until December 27, 1886, when he was promoted to the colonelcy of the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia, which position he still holds. He was president of the board of trustees of the Savannah Medical College. He is a director of the Georgia Historical Society, and of the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is a member of the board of trustees of the Chatham Academy, and president of the Board of Public

Education for the city of Savannah and county of Chatham. He is president for the present year of the Bar Association of Georgia, and is one of the executive committee of the American Bar Association of which he was one of the organizers.

Colonel Mercer sustained a severe loss in the death of his wife on June 16, 1885. Of the seven children born of this union five survive: George, Lewis, Robert Lee, Edward, and Nannie Herndon, the only daughter, now Mrs. J. M. Lang.

MCMAHON, CAPT., JOHN, was born near Kilrush, county Clare, Ireland, in March, 1815, and emigrated with his parents to America in early boyhood. They settled in Meramichi, N. B., where he and his sister, Mrs. Edward Grant, now a resident of Iowa, were soon after left as orphans, they being the only children of their deceased parents. From Meramichi he moved to Utica, N. Y., with his sister and family, and continued to reside there until about 1836, when he came to Savannah with several others under an engagement to work in a shoe factory. Young McMahon's comrades returned North the following summer, but he decided to remain here, and soon after obtained a situation from Captain Wiltberger, who was the first to discover his sterling qualities, which in after years made him conspicuous. Captain Wiltberger was then proprietor of the city hotel, which was the principal hostelry of the city. Mr. McMahon remained in this position about two years when he with the aid of some friends, went into business on his own account, on Whitaker street.

In April, 1840, he was married to Miss Kate Harty, of Locust Grove, Taliaferro county, Ga. Her gentle manners and amiable disposition had their influence in shaping his after career. In November, 1841, Captain Wiltberger opened the Pulaski House and Mr. McMahon succeeded him as proprietor of the City Hotel, in which position he was both popular and successful. He was doing a good business at the hotel in 1846 when Georgia was called on to furnish troops to serve in the war with Mexico. Being an officer in the "Irish Jasper Greens," a company which had volunteered and been accepted under the call as Savannah's quota to the Georgia Regiment, he turned his business over to a manager, under direction of his estimable wife, and proceeded with his company to Columbus,

Ga., where they were mustered into the service of the United States, June 11th, for a term of twelve months. Captain (now General) Henry R. Jackson, of the Greens, was elected colonel of the Georgia Regiment on its organization, and Lieutenant McMahon was elected to succeed him as captain on the 20th of June. The regiment left Columbus for the seat of war in Mexico on June 28th.

An incident in Captain McMahon's history at this period may be mentioned to show the character and determination of the man. When the Georgia troops reached the Brazos they received instructions to proceed up the Rio Grande to Camp Belknap opposite Burita, where they remained about two weeks. Among the troops there assembled was the Fourth Illinois Regiment under command of Colonel Baker. This regiment was regarded as one of the finest from the Northwest. In consequence of the limited facilities for transportation to Comargo, where the troops were subsequently ordered, it was necessary to move only a few companies at a time. Four companies of the Georgia Regiment including the Jasper Greens and the Kenesaw Rangers were left behind for a few days, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Redd. On the evening of August 31st the troops received orders to proceed to Comargo, and the Georgia troops were marched to the river bank for the purpose of taking the steamer *Corvette* which had just arrived. While waiting at the landing two or three sparring contests occurred between members of the Jasper Greens and of the Kenesaw Rangers, which occasioned considerable excitement, as the friends of the contestants cheered them on lustily. Colonel Baker, who was aware that Colonel Jackson had gone to Comargo, was returning to camp with a detachment of his men from the funeral of a brother officer when he heard the noise, and imagining that there was trouble among the soldiers, marched down to the point from whence the disorder proceeded. Before his arrival, however, Captain McMahon had already interfered, stopped the sparring, which was becoming rather earnest, and marched his men on board the steamer, and proceeded with them to the hurricane deck where he was reprimanding them for their boisterous conduct, when Colonel Baker hurried his men on board the steamer, and rushed up the stairway to this deck. Captain McMahon, who was addressing his men at the time, had his back turned to the stairway, and the first intimation he had of Colonel Baker's presence was a peremptory command

"Surrender your sword." Captain McMahon not recognizing the officer, turned upon him and replied: "I'll cross swords with you but will not surrender." A fierce combat ensued and Colonel Baker was being worsted, when one of his men seized him around the waist and drawing him back, said, "Colonel, he's too much for you," and others yelled, "charge bayonets," "run him through, etc." The Illinois men at once rushed forward, Captain McMahon was knocked down, bayoneted through the mouth, and pinioned to the deck. Some of the Jaspers perceiving this cried out, "Boys they have killed our captain," and then rushed upon the Illinoisans killing some, seriously wounding others, and forcing a number overboard. The disturbance was soon over. Captain McMahon was reported dangerously hurt and Colonel Baker fatally wounded. Both, however, recovered. Colonel Jackson, on hearing of the affair, ordered Captain McMahon and his company under arrest, and had charges preferred in order that the matter might be fully investigated and that there should be no misunderstanding in the future about the unfortunate affair. A court-martial was ordered by General Taylor, and resulted in the thorough exoneration of Captain McMahon from all blame in the matter. Early in December Captain McMahon obtained leave of absence to attend to some important business requiring his presence in Savannah. Soon after his return to the city his health began to fail, as a result of exposure, etc., while in the field with his command. Later on finding that he would not be able to resume active duty before the "Greens" term of enlistment expired, he forwarded his resignation as captain of the corps.

He resumed management of the city hotel as soon as his health permitted, but afterwards—in the winter of 1848-49—sold out his interest and moved to Locust Grove where he engaged in farming for two years, after which he returned to Savannah. On the 1st of September, 1851, he formed a partnership with Mr. James Doyle, under the firm name of McMahon & Doyle, for the carrying on of a wholesale grocery business on Bay street, which business was successful up to the dissolution of the firm on the 1st of March, 1858. After this dissolution he went into the produce commission business on his own account. On the 30th of April, 1859, he formed a copartnership with Mr. W. J. Harty, under the firm name of John McMahon & Co., which firm continued until November 30, 1862. This firm did a large business in grain and feed up to the middle

or latter part of 1861, when the war practically brought the business of the firm to a close.

Captain McMahon always took an active interest in military matters. He was a member of the "Phoenix Riflemen" before the organization of the "Irish Jasper Greens" in 1842, and a member of the latter corps from the date of its organization, and held various offices in it from time to time, including the position of captain from 20th of June, 1846, to—1847; June —, 1847, to December 30, 1848, and December 21, 1855, to January 4, 1859. He was presented with a handsome dress sword by the members of the corps as a testimonial of their appreciation of his services during this latter term, on the 1st of May, 1858. It was to be expected that he would not be idle when the war between the States commenced. With the same spirit that actuated so many others of his fellow-citizens he promptly aided in organizing the Pulaski Guards early in 1861, and entered the service with that corps as a lieutenant. On the expiration of the first term of enlistment of that corps he was elected captain of the Washington Volunteers, and re-entered the Confederate service with that company as a part of the first volunteer regiment of Georgia. He was with this command in Fort Pulaski while it was beleaguered by the Federal forces, and during the bombardment which led to its surrender in April, 1862. As a prisoner of war he with the other members of the garrison was sent to Goverhor's Island, N. Y., from which point he was about two months later transferred to Johnson's Island, O., where he remained until late in September when he with a number of others was sent to Vicksburg, Miss., to be exchanged. From this point he returned to Georgia and located in Milledgeville (after severing his connection with the army on account of impaired health) where he remained until the latter part of 1864, when he again returned to Savannah.

Soon after the close of the war in 1865 he again went into business, this time with Mr. E. Waitzfelder, of New York, as a partner, under the firm name of John McMahon & Co., in the wholesale grocery, grain and feed line. The business of this firm was very successful, but owing to Captain McMahon's health failing again it was sold out to Dillon & Stetson on the 1st of January 1869, a short time after he returned from a trip to Europe, taken mainly for the benefit of his health. He was out of business from this time until November, 1870, when in conjunction with Eugene Kelly,

esq., of New York, and John Flannery and others of Savannah, he organized the Southern Bank of the State of Georgia, and became its vice-president and manager. The strong financial backing given the institution by Mr. Kelly, coupled with the ability and good judgment of Captain McMahon and the confidence of the business community in his integrity, gave the bank a reputation at once for soundness and conservatism which constantly increased up to the day of his death, and which continued to grow after that sad event.

Captain McMahon while intensely American in his feelings, and while ever ready to do his duty to his adopted country, never ceased to remember the land of his birth, and was always in the front rank when any movement for the benefit of Ireland or any of her children was on foot. He was elected a member of the Hibernian Society in December, 1839, was chosen treasurer in March, 1855, served as vice-president from 1859 to 1869, and was elected president in March, 1873, and continued in that position up to his death. He was one of the original thirteen composing the Jasper Monument Association organized in 1878, and served as its president from that time until his death. The time and labor which he devoted to the patriotic work of perpetuating the memory of this "Irish American hero," was the stepping-stone to the final success of this work some years after he had passed away. As chairman of the committee under whose auspices the new cathedral on Abercorn street was built, he rendered efficient aid in that project. As a member of the board of education he was noted for the deep interest he took in the public schools and in the cause of education generally. He never sought political honor, but at the urgent request of a large number of his fellow-citizens, he served several terms as alderman of the city, and was on various occasions its acting mayor.

He died suddenly on the night of the 20th of January, 1881. This sketch may be fittingly closed with a paragraph taken from a sketch of his life in the *Morning News* of the day after the announcement of his death, which says, "In truth there are few men who will be more missed in the community than Captain John McMahon, and his death is an affliction to the city. He was kind hearted, genial, charitable and generous, and hundreds who have enjoyed his benevolence will most bitterly mourn his loss." Captain McMahon left no children. His widow survived until

August 25, 1887, when she died after a short illness, while on a visit to Atlanta, Ga. Both are interred in the Cathedral Cemetery, near Savannah.

LAWTON, HON. GEN. A. R. Alexander Robert Lawton was born, and reared, in St. Peter's Parish, Beaufort District, South Carolina, on the 4th of November, 1818. His grandfather was an officer of the Continental army, and his father pursued the avocation of a planter. His youth was spent among the comforts and the sports of a generous Southern plantation, while his early education was acquired at the private schools in the neighborhood, established and supported by contiguous planters intent upon the liberal instruction and intellectual advancement of their children. At the early age of sixteen he received an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point. Graduating from that institution in June 1839 with the rank of second lieutenant, he was assigned to the First Artillery and, for the ensuing eighteen months was stationed successively at Plattsburg and Rouse's Point, New York, and at Eastport, Maine. His class at West Point, numbering eighty-three at the beginning, graduated only thirty-one members, among whom may be mentioned Generals Halleck, Canby, Burton, Hunt, Stevens and Gilmer. Resigning his commission in the army in January, 1841, Lieutenant Lawton repaired to Cambridge, Mass., where he matriculated as a student of Dane Law School. Receiving his degree of L. L. B. from that institution in June, 1842, he returned home, and for some six months, continued his law studies in the office of the Hon. William F. Colcock. In December of the same year, after a thorough examination before the Court of Appeals in Columbia, South Carolina, he was admitted to the bar.

In January, 1843, he established his home in Savannah, Georgia, and entered regularly and very earnestly upon the practice of the profession of his choice. His marriage, in November, 1845, to Miss Sarah H. Alexander, a daughter of that prominent Georgian and cultivated gentleman, Adam L. Alexander, esq., proved a source of unalloyed domestic happiness.

Without in any wise laying aside his professional employments, he accepted, in November, 1849, the presidency of the Augusta and Savannah

Railroad Company. This office he retained until the entire completion and successful operation of that road in 1854. In its location, construction, equipment and conduct he displayed an energy, intelligence, fidelity, and ability worthy of every commendation.

General Lawton's entry into political life was as a representative from Chatham County in the Legislature of Georgia during the session of 1855-56. Among other important services then rendered by him will be remembered his framing, introduction, and successful support of the bill which culminated in the incorporation of the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad Company, a project which enured to the ever-expanding benefit of Southern Georgia and Florida. During those days of excitement which rendered the winter of 1860-61 ever memorable in the political history of Georgia, he was a member of the State Senate, and time and again in the chamber of that body measured swords with the famous Benjamin H. Hill, who was then the acknowledged leader of all opposed to the Secession Sentiment which was agitating the public mind.

While absent from the State, and entirely without solicitation on his part, General Lawton was again called upon to represent the county of Chatham in the Lower House during the legislative session of 1874-75.

Of the convention which in 1877 formed the present Constitution of Georgia, and over which the venerable and beloved Ex-Governor Charles J. Jenkins presided, General Lawton was unanimously chosen the vice-president. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee the services rendered by him were continuous and most valuable. Of the Electoral College, which in 1876 cast the vote of Georgia for the Hon. Samuel J. Tilden as president of the United States, General Lawton was the president. He was chairman of the Georgia delegation, which at Cincinnati nominated General Hancock for president, and also of the delegation which at Chicago nominated Grover Cleveland for the same exalted office.

Early in 1885 he was nominated by President Cleveland as Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. Upon a reference of this nomination to the proper committee in the Senate, it was claimed that General Lawton was ineligible to the position by reason of the fact that having early in life held commission in the regular army of the United States, he had during the war between the States accepted service as a general officer in the

Confederate Army. The nomination was withdrawn by President Cleveland, and the special session of the Senate was concluded. It was conceded on all sides that the nominee was in every respect well qualified to represent the government in the diplomatic position indicated, and that no objection to his confirmation could be urged save the technical one which raised a doubt as to his legal status under the constitutional amendment.

The question of General Lawton's eligibility was referred by the president to the attorney-general, who, after a careful examination, submitted an opinion that "Mr. Lawton is qualified to hold civil office under the government of the United States." Before the opinion of the attorney-general had been communicated to General Lawton, wishing to relieve the president of all embarrassment, he addressed the following communication to the chief magistrate of the nation :

"SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, April 17, 1885.

To his Excellency Grover Cleveland,

President of the United States.

DEAR SIR:— Since the interviews which you were kind enough to grant me during the early days of the present month, I have thought often and earnestly about the relations which I sustain to your administration by reason of my nomination to be Minister to Russia, and the objections which have been interposed to the same.

After full consideration of the probable effects to flow from your adherence to this nomination,—or rather from my appointment during recess,—I am constrained to believe that I would become the innocent cause of attacks annoying, if not virulent, upon the action of the President. I have felt too sensibly the great honor which has been conferred upon me, and the unexpected manner in which your kind intentions have been hindered, to be willing that any unpleasant results should be reached, if I can prevent them.

Permit me therefore, Mr. President, to request that my name be no longer considered by you in connection with the mission to Russia, and that this high commission may be bestowed upon some citizen whose appointment will produce harmony rather than discord. I cannot be blind to the fact that recent events in Europe must put an additional pressure upon you to have this important position promptly and satisfactorily filled.

I present this request in sincerity and in all good faith, with a grateful sense of the high honor conferred upon me, and of the over-partial estimate of my fitness for so responsible a post, evidenced by the nomination already made. No results that may be reached in the future can deprive me of the satisfaction thus derived.

While my relations as a citizen to the Government were under discussion, with the probability of an appointment to follow, I refrained, through motives of delicacy, from expressing any opinion in my own case. But now that I relieve the President from all further consideration of my fitness or eligibility, I beg leave to append to this letter a memorandum giving reasons in brief for my conviction that I labor under no political disabilities. Had I entertained any doubts on the subject, I would not have been dealing fairly with an administration which has so honored me.

With sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, I am

Your most obedient servant, A. R. LAWTON."

To this letter the President made the following reply:

" EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 22, 1885.

The Hon. A. R. Lawton, Savannah, Ga.,

MY DEAR SIR:—I regret exceedingly that for any reason the administration is to be deprived of your honorable and valuable services in the mission to Russia. The opinion of the Attorney-General upon the question of your alleged disability under the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution was so completely satisfactory, and removed so entirely from my mind all doubts as to your eligibility, that upon reading it I at once decided to ask you to accept the position, and I learn from the Secretary of State that he telegraphed you to that effect: but it seems that your letter of April 17th was then on its way, which was followed by that of April 18th affirming your decision.

I sincerely regret this determination on your part, so unselfishly formed and patriotically expressed; and whilst I must reluctantly accept it as an announcement of your deliberate desire and personal wish, I can but feel that the Country is greatly the loser by it.

With sincere regard and high respect, I am

Your obedient servant, GROVER CLEVELAND."

The patriotism which thus laid upon the altar of Democratic harmony one of the highest honors within the gift of the administration, won for him a reputation transcending any fame he could have acquired by an acceptance of the tendered mission.

When Congress reassembled in December, 1885, the first private act passed was one removing the political disabilities of General Lawton. It received the unanimous vote of both houses.

In April, 1887, President Cleveland conferred upon him the mission to Austria-Hungary. As minister plenipotentiary to that power, General Lawton conducted himself, and maintained diplomatic relations, with marked acceptability both to his Home Government and to the Austrian Court. His residence in Vienna, which extended over a period of two years, was entirely pleasant. His resignation of this official position was in the hands of the Secretary of State prior to the inauguration of President Harrison; although, by request, he delayed his return home until the arrival of his successor.

On the evening of his departure the *Vienna Weekly News* thus spoke of the American Minister: "All who have enjoyed the favor of General Lawton's acquaintance can bear witness to the amiability and dignity with which he has discharged his important duties, while those whose relations with him have been purely official, can testify to his unfailing attention and zeal in whatever he had to do. The American Community in Vienna have at all times had in him a valuable adviser, as well as a keen and able protector of their interests."

Since his return to Savannah General Lawton has not resumed the practice of his profession which he relinquished when he went abroad upon the diplomatic mission to which we have just alluded.

He was the first colonel of the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia, organized in Savannah in 1852; and, in that capacity, in obedience to an order promulgated by the governor of Georgia, with a portion of his command took formal possession of Fort Pulaski on the morning of the 3d of January, 1861. He remained in command of that post and at Savannah until April of that year when he was commissioned as a brigadier-general in Confederate service and assigned to the command of the Military District of Georgia. With characteristic energy and acknowledged ability he expended every effort in fortifying the Georgia coast, and in con-

centrating troops for the support of the Confederate cause. His head, heart, sword, and purse were solemnly pledged for the maintenance of Southern independence. From the inception of the contest he wavered not in his devotion to the reserved rights of the States, and the sustenance of the Confederacy. In June, 1862, with a brigade of five thousand men—selected from a force of thirteen thousand then garrisoning the Georgia coast,—he repaired to Virginia under orders from General Robert E. Lee, and reported to General Thomas J. Jackson in the valley. With this brigade, then unattached, and the largest in the army of Northern Virginia, he quickly participated in the celebrated “flank movement,” and in all the battles constituting the “Seven Days Fight” around Richmond. In these bloody engagements his command performed brilliant service and sustained severe losses. Subsequently he led his brigade,—which afterwards constituted a part of Stonewall Jackson’s Corps,—in all the battles which culminated in the memorable engagement at Sharpsburg. He was then, and he had been for some time, in command of Ewell’s Division. At Sharpsburg his horse was killed under him, and he was disabled by a painful and dangerous wound which for a long time seriously threatened the loss of his right leg. By it he was incapacitated from active service until May, 1863, when, although still lame, he deemed himself fit for the field and reported in person to the adjutant-general in Richmond for assignment.

The Confederate Congress had recently provided additional rank for the quartermaster-general, and it remained with the president either to compliment the officer then in charge of that bureau, or to designate some general officer for the discharge of the duties incident to that position. President Davis and the Secretary of War were of the opinion that General Lawton should be assigned to the station of quartermaster-general. When advised of this determination, General Lawton was much surprised, and manifested a decided disinclination to enter upon a discharge of the duties suggested. At the earnest request of the president he finally yielded, and in August, 1863, became the quartermaster-general of the Confederate States. This weighty position he continued to occupy until the termination of the war and the disintegration of the Confederate Government. It lies not within the compass of this sketch to allude to the vast responsibilities then assumed, or to enumerate the

multiplying difficulties by which General Lawton was environed in his efforts to equip and transport the armies of the Confederacy. It has been truthfully stated that these difficulties were met by General Lawton with wonderful tact and energy, and that while the other supply departments of the government, in their conduct and administration, were frequently and severely criticized, no censure was passed upon the quartermaster department while he had charge of it.

It is not an exaggeration to affirm that such administration of the affairs of this bureau, under the perplexing circumstances then existent, could have been accomplished only by an officer of broad vision, wise forecast, tireless energy, and superior capacity. The subject of this sketch, now in the evening of his busy, eventful, and useful life, may, in the judgment of a friend, contemplate with peculiar pride and satisfaction the conspicuous labors performed by him during this epoch of danger, of embarrassment, and of supreme trial.

Soon after the cessation of hostilities General Lawton returned to Savannah and resumed the practice of his profession. The times were out of joint, and many questions, suggested by the abnormal condition of affairs, demanded solution at the hands of wise counselors and sagacious lawyers. The harvest was abundant, and claimed the attention of the honest, intelligent reaper. His professional employments at once became numerous and remunerative.

In January, 1866, he was elected chief counsel of the Central Rail Road and Banking Company of Georgia. This office he continued to fill without interruption until his departure for Vienna in 1887. Various and exacting as were the duties appertaining to this position, they were supplemented by engagements incident to a large and constantly increasing general practice. It may be safely stated that during the ensuing twenty years there was no lawyer within the limits of Georgia whose time was more fully occupied, or whose legitimate professional income was more remunerative. Such was his reputation for sound judgment, so strong his sense of right and equity, so able his presentation of fact and argument, so clear his conception of the question at issue, so broad and accurate his business views, so careful his analysis of the situation, so reliable his legal examinations, so unswerving his fidelity to the true interests of his clients, and so exalted his appreciation of right and justice, that

his services were eagerly sought in cases of moment, and in controversies involving matters of conscience and fair dealing.

When he became chief counsel of the Central Rail Road and Banking Company, the property of that corporation consisted chiefly of a line of railway connecting the cities of Savannah and Macon, and its integrity had been sadly impaired by the desolating march of General Sherman and his forces. When he left Georgia to enter upon the Austrian mission, the Central Railroad system had developed into the practical control of some twenty-five hundred miles of railway, and the ownership of an Ocean Steamship Company operating three first-class lines of coast-wise steamers plying between Savannah and the ports of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. During this period of expansion the most important charter rights, immunities, and exemptions of this great corporation were challenged, discussed, and adjudicated in the courts of Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina, and in the Supreme Court of the United States. The aid of Legislatures was invoked in granting necessary corporate powers, and for the protection of corporate rights. Large contracts for construction and consolidation were moulded and consummated. Intricate questions of finance and damage were constantly demanding speedy solution. In all the negotiations connected with the development and protection of this corporation General Lawton participated. All contracts affecting its existence and enlargement were submitted for his judgment and reduction into legal shape. Cases arising in the courts affecting the rights of this vast transportation system were either argued by him and his associate counsel, or were compromised and settled at his instance. The labor was immense, and we utter the language of simple justice when we declare that it was performed with a fidelity and an ability worthy of all admiration. Be it spoken in praise of General Lawton and in token of his exalted character, that he never once utilized the knowledge,—acquired by virtue of the confidential relation he sustained toward this corporation,—of its plans, inner workings, and purposes, in the promotion of private benefit or for the acquisition of personal advantage. The commercial methods of the present, and the prostitution of confidential information obtained in the execution of a trust, found neither countenance nor lodgment in his upright breast. His hands were always clean, and his reputation is without a stain. In all his relations he has ever been the embodiment of fidelity, courage, probity, and honor.

As a corporation lawyer he stands without a superior in the State of Georgia, and the reports both of the Supreme Court of this Commonwealth and of the United States bear witness to his industry and proficiency in this branch of the profession. In illustration of his employment in and conduct of civil causes of magnitude, we would cite the Telfair will case, which, having passed through the various legal tribunals of Georgia, received final adjudication at the hands of the Supreme Court of the United States.

General Lawton's professional reputation has been recognized by his brethren at large. He was one of the ten founders of the American Bar Association, and he has always exhibited the liveliest interest in the labors and welfare of that organization. In August, 1882, he delivered the annual address before that association, eulogizing the lives and services of James L. Pettigru, and Hugh S. Legaré. At the same meeting he was elected president of the association, and the next year delivered the president's address. Both these addresses have been rendered into type, and were published with the proceedings of the association. He was also largely instrumental in organizing the Georgia Bar Association. Before that body he delivered the first annual address in August, 1884.

Among other noteworthy addresses of General Lawton may be mentioned his eulogy upon the life, character, and services of General Robert E. Lee, delivered in Savannah, Georgia, in January, 1871, at the request of the Common Council and citizens of that municipality: and his oration upon the occasion of laying the corner-stone of the new capitol of Georgia, in Atlanta, on the 2nd of September, 1885, pronounced by invitation of the General Assembly of Georgia then in session.

In the first he pays signal tribute to the virtues and the valor of the great Confederate Chieftain, proclaiming his "character so grand in its proportions, so complete in all its details, so exquisite in its finish, that when we contemplate it, like the visitor who first looks on the Cathedral of St. Peter, its very perfections, symmetry, and completeness obscure our capacity to appreciate its vastness."

In the last, after a historical sketch of the former capitols of Georgia, after presenting a vivid portraiture of the progress of the Commonwealth, the results of the war, and the dire calamities encountered during the period of reconstruction, with manly voice he "ventured to assert that

the struggle was worth all it cost. Better that a people, groaning under conspicuous wrongs, should fight and be vanquished, than not to fight at all. In the one case the rebound will surely come, and the victor and the vanquished may meet face to face and reestablish their relations to each other with mutual respect; while in the other case the feeling of degradation on the one side and of contempt on the other banishes all hope for the future.

“As Georgians we are also citizens of the United States and claim to be now as loyal to that great government as any portion of the Union, since we are no longer called upon to surrender our self respect, or to do violence to our most sacred sensibilities in making that claim. We are ready and willing to render service to defend her honor, to fight her battles, to give every man of every section his just due. In that sense we know ‘no North, no South, no East, no West.’ But, thank Heaven! the time is past when any right thinking man of the North expects that we shall not love our own families and neighbors better than the stranger, our own City better than another, our own State best of all the thirty-eight; that in a government covering such an area, with so many States and Territories differing in climate, production, origin, and other belongings, there must not also be material differences in habits, temperaments, opinions, and utterances, not only to be tolerated but to be appreciated. Yes, my friends, they know and respect us for it; and while we join in good faith in the tribute paid to the great soldier of the United States recently borne to his tomb in Riverside Park with such displays and demonstrations as Roman Emperor never received, yet at our own homes, in the tenderer moments of our lives, we mourn the illustrious Sons of the South, who sleep in modest graves at Lexington, with a sorrow and a pride which are all our own.”

This utterance is characteristic, and conveys an impression of the manliness of General Lawton, who never speaks with an uncertain voice, stultifies his record, or hesitates, on suitable occasion, to manifest his loyalty to the brave impulses and ennobling traditions of a Confederate past.

As a trustee of the University of Georgia, and as an officer of the Georgia Historical Society, he has long exhibited and still cherishes an

intelligent and a practical interest in the conduct and prosperity of these institutions.

Of medium height, with compact frame, active step, erect carriage, and military bearing—with a massive head firmly set upon his broad shoulders, with a mouth indicative of determination, and an eye full of light and vivacity—courtly in address, frank and generous in intercourse,—with a strong, manly voice,—bold, nervous, and emphatic in public speech,—steadfast in his friendships,—possessing strong judgment and a nice sense of equity,—hospitable at home,—independent, high-toned, public-spirited, and never a careless observer of passing events,—tender and true in his domestic relations,—and with a genuine religious sentiment vitalizing his daily walk and conversation, General Lawton has long been recognized as a type of the Southern gentleman, as a citizen of the highest repute, as a leading member of the Georgia Bar, and as a prominent participant in the political councils of this Commonwealth. Of late his character and reputation have been known and honored by the Country at large. He is now crowning a life of labor with an age of ease.

He has a wife, and three children— Louisa F. the wife of Mr. Leonard C. Mackall of Philadelphia,—Nora, the wife of Henry C. Cunningham, esq., of Savannah, and Alexander R. Lawton, jr., who, at the Savannah Bar, is following in the footsteps of his distinguished father.

JONES, COLONEL CHARLES C., JR., LL.D.¹—Charles Colcock Jones, jr., was born in Savannah, Ga., on the 28th of October, 1831. He comes of an old family, his ancestor in the male line having removed from England to Charleston, S. C., nearly two centuries ago. His great grandfather, John Jones, who was the first of the family coming from South Carolina to Georgia, was a rice planter in St. John's Parish. During the Revolutionary War he espoused the cause of the patriots, and, as a major in the Continental Army, fell before the British lines around Savannah during the assault by the allied army under D'Estaing and Lincoln on the 9th of October, 1779. On that memorable occasion he acted in the capacity of aide-de-camp to Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh.

Rev. Charles C. Jones, D.D., father of the historian, a distinguished

¹ From *Alden's Literary Portraits*. New York. 1889. Written by Charles Edgeworth Jones.

Presbyterian divine, was, at the time of his son's birth, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, in the city of Savannah. Resigning his charge in November, 1832, he removed with his family to his plantation in Liberty county, Ga., where he devoted his energies to the religious instruction of the negroes. He was the apostle to that benighted people, and freely gave his time, talents, and money to their evangelization, and the improvement of their moral and religious condition.

Dr. Jones was a gentleman of liberal education, a wealthy planter, an eloquent pulpit orator, at one time Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C., and for some years occupied the position, at Philadelphia, of Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions. He was the author of several works on the religious instruction of the negroes, of a catechism specially prepared for their spiritual enlightenment, and of a history of the Church of God.

Colonel Jones' boyhood was spent at the paternal homes, Monte-Video and Maybank plantations in Liberty county, Ga. At the former—which was a rice and sea-island cotton plantation on North Newport River—the winter residence was fixed, while the latter—a sea-island cotton plantation—located on Colonel's Island, lying between the island of St. Catharine and the main land, was the summer retreat. The region abounded in game and fish. An indulgent father generously supplied his sons with guns, dogs, horses, row-boats and sail-boats, and fishing tackle. As a natural consequence Colonel Jones, at an early age, became an adept with the fowling-piece, the rifle, the rod and the line. This out-door exercise and these field sports laid the foundations for a fine constitution, and encouraged an ambition to excel in shooting, riding, swimming, fishing, and sailing. The opportunity thus afforded for enjoyment and manly diversions was exceptional, and the training then experienced produced a lasting impression. The civilization of the Georgia coast under the patriarchal system then existent was refined, liberal, and generous. The school was excellent for the development of manly traits.

The early studies of Colonel Jones were pursued at home, generally under private tutors; occasionally under the immediate supervision of his father. In 1848 he repaired to South Carolina College at Columbia, where his Freshman and Sophomore years were passed. That institution was then in the zenith of its prosperity, being presided over by the

Hon. William C. Preston, who was assisted by such professors as Dr. Francis Lieber and Dr. Thornwell. Subsequently matriculated at Nassau Hall, Princeton, N. J., in the junior class in 1850, Colonel Jones at once took high rank among his fellows and, graduating with distinction, received his A. B. diploma from this college in June, 1852.

Selecting the law as his profession, he went to Philadelphia, and, as a student, entered the office of Samuel H. Perkins, esq. After reading law here for about a year, he matriculated at Dane Law School, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., from which institution he received in 1855 his degree of LL.B. While he was a member of that law school, Joel Parker, Theophilus Parsons, and Edward G. Loring were the professors. Besides taking his regular law course, he attended the lectures of Professor Agassiz, Mr. Longfellow, Dr. Wyman, Professor Lowell and Dr. Holmes.

Returning home in the winter of 1854, he entered the law office of Ward & Owens in Savannah, and was called to the bar in that, his native city, on the 24th of May, 1855. In due course he was admitted to plead and practice in the Supreme Court of Georgia; in the Sixth Circuit Court of the United States; in the District Court of the Confederate States; and in the Supreme Court of the United States.

During the second year of his professional life he became the junior partner of the law firm of Ward, Owens & Jones. When Mr. Ward went abroad as United States Minister to China, Mr. Owens retired from the firm, and the Hon. Henry R. Jackson, late United States Minister to Austria, was admitted as a member. The firm continued to be Ward, Jackson & Jones until Judge Jackson took his seat upon the bench as judge of the District Court of the Confederate States of America for the District of Georgia. The business of this law firm was large and lucrative.

On the 9th of November, 1858, Colonel Jones married Miss Ruth Berrien Whitehead, of Burke county, Ga. He was married a second time on the 28th of October, 1863, to Miss Eva Berrien Eve, of Augusta, Ga., a niece of the late Dr. Paul F. Eve, of Nashville, Tenn. These ladies were grand-nieces of the Hon. John McPherson Berrien, attorney-general of the United States during General Jackson's administration, and afterwards United States Senator from Georgia.

In 1859 Colonel Jones was chosen an alderman of Savannah, and in the

following year he was, without solicitation, nominated and elected mayor of that city—a position, writes Governor Stephens, seldom if ever before conferred on one so young by a corporation possessing so much wealth, population, and commercial importance. With the exception of this position of mayor, he has never held public office in his life, or drawn a dollar of the people's money.

During the term of his mayoralty the Confederate Revolution was precipitated, and many abnormal questions arose demanding for their solution serious consideration and prompt decision. Colonel Jones was a secessionist, and it is believed that one of the earliest public addresses on the situation, delivered in Savannah, fell from his lips.

Declining a re-election to the mayoralty, he joined the Chatham Artillery—Captain Claghorn—of which Light Battery he was the senior first lieutenant. He had been mustered into Confederate service with that battery as its senior first lieutenant, on the 31st of July, 1861, and remained on leave until his labors in the capacity of mayor were concluded. The Chatham Artillery was then stationed on the Georgia coast.

In the fall of 1862 the subject of this sketch was promoted to the grade of lieutenant-colonel of Artillery, P. A. C. S., and was assigned to duty as chief of artillery for the military district of Georgia. The assignment was important, and the command extensive, including some eight light batteries and nearly two hundred guns in fixed position. This command was subsequently enlarged so as to embrace the artillery in the third military district of South Carolina. His headquarters were established at Savannah.

Colonel Jones was brought into intimate personal and military relations with General Beauregard, Lieutenant-General Hardee, Major-Generals McLaws, Gilmer, Taliaferro, and Patton Anderson, and Brigadier-Generals Mercer, Lawton, and others. He loved and took a special pride in the artillery arm of the service, and preferred it to any other branch. In illustration of his partiality for this arm of the service it may be stated that at one time a commission of brigadier-general of infantry was tendered him, which he declined. The artillery, both light and heavy, in the military district of Georgia, was remarkable for its proficiency.

Colonel Jones was chief of artillery during the siege of Savannah in December, 1864, which he has so graphically described in his work on

that subject, and figured prominently in the defence of the city. He was at one time in command of the field artillery on James Island during the siege of Charleston, and at another was chief of artillery on the staff of Major-General Patton Anderson, in Florida. Upon the fall of Savannah he was summoned by General Hardee to the position of chief of artillery upon his staff, and was included in the surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston's army, which occurred near Greensboro, N. C., in April, 1865.

Late in December, 1865, Colonel Jones removed with his family to New York city and there resumed the practice of his profession, which had been interrupted by the war. His success in that new abode was gratifying, and he continued to reside there until his return to Georgia in 1877.

Of the pleasure and profit which he derived from his sojourn in that great city, and of the broad and lasting influence exerted upon his intellectual life, there can be no question. His association with the literary characters and societies of the metropolis was most agreeable. The scope of his intellectual vision was enlarged, and his aspirations were elevated. He there enjoyed opportunities for study and literary research which he could not elsewhere have so conveniently commanded. Among the proofs of the literary labor there performed we may refer to his historical sketch of the Chatham Artillery during the Confederate Struggle for Independence (1867); Historical Sketch of Tomo-Chi-Chi, Mico of the Yamacraws (1868); Reminiscences of the Last Days, Death, and Burial of General Henry Lee (1870); Casimir Pulaski (1873); Antiquities of the Southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia Tribes (1873); The Siege of Savannah in 1779, etc. (1874); The Siege of Savannah in December, 1864, etc. (1874); Sergeant William Jasper (1876); and a roster of general officers, heads of departments, senators, representatives, military organizations, etc., etc., in the Confederate service during the war between the States (1876.)

Returning with his family to Georgia in the spring of 1877, Colonel Jones fixed his home at Montrose, in Summerville, near Augusta, Ga., where he still resides; his law office being in the city of Augusta.

Since his return to his native State, aside from his professional labors, he has not been unmindful of his historical researches and literary pursuits. Among his later publications may be mentioned his *Life and*

Services of Commodore Josiah Tattnall (1878); Dead Towns of Georgia (1878); De Soto's March through Georgia (1880); Memorial of Jean Pierre Purry (1880); The Georgia Historical Society: its Founders, Patrons, and Friends (1881); The Life and Services of ex-Governor Charles Jones Jenkins (1884); Geographical and Historical Sketch of Georgia (1884); Sepulture of Major-General Nathanael Greene, and of Brigadier-General Count Casimir Pulaski (1885); The Life, Literary Labors, and Neglected Grave of Richard Henry Wilde (1885); Biographical Sketch of the Honorable Major John Habersham of Georgia (1886); Brigadier-General Robert Toombs (1886); The Life and Services of the Honorable Samuel Elbert, of Georgia (1887); The English Colonization of Georgia (1887); Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast (1888); Address delivered at Midway Meeting-house, in Liberty county, Ga., (1889); and lastly, and more particularly, his *History of Georgia* (1883): a work of which the historian Bancroft remarked that it was the finest State history he had ever read, and that its high qualities fairly entitled its author to be called the Macaulay of the South. This history consists of two volumes, the first dealing with the aboriginal and colonial periods of Georgia, and the second being especially concerned with the Revolutionary epoch, and a narrative of the events which culminated in the independence of the colony and its erection into the dignity of a State. The volumes to which we refer represent the best work of Colonel Jones in the historical vein, and embody results which required years of painstaking study and deep reflection to compass. In like manner his *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, particularly of the Georgia tribes, illustrates the chief fruits of his labors in the field of archæology.

In addition to the publications to which we have alluded, Colonel Jones has printed addresses and discourses upon a variety of topics, prominent among which are his oration upon the unveiling and dedication of the Confederate Monument in Augusta, Ga. (1878), his funeral oration pronounced at the capital of Georgia over the honorable Alexander H. Stephens, late governor of the State (1883); and his address entitled the *Old South* (1887). In this connection also we may mention the addresses which he has delivered before the Confederate Survivors' Association of Augusta, Ga.—an organization of which he is president, which was founded and has been perpetuated largely through his instru-

mentality, and which is among the oldest associations of this character in the South. These annual addresses commenced on the 26th of April, 1879—the first anniversary of the association—have been regularly continued to the present time. Including a special address upon Post Belium Mortality among Confederates, they number eleven in all. They are for the most part historical in their character, and constitute calm and impartial studies of military events connected with Georgia annals during the war between the States. Among the topics discussed are Military Lessons inculcated on the Coast of Georgia during the Confederate War (1883); General Sherman's March from Atlanta to the Coast (1884); The Battle of Honey Hill (1885); and the Evacuation of Battery Wagner and the Battle of Ocean Pond (1888). The last is perhaps the most noteworthy of the series, and contains a description of a bombardment which for vividness and picturesqueness of detail should take rank among the best specimens of word-painting in our language.¹

Colonel Jones' literary labors during the year 1888, in addition to the two publications already considered, embrace two historical addresses, and Memorial Histories of the cities of Savannah and Augusta, Ga., during the eighteenth century.

He has thrice appeared in the capacity of editor: first in connection with his father, Rev. Dr. C. C. Jones' History of the Church of God (New York, 1867); again in the publication of the Acts passed by the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia from 1755 to 1774, (Wormsloe, 1881); and lastly in rendering into type and annotating the Transactions of the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia by Rt. Hon. John Percival, first Earl of Egmont (Wormsloe, 1886).

The truth is, while he has in no wise neglected his profession, or failed in the discharge of duties appurtenant to it, law has never been to him a very jealous mistress. For him history, biography, and archæology have presented enticing attractions; and in that direction has he made most of his "foot-prints on the sands of time." Governor Stephens bore testimony to this fact when he said: "He has not permitted the calls of his profession, however, to absorb all his time and energy. By a method-

¹ Since the publication of this sketch two additional Confederate addresses by Colonel Jones have been published: viz., *Georgians During the War Between the States*, [1889] and his *Funeral Oration in Honor of President Jefferson Davis*. [1889.]

ical economy in the arrangement of business peculiar to himself, he has, even under the greatest pressure of office duties, found leisure to contribute largely to the literature as well as science of the country by his pen."

In 1879 Colonel Jones visited Europe, and spent four months pleasantly and profitably in England and Scotland and upon the Continent. While in England, where so much that is valuable and pertinent to the history of the American Colonies is preserved in the British Museum and the Public Record Office, he was enabled to make special researches and gather additional material for his History of Georgia.

Erect in carriage, six feet high, powerfully built, with broad shoulders surmounted by a massive head covered with a wealth of ringlets sprinkled with grey, with genial countenance, handsome features, and a lofty brow overhanging a pair of penetrating blue eyes, Colonel Jones is at once a man of commanding presence, and the soul of courtliness and grace. Eloquent in utterance, wise in counsel, decisive in action, public-spirited, liberal to the extent of his means, with a charity and sympathy as broad as the race, high-toned in sentiment and act, and noble and generous in his impulses, he presents an attractive portrait of unselfishness and earnest devotion to duty, challenging the respect and confidence of all. To charming conversational powers, social qualities of a high order, and an affable address, he unites varied and comprehensive knowledge, a retentive memory, a mind open to all impressions, and an interest in everything savoring of intellectual development. His energy and activity are never more apparent than when engaged upon any literary composition. He then works with great rapidity, seldom revising or reading his MS. until it is finished. In proof of this assertion we may instance his Siege of Savannah in December, 1864, which was written in seven evenings; the two volumes of his History of Georgia, which, exclusive of the preliminary study involved, were prepared at odd intervals during seven months; and his Memorial Histories of Savannah, and Augusta, Ga., which were begun and completed within less than two months. While possessing the ability of rapid composition, he also has that other desirable attribute of excellent chirography. His penmanship is faultless, and his bold, flowing hand is not only legible but very attractive.

Colonel Jones has twice been complimented with the degree of LL.D., and is a member of various literary societies both in this country and in

Europe. His *Antiquities of the Southern Indians* was the work which first brought him prominently before the attention of European scholars, and introduced him to scientific circles abroad. Since its publication he has been generally regarded as the leading authority upon the subject of which he therein treats. Alluding to his archæological work, it may be mentioned that his first important contribution to the literature of his State—*Monumental Remains of Georgia* (Savannah, 1861)—belongs to this department of his writings. Other works of his in the same field are his *Indian Remains in Southern Georgia* (Savannah, 1859); *Ancient Tumuli on the Savannah River* (New York, 1868); *Ancient Tumuli in Georgia*, (Worcester, Mass., 1869), and *Aboriginal Structures in Georgia*, (Washington, 1878.)

Supplemental to the reputation which Colonel Jones has achieved as a writer upon archæological subjects, we record the fact that he possesses an extensive collection illustrative of the primitive manufactures, personal ornaments, and customs of the Southern Indians. This collection embraces some twenty thousand objects, which are carefully numbered and catalogued. For the purposes of comparative study there are, in addition, several hundred typical objects of primitive manufacture from Europe, Asia, Central America, and other localities.

It remains for us to speak of Colonel Jones as a collector of autographs and historical documents. The collection and arrangement of autograph letters and portraits of personages distinguished in Revolutionary annals, or prominently associated with Georgia as a Colony and as a State, have afforded him pleasant recreation. In the gratification of this taste, he has performed valuable service. Among these collections we would refer to his autographs and portraits of the members from Georgia of the Continental Congress, and of the United States Senators from Georgia, *Autographs and Portraits of the Delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787*, *Rulers and Governors of Georgia*, the *Georgia Portfolio* in two volumes, *Autograph Letters and Portraits of the Chief Justices and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States*, and of the *Attorneys-General of the United States*, *Autographs and Portraits of the Presidents of the Continental Congress*, of the *Presidents of the United States*, and of the *Vice-Presidents of the United States*, *Autograph Letters and Portraits of the Signers of the Constitution of the*

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Confederate States, Autograph Letters and Portraits of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, in two volumes, and Members of the Continental Congress—1775-1789 Vol. I. of this series contains a second and complete set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. Of the Members of the Continental Congress there is full representation, either by autograph letter or document signed, with the exception of some twenty names. This series, like the others alluded to, is inlaid on Whatman paper, is accompanied by engraved portraits, views, etc., wherever practicable, and will be bound in five volumes, crushed levant. Colonel Jones's Confederate Collection is also very extensive, interesting and valuable.

His library is well selected, and consists of some forty five hundred bound volumes—over two hundred of which have been privately illustrated at great expense, and in the highest style of the illustrator's art. Fine specimens of binding are not infrequent. In works pertaining to Georgia and adjacent States his library is especially rich.

Colonel Jones is the eldest of the family, having one brother and a sister. The latter—Mary Sharpe¹—is the wife of the Rev. Robert Q. Mallard, D.D., of the Presbyterian Church, and a resident of New Orleans. His brother is Professor Joseph Jones, M.D., also of that city, the well-known scientist, chemist, physician, and writer upon medical subjects. He is at present Professor of Medical Chemistry in Tulane University, New Orleans, and was for several years president of the Board of Health of the State of Louisiana.

It is not an exaggeration to affirm that Colonel Jones is the most prolific author Georgia has ever produced, and stands at the head of the historical writers of the South of the present generation.

THOMAS, DANIEL R., was born at Savannah August 27, 1843. His father was the late John T. Thomas, whose grandparents were among the French Huguenots, who arrived in Charleston about the middle of the last century; his maternal ancestors were Salzburgers, and among the early settlers of the colony of Georgia. As a child, a delicate constitution and imperfect sight interfered with his education.

¹ Departed this life since this sketch was prepared.



Engraving by H. K. ...

D. W. Thomas

In 1862 he enlisted in the Confederate army with the Tattall Guards, First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia. After prolonged sickness, without solicitation on his part, he was, on the recommendation of the post surgeon and his commanding officer detailed for duty at district headquarters and afterwards in the war tax office.

Soon after the close of the war Mr. Thomas began business as an insurance agent at Macon, where he remained until March, 1866. From Macon he returned to Savannah, and in July of the same year associated himself with Captain D. G. Purse in the commission, fertilizer and coal business which, by close and undivided attention soon became large and profitable. In December, 1878, the firm of Purse & Thomas was dissolved, Mr. Thomas continuing the coal trade.

His sight had become so impaired and his suffering so great in 1874, that he sought the aid of an oculist and an optician, from whom he obtained such relief and benefit as to greatly change his life and interest him in what was transpiring around.

In the compromise made by the city with the bond-holders he took an active interest. He was elected a member of the Sinking Fund Commission for ten years; but after four years efficient service he resigned, having been elected an alderman in January, 1883.

During the succeeding six years he rendered most valuable service to the city. He served as a member of the sanitary commission, and was an active member of many committees of council, including those on accounts, finance and streets and lanes.

As treasurer of the committee for the relief of the sufferers by the Yamacraw fire he devoted a great deal of time to that charitable work. In recognition of his services in securing an extension of the city limits Thomas square was named for him. During his three terms in council no alderman was better acquainted with the details of the city's affairs than Mr. Thomas.

Fully a year before the expiration of Mayor Lester's last term public sentiment apparently crystalized about Mr. Thomas as the best and most available successor. As the time for the election came on Mr. Thomas developed unmistakable strength, his record in the management of the department of streets and lanes had won him the approbation of the public. Several candidates were brought out but finally the contest nar-

rowed down to three, then it was a question which one of two of these gentlemen should retire.

At a convention of the Democratic clubs held in the Masonic Hall January 4, 1889, Mr. Thomas was nominated for mayor. Another candidate had been in the field for more than a month. The election came on in a few days, and was a close one, Mr. Thomas being defeated by 371 votes. This strong endorsement of Mr. Thomas is from an editorial in the *Morning News*: "Mr. Thomas is a man of fine business qualifications, he has proven himself to be one of the most competent and progressive councilmen the city has ever had. The greater part of the improvements that have been made within the last few years is the result of his earnest consistent and conscientious work. He may not have pleased everybody, but he has done so much better than the most of those who preceded him in his present position, that those who have been disposed to find fault have not found willing listeners. He is economical and careful."

Mr. Thomas is a director in the Savannah and Western Railroad Company, in the Citizens' Bank, the Savannah Investment Company, and is a member of the board of managers of Savannah's ancient charity, the Union Society, and takes an active interest in the management of the Bethesda Orphan House. He is just in the prime of life and, with his clear head and business habits, bids fair to attain to higher positions than he has yet been honored with by his fellow-citizens.

FLANNERY JOHN was born in Nenagh, County Tipperary, Ireland, on the 24th of November, 1835, his parents being John and Hannah Flannery, the latter a daughter of Malachi Hogan of the Silvermines, same county. Financial embarrassments, resulting mainly from the effects of the famine and pestilent visitations covering parts of 1845, '46 and '47, and the disturbed state of affairs in Ireland before and after the attempted rebellion in 1848, compelled the father of our subject to close out his business in Nenagh, after disposing of the property he owned there, and as a matter of enforced economy to move to the village of the Silvermines early in 1850. The prospects for the future at this place being very unpromising the father and son decided to try their fortune in the United States the following year. They left home on September 13th for Liverpool, England, at which point they engaged passage for Charleston, S. C.,

on the American ship *Austria*, Captain Borland, which sailed on September 18th, and arrived at its destination, after a pleasant passage, on October 26th. Upon arrival at Charleston they were received and welcomed by Mrs. Mary A. Reedy the only sister of the elder Flannery and who had been a resident of that city for over a quarter of a century.

Young Flannery, not being brought up to any profession, trade or business, was unable to find employment until the following spring when on April 12th he went to Atlanta, then a small town, under an engagement to clerk for a Mr. Frankfort, who carried on a large business for those days, in dry goods and clothing on Whitehall street. He did not take favorably to Atlanta, which had few attractions for young men at that time, and in consequence resigned his place and returned to Charleston in August. Soon after his return he obtained a situation at LaPaine's dry goods store on King street where he remained only a few months when he left to take a better place in the larger establishment of William Howland on the same street. He was with Mr. Howland less than two years when that gentleman failed in business. This decided him upon removing to Savannah, where he had some relatives living at the time. He arrived in Savannah on December 16, 1854, having previously engaged, through his cousin P. J. Flannery, his service as a clerk to T. & L. McKenna & Co. then carrying on a dry goods business on Broughton street. He remained with this firm until the following October, when having taken a dislike to the retail dry goods as a business, he left to take a position as book-keeper and general clerk with A. Backer, who carried on a wholesale liquor business on Whitaker street near Bay. He remained only a few months in this place when he resigned to take the position of book-keeper with John G. Falligant, who carried on a large business in paints, oil, sash, blinds etc., on the west side of Johnson square. After being in this place for about a year and a half he decided upon making another change and we next find him, in the fall of 1857, occupying the position of book-keeper for M. J. Reilly, a wholesale grocer on Bay street. Mr. Reilly having failed the following year, Mr. Flannery was offered a position as account sales' clerk by Evans Harris & Co., cotton factors on Bay street, which he accepted. He was promoted to be book-keeper about a year later when a vacancy occurred in that position. He was in this place in January, 1861, when Governor

Brown called on the Savannah military to occupy and hold Fort Pulaski. Being a member of the Irish Jasper Greens, which corps he joined in October, 1857, he was among the number of those who responded to the call and performed garrison duty at the Fort, as a non-commissioned officer, during parts of January, February and March, 1861. He was elected a brevet lieutenant in the "Greens" in March, 1861. On May 30, 1861, he entered the Confederate service with the Greens for sixty days and on August 10th, was again mustered in for six months. The greater part of these two terms was served in garrison duty at Fort Pulaski. On January 30, 1862, he was promoted to first lieutenant. On February 12, 1862, the Greens were mustered out of service and on the 14th they re-enlisted for another term of six months, which was soon after changed to "three years or the war." On the 22d, they were ordered to Lee Battery, a work of importance then being built on the Savannah River below Fort Jackson. While at this place Lieutenant Flannery, in addition to his duties in his company, was acting as quartermaster for the Savannah River batteries and advanced posts from April to July 1862, when he was relieved of the latter duty by Lieutenant, afterwards Captain, T. W. Neely of the quartermaster's department.

On the reorganization of the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia on October 20, 1862, Captain Ford of the "Greens," was elected major of the regiment and Lieutenant Flannery succeeded him as captain and his company was designated as "Company A" of the regiment. In the early part of 1863 Captain Flannery was appointed "Instructor in Infantry Tactics" for the officers, about thirty in number, serving at the river batteries, which position he held until May, 1864. About the middle of the same year Lee Battery, with a garrison of two companies numbering about two hundred men, was placed in his immediate charge under Major T. D. Bertody of the Twenty second Battalion of Georgia Artillery as commander of the post comprising Fort Jackson and Lee Battery and Colonel E. C. Anderson C. S. A., as commander of all the "Savannah River Batteries and Advanced Posts."

Captain Flannery remained at Lee Battery until May, 1864, when the "Greens" were relieved from duty there and directed to rejoin the First Volunteer Regiment then under orders to report to General Mercer commanding a brigade, in the army of the Tennessee under General John-

ston, near Dallas, Ga. He served with this army under Johnston and Hood from May, 1864, to January, 1865, except for a few weeks in mid-summer while incapacitated for active duty by severe illness. Early in January, 1865, he was taken seriously sick near Corinth, Miss., where the army rested a few days while en route for Tupelo from the disastrous campaign in Tennessee. This practically ended his active connection with the army, although when, about April 1st, he believed himself able to resume active duty he asked for and obtained a discharge from hospital at Columbus, Ga., where he then was, and started to rejoin his command which was in North Carolina. Being delayed at camps at Macon and Augusta while en route he did not get beyond Chester, S. C., which point he only reached in time to be ordered back on account of "Stoneman's raid," which cut off communication in that direction with Johnston's army. From Chester, he with the other Confederates at that point, fell back successively to Newberry and Abbeville, S. C., and Washington, Ga., where the news of Johnston's surrender was received, and where the various detachments were disbanded as they arrived. Captain Flannery went from Washington to Sharon, Ga., where he remained for several days as the guest of Mr. W. J. Harty, then living at that point. He next went to Augusta, where he became the guest for a few days of Mr. John M. Gannon of the Globe Hotel, who, as a boy, was his fellow passenger from Liverpool to Charleston in 1851. He was paroled on May 15th at Augusta, and having secured transportation by the steamer *Amazon*, he soon after left for Savannah. The trip down the river occupied three days and was not by any means a pleasure excursion, as the boat was crowded, and all the accommodations being on deck, horses, darkies, Federal soldiers, and Confederates were mixed up indiscriminately. Savannah presented a desolate appearance when he arrived there and it was several days before he was able to obtain employment of any description. The first position that offered was at Hilton Head, S. C., where the firm of McKune & Rooebrook wanted a competent accountant to adjust and balance their books, as they were preparing to close up business. This position he obtained through the influence of some friends, and his services being needed at once, he left a sick-bed to go to work, so as not to loose the chance for employment. After being about six weeks at Hilton Head he succeeded

in securing a position as book-keeper with John N. Keene & Co., shipping and commission merchants of Savannah. On his return to Savannah to accept this position, Mr. L. J. Guilmartin proposed to him to form a co-partnership to do a cotton factorage and general commission business, which proposition Captain Flannery accepted, after obtaining a release from his engagement with Messrs. Keene & Co. Mr. E. W. Drummond also became a member of the co-partnership which commenced business on July 12, 1865, under the firm name of L. J. Guilmartin & Co. The firm started with practically no capital but with many friends whose patronage and assistance aided in making its business a success. The firm soon after commencing business secured the agency of the steamers *Dictator* and *City Point*, running between Charleston, S. C., and Palatka, Fla., via Savannah, etc. This was an important freight and passenger line at that time and for several years after. The firm also done a general shipping business up to 1868, when Mr. Drummond retired and this branch was discontinued.

On May 31, 1877, the firm was dissolved and Captain Flannery purchased all its assets. He at once formed a new co-partnership with Mr. John L. Johnson, who had been the traveling agent of the old firm, under the firm name of John Flannery & Co. This firm has been successful in business, is still in existence and occupies a prominent position among the cotton houses of Savannah.

In 1866 Captain Flannery went to Europe for the purpose of visiting his mother, whom he had not seen since he left for America in 1851, and with the hope that the trip would benefit his health, which was very much impaired as a result of severe malarial poisoning while at Lee Battery¹ in the summer and fall of 1862 and of 1863, and of exposure, etc., during the campaign in Tennessee in the winter of 1864.

In April, 1867 Captain Flannery was married to Miss Mary E. Norton, a niece of Mrs. John McMahan, by whom she was raised from early girlhood. This marriage proved to be a happy one and the fruits of it were six children, only two of whom are living—Katie, the oldest daughter and John McMahan, the third son.

¹ To illustrate how unhealthy this post was at certain seasons of the year, it is only necessary so say that the garrison, consisting *nominally* of about two hundred men and nine officers, was at one time, August 29, 1862, reduced by sickness to *actually* nineteen men and one officer (Lieutenant Flannery) for duty.

On the re-organization of the Georgia Volunteers in May, 1872, he was, against his expressed wish, re-elected captain of the "Irish Jasper Greens" and, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory condition of his health then and most of the time since we still find him at the head of the corps and taking an active part in volunteer military affairs. When his dwelling was burned to the ground in the big fire of April 6, 1889, it was found that among the many souvenirs destroyed was a dress sword presented to him by the "Greens" in 1874. The members of the corps, as soon as they became aware of this, immediately ordered another sword with special designs and of finer quality which was formally presented on May 28, 1889, as a mark of their continued esteem and to show that time had not weakened their respect for and confidence in him.

He has been a member of the Hibernian Society since March 17, 1866, and served one term as vice-president. He has always taken an active interest in Irish affairs and lent aid to every movement of a national character, which he thought might benefit his native land.

Captain Flannery was one of the incorporators of the Southern Bank of the State of Georgia organized in 1870, and was a member of its first board of directors and has been re-elected every year since. Upon the death of Captain John McMahan, vice-president of the bank, in January, 1881, he became acting vice-president and on February 9, following, was elected president, in place of Mr. Eugene Kelly of New York, who resigned for that purpose, and he is still in that position. The new bank building on Drayton street, completed in 1886, was put up on his urgent recommendation and the work carried on under his direction.

He has been a member of the Savannah Cotton Exchange since 1877 and served as a director for several years. He was vice-president for two terms and president for one and served as a member of the committee under whose direction the Exchange building at the foot of Drayton street, completed in 1887 while he was president, was put up.

He has been a director for several years in the "U. H. Cotton Press Co." and in the "Tyler Cotton Press Co." in each of which he has a large interest, and has served in similar positions, from time to time, in several other organizations of more or less importance.

He was among the number of those who recognized the importance of having a first class hotel in Savannah and took an active interest in

securing and holding the "Oglethorpe Barracks" block as a site for such a building, and was one of the first to subscribe for stock and to take an active part in organizing the "Savannah Hotel Co."—of which he was elected a director on its organization in April, 1888,—which built the "DeSoto," completed in 1889, on that site.

On the organization of the "Savannah Sinking Fund Commission," in December, 1878, he was unanimously elected a member by the City Council and served as its chairman until 1888, when he retired from the commission, after declining a re-election for another term.

He was one of the original thirteen who organized the "Jasper Monument Association," in 1878, and on the death of Captain McMahan, its president, in 1881, he was elected to succeed him. While the work of accumulating funds went on rather slowly for some time after Captain McMahan's death, the object for which the association was formed was finally accomplished. The monument in Madison square, which was unveiled on February 22, 1888, speaks for how well this was done.

Captain Flannery being a Roman Catholic, always took an active interest in whatever concerned the welfare of that great religious organization. He served as a member of the committee under whose directions the Cathedral on Abercorn street was put up until the building was roofed in and made weather tight in 1875 when he resigned. He was president of the "Catholic Library Hall Association" when that organization purchased the old Cathedral property from the Bishop of Savannah in 1888, and as chairman of the building committee took an active part in superintending the work of remodeling the building to suit the wants of the association and to add to the city's accommodations a hall which for public or private entertainments is second to none within its limits.

As chairman of the trustees selected by the bondholders who bought in the "Georgia Military Academy" building and lots on Abercorn street, at the foreclosure sale in 1886, he rendered valuable aid to the "First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia" in enabling it to acquire the property for an armory, by inducing the owners to agree to accept a moderate price and to give the regiment easy terms for payment, in consideration of the purpose for which the property was to be used.

While, as a rule, Captain Flannery has taken but little interest in pol-

itics, and has invariably declined to be a candidate for office, he has always held his vote ready for use at every election and, when occasion demanded, he has not hesitated to take an active part in municipal and other elections and to use any influence that he possessed to help to elect good and competent men to office over unsuitable or incompetent candidates. He never failed to do any duty devolving on him as a citizen and always realized that, "property has its duties as well as its rights," and therefore that his debt of obligations to the community of which he was a member increased with the increase of his worldly possessions, and that his mere living in that community did not discharge this debt, as so many men of means appear to think. He has ever been ready to do his full share towards making each enterprise or movement inaugurated by the citizens of Savannah for her benefit a success, without waiting to figure out, in advance, what direct benefit he was likely to receive for the money contributed or for the time and labor expended in trying to accomplish the object proposed.

FLEMING GRANTLAND du BIGNON. Ask any Savannahian who is the most prominent young man in this city and without a moment's hesitation he will answer, Senator Fleming G. du Bignon.

Here is a strong and interesting individuality, an exceptionally fine mind, an eloquent orator whose thoughts are ever dressed in classic language which flows with all the natural ease and spontaneity of waters from a fountain. A lawyer who crowds the court rooms, a speaker who on the platform arouses the enthusiasm of his audience to the highest pitch, effective in debate, quick and crushing in repartee and full of all the expedients and manœuvres of a skilled parliamentarian. He has the dash of the cavalier—that *beau esprit* which dazzles and fascinates. Gifted far beyond most men, and ambitious, he has risen rapidly to a height where the greatest public honors are within his reach.

In the early history of Georgia there was a patriot who declined the governorship of his State saying that he considered himself too young a man for the position. There has been just one other young man since those early days who has put the honor away from him. Senator du Bignon, with the most flattering prospects of succeeding to the coveted chair, when his name was on the tongue of every intelligent man in the State,

having more than the good will of the leading men in every section of Georgia—yes having their promised support unsought, to help him to what would be, as it were, but the stepping-stone to the very highest goal, in short, with a future tempting him to a career probably unequaled in brilliancy by any other man's in all the South, he deliberately turned away from it to devote himself to the practice of his profession. Of course, there was a strong motive for this decision, and it was a choice between the competence which a prosperous profession brings and public honors with meager emoluments.

Fleming Grantland du Bignon was born July 25, 1853, at Woodville near Milledgeville, the old country seat of his maternal grandfather. His father, Capt. Charles du Bignon, was born and reared on Jekyl Island, one of the prettiest of the chain of islands which stretches along the Georgia coast. Capt. du Bignon was a private gentleman descended from Admiral du Bignon of the stock of French political refugees who had to abandon their country in one of the political revolutions which convulsed it within the last century. Senator du Bignon's mother, whom he resembles in many traits of character, is Mrs. Ann Virginia du Bignon, the daughter of the Hon. Seaton Grantland. Mr. du Bignon's early education was begun under the private tutorship of the celebrated Washington Baird, D. D. After receiving a military education at the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Mr. du Bignon went thence to the University of Virginia. Upon leaving that institution he spent more than a year in Europe to complete his education. Returning to Georgia he settled in Savannah, was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law here. In 1875 he married Miss Carro Nicol Lamar, daughter of the late Col. Charles A. L. Lamar, (and granddaughter of Judge Nicol of the U. S. District Court), and soon thereafter he removed to Milledgeville, where he began the practice of law under the favorable auspices of family influence.

It was soon acknowledged that the young attorney was strong in debate and possessed to a high degree the graces of an accomplished orator. He had the capacity to win success in the face of opponents of wider experience and established reputations. From 1875 to 1877 he was county judge of Baldwin County and for one year of that time was associated as partner with R. Whitfield, esq., and afterwards when that law

firm was dissolved he formed a partnership with A. McKinley, esq. In 1880 he became a candidate for Representative of Baldwin County in the General Assembly of the State and he defeated his opponent the mayor of Milledgeville by a large majority.

In the lower House of the General Assembly Mr. du Bignon took an active and prominent part. He was the author of the measure which appropriated one hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars (\$165,000), for the purpose of erecting new and additional buildings at the State Lunatic Asylum and for improving the treatment of the unfortunates there confined. The measure, though bitterly opposed at first, was carried finally by an overwhelming vote upon the conclusion of an earnest appeal by Mr. du Bignon for its passage. Mr. du Bignon's speech upon the occasion, delivered before an immense crowd which had been attracted to the House, has been considered by some of his friends one of the best of his Legislative efforts. With this appropriation the Trustees of the Institution have erected two large and attractive recreation halls for the male and female patients. Also a handsome amusement hall for the convalescent, as well as two commodious buildings for colored patients. Mr. du Bignon has frequently said that should he accomplish nothing else in life, his successful effort in behalf of "these unfortunates" would more than repay him for all the annoyances and sacrifices which he had suffered in public life.

At the same session of the Legislature he introduced and passed a bill appropriating five thousand dollars (\$5,000,) for the repair of the old capitol building at Milledgeville and to fit it for the use of The Middle Georgia Military and Agricultural College. This college is a department of the State University and is in a most flourishing state. Mr. du Bignon is a member of its Board of Trustees.

In 1882 at the end of his term in the House, Mr. du Bignon was elected without opposition to the State Senate from the 20th Senatorial District, comprising the counties of Baldwin, Hancock and Washington.

Upon the organization of the Senate, Mr. du Bignon's friends urged him to allow the use of his name for President of that body, but he preferred to be upon the floor and declined. He was appointed Chairman of the Judiciary Committee which is the most important committee in the whole Legislature. It is to this committee that all important Legis-

lation is referred before enacted into laws. After the organization of the Senate a poll of its members was made and it was found that there was but one vote's difference between Mr. du Bignon's following and that of Mr. Boynton who was elected President. Should Mr. du Bignon have been elected, he would have succeeded to the Gubernatorial office upon the death of Gov. A. H. Stephens, which occurred shortly afterwards and would have been the youngest man who ever entered that high office. Both in 1882 when elected to the Senate for the 20th District and in 1888 when elected for the 1st District, Mr. du Bignon ran ahead of the entire State ticket. The republican convention which met in Savannah to nominate candidates for the Legislature in 1888, and which was composed almost entirely of colored men, declined to nominate any one against Mr. du Bignon although they nominated three candidates for the House. They intended by their action to convey to Mr. du Bignon their appreciation of his *fearless* and *impartial* administration of the law while in the office of solicitor-general, and Mr. du Bignon is said to have been very much touched and pleased by their action.

After a residence of a few years in Milledgeville Mr. du Bignon returned to Savannah and was directly afterwards elected solicitor-general of the Eastern Judicial Circuit which embraces the counties of Chatham, Bryan, Liberty, McIntosh and Effingham. Here in Savannah, in the Superior Court of Chatham County, he won a splendid and a deserved reputation as a fearless and successful prosecuting attorney for the State. No influence was strong enough to deter him from prosecuting to the full extent of his ability a violator of the law. No offender was high enough to escape through position. The Solicitor's purpose was to administer his office without fear, favor or affection. The years of 1885 and 1886 were fruitful of crime in the city of Savannah. Tragedies all but trod upon each other's heels, numerous assaults were frequent, the gambler flourished and there were constant complaints of mal-administration in the offices of the justices of the peace. When the Court was in session, convicted prisoners day after day struck terror into the hearts of the criminally minded. An attempt to particularize would be out of place. But of all the trials, the most noted case was the prosecution of John Walsh for the murder of Dawson. The strong influences of nationality and religion were set at work for the defendant. It was a brilliant

trial concluding with a magnificent speech by Solicitor-General du Bignon who spoke three hours in a densely crowded court room, and the jury convicted. Then came a request from the United States government to Mr. du Bignon to assist in the prosecution of a (notorious) moonshiner, Johnson, from Montgomery County. Johnson was indicted for shooting at a deputy-marshal. There were especial reasons why the government desired a conviction in that case and Mr. du Bignon convicted him. Still later and most dramatic of all, so recent that it is yet fresh in the minds of every one, was the trial of Thomas Cassidy for the murder of George Smith. Eminent counsel defended the prisoner, the trial was a long one and when the arguments by counsel began the Superior Court room in the old Court-House was thronged. On the last day Mr. du Bignon made an able and eloquent speech and the jury convicted on circumstantial evidence. There are scores of other cases which might be cited for their strong prosecution. This is a matter of record throughout his career as solicitor-general. Mr. du Bignon rarely lost a case. When he resigned after being re-elected, murders, in the words of the newspapers, were a rarity, aggravated assaults were less frequent than for years, the gambling dens were broken up and the magistrates offices were more satisfactorily conducted than in many years.

Mr. du Bignon took an active part in local politics and in 1888 he was elected a member of the State Senate without opposition. He resigned the office of solicitor-general and on the assembling of the Senate was unanimously elected its President. He filled the chair with dignity, impartiality and ability. Legislation was in a great measure in his hands and as those who are acquainted with the secret history of the two sessions know, the designs of certain foreign corporations to mulct the State's treasury were thwarted mainly through his efforts. All during 1889 a sentiment kept spreading and deepening in favor of Senator du Bignon for Governor to succeed Gen. John B. Gordon. From all parts of Georgia he received proffers of aid if he would accept and these proffers came from the most influential men whose combined influences no other candidate could defeat. Those kindly offers he declined and stated positively that he intended to retire from public office and practice his profession. This he did and accepted a partnership in the law firm of Chisholm & Erwin, the counsel for the Plant system of railways and steamships and

for the Southern Express Company and Western Union Telegraph Company. The firm name is now, Chisholm, Erwin & du Bignon.

As a conversationalist Senator du Bignon is of the most entertaining of men. He has a vast fund of anecdote reminiscence and a keen perception of the ludicrous. As a lawyer he is aggressive, thoroughly familiar with the rules of practice, quick to catch the fatal flaw of the opposing side, a sharp cross-examiner, dramatic and effective before a jury. His wide experience as a criminal lawyer has equipped him in that branch of his profession as thoroughly as any lawyer in Georgia.

BALLANTYNE, THOMAS.—The subject of this sketch was born in Glasgow, Scotland, August 5, 1831, and is the son of Thomas Ballantyne, whose strong integrity, indomitable industry, and genial characteristics he inherited. Thomas Ballantyne, the younger, was educated at Hutchinson's Academy, a school of renown in Glasgow, after which he served his apprenticeship as an iron founder. Shortly after having mastered his trade he enlisted in the Scottish Greys, or Second Royal Dragoons, famous in song and story for its celebrated charge at Balaklava. Mr. Ballantyne was on shipboard on the way to his regiment when the charge was made "into the jaws of death by the gallant three hundred." He participated in the Crimean War, and was at the capture of Sebastopol. After serving two years in that historic corps Mr. Ballantyne bought his discharge and returned home, and after working eight months at his trade in Glasgow, he sailed for New York in 1856, and it was not long after his arrival when his superior excellence as an iron moulder led to his being put in charge as foreman of the Newark machine works, one of the largest establishments in this country. In 1859 he was sent for to come to Savannah to do a piece of work which no other could do here, and he was persuaded to remain, and was given charge of the late Alvin N. Miller's foundry and machine works. While here the war broke out and he was retained as superintendent and manufacturer of ordnance for the gun-boats of the Confederate Navy, and during the last two years of the war he was in charge of the Confederate States' Foundry at Habersham and Taylor streets, which turned out ordnance work for the late Confederate Government. With the fall of Savannah the Federal government confiscated the Miller machine shops and foundry, and Mr. Ballantyne was

put in charge to superintend the repairing of government property for the steamships and gunboats of the government. In 1866 Mr. Ballantyne and John McDonough started a foundry at Arnold and Liberty streets under the firm name of McDonough & Ballantyne, and a year later built extensive machine and boiler shops and foundry at East Broad, Perry and McDonough streets, which are the largest and best shops of the kind in Savannah, employing fifty men and turning out engines, boilers and machinery of all descriptions, and which has made for many years, and is still making, all the iron castings for the Central railroad. The firm still bears the name of McDonough & Ballantyne, Mr. J. J. McDonough having succeeded to the partnership after the death of his father.

While the war was in progress Mr. Ballantyne commanded a company of men recruited from the machine shops for home defense. He is an honorary member of the Georgia Hussars, the oldest troop of cavalry in the United States of which, in the days of his active service, he was second sergeant. He went to join his company the first year of the war but was turned back at Richmond; the Confederate government considered his services more valuable in the manufacture of ordnance, and sent him back to Savannah.

Mr. Ballantyne is one of the jury commissioners for the selection of jurors for the courts. He served as alderman on the board for several years, and was chairman of markets, and chairman of the health and sanitation committee during the epidemic of 1876, having charge of the sanitation of the city, and he labored zealously and earnestly during that afflicting period until he himself was stricken down near the close of the epidemic.

Mr. Ballantyne is connected with many enterprises of a public character, and he is always foremost in promoting every industry calculated to advance the growth and prosperity of the city in which he has long been one of its most conspicuous and industrious citizens. He has subscribed to all enterprises looking to the promotion of Savannah.

He is a member of the Independent Presbyterian Church and has served on its board of trustees. He has also been the president of the St. Andrew's society, and is one of the most pleasant and genial members that sits around its board.

Mr. Ballantyne has been a Free Mason for about a quarter of a cen-

tury, and is recognized by the fraternity outside, as well as inside of its assemblies, as one of its most zealous members; in whatever is best calculated to advance the interest of the craft he is ever ready to devote his time and means. He is a proficient worker in the temple, having the rare gift of expounding the rituals of the several degrees in a perfect and impressive manner. This gift and his devotion to the principles of Freemasonry have won for him the well deserved preëminence which he enjoys with his brethren. Mr. Ballantyne has held nearly, if not all, the honors that can be conferred by the fraternity. Early in his masonic career he filled the various offices in the lodge, Zurubbabel No. 15, holding the office of worshipful master for five or six years. He was high priest of Georgia Chapter No. 3, R. A. M., for twelve years, and filled the office of thrice illustrious master in Georgia Council No. 2, R. and S. M. during the same period. He now holds the position of eminent commander of Palestine Commandery No. 7, Knights Templar, having recently been re-elected against his earnest protest, though he had held the office for seven years. In addition to the honors conferred upon him by his brethren in Savannah, Mr. Ballantyne was for two years grand commander of Knights Templar for the State of Georgia, and was also deputy grand master of Royal and Select Masters of Georgia. He is now deputy grand high priest of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Georgia.

Mr. Ballantyne is a celibate and has one brother, William Ballantyne, employed at the foundry, and one sister, Mrs. Margaret Hunter, residing in Glasgow, Scotland.

LESTER, DANIEL B., one of the most prosperous wholesale and retail grocers of Savannah, largely interested in real estate and other interests in which he is connected, and which bring him a very large revenue, affords an example of what a young man of energy, industry and integrity can do when thrown upon his own resources.

Mr. Lester was born June 18, 1851, in Bulloch county, Ga., and is the son of the late Malcom B. Lester, a prosperous farmer of that county who responded to the call of his section and enlisted in the Confederate army and lost his life during the war. Mr. Lester's family, like many other families in the South, found itself in straitened circumstances, but this did not discourage the subject of this sketch, who determined to replace



H. B. Lester

the losses occasioned by the war, and with this determination in view he started out single-handed to battle with adversity, and by strength of character he has nobly succeeded.

With only the rudiments of a common school education, he educated himself at Lookout Mountain Educational Institution, having first obtained a situation as clerk in a general store at Marietta, Ga., where, after close application to business for several months, he found it necessary to get something more than the schooling he had obtained in the primitive country school-house. After a year spent in earnest study at Lookout Mountain he came to Savannah, and for over six years was occupied as clerk in the grocery business, and having, by a life of frugality, husbanded his means, he went into business for himself, being associated in the firm of Lester & Harmon, grocers, at No. 31 Whitaker street. In 1876 he disposed of his interest, and established a grocery of his own, which he now conducts.

With a shrewd business foresight Mr. Lester saw that real estate in and about Savannah would soon rapidly appreciate in value, and in 1879 he began to buy real estate, in which he has ever since been, and is now largely interested. He was one of the original twenty-five who built the Belt Line Street Railroad, the longest and best equipped line of street railroad in the South, all of its street cars being of the celebrated pattern of the Broadway cars of New York. He is connected with various commercial, industrial, and railroad enterprises, to all of which he has been a liberal subscriber, and in many of which he is a director. He was one of the organizers of the Merchants' and Mechanics' Loan Association, and served as director for a long while. He is a director of the Home Building Company, and president of the Savannah Plumbing Company, in which he was one of the moving spirits.

Mr. Lester is one of the most genial and pleasant gentlemen, and always easy of access to the most humble, no matter how pressing the demand which his varied interests make upon his time. He married Miss Margaret I. Russell, daughter of the late Judge Levi S. Russell, from which union there were two children, a son and daughter; the latter, an interesting child, died quite recently. Mr. Lester resides in an elegant mansion on one of the principal residence streets of the city, fronting Park Extension, and all the surroundings show the cultured and refined taste of himself and his estimable wife.

MELDRIM, HON. PETER W. Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, the son of Ralph and Jane Meldrim was born in Savannah, December 4, 1848. His education was acquired at the Chatham Academy, under a private tutor and at the State University. He graduated from the academic department in 1868, and from the law department in 1869. Returning home he began the practice of law, and in his profession he went steadily and rapidly to the front. While at the University he gained a reputation as a close student and a promising orator. In the wider fields of his profession he continually added to his laurels as an eloquent speaker, and for a decade and a half has shared honors on many public occasions with Savannah's oldest and best orators.

Two days before the state election in 1881, Mr. Meldrim was nominated for the Senate from this district and he was elected. A writer in summing up Mr. Meldrim's senate career says that it "was active, high-toned and brilliant. He was ever ready to give his vote and his voice to those measures of policy, or to the statutes which seemed to him essential to individual and public welfare. In all his acts he reflected the liberality and intelligence of his constituents, and for this was beloved and admired by all who witnessed his course. His efforts in debate sustained his reputation as an orator. As chairman of the committee of military affairs, he was indefatigable in his labors in behalf of the perfect organization, equipment and discipline of the volunteer troops of the State. His speeches on this subject before the committees and in the Senate were models of eloquence and logic. Then when the bill to make tuition forever free at the State University was put upon its passage and the measure was violently opposed, he came to the rescue fearlessly and grandly, aiding materially in bringing about the happy result of its triumphant passage. His constituents and the people of Georgia have reason to be proud of his talents and character."

For several years Mr. Meldrim has been associated with Col. William Garrard in the practice of law. These gentlemen have long had the reputation of enjoying a large practice, larger than any other firm in Savannah. Mr. Meldrim is the court-house lawyer of the firm and unlike many attorneys he is as successful in criminal cases as in civil suits.

He is widely read, not only in law but in literature, and even his speeches to judges and juries often glitter with allusions or pictures which

relieve the tedium of sheep-bound authorities, he always goes into court thoroughly prepared, knowing not only his own case but that of the other side. In many of the Georgia decisions where Mr. Meldrim's cases appear, there are high compliments from the Supreme Bench.

In all things appertaining to Irish affairs, Mr. Meldrim takes a deep interest. He has been president of the Hibernian society for years and that organization excels in every respect any similar association in this or neighboring States. Every year the honorable society is extending its reputation, and the lustre of its name is spreading farther and farther by reason of its President's efforts. It is Mr. Meldrim's ambition to give his society a national reputation and no one who knows him well doubts that he will succeed. Once a year he brings about its board the brightest scholars, the most learned lawyers and the ablest men in various professions.

In the erection of the monument to Sergt. Jasper in Madison Square Mr. Meldrim has no small share of the credit. The Jasper Monument Association had no more earnest and tireless worker than he.

Every political canvass brings Mr. Meldrim to the front. Candidates need his aid and influence which is far-reaching, being a good planner and organizer his friends invariably get him interested. He is too busy with pressing professional business to aspire to office himself, but every two years he is urged to become a candidate for Congress. The volunteer military interests him too, and he is the Major of the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia Cavalry to which position he was promoted from lieutenantancy in the Georgia Hussars.

Mr. Meldrim is a delightful speaker, whether at the Bar or in response to a toast on some formal occasion. As a ready debater he is the equal of the best. His sarcasm is a weapon which opponents dread.

Mr. Meldrim is known from one end of Georgia to the other. The cause of State aid to education has no warmer friend, and his influence and his zeal in this direction were recognized by a place on the State University's Board of Trustees.

DUNCAN, WILLIAM, M.D., the subject of this sketch, was born in Savannah, Ga., January 1, 1840, and is of Scotch and Irish parentage. His elementary studies began in the Chatham Academy, Savannah, Ga., one of the oldest institutions of learning in this country, fol-

lowed by a course of studies at the Springfield Academy in Effingham county, Ga. He completed his academic course at Oglethorpe University, near Milledgeville, Ga., in 1857. In 1858 he commenced the study of medicine under the late Dr. Richard D. Arnold, matriculated at the Savannah Medical College in November of the same year and received his diploma from that institution in March, 1861. Soon after receiving his degree in medicine, Dr. Duncan was appointed assistant surgeon in the provisional army of the Confederate States, and was stationed at Fort Jackson (now Fort Oglethorpe) in the spring of 1861 with Captain Jacob Read, of company D, First Georgia Regulars. In the summer and fall of 1861 he was with the First Georgia Regulars in Virginia; in 1862 he was assigned to the Savannah Medical College hospital where he served until the spring of 1863 when he was assigned to duty with the Fourth Alabama Regiment, Law's Brigade, Hood's Division, Longstreet's Corps of the army of Northern Virginia. Later in the spring of 1863 he was stationed temporarily at Mississippi Hospital No. 2, corner of Seventh and Carey streets, Richmond, Va., and at the Army Hospital at Harrisonburg, Va., while convalescing from an attack of smallpox covering a period of six weeks, rejoining his regiment immediately after the Pennsylvania campaign. In 1864, he was relieved from duty in the field, and assigned to duty at Howard's Grove Hospital, Richmond, Va., where he remained until the fall of the Confederate capital in April, 1865, which virtually terminated the war. After the war Dr. Duncan spent one year abroad in the prosecution of his medical studies and returned to Savannah in the summer of 1866, when he entered upon the active practice of his profession, in which he is still engaged.

Dr. Duncan is a member of the State Medical Association of Georgia and of the Georgia Medical Society (local) of Savannah, and was dean of the faculty of the Savannah Medical College until the suspension of the exercises of that institution several years since, which was necessitated in consequence of the death of several of the professors, and an inability to fill satisfactorily the vacancies thus occasioned.

Dr. Duncan was one of the surgeons of the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad, and is now connected in the same capacity with the Savannah, Florida and Western Railway, under the Plant system; he held the position of surgeon of the cavalry squadron reorganized soon after the war under the

late Colonel E. C. Anderson, jr., having been commissioned by the governor of Georgia under the law regulating such appointments. He is superintendent, and one of the medical staff, of the Savannah Hospital, which positions he has held since 1867. He was secretary and treasurer of the board of trustees of the Georgia Infirmary for colored persons, from the year of its organization 1870, to 1887, and is still one of the members of the board of trustees. He has been a member of the board of sanitary commissioners of the city of Savannah from the period of its organization until two years since, and author of the ordinance of the city providing for the organization of said board in 1877, immediately after the epidemic of yellow fever in 1876.

In an active professional life Dr. Duncan has not manifested any ambition for preferment, but has served on the board of aldermen during the incumbency of Captain J. F. Wheaton, as mayor, and during two terms of the incumbency of Hon. Rufus E. Lester, embracing a period of ten years.

Dr. Duncan has always taken an interest in educational affairs, as in other matters looking to the advancement and progress of the community in which he resides; he is a member of the board of education of the city of Savannah and county of Chatham, also a member of the board of trustees of Chatham Academy, is past master of Ancient Landmark Lodge No. 231, F. and A. M., Savannah, Ga., member of Georgia Chapter No. 3 Royal Arch Masons, member of Georgia Council No. 2 Royal and Select Masons, member of Palestine Commandery Knights Templar No. 7, and sublime prince of the Royal Secret, thirty-second degree Ancient and Accepted Rite of Scottish Masons.

DORSETT, CHARLES HENRY, was born in Savannah, Ga., November 29, 1845, and is the son of John and Sarah R. Dorsett. The father of the subject of this sketch was a master ship carpenter, and had charge of the largest ship yards in Savannah. He died in 1846, and his wife survives him.

Mr. Dorsett was educated at Chatham Academy, Savannah, Ga., and immediately after leaving the academy accepted a clerkship, in his sixteenth year. He enlisted as a member of Major Shellman's battalion for the defense of the city during the late war when the Federal forces were

investing the city. Mr. Dorsett married Miss Josie Gross, a daughter of Charles Gross, a merchant of Savannah; the fruit of this union is a beautiful daughter now in her tenth year.

Although Mr. Dorsett is comparatively a young man, his life has been one of great activity, energy and industry. Entering, as we have seen, commercial life before he had attained his seventeenth year, he has from a small clerkship risen to his present commanding position in the commercial and monetary circles of Savannah. To attempt to follow him from the humble position he occupied when a boy in the counting-room up to his present position as a wealthy land-owner and financier, would require greater space than has been assigned the writer of this sketch. During his earlier years he was employed as a book-keeper for leading grocery, banking and cotton houses. He was for ten years cashier of the late A. S. Hartridge, one of the prominent cotton factors of his day, managing Mr. Hartridge's business for the ten years preceding his death. In December, 1876, Mr. Dorsett embarked in business for himself, establishing the firm of Dorsett & Kennedy, auctioneers and real estate dealers.

The business proved to be a lucrative one from the start. The partnership was dissolved in 1879, since which time Mr. Dorsett has conducted, and still conducts the business on his own account. He has disposed of most of the city and suburban property sold in and about the city for the last ten years, and his counsel is daily sought by those seeking investments, as his judgment is unerring in matters pertaining to real estate. He has an extensive real estate interest of his own, owning as he does a great deal of city and suburban property, and a summer residence at the Isle of Hope. He organized the Savannah Real Estate Company, which marked the period of the first activity here in real estate transactions, and which proved to be a most profitable investment for those who were connected with the company. Mr. Dorsett also organized the Savannah Investment Company, which built the Belt Line Railway, which company not only has one of the best roads of the kind in the South, but owns nearly five hundred lots in the extended city limits, now rapidly building up. Mr. Dorsett is a director in and treasurer of both companies; he is vice-president and director of the Chatham Real Estate and Improvement Company which he organized; he was also active in the organization of the Citizens' Loan Association, which has since been succeeded by the Cit-

izens' Bank, and of which Mr. Dorsett is vice-president and a director. He is a charter member and director of the Title Guarantee Company, and Dime Savings Bank, and he has extensive interests in all the principal real estate and financial agencies in the city. His superior judgment in matters pertaining to finance was exemplified in the purchase of the Pritchard plantation for the county while a member of the board of county commissioners. This plantation was being cultivated in rice by tide-water culture, and materially interfered with the proper drainage of that section of the county. There was but one way to obviate this, and that was the purchase of the plantation of 1,300 acres by the county, which Mr. Dorsett not only suggested, but strongly advocated, until he carried his point, Mr. Dorsett claiming that the county would not only solve the problem of drainage in that section, but would be able to thus provide the county with an extensive tract of land for the poor farm, and at the same time could dispose of enough land to pay for the original cost of the entire tract. By subsequent appreciation of the lands in that portion of the county, due to the opening of new roads which Mr. Dorsett advocated, the county will be able to sell two-thirds of its purchase for more than the entire tract cost, and will still have left 350 acres of the most fertile agricultural lands in the county, and situated only five miles distant from the city.

Mr. Dorsett was appointed one of the board of county commissioners by Governor Gordon, and at once took rank as a thorough, energetic and conscientious public servant. It was by his earnest endeavors that the Waters road was opened to the Montgomery cross road, and Estill avenue from the White Bluff road to Waters road. These highways brought into notice large areas of lands which had before been almost inaccessible. This important public improvement was accomplished without cost to the county other than the labors of the convict force. The opening of these roads demonstrated the value of such improvements, and since then the public sentiment has been strongly in favor of better highways and more of them. It is not saying too much to assert that through Mr. Dorsett's foresight and energy the value of land in Chatham county has largely increased, and in consequence a large sum has been added to the public revenues. If Mr. Dorsett had done nothing more than to inaugurate a system of roads from which the people and the county are

daily receiving benefit, his name should stand high on the roll of public benefactors. He is better known and his worth appreciated more to-day than when he was a commissioner, and it can therefore be well understood that the clear-headed business man that he is known to be, rendered valuable service to the public in his official capacity. In the reappointment of county commissioners in 1888 Mr. Dorsett declined to permit his name to be presented. The large and costly jail and jailer's residence was built while Mr. Dorsett was on the board, and the court-house completed in the summer of 1890 was determined upon while he was a member.

Mr. Dorsett has been a liberal subscriber to almost every enterprise which has been started in this city for the past ten years, and this includes subscriptions to real estate, financial, railroad, hotel and other industrial and public-spirited enterprises, calculated to further the progress of the city, and in most of these enterprises he has taken a leading part to interest others in this direction.

He is a member of Wesley Monumental Methodist Episcopal Church and chairman of its board of trustees, and was chairman of the board of stewards, and superintendent of its Sunday-school for many years. He is a member of Landrum Lodge, Master Masons. Mr. Dorsett ranks very high in the society of Odd Fellows, and has held all the positions in the order in the State of Georgia but that of grand master. He is a member of De Kalb Lodge No. 9, I. O. O. F. with which he has been connected for over twenty-one years; he has held all the offices up to that of grand representative. He is now serving his sixth year as one of the three representatives of the State of Georgia to the Sovereign Grand Lodge of the world. He is lieutenant-colonel on the staff of General John C. Underwood, grand sire and generalissimo of the order of Independent Odd Fellows throughout the world.

LOVELL, EDWARD, the subject of this sketch, was born in Medway, Mass., March 4, 1816. He located in Savannah in 1835 and two years later opened a gun store, and in 1840 he added to his already increasing business a line of hardware. In 1857 he established the firm of Lovell & Lattimore, admitting his brother, Nathaniel Lovell, and William Lattimore into partnership; in 1868 he retired from the firm and formed a co-partnership with his son, Edward F. Lovell, and William C.

Crawford under the firm name of Crawford & Lovell, which partnership was terminated by the death of Mr. Crawford in 1884. After the death of Mr. Crawford, Mr. Lovell admitted his son, Robert P. Lovell, into the firm of Edward Lovell & Sons, under which name a very large and extensive business was conducted until the death of the senior member, which occurred August 25, 1888. After a continued illness during the winter and spring of 1888, he was taken north in the hope that a change of air and scenery would restore his health, but the best medical skill was unavailing, and he died at Ballston Spa., N. Y. The sons Edward F. and Robert P. Lovell still continue the business under the firm name of Edward Lovell's Sons, which is one of the largest hardware houses in the South.

The deceased was a man of great industry, of the most charitable impulses, and a public-spirited citizen, ready at all times to forward and foster every commercial and manufacturing enterprise calculated to advance the interest and prosperity of the city in which he was an honored citizen for over half a century, and at the time of his death he left a large estate, the result of a long life of industry and business integrity.

Edward Lovell was married May 4, 1845, to Miss Mary A. Bates, of Boston, Mass., who survives him as do their four children; Edward F., Ellen M., Grace B., and Robert P.

Mr. Lovell was a man who had little ambition for political preferment but one whose domestic ties and commercial life kept him out of the arena of politics, although frequently solicited to enter the public service. He served on the aldermanic board of Savannah for six years from considerations of public duty and was one of its most efficient and conservative members. He was one of the directors of the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad; president for many years of the Savannah and Ogeechee Canal Company; president of the Savannah Brick Manufacturing Company, and at the time of his death was vice-president of the Oglethorpe Savings and Trust Company. No higher recommendation was required to lend confidence to an enterprise than to know that Mr. Lovell was connected with it in some capacity, as his well-known integrity and fidelity and careful methods of doing business were well known in this community.

During the war Mr. Lovell was in the detached service and assisted

in the plans and construction of the artillery defenses for the defense of the city. He served his time as an active member in the Chatham Artillery, the oldest artillery company in the country, and at the time of his death was an honorary member. The deceased was a member of Live Oak Lodge, I. O. O. F.

OLMSTEAD, COLONEL CHARLES H., was born in Savannah, Ga., in 1837, and is the son of Jonathan and Eliza (Hart) Olmstead. His father, a native of Connecticut, and of English descent, early in life removed to Savannah, where he was married and for many years engaged in the banking business.

Young Olmstead was educated at the Georgia Military Institute, graduating in the class of 1856, being at the time adjutant of the corps of cadets. After leaving school he commenced a business career as clerk in the mercantile house of Brigham, Kelly & Co., of Savannah, but his progress in commercial life was soon arrested by the war between the States. For some time before actual hostilities commenced, many foreseeing the drift of affairs, were convinced that the questions involved could not be settled except by an appeal to arms. The greatest interest was revived in military organizations all over the South, and especially in Savannah; old companies were strengthened, new ones were formed, and every preparation was made for the impending conflict. In these preparations young Olmstead took an enthusiastic part as a member of the first volunteer regiment of Georgia. In 1860 he was appointed adjutant of the regiment by Colonel A. R. Lawton (afterward general and quartermaster-general in the Confederate States Army, and late United States Minister to Vienna), and in that capacity served at Fort Pulaski when it was seized by order of Governor Brown on the 3rd of January, 1861.

In the spring of 1861 the First Regiment was reorganized and mustered into the Confederate service. Soon after Colonel Lawton was promoted to a brigadier-generalship, and Hugh W. Mercer was elected colonel of the regiment; W. S. Rockwell, lieutenant-colonel, and Charles H. Olmstead, major. During the following summer the regiment was scattered to various points along the Georgia coast, being stationed at Forts Pulaski and Jackson and other points on the Savannah River, Tybee Island, Causton Bluff, Thunderbolt, Green Island and St. Catharine Island.

In December, 1861, Colonel Mercer was promoted to a brigadier-generalship, and Major Olmstead was elected colonel of the regiment. At this time with the resources at command it was deemed impracticable to defend all of the outlying islands of the Georgia coast. Tybee Island was evacuated and Fort Pulaski garrisoned by the First Regiment under Colonel Olmstead became the outwork of the line of defense. In January following the Federals seized Tybee Island and commenced the erection of batteries with the intention of besieging the fort. A few weeks thereafter the enemy succeeded in passing their vessels through Wall's Cut and entered the Savannah River above the fort, thus cutting it off from all communication with Savannah. Thus isolated without hope of assistance from any quarter, the little garrison with its 400 men on the 10th of April was confronted with eleven land batteries mounted by thirty-six well protected heavy guns. Early on the morning of the 10th General Gilmore, commanding the besieging force, sent, under a flag of truce, an order "for the immediate surrender and restoration of Fort Pulaski to the authority and possession of the United States," to which Colonel Olmstead commandant of the fort, after acknowledging the receipt of the order, heroically and laconically replied: "I am here to defend the fort, not to surrender it." A few minutes after the return of the flag of truce the bombardment of the fort commenced, and was continued all day with great danger to the fort. The firing was resumed on the following morning, and at midday all the guns of the fort bearing upon Tybee except two were disabled. It was seen that further resistance was useless, and under the circumstances Colonel Olmstead believing the lives of his command to be his next care, gave the necessary order for a surrender. Colonel Olmstead and the other officers of the garrison were taken as prisoners of war to Governor's Island, New York harbor, and finally to Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, O., where they remained until their exchange was effected in September, 1862.

At the reorganization of the First Regiment in October, 1862, Colonel Olmstead was again placed in command. For many months it continued to do service at various points along the coast, being stationed at battery Wagner, James Island, and Charleston Harbor.

In the spring of 1864 the scattered companies of Colonel Olmstead's command were brought together and joined General Joseph S. Johnston's

army in Northern Georgia, being assigned to General Mercer's brigade, in Walker's division, Hardee's corps. From that time until the close of the war the First bore an honorable part in the history of the army, suffering its first severe loss in the battle of Kenesaw Mountain.

The summer of 1864 was a period of almost constant fighting, and at Smyrna Church, Peachtree Creek and the battles around Atlanta, the First did heroic service. Colonel Olmstead was wounded on July 22, 1864, on the same day that General Walker was killed. After the death of General Walker, General Mercer's brigade was assigned to the division of General Pat. Cleburne, at the same time General Mercer being assigned to duty elsewhere, the command of the brigade fell upon Colonel Olmstead as senior colonel, and he continued in command until the fall of Atlanta. General J. Argyle Smith was then placed in command of the brigade.

At the time of the battle of Nashville Colonel Olmstead was on detached service with the brigade under General N. B. Forest, who was then operating against Murfreesboro. At this time General Smith had succeeded to the command of the division, and from this time until the close of the war the command of the brigade fell to Colonel Olmstead. After the defeat of Hood at Nashville the force under General Forrest made a forced march to rejoin Hood, reaching his army at Columbia, Tenn., from which point Smith's brigade formed a part of the rear guard of General Hood's retreating army to the Tennessee River.

After a short rest the army was called to the east and Smith's brigade once more came under its old leader General Joseph E. Johnston, at Smithville, N. C., what was left of Colonel Olmstead's old command, the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia, was consolidated with the Fifty-seventh and Sixty-third Regiment under the name of the First Regiment, and placed under Colonel Olmstead's command. A short time thereafter it surrendered with General Johnston's army at Greensboro, N. C.

After the war Colonel Olmstead returned to Savannah and became a partner in the shipping and commission house of Brigham, Holst & Co. In 1873 he was made treasurer of the Citizens Mutual Loan Company, and in 1883 with Henry Hull and Francis S. Lathrop, under the firm name of C. H. Olmstead & Co., succeeded to the business of Henry Hull & Co., private bankers, a business in which he is still engaged.

Colonel Olmstead is an active member and has taken a deep interest in the welfare of the Georgia Historical Society, of which he is now second vice-president and for several years has been curator. He is also vice-president of the Georgia Infirmary. He is a member of and for the last twenty years has been an elder of the Independent Presbyterian Church.

Colonel Olmstead's career viewed from all sides has been an eminently honorable one, such as befits the well-rounded, symmetrical character of the man. He has been content to go modestly along doing his duty as he understood it without fear or favor. As a military leader he was faithful to every trust, never shirked a responsibility, and discharged every duty laid upon him with high credit to himself and the cause he espoused. He is quiet and retiring in disposition, and one to whom publicity in any form is distasteful. He is literary in his taste, is a great reader, and a graceful writer. His pen has done much to preserve the military history of Savannah soldiers during the war. One of his recent articles "Savannah in War Time," published in *Historic and Picturesque Savannah* is a striking example of his concise and powerful grouping of facts, combined with smoothness and elegance of diction. He is public spirited and progressive in his ideas, and warmly espouses every project which promises to advance the material interest of Savannah. He is genial and social in nature, and is ever ready to aid with his time and his labor, his presence and his counsel whatever tends to social, moral or intellectual advancement. As a business man his course has ever been marked with the strictest integrity, and no one holds more securely the confidence and respect of Savannah's commercial community.

Colonel Olmstead was married in 1859 to Miss Florence L. Williams, daughter of Peter J. Williams, of Milledgeville, Ga. They have three daughters.

SCREVEN, JOHN. A history of Savannah would be lacking in completeness, if the life and character of the subject of this sketch were not included. He comes from a patriotic parentage on both sides of the family tree:—The Screvens and Bryans, of whom he is a lineal descendant, having been conspicuous during the war for American Independence.

Colonel John Screven was born in Savannah, September 18, 1827,

and is the eldest son of Doctor James Proctor Screven and Hannah Georgia Bryan. His first American ancestor, the Rev. William Screven emigrated from England in 1640, settling at Kittery, Maine, but the religious persecutions, which marred the history of that day, led him to come South, where he founded the first Baptist church in South Carolina. Colonel Screven is also a lineal descendant of Thomas Smith, one of the landgraves and governor of the province of South Carolina. Collaterally he is a descendant of General James Screven, for whom Screven county, in Georgia, is named.

On the mother's side, Colonel Screven is a lineal descendant of Jonathan Bryan, who figured conspicuously in the early settlement of Savannah and the Georgia colony, and being one of the fathers and principal founders of the colony, Bryan county was named in his honor and to perpetuate his memory. Although an associate justice of the general court of the province of Georgia, and a member of the Royal Governor's Council, Jonathan Bryan resigned those places of honor to range himself with the patriots, with whom he took an active and distinguished part. He was for a time acting governor of Georgia. When Savannah was surrendered to the British in 1778, Mr. Bryan was made a prisoner, and although in advanced age, long and cruel imprisonment was the penalty paid for his patriotic course.

The father of Colonel Screven was one of the most successful physicians of his day. He was a man of distinguished character and attainments, and had a firm hold upon the affections of the people. He held many positions of public trust and honor, in which his services were marked by fidelity and integrity, characteristics inherited by the sons. Doctor Screven was mayor of Savannah, was a State senator, and the founder and first president of the Atlantic & Gulf Railway. He died in July, 1859, in his 60th year. His wife survived him until March, 1887, when she fell asleep in her 80th year. They were the parents of Colonel John Screven, Captain Thomas Forman Screven, George Proctor Screven, and Mrs. Sarah Ada Henderson. George Proctor Screven, the youngest son, is deceased, but his wife and children survive him and reside in Savannah.

There are many events in the life of Colonel John Screven which are remarkable coincidents, taken in connection with a review of his father's

life. In fact, the son seems to have followed closely in the honored path which his father trod, being like the father courteous and obliging and with his stern virtues and intellectual endowments, has filled nearly every position of honor and trust held by the father.

John Screven commenced his studies in Savannah. At Edgehill School, Princeton, N. J., he was taught, 1839-1841, by the Rev. John S. Hart, LL. D., an eminent teacher of literature and rhetoric, an author of several text-books in that department, and finally professor of rhetoric and English in Princeton College. The last school Colonel Screven attended was that of Antoine Bolmar, at Westchester, Pa. Bolmar had been a captain of cavalry in the army of Napoleon the First, and was a survivor of the famous Russian expedition. His school was a model of discipline and careful tuition, and he was himself the editor of a number of standard text-books for teaching the French language.

From Bolmar's school, Colonel Screven entered Franklin College, Athens, Ga., but leaving before he had completed his course, he finished his collegiate studies at home under private instruction. While at Franklin College he divided the first honor, gold medal, awarded for declamation, to Sophomore speakers. This was the first medal of the kind ever given in the college.

Colonel Screven then turned to the study of law, under the tuition of the late Judge William Law. After remaining with him about one year, he was sent to Europe, February, 1848, to extend his professional studies in a broader field. Under the advice of Hon. George Bancroft, then United States Minister at London, a personal friend of his father, he was sent to Heidelberg with letters to Schlosser and other eminent professors in the university, from whom he received much kindness. His health giving way before he could be fairly prepared by sufficient knowledge of the German language to become a matriculate in the university, he was compelled to return to Savannah. Here his law studies were resumed, and early the following year he was admitted to the bar by the late Judge William B. Fleming, but remained in the practice of the profession a few months only. Leaving the bar, he devoted himself, at his father's wish, to the management of the latter's large landed estate.

On the 3rd of July, 1849, he married Miss Mary White Footman, the youngest daughter of the late Dr. Richard Footman of Bryan county.

To this marriage eight children were born, of whom three now survive: Georgia Bryan Screven, Mrs. Elizabeth Woodbridge Arnold, and Captain Thomas Screven. Mrs. Screven died on the 3rd of July, 1863.

In 1852 Colonel Screven was elected one of the Justices of the Inferior Court of Chatham county. This court had concurrent jurisdiction in civil matters only, with the superior courts of the State, and had also charge of the affairs of the county. He remained in this office until 1866, when the court was abolished, and its duties as to county affairs transferred to commissioners. In 1857, upon the resignation of his father from the same office, he was promoted from the ranks and elected captain of the Savannah Volunteer Guards, the oldest and one of the most distinguished infantry corps of the State. Retaining his command when the war broke out between the States, he was commissioned major of artillery in the Confederate States' army, and assigned to the command of the battalion to which his company was attached. This battalion was afterward designated as the Eighteenth Georgia Battalion. He served with it on the outer sea defences of Savannah, superintended the erection of fortifications, and was in charge of the obstructions to the water approaches of the Savannah River below Fort Oglethorpe.

He remained in strict military service until the close of December, 1862, when at the request of the board of directors of the Atlantic & Gulf Railroad Company, he was ordered back to his place as president of the company. He had been elected to this office, after the death of his father in 1859, and had been granted this prolonged leave of absence from railroad duty in consideration of his being under military obligation when the war began. While he was in actual service with his command, the Atlantic & Gulf Railroad had become a more important agent in the military affairs of the Confederacy. The increasing transportation of troops and supplies, and the internal affairs of the company itself, imperatively demanded the presence and direction of the president of the company. Believing that he could so best serve the Confederate cause, he returned to his railroad duties and there remained during the war. In 1864, however, he raised for local defence, from railroad and government employees within the city of Savannah, a battalion of five companies of which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel commanding, and for a time was intrusted with the charge of the inner line of defences of Savannah.

Ordered by General Hardee, when Savannah was closely threatened by General Sherman, he moved south of the Altamaha with the trains and effects of the Atlantic & Gulf Railroad. He returned to Savannah late in May or in June, 1865, and at once commenced the restoration of the railroad, which had been destroyed by the enemy from Savannah beyond the Altamaha.

In 1859 he was elected from Chatham county a member of the House of Representatives in the State Legislature, and served during two sessions. It was this legislature which called the secession convention of 1861. His colleagues were General A. R. Lawton in the Senate, and the Hon. Julian Hartridge in the House.

Continuing in the presidency of the Atlantic & Gulf Railroad Company, he retained that position until 1880, over twenty years, when this company was succeeded by the Savannah, Florida & Western Railway Company.

In December, 1865, he married Mrs. Mary Eleanor Brown, second daughter of Dr. Hugh O'Keeffe Nesbitt, and a niece of the late Hon. John Macpherson Berrien. The two children of this marriage are Mrs. Lila Screven Atkinson, wife of Samuel Carter Atkinson, of Brunswick, Ga., and Martha Berrien Screven. Mrs. Screven died at Savannah June 30, 1883, in her 39th year.

In 1859 he was elected mayor of Savannah, and was thrice successfully elected to that office.

In 1877 he was elected one of the delegates to the convention which formed the present constitution of Georgia. He took a prominent part in resisting that clause of the constitution which, he believed would extend unnecessary and unjust powers to the legislature in limiting the vested rights and privileges of the railway corporations of the State.

In 1880 he was elected an associate arbitrator of the Southern Railway and Steamship Association, and still continues in that office.

Early after the war he was elected one of the board of trustees of the University of Georgia; and when under the act of 1889 the old board was dissolved, he was appointed for the long term, one of the new board from the first congressional district. In 1883 he was appointed one of the commissioners to erect the new capitol of the State, but declined the office. He has held various other offices; among them he is now pres-

dent of the University Club of Savannah, is one of the trustees of Chatham Academy, Fellow of the Geographical Society of New York, and first vice-president of the Georgia Historical Society.

No citizen of Savannah commands, to a greater degree, the respect and esteem of those who know him. He belongs to the type of an old-time hospitable southern gentleman. It may be said of him that while not a man of brilliancy or dash, he is a man of great intellectual capacity, with a mind well poised, and while some men might for the time attract a greater following, none would retain it so long as would the subject of this sketch, whose deeper reasoning, pleasantly modulated voice, and depth of sincerity would far outweigh the short-lived eloquence of an hour.

Colonel Screven is the last man who can be flattered by panegyrics. The latent mental force of the man is known to those who have watched his career and know how thoroughly equipped he is in dealing with questions upon which he is called upon to express his views.

Colonel Screven is a man of high literary attainments, and has one of the most valuable private libraries in Savannah. In the companionship of his books many hours of his leisure are spent. He has many warm personal friends. Some of these friendships began in the school-room and have deepened with the eventful years of Colonel Screven's life, that most crucial test of a man's character; for such kindly ties are riveted only where the objects are deserving. In the community where Colonel Screven has lived for more than half a century, it may be truthfully said of him that he enjoys, to the fullest degree, the admiration of those who know him intimately and well, and the universal respect of all. His affable manners, the valuable services rendered his native state, his county, and his city, with courage, wisdom and prudence, and often when the gravity of the occasion was pronounced, the fidelity and integrity which has been characteristic of his public services, and his proverbial honesty and sincerity, all have combined to fix him firmly in the affections of his people as one of their honored landmarks and a man "*sans peur et sans reproche.*"

YOUNG, JOHN REMER, the subject of this sketch, was born in Thomas County, Ga., April 7, 1856, and is a son of the late Remer Young, who was one of the largest and most successful planters in Lowndes County, to which county he removed in 1859, where the earlier years in the life of John R. Young were spent. From estimable and cultured parents the son inherited splendid traits of character. He was educated at Valdosta Institute, and at the University of Georgia. After completing his education he spent a few years on his father's plantation, and in the management of the plantation of J. W. Lathrop & Co., in Lowndes County, after which, with an associate, he began the manufacture of naval stores, a business venture, which proved to be successful, but which he disposed of to accept a position with the large naval-stores house of Peacock, Hunt & Co., in 1888. After two years with this firm, Messrs. Ellis and Holt, the junior partners, withdrew from the company, and formed a copartnership under the firm name of Ellis, Holt & Co., and offered Mr. Young an interest in the business, which he accepted. Subsequent to the death of Mr. Holt, Mr. C. B. Parker was admitted, and the firm became Ellis, Young & Co., under which it has built up, and now conducts one of the largest trades in turpentine and rosin in the world. That the present high standing and immense naval-stores trade of the firm of Ellis, Young & Co., is largely due to the energy and business foresight of Mr. Young, cannot be doubted; this young man of 34, who came to Savannah seven years ago an entire stranger, is to-day president of the Board of Trade, and so thoroughly identified with every enterprise of a public character, that no one is better known on 'change and throughout Georgia and Florida. In seven years Mr. Young has stamped the impress of his sterling business qualities and infectious zeal upon every project looking to the advancement and progress of not only his own city and State, but it has been extended to the peninsula State of Florida.

In addition to his share of the active management of the naval stores and general merchandise interest of the firm of Ellis, Young & Co., Mr. Young organized the Georgia Pine Investment Company, of which he is president. This corporation has a capital of \$75,000, owns 100,000 acres of the best pine lands of the South, and an interest in five of the largest turpentine farms in the South. No man has a more abiding faith in the continued prosperity and future grandeur of this sea-port, whose every

industrial, commercial and railroad interest he has aided to foster, and to the development of which he has brought to bear individual enthusiasm which has been infectious.

Mr. Young's success and ability as a business man, so widely attracted attention throughout the commercial channels of Savannah, that four years after he settled in Savannah he was elected vice-president of the Board of Trade, and was at the following election promoted to the presidency by the Board, and the next year was re-elected, and is now serving his second term. Mr. Young's address in 1890, reviewing the trade of Savannah for 1889, was one of the ablest documents of its kind ever presented for the consideration of the Board, and showed that all the ramifications in the city's commerce had been thoroughly canvassed by him, and that he was familiar with every statistical detail of the most prosperous commercial year known to the city of Savannah. In that report he showed that Savannah had done a naval stores business for that year of nearly \$6,000,000, an increase of \$1,500,000 over the year previous, and that the grain, provision and grocery trade had increased 25 per cent., and this in the light of the fact that prices on nearly all the leading articles were lower than for several years before, showing that there was an increase in bulk considerable in advance of the percentage in value. His recommendations on the increase of industrial industries and increasing railroad facilities, not only commanded attention at home, but has attracted the attention of capitalists elsewhere.

Mr. Young is a director of the Metropolitan Loan Company of Savannah, a director of the Citizens' Bank, and is directly interested in many other enterprises which have been established in Savannah within the last five years.

GUCKENHEIMER, SIMON, who stands at the head in the commercial ranks of the city of Savannah, was born April 6th, 1830, of Jewish parents at Burghaslach, a town in Bavaria, Germany, thirty miles south of the ancient city of Nuremberg, where in his childhood days he received a common school education which proved to be the foundation of a subsequent stirring and prosperous life. He eagerly seized every opportunity for self advancement and prosecuted his studies with a zeal and fixedness of purpose which have characterized his commercial and financial

operations in later years. His parents were people of moderate circumstances, and at the age of thirteen years young Simon was withdrawn from school, and at fifteen was apprenticed by his father to a merchant weaver, where he learned his trade, and assisted in the store connected with the factory, where his ability soon attracted the attention of his employer, and it was here that the young weaver and clerk formed an attachment in his youth by losing his heart to the daughter of his employer, whom, in later years, he made his wife.

A few years satisfied young Guckenheimer that he was designed to be more than an apprentice boy, and after having served four years with Mr. Haas, was called home; his elder brother was taken sick, and he took his place in assisting his father, who farmed and also kept a small dry goods store, and two years later signified his intention of going to America. Having obtained the consent of his parents he bade them and the object of his heart's affection farewell and embarked March 1, 1851, in the sailing vessel, *Meta*, at Bremenhaven, bound for America. He arrived in New York six weeks later unable to speak the English language, and a stranger in a strange country. His capital was fifty florins, or twenty dollars, out of which he invested \$12 in notions, and started out as a peddler. Many young men would not have overcome the difficulty he experienced and the hardships of his occupation which his ignorance of the language and manners and customs of the people in a strange country occasioned, but the persevering young man had but one purpose, and that was to succeed, and to carve out a fortune from this small beginning, which he has so thoroughly done. He continued in this occupation until August 5, when by his industry and frugality he had so far increased his capital as to enable him to pay his passage to Savannah, where he arrived August 8, 1851, with the capital increased from \$20 to \$40, and again he took up his country travels, having invested his capital in another stock of goods, which he replenished from time to time, journeying from place to place, until the spring of 1852, when his earnings enabled him to purchase a horse and wagon, not only to facilitate his travels, but to enable him to carry a larger stock, which his business required—soon after a larger wagon, drawn by two horses, was necessary. His increasing trade demanded more frequent visits to larger markets, and in 1853, two years after his arrival South, his trade had so largely increased

that it was necessary for him to visit New York to purchase his supplies. In 1855 Mr. Guckenheimer discontinued peddling and opened a general store in Centre Village, Charlton county, Ga., where for five years he conducted a most profitable business, his courteous dealings with the trading public marked by a scrupulous integrity having been the foundation which made his business venture there so profitable.

While at Centre Village the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad and the Florida Railway and Navigation Railroad were built, diverting the trade of the village to larger markets, and the keen business foresight of Mr. Guckenheimer led him to prepare to establish himself in one of the larger cities of the South. He sold out his store, and after settling up his business he turned his face toward the Fatherland, embarking on the steamer for Germany. During the nine years of absence many changes had taken place under the old roof tree; his father had died, and the longing desire to see his widowed mother, and those near and dear to him, led Mr. Guckenheimer to return home, but probably no magnet was so attracting as that of his young sweetheart, Miss Sarah Haas, who was but a child of thirteen years when he left home, but who, during the nine years of absence, had grown into womanhood with her child love deepened into that firmer affection which led her to become his wife October 23, 1860. In November of that year the happy bridal pair took passage for Savannah by steamer *via* New York, arriving December 11, 1860.

When Mr. Guckenheimer returned to Savannah he began the jobbing tobacco business, which was the foundation of the present enormous establishment now conducted by himself and sons. This tobacco business was succeeded by the wholesale grocery store conducted under the firm name of Guckenheimer & Selig. In 1870 Mr. Selig, the junior partner died, but the business continued until 1872 under the same name in accordance with the last request of Mr. Selig, Mr. Guckenheimer's partner, between whom there was more than an ordinary business relationship, the two partners being firm and fast friends. In 1872 Mr. Guckenheimer conducted the business in his own name, subsequently S. Guckenheimer & Co., and in 1882 he admitted his son Samuel into the business, the firm becoming S. Guckenheimer & Son, under which name the extensive business has been conducted up to May 1, 1890, when his second son, Abraham S., was admitted, the firm becoming S. Guckenheimer & Sons.

The rapid development of the South bringing increasing business to the firm it necessitated more extensive quarters, and in 1888 Mr. Guckenheimer erected one of the most imposing mercantile structures in the South, suitably and conveniently arranged for the business of his firm, and which might well be called a mercantile palace, which is not only an index to the steady growth of Savannah, but is a monument to the name of Guckenheimer, Savannah's most princely merchant.

A recital of Mr. Guckenheimer's early experience of his lonely trips through the country would fill a volume; his name is familiar in almost every household throughout the territory in which the large trade of his house extends; many of the older citizens remember him in his early days; his representations could be relied upon, and some of the largest and best customers of his present extensive business are those who bought goods from him in a small way nearly forty years ago. These early patrons and their children, many of whom are now engaged in mercantile pursuits in the interior, never fail to call on Mr. Guckenheimer when they visit Savannah. His business integrity has been a household word with them for nearly half a century. Honest and straightforward dealings have been the characteristic traits of the man, and by reason of which he enjoys the confidence of the people.

Such a man necessarily fills a prominent position in a progressive city like Savannah, where constant demands are being made to advance public enterprises, none of which find a more liberal patron and advocate than Mr. Guckenheimer. He is pre-eminently a public-spirited citizen, and his connection with financial enterprises is a sufficient guarantee for public confidence. He occupies many prominent positions in various organizations, being a director in the Merchants' National Bank, in the Savannah and Western Railroad, and in many other such institutions. He is, and has been one of the Sinking Fund Commissioners of the city of Savannah ever since that office was created. He is a prominent member of the Cotton Exchange and of the Board of Trade. He worships at the Temple Mickva Israel, has been its president for many years, and is now one of its trustees.

Mr. Guckenheimer's family consists of his wife, three sons and two daughters; the children are Samuel S., Abraham S., Moses S., Mrs. Albert Gerst, of Danville, Va., and Mrs. L. Adler.

While Mr. Guckenheimer still exercises a supervision of his large business, he does not so actively engage in it as in former years, as his sons, who have received under him a careful business training, relieve him of his exacting duties, and enable him to enjoy many of the pleasures which were denied him in his earlier days when he was applying himself to lay the foundation for what is now the most extensive grocery establishment in the State.

PURSE, DANIEL G. Captain Daniel G. Purse, capitalist, was born in Savannah, November 14, 1839, his father, Hon. Thomas Purse, being a prominent citizen, mayor of the city, a member of the Georgia Senate, one of the original projectors of the Central Railroad, and holding various positions of public and private trust, and the son has inherited many of the characteristic traits of the father.

Captain Purse received his education in Savannah. His collegiate studies were prosecuted at Emory College, Georgia, and he took a business course at a commercial college in Pittsburgh, Pa. After completing his studies, he became a teacher, and later took up the study of law, which he thereafter abandoned to enter commercial life. The outbreak of the war in 1861 terminated his commercial pursuits, and he enlisted with the second company of the Oglethorpe Light Infantry; was transferred to the War Department, and at the close of the war was connected with the engineering department of the Confederate States, with the rank of captain. After the war, and in July, 1865, he renewed the commercial life which had been interrupted by the war, and established a commission business under the firm name of Cunningham & Purse. His next business venture was as senior partner of the firm of Purse & Thomas, in the fertilizer and coal trade, a business connection which lasted for twelve years, when the firm was dissolved, Captain Purse continuing the fertilizer branch of the business on his own account until 1885, since which time Captain Purse has been interested in various financial enterprises, chiefly that of the development of Tybee Island as a pleasure resort, and after the successful development of which he conceived the idea and carried to a practical finish the construction of a railroad from Savannah to Tybee.

Captain Purse is a man of versatile genius, and his restless, tireless

brain is never idle. Many of the enterprises which he has brought to a successful termination were, at the inception, ridiculed by men whose conservative views always did much to chill what were considered doubtful enterprises and vagaries of a restless mind. Among some of these may be mentioned the development of artesian water in Savannah, as the result of which pure artesian water, for domestic purposes, has taken the place of the muddy and contaminated waters of the river, and the introduction of which has tended largely to the increasing healthful sanitation of the city, and to bringing its mortality list to the minimum, and to such a remarkable degree, that it has arrested the attention of sanitarians throughout the South, and has resulted in the adoption of the artesian well system in all the principal cities and towns of Georgia, South Carolina and Florida, a far-reaching benefit which can only be appreciated by those who live in a semi-tropical country, where pure water is the great *desideratum*. When Captain Purse first originated the idea of bringing the supply of pure artesian water from a deep underlying strata of water-bearing formation, he was not only subjected to the good-natured levity of those residing in his immediate community, but the *Charleston News and Courier*, and other papers outside of the State, argued in a lofty way to convince Captain Purse of the utter futility of what they termed "a chimerical vagary." Charleston, situated at a distance of but a little over one hundred miles from Savannah, had attempted to develop its subterranean artesian water supply but unsuccessfully, and this fact added great weight to the criticism of the Charleston paper, and would have tended to discourage almost any other man but Captain Purse in his explorations, and when he had obtained a flow of pure artesian water in the southwestern portion of Savannah, at a depth of less than six hundred feet, the fact was discredited by the Charleston critics. To-day a population of sixty thousand people in Savannah are supplied with pure artesian water from more than twenty wells, affording a flow of seven million gallons; and the city council, in the spring of 1890, began to lay the foundation for a more extended water plant, which will more than double the supply of the city furnishing it with twenty million gallons of pure artesian water daily, and the doubting Charleston is now being supplied with artesian water, and is, at the time this sketch is written, sinking other artesian wells to increase its water supply.

Following his successful water developments in Savannah, Captain Purse next turned his attention to the water supply of the sea-coast islands contiguous, and at a depth of two hundred and forty feet on Tybee Island, within six hundred feet of the mighty waves and roaring thunder of the ocean, he struck a vein of pure artesian water, which flowed fifteen feet above the surface of the ground, and since that time a system of water-works has been established on the island, and on all the sea-coast islands of South Carolina and Georgia, the sluggish, brackish, and unhealthful surface water has given way to the artesian water supply. Not only did this development of artesian water by Captain Purse have its sanitary influences, but it also had an influence upon the agricultural and industrial enterprises of this section, as all the ice manufactories have since sunk their own wells and manufactured ice of pure artesian water. Truck farmers have sunk artesian wells, irrigating their crops with the waters which appear to be as healthful to plant life as they have been eminently so to animal life. If Captain Purse had done nothing else in a stirring and eventful life, his developments in this direction entitle him to be placed high on the list of public benefactors.

In the narrow confines of a sketch of this character one cannot deal so fully with the man as he deserves, but this can be said here in brief—that few of the enterprises he has undertaken have ever been begun without the opposition of those who do not enjoy the keen foresight of Captain Purse, but there are those characteristics of the man, that as opposition becomes more intense, the zeal of Captain Purse increases in proportion, and as a result of this, no enterprise which he has begun has, in any instance failed. His project of building a railroad from Savannah to Tybee was ridiculed even more generally than his project to supply the city with artesian water, and for this reason long sweeps of marsh over which the Atlantic tides rise seemed to present obstacles, and it was predicted that even if the roadbed could be constructed from Savannah to Tybee, if the first locomotive did not sink from sight in the marsh the spring tides and storms on the Atlantic would wash away its roadbed; but, nothing discouraged, Captain Purse organized his company for the construction of the road, and on the 9th day of August, 1886, he and a few friends of the enterprise assembled on his Deptford Plantation, near Savannah, and a divine blessing having been invoked by Rabbi I. P.

Mendes, of the Congregation Mickva Israel, Master Thomas Purse, son of the Captain, stepped forward with a miniature silver spade and lifted the first dirt of what is now the Savannah and Atlantic Railway, that safely carries thousands to Tybee Island. A half century before the grandfather of Master Thomas Purse performed the same service for the Great Central Railroad of Georgia. The steel rails and solid roadbed are not to be excelled by any other road in the South, and the road has withstood the tempest as its projector said it would four years ago. Captain Purse is the president of the road, a position he has held ever since the road was constructed.

As one of the two owners of the Barnard & Anderson Railroad which has felt the impetus of his farsightedness in the development of Battery Park and the Liberty street branch, Captain Purse was largely instrumental in the consolidation of the Barnard & Anderson street railway with the Savannah, Skidaway & Seabrook railroad under the name City & Suburban, and was until 1885 one of the four owners of this corporation.

To no man is more credit due than to Captain Purse for the introduction of electric lighting in Savannah and it was through his efforts that Savannah was the first city of any size in the world to entirely discard gas for electricity in street lighting. The organization of the Brush Electric and Power Co., one of the strongest corporations of the city, was the result largely of his perseverance and energy, and of which company he has been vice-president. There is no enterprise for the advancement and progress of Savannah with which Captain Purse is not prominently identified. He is vice-president of the Board of Trade, president of the Merchants' and Mechanics' Loan Association, a member of the Cotton Exchange, a director in the Tybee Beach Company, and chairman of its managing committee, a director in the Southern Mutual Insurance Company, of Athens, Georgia, fellow of the American Geographical Society, and an extensive rice planter, and manager of landed estates for foreign owners at Augusta and other points in Georgia and Florida.

To Captain Purse the city is indebted for the successful funding of its seven per cent. city bonds in 1877. These bonds at that time were rated at forty cents on the dollar, but were funded by Captain Purse for five per cent. bonds, which are now rated on the market at 105 and

106. There was serious objections on the part of the original bond-holders to any funding of the debt, and when the plan was suggested by Captain Purse, then chairman of the Finance Committee of the City Council, his utter failure was predicted ; but with that energy which has always characterized his eventful enterprises, he visited Augusta, Charleston, Baltimore, and other cities where the bonds were held, and addressing meetings of the bond-holders, succeeded in getting their unanimous consent that the bonds should be funded. In this connection, it may be remarked that when Captain Purse visited Baltimore on that errand, he was met at the door of a leading banking institution in that city where the bonds were held, and told that there was no use to attempt to effect any such arrangement with the Baltimore bond-holders. His reply was that all he wanted was a respectful hearing. They could give him no less, and after addressing the bond-holders they were so thoroughly impressed with the facts as presented by him that when he left the bank building he took with him the written consent of all the bond-holders of Baltimore for the refunding of the old seven, in new five per cent. bonds.

To Captain Purse the county is also largely indebted for the law establishing the board of county commissioners of Chatham County, which was enacted in 1873. There was great apprehension at that time that unscrupulous elements might control the county's affairs, and voting precincts be scattered broadcast, and in localities where unscrupulous men could easily control the large colored element in the country settlements, and, as a result, the county's finances would be mismanaged and the progress and prosperity of the city, which is the greater part of Chatham County, would be retarded. In the face of a vigorous opposition, Captain Purse, foreman of the grand jury, recommended the passage of the bill, and interested himself in the enactment of the law the wisdom of which has been so abundantly established by the wise and competent management of the county's affairs by the board of county commissioners appointed by the governor under the law which had its origin with Captain Purse in the grand jury room.

Captain Purse was united in marriage to Miss Laura Ashby, of Fauquier County, Virginia, who is a near relative of General Turner Ashby, a famous Confederate cavalry officer, and the fruit of this union is five sons. Their home is one of elegance and refinement, situated on one of

the most beautiful avenues in the city, and under the shadows of that magnificent pile of architecture—the De Soto Hotel, to secure the site of which Captain Purse took a leading part.

Captain Purse, in addition to his many enterprises of an agricultural, commercial, financial, railway, and industrial character, is so methodical in the conduct of his business as to find much time in his library, which is composed of one of the most valuable collections of books in Savannah. He is a patron and member of the Georgia Historical Society. He is a member of St. John's Episcopal Church, and has been its treasurer, and a vestryman for over twenty years. He was one of the moving spirits in the collection of a fund for the building of St. John's Chapel, and chairman of the building committee which executed the work.

Captain Purse ranks high in the Masonic order. He has taken every degree up to and including the Scottish Rites thirty-second degree. He has been a mason for thirty years, and has for the past nine years been chairman of the committee on property of Solomon's Lodge No. 1, F. & A. M., and a recent report written by him upon the lodge's affairs has greatly added to his reputation as a writer upon financial subjects.

In the study and acquaintance of such a character and man as Captain Daniel G. Purse, many points are to be considered, for he is a many-sided man. He has a touch of genius about him, with decided talent. Captain Purse belongs to that class which is known as the mental sanguine temperament, that gives mental activity, aggressiveness, vim and energy in a great degree. Such a mind is suggestive, and planning, and is never demoralized by defeat or failure, but asserts itself by new suggestions, greater energy and fuller resources. Broad ideas, comprehensive plans and brilliant projects play through his brain. He is never content to work in the common rut or to confine his thoughts to only one idea. The many successful undertakings of Captain Purse are tokens of his peculiar mentality; and his success in whatever he has undertaken display his mental resources. For this reason he is more sanguine than the average man, because of that peculiar mental activity. With his seeming visionary mind he is in truth and fact a cautious man; he is first a thinker, then an actor. He wants time to reason, to see, to weigh facts, and then, when his mind has laid out his plans, he throws his whole soul, temperament and mental resources into what he under-

takes. He first knows what is to be accomplished, and then he plans in his own way for the accomplishment ; when he is convinced in his own mind that he is right, then he becomes the embodiment of a mental cyclonic dash, before which obstacles disappear, opposition is crushed and success assured. It is such characters, with such brain force and temperaments who become leaders among men, who are known as public-spirited men, fathers of great projects, and leaders in all great enterprises. Captain Purse is not a man given to doubt himself, for his natural energy and grasp of mind sees farther, grasps more and will accomplish more than men with great brains who are wanting in mental activity.

In all the enterprises and public and private trusts, and Captain Purse has held many such, his official conduct has been characterized by the strictest fidelity of purpose and a scrupulous integrity. No citizen of Savannah is imbued with deeper public spirit than Captain Purse, and the prosperity of this section is due to just such a class of men, who have not only been benefited and enriched by their unerring judgment, their unflagging zeal, and their superior financial ability, but at the same time while enriching themselves they have added to the wealth, the prosperity and the progress of the communities in which they live.

MCDONOUGH, JOHN J., is one of the representative manufacturers and business men of his city and State. He was born in Augusta, Ga., August 3, 1849, and is the third oldest son of John and Mary McDonough, who were the parents of eight children, four of whom survive. The father was a native of Ireland, and was brought to Savannah in infancy. At the time of his death he was a prominent lumber manufacturer and dealer in lumber and conducted extensive foundry and machine works in Savannah, having moved thither from Augusta in 1866.

John McDonough was educated in the public schools in Atlanta, Ga., and completed his education at St. Francis Xavier College, New York city. In 1866 he was given a clerical position in one of his father's lumber yards in Savannah ; three years later he was appointed superintendent of his father's mills in the interior, and was admitted to the firm in 1870, which became that of John McDonough & Son. Ten years later he



Geo. J. MacDougal

bought out his father's local interest in Savannah, since which time he has been engaged in all branches of lumber manufacture. In 1877 he purchased his father's interest in the foundry and machine works of McDonough & Ballantyne, which interest he still retains.

He has an extensive lumber and planing mill in Savannah, which does an annual business of \$100,000. Here everything in the line of doors, sash, blinds, and all kinds of interior finish, including hard woods for the finest classes of buildings, are manufactured. The inside finish of the new hotel "De Soto" and that of the new court house of Savannah was turned out at Mr. McDonough's factory. In addition to the Savannah mill, he owns two of the largest and finest saw-mills in Georgia which are located in Clinch and Pierce Counties. They turn out about 25,000,000 feet of lumber annually for domestic and foreign markets. With them are connected forty miles of railroad, laid with steel rails.

These roadways are equipped with locomotives and cars for the moving of logs from the timber lands to his mills.

Mr. McDonough manufactures and builds cars for his own railroads. Machine shops are connected with his mills where locomotives and machinery of all kinds are rebuilt and repaired. With his out-of-town mills are connected large stores or commissaries from which the necessaries for his five hundred employees and their families are supplied.

Mr. McDonough is now serving his second term as Alderman of the City of Savannah. He has been Chairman of the Harbor and Wharf Committee and that on Assessments, which latter he resigned in the spring of 1890 to accept the Chairmanship of the Water Committee, as a more extensive water plant was then contemplated and he was urged to accept the first place on that Committee, in view of his practical mechanical fitness for that important position. Mr. McDonough was one of the directors of the Savannah and Tybee Railroad and when it was reorganized under the name of the Savannah and Atlantic Railway Co., became a director in the same.

He is largely interested in the Tybee Beach Co., of which he is the President and has taken a decided interest in the improvements of this favorite southern sea-side resort. Mr. McDonough is a member of the Cotton Exchange and of the Board of Trade and is connected with many enterprises of a progressive character. He is a stockholder in the South

Bound Railroad and the Savannah Construction Co., which was organized in the spring of 1890 to build the railroad from Columbia, S. C., to Savannah, Ga. Mr. McDonough is a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and is a liberal supporter of a number of benevolent and civil societies. He is also connected, as honorary member, with many of the military organizations, for which Savannah has been famous for more than a century.

In his domestic relations he is most happy. He was united in marriage November 5, 1869 with Miss Ellen M. Cullen, of Savannah, by whom he has two children, Marie and John. He is a kind and indulgent husband and father. His social qualities are many and well known to all who enjoy his personal acquaintance.

He is liberal as an entertainer and his host of friends who frequent his pleasant home always enjoy his large-hearted hospitality.

INDEX.

- A**CADEMIES and schools, 511 et seq.
of Georgia, early, 513.
Adjustment of Mary Musgrove's claim, 299.
African Baptist Church, First, 510.
Agriculture, society for improvement of, 321.
Allies, loss of, at siege of Savannah, 283.
Anderson, Dr. Hugh, 436.
Anderson Street Church, 507.
Arms, first passage of, 224.
Arnold, Dr. Richard D., 439.
Arrest of Governor Wright, 220.
Artillery company, organization of, 314.
Assault upon Savannah by allied army, 275.
Assembly, address of both Houses of, to the King, 185.
royalist, called together by Governor Wright, 296.
Attorney-General, arrival, and measures of, 155.
Attorneys, leading, at close of last century, 421.
- B**AILIFFS, and their works of office, 418.
Ballantyne, Thomas, biography of, 608.
Banks, 488.
Merchants' National, 489.
Savannah Bank and Trust Co., 489.
Southern Bank of the State of Georgia, 489.
National Bank of Savannah, 489.
Oglethorpe Savings and Trust Co., 490.
Citizens' Bank, 490.
Charles H. Olmstead & Co., 490.
Henry Blun, 490.
Baptist Church, 508.
Bar, *post-bellum* members of the, 430.
prominence of the early, 418.
roster of, 435.
Barracks, erection of, 347.
Bartow, General, sketch of, 362 note.
Battalion, ordered to be raised by Continental Congress, 217.
officers of, on organization, January 7, 1776, 218.
Battery Park, 538.
Bonaventure Cemetery, 539.
Bulloch, President, death of, 236.
Bulloch, Dr. William G., 442.
Burr, Aaron, visit of, 331.
Beaulieu, 535.
Benevolent Association, the Savannah, 551.
Berrien, Judge John McPherson, 426.
Bethesda, Whitefield's, 512, 546.
Bills of exchange, 146.
Biography of,
Ballantyne, Thomas, 608.
Dorsett, Charles Henry, 615.
du Bignon, Fleming G., 603.
Duncan, Dr. William, 613.
Estill, Col. John H., 562.
Flannery, John, 596.
Guckenheimer, Simon, 630.
Hartridge, Alfred Lamar, 565.
Jones, Colonel Charles C., 585.
Lawton, Gen. Alexander R., 575.
Lester, Daniel B., 610.
Lovell, Edward, 618.
McDonough, John J., 640.
McMahon, Captain John, 570.
Meldrim, Peter W., 612.
Mercer, Col. George A., 567.
Olmstead, Charles H., 620.
Purse, Daniel G., 634.
Screven, John, 622.
Thomas, Daniel R., 594.
Young, John R., 629.
Blues, the Republican, 416.
Bosomworth enters Savannah with belligerent Indians, 125.
result of influence of, over his wife, 125.
Rev. Thomas, villainy of, 122 et seq.
Mrs. final settlement of claim of, 129.
treacherous compact with Malatche, 123 et seq.
Boston Port bill, 197.
Boundary conference in 1768, 188.
Boundaries, extension of, in 1763, 173.
Brandt, Dr. C. N., 453.
British outrages at Savannah, 247.
ships of war, arrival of, 238.

- Brown, Governor, order of, to Colonel Lawton, in 1861, 358.
- Bryan, Hon. Jonathan, notice of death of, in "Georgia Gazette," 320.
motion to expel from council, McCall's account of, 198
- C**ADETS, Savannah, 415.
Calamitous year, 353.
- Campbell, report of Lieut.-Col., 238.
- Capital, efforts to remove the, to Hardwick, 461.
- Capture of vessels at wharf of Savannah, 232.
- Cathedral Cemetery, the, 542.
of St. John, the, 509.
- Catholic Library Hall Association, the, 491.
- Catholics, exclusion of, 492.
- Causton, Thomas, affairs entrusted to, during absence of Oglethorpe, 64.
charge of the colony reposed in, 66.
charges against, 100.
death of, 102.
defalcation of, 99.
dismissal of, 101.
malignity towards John Wesley, 92.
offenses, as stated by Oglethorpe, 104.
Oglethorpe's arraignment of, 101.
John, usurpation of power by, 419.
- Cemeteries, 539.
- Cemetery, mutilation of Catholic, by Federals, 386.
- Central Railroad, the, 479 et seq.
absorption of other lines by the, 483.
and Banking Company, 486.
effect of opening of, 471.
synopsis of growth of, 484.
- Ceremonies of Indians at landing of Colonists, 31.
upon promulgation of Declaration of Independence, 234.
- Charlton, Dr. Thomas J., 447.
- Charlton, Judge R. M., famous decision of, 429.
- Charlton, Judge T. U. P., 425, 427, 429.
- Charlton, Walter G., 433.
- Charters, Dr. William M., 445.
- Chatham Academy, 513, 514.
- Chatham Artillery, guns presented to, by Washington, 325.
- Chatham Real Estate and Improvement Company, the, 490.
- Chisholm, Judge Walter S., 431.
- Cholera, 353.
- Christ Church, 49, 159, note, 495.
founding of, 492.
- Christian Church, 511.
- Churches, establishment of, 161, et seq. note.
- Churches of colored people, 511.
- Church of the Sacred Heart parish, 509.
- Citizens Bank, the, 490.
- City Court judges, 435.
- Civil government, establishment of, 152.
- Civil war, events immediately preceding the, 356 et seq.
Olmstead's account of opening of, 359.
- Clifton, William, 433.
- Colding, Dr. C. H., 453.
- Colonies, determination of, to resist English taxation, 189.
joy of, upon repeal of Stamp Act, 185.
- Colonists, accessions to, in 1733, 44.
benefits accruing to, from friendship of Oglethorpe and Tomo-chi-chi, 32.
causes for complaint of, 107.
English, not successful agriculturists, 120.
favor shown to, by South Carolina, 19.
first arrival of, 17, 21.
first labors of, 22.
Hebrew, 50.
petition of, to trustees, 107 et seq.
precarious condition of, 32.
worthiness of, 18.
- Colony, business of, in 1760, 170.
depressed condition of the finances of, 99.
practical failure of, 142.
rapid advance of, 69.
- Colonization, commissioners of, in conflict with the trustees, 50.
strange fatality attending attempts at, in the swamp region, 46.
- Commerce, early efforts to develop, 458 et seq.
resumption of, at close of civil war, 472.
revival of, after the Revolution, 465.
- Commercial house, first in Georgia, 459.
statistics of the first quarter of the present century, difficulty in collating, 467.
- Committee on resolutions, expressive of the sentiments of Georgia regarding England's course, 198.
to solicit subscriptions for suffering poor of Boston, 200.
- Communication, tardiness of, with England, 173.
- Confederate Veterans' Association, 562.
- Conference between Oglethorpe and Indians, graphic account of, 35 et seq.
with Indians, in 1757, 164.
- Congregational Church, 511.
- Congregation of B'nai B'rith Jacob, the, 498.
of Chebrah Talmud Torah, the, 498.

- Congregation of Mickva Israel, 497.
- Congress, Georgia not represented in first American, 204.
- of Indians in 1774, 196.
- response of delegates to American, 182.
- Constitution, adoption of temporary, 221.
- first regular, 224.
- Constitutional Convention of 1776, 236.
- Continental and militia officers killed and wounded at assault upon Savannah, 286.
- Congress, parishes that approved resolutions of, 205.
- Convention to discuss the Stamp Act, 176.
- Correspondence between General Prevost and Count D'Estaing, 256.
- Cotton, competition in trade in, between Charleston and Savannah, 467.
- confiscation of, after surrender of Savannah, 386.
- first foreign shipment of, 462.
- gin, stimulus imparted to cotton raising by the, 466.
- Whitney's, 465.
- Sea Island, 466.
- small shipments of, in 1788, 320.
- trade, importance of the establishment of, 467.
- Council of safety, members of, appointed in 1775, 217.
- resolutions of, 224 et seq.
- Court, clash of authority between city and Superior, 425.
- date of the first, 418.
- establishment of, 155.
- extraordinary proceeding in early, 422.
- in 1751, 420.
- the first, 418.
- of inquiry in case of General Howe, 248.
- account of, by Francis Moore, 420.
- discontinuance of, after the Revolution, 421.
- incidents in early, 422.
- the, immediately after the Revolution, 421.
- Creeks, trouble with, the, 122.
- Cronk, Joseph, 433.
- Cunningham, Captain Henry, 434.
- Custom-house, erection of, 353.
- possession taken of, by patriots, 216.
- "DAILY ADVERTISER," 526.
- Daniel, Dr., 438.
- Daufuskie Island, 538.
- Declaration of Independence, 234.
- Declaration of rights, 182.
- Deed, text of original, conveying lands in Savannah, 55.
- Deed, change of conveyance in, after surrender of charter by trustees, 61.
- D'Estaing, Count, attack upon Savannah, 252 et seq.
- appreciation of services of, by General Assembly, 293.
- estimate of character of, 292.
- fatal error, 258.
- outwitted by Prevost, 260.
- summons to the British to surrender, 255.
- Delegates elected to Continental Congress, 207.
- election of, to provincial congress in Christ Church parish, 204.
- De Lyon, Levi S., 428.
- Denmark, Adams & Adams, 431.
- Difficulties, threatened, between Georgia and South Carolina, 105.
- Disagreements, effects of, between the Liberty party and loyalists, 201.
- Disappointment of Americans at failure to capture Savannah, 292.
- Disease, tempest and tides of 1854, 355.
- Dorsett, Charles H., biography of, 615.
- du Bignon, Fleming G., 432, 603.
- Duncan, Dr. William, 450, 613.
- Dunn, Dr. Matthew F., 453.
- Duties, feeling over, 464.
- of provincial assembly, 149.
- EIGHTEENTH** Century, close of, 328.
- Elbert, Hon. Samuel, death of, 319.
- Elliott, Dr. William H., 451.
- Ellis, Governor, arrival of, 158.
- death of, 168.
- fitting out of a war ship by, 163.
- good will and harmony under administration of, 158.
- health of, affected by climate, 166.
- regrets of people at departure of, 168.
- resignation of, 167.
- English Church prestige accorded to, 161.
- forces defending Savannah, 282.
- garrison, exaltation of, 293.
- losses at siege of Savannah, 284.
- Equitable Building and Loan Association, the 491.
- E-states purchased for Generals Wayne and Greene, 307.
- "Evening Express," 526.
- "Evening Journal," 526.
- "Evening Mirror," 526.
- Estill, Col. John H., 562.

Events, stirring, of 1777 and 1778, 236.
 Evergreen Cemetery, 539.
 Excelsior Loan and Savings Company, 491.
 Exports for twenty years prior to civil war, 471.
 in 1773, 464.
 of cotton since the war, 473.

FAITHFULNESS of Tomo-chi-chi, 34.
 False charge against Savannah, 18.
 "Familien Journal," 526.
 Female Orphan Asylum, 550.
 Fillmore, President, visit of, to Savannah, 353.
 Financial stringency, effect of, caused by Cauton's mismanagement, 102.
 Fire of 1820, destructive, 340 et seq 460.
 of November, 1796. 326.
 First Presbyterian Church, 506.
 provincial assembly, 150.
 Fish, Dr. John D., 441.
 Flag, the secession, 357.
 Flannery, John, biography of, 596.
 Forces engaged in defending assault on Savannah, 285.
 Forsyth Park, 533.
 Fort Argyle, building of, 45.
 Bartow, 364.
 Boggs, 365.
 Brown, 365.
 McAllister, 364.
 account of capture of, by Major Anderson, 377.
 account of final siege of, by Colonel Jones, 379.
 attack upon, 371.
 final capture of, by Sherman, 377.
 last attack upon, 372 et seq.
 McIntosh, capture of 236.
 Pulaski, bombardment of, 367.
 erection of, begun in 1831, 347.
 incidents of siege of, 370.
 occupation of by Savannah military companies, 360.
 summons for surrender of, 367.
 surrender of, 368.
 troops surrendered at, 369.
 Fourth of July toasts in 1787. 326.
 Francis, Dr. John Wakefield, 447.
 Franklin, Benjamin, services of, secured by Georgia, 188.
 Franklin Savings and Security Company, 491.
 Fraser, Wallace W., 433.
 Frederica, 61, 76, 78, 118, 140.
 Freedom, growing spirit of, 196.
 Free Masonry, 555.

French army before Savannah, strength of, 281.
 assistance and its results, 251.
 officers killed, and wounded at assault on Savannah, 285.
 Frost, great, of 1769, 187.

GARRARD & MELDRIM, 433.
 General Assembly dissolved by Habersham, 196.
 Georgia, a body politic independent of the crown, 218.
 amounts received by, from royal treasury, 209.
 Central Railroad, 348.
 Col. Stephens made president of, 140.
 condition of, as stated by Capt. McCall, 174.
 cost of maintaining province of, in 1772, 187.
 deplorable condition of, at close of Revolution, 307.
 division of, into church parishes, 159 et seq.
 division of, into two counties, 140.
 enmity of South Carolina towards, on account of Stamp Act, 184.
 entire coast of, open to the British, 250.
 exhibit of productions of, from 1755 to 1767, 187.
 fearful condition of, after fall of Savannah, 297.
 first secession convention of, 215.
 "Georgia Gazette," 516.
 "Georgia Gazette" in 1774, 201.
 Georgia Historical Society, 348, 528.
 Georgia, marked improvement in condition of, 186.
 pitiable condition of sea-coast of, after D'Estaing's retreat, 294.
 planting colony of, 25.
 population of, in 1760, 167.
 population of, in 1774, 197.
 population of, in 1783, 308.
 rapidly evincing republicanism in 1774, 205.
 "Georgia Republican," 516.
 Georgia, re-establishment of government of, 308.
 troops of, at beginning of Revolution, 233.
 universal welcome to the Declaration of Independence throughout, 235.
 Upper, in the hands of the Federals, 299.
 German, Lord George, military plans of, 237.
 Glen, Dr. James, 438.

Governor and Council, disagreements between, 192.
 Grand Army Post, 562.
 Graham, Patrick, appointed president, 157.
 Grantees of lands, 56.
 schedule of, and numbers and locations of lots, 59.
 Grants, conditions of, 57.
 Greene, General Nathanael, interment of, 314.
 inability to locate grave of, 316.
 tradition concerning remains of, 318.
 Greens, the Irish Jasper, 416.
 Grover, William, extraordinary conduct of, 175.
 Guckenheimer, Simon, biography of, 630.
 Guerard, Captain John M., 430.
 Gun Clubs, 555.

HABERSHAM, Dr. Joseph C., 443 et seq.
 Habersham, James, letter of, 142.
 affiliations of, 195.
 as acting governor during Wright's absence, 194.
 his argument in favor of importing negroes, 144.
 statement of regarding Stamp Act, 184.
 Habersham, Hon. John, death of, 327.
 Harden, Judge Edward J., 430.
 Harden, Judge William D., 432.
 Harris & Habersham, 147.
 Harris, Dr. Raymond B., 452.
 Harris, Dr. Stephen P., 442.
 Hartridge, Alfred Lamar, biography of, 565.
 Hartridge, Hon. Julian, 431.
 Healthfulness of Savannah endangered by rice culture, 173.
 Hebrew Benevolent Society, the, 551.
 colonists, acts of trustees concerning the, 51 et seq.
 Herbert, Dr. Henry, 17, 21.
 first clergyman, 492.
 Hibernian Society, the, 550.
 Highlanders, arrival of, 67.
 Hopkins, punishment of, for opposition to liberty, 213.
 Hopkins, Sophia, 91 et seq.
 Horrors of the bombardment of Savannah, 271.
 Horton, General William, succeeds to command of Oglethorpe's regiment, 119.
 Hospital, Savannah, 552.
 Houston, Dr. J. P. S., 453.
 Howe, retreat of General, 246.
 severe criticism of General, 247.
 Hussars, the Georgia, 416.

INCIDENTS, interesting, at the assault upon Savannah, 287.
 Incomprehensibility of trustees' land tenure resolutions, 115.
 Independent Presbyterian Church, 500.
 Indian delegates, 36.
 grave-mound, 319.
 friendship of, for Oglethorpe, 30.
 intrigues of, with the French, 164.
 theory of prayer, 84.
 Wesley's catechism of the, 85.
 Industrial Relief Society, and Home for the Friendless, the, 551.
 Infantry, Oglethorpe Light, 416.
 Infirmary, St. Joseph's, 553.
 the Georgia, 553.
 Important enterprises, inauguration of, 348.
 Irvine, Dr. John, 437.
 Isle of Hope, 536.
 Italians, arrival of, in 1733, 44.
 encouraging success of, in silk culture, 103.

JACKSON, Andrew, day of mourning for, 348.
 Jackson, General Henry R., 430.
 James, ship, first to arrive at Savannah, 44, 45 note.
 Jasper Greens, the, in the Mexican War, 349.
 Jasper, monument to, 288.
 Jasper Mutual Loan Association, the, 490.
 Jasper, Sergeant, death of, 287.
 Jasper Springs, 536.
 Jones, Colonel Charles C., biography of, 585.
 Jones, Dr. Noble W., 437.
 elected speaker of the Lower House, 193.
 Governor Wright refuses to sanction election of, 193.
 Jones, Thomas, 100 et seq.
 Johnson square, 48.
 Judges, fees of, at close of Revolution, 421.
 Judicial Act of 1799, part taken in by Savannah bar, 418.
 annals, meagerness of early, 417.
 Jury, first, 50.
 the first grand, 418.
 Justice, success in administration of, 425.

KENT, Captain Richard, 118.
 King George, burial of, in effigy 235.
 Knights of Pythias, 561.
 Knights Templar, 559.

LAFAYETTE, house occupied by, when visiting Savannah, 347.

- LaFayette**, laying of corner-stone of monuments by, 347.
 visit of, 342 et seq.
Landtenures, enlargement of, 114.
Lands, allotment and deeding of, 54.
Laurel Grove Cemetery 541.
Lawton, Gen. Alexander R., 430, 575.
 appointed brigadier-general, 362.
 ordered to General Lee, 371.
Law firms, principal, for period adjacent to 1840, 428.
Lawyers of fifty years ago, 429.
Lee, General R. E., arrival of, in Savannah in 1861, 365.
Legislation affecting Savannah, 309, et seq.
 lack of, during Revolution, 219.
Legislature, acts of immediately succeeding close of Revolution, 306 et seq.
Legislative enactment concerning Christ Church, 159.
Le Hardy, Dr. J. C., 451.
Lester, Colonel Rufus E., 434.
Lester, Daniel B., biography of, 610.
Lexington, effect of the news from, 210.
 "Liberty Boys," toasts of, 212.
Liberty county, 208.
Liberty, new spirit of, engendered, 185.
Liberty pole, first erected, 212.
Library Society, Savannah, 527.
Lighthouse, first, on Tybee, 459.
Lincoln, Dr. Frank, 452.
Little Minnie Mission, 553.
Loan Associations, 490.
Lodges Masonic, 560.
Lovell, Edward, 618.
Lower House, opposition and aggression of, 193.
Lutheran Church, 499.

McCALL, Captain, letter of, concerning healthfulness of Georgia, 166.
 statement of, regarding the opposition to the committee of 1774, 202.
MacDonell, Alex. R., 433.
McDonough, John J., biography of, 640.
McIntosh, Colonel James, death of, 350.
McMahon, Captain John, biography of, 570.
Magistrates, commissioning of, for the province 119.
 dismissal of, 113.
Malatche, fickleness of, 127.
Malcontents forced to leave the province, 110.
 scurrilous tract, of the, 110.
Marlow, Nicholas, 498.
Martin, Dr. John D., 452.

Mary Telfair Home, the, 557.
Masonic lodges, 555 et seq.
Masons, organization of Grand Lodge of, 313.
Means, Dr. Alexander, 448.
Medical College, 453.
Medical Society, 455.
Meeting to discuss the coercive measures of England, 197.
Meldrim, Peter W., biography of, 612.
Mercer, Col. George A., 434, 567.
Mercer General Hugh W., 371.
Merchants' and Mechanics' Loan Association, 491.
Merchants' National Bank, the, 489.
Methodist Church, beginning of, in America, 88.
Metropolitan Savings and Loan Company, the, 491.
Military operations at the beginning of the Revolution, 226 et seq.
Military incidents at Fort Pulaski in 1861, 360.
Military organizations:
 Chatham Artillery, 390 et seq.
 become a part of the First Regiment, 392.
 entrance of, into the Confederate service, 392.
 escort to General Washington, 390.
 first public service of, 390.
 reorganization of after the civil war, 395 et seq.
 consolidation of companies into the First Volunteer Regiment, 407.
 First Georgia Regiment, the, 388.
 Georgia Hussars, the, 416.
 German Volunteers, 416.
 Independent Volunteer Battalion, 406.
 Irish Jasper Greens, 416.
 Oglethorpe Light Infantry, the, 407, 416.
 Regiment, roster of the companies of the First Volunteer, 408.
 Regiment, service of First Volunteer, 409 et seq.
 representation in, of colored citizens, 417.
 Republican Blues, 416.
 Savannah Cadets.
 Sav. Vol. G'ds, Lafayette's compliment to the, 399.
 Savannah Volunteer Guards, monuments erected by, 405.
 muster of, into the Confederate service, 400.
 ordered to Virginia under Lee, 402.
 organization of, 397.

- Military organizations:**
 reorganization of, 403.
 roster of officers of, 404.
 second enlistment of, 401.
- Military spirit,** Olmstead's account of the early, 388.
- Militia,** first muster of, 150.
- Millen, John,** 428.
- Mistakes of the siege of Savannah,** 291.
- Monroe, President,** visit of at Savannah, 337 et seq.
- Monuments,** 542 et seq.
 corner-stones of, laid by Lafayette, 317.
- Moore, Francis,** account of early courts by, 420.
- Moravians,** arrival of, 67.
 "Morning News," 519.
- Musgrove, Mary,** Coosaponakesee, 33.
 marries Bosomworth, 122.
- Myers, Dr. Robert P.,** 449.
- NATIONAL Bank of Savannah,** the, 489.
 Naval stores, trade in, 473.
- Naval engagement,** the first, 226, et seq.
- Newspaper,** first, 516.
- Nitschman,** Moravian bishop, 89.
- Non-importation resolutions,** effect of, 192.
 resolved upon, 189.
- Norwood, Thomas M.,** 431.
- Nunis, Dr.,** 436.
- Nunn, Dr. Richard J.,** 450.
- OATH of allegiance to King George,** 249.
 Ocean Steamship Company, 485.
- Odd Fellows,** 561.
- Oglethorpe, Governor,** 17-29, 31, 33-40, 44, 45, 47-49, 51, 53-55, 61, 63-66, 69-70, 76-84, 99-102, 105-111, 113, 115-119, 122, 127-129, 131, 140, 147, 389.
 account of visit of South Carolinians to, 27.
 action of, relative to Israelite colonists, 53.
 address of, on declaration of war between England and Spain, 115.
 advanced to rank of colonel, 106.
 aid extended by, 105.
 and Charles Wesley, 79.
 and the Hebrew Colonists, 51, 53.
 and the Indians, meeting of, 35.
 arrival of, at Charlestown, 19.
 call of, for convocation of colonists to form village, 47.
 club, the, 554.
 dealings of, with the Indians, 30.
 delegation of powers to others by, 49.
- Oglethorpe, differences between,** and Charles Wesley, 78.
 extension of military posts by, 45,
 first letter of, to trustees, 23.
 fitness of, for the head of the colony, 18.
 informs trustees of effect of their reply to colonists' petition, 113.
 justice of, 106.
 letter of, 25, 26.
 letter of, on the slavery question, 109.
 letters of, on the introduction of slaves, 108 et seq.
- Light Infantry** the first in the field, 362.
 measures of, for retrenchment, 102.
 methods of maintaining his influence over the Indians, 31.
 orders citizens to do police duty, 116,
 part taken by, in the Causton affair, 100 et seq.
 peaceful relations with Indians due to, 44.
 preparations of, for final return to England, 118.
 promotion of, 106.
 protest of, against change of land tenures, 109.
 return of, from second trip to England, 107.
- Savings and Trust Company,** the, 490.
 second visit to England, 99.
 takes Tomo-chi-chi and other Indians to England, 64.
 to originator of the colonization of Georgia, 18.
 to the trustees on financial needs, 103 et seq.
 treatment of Indians by, 30.
 visits England, 64.
 visit of, to Charlestown, 29.
 visit of, to limits of province, 61.
- Olmstead, Charles H.,** biography of, 620.
- Opposition to celebration of the King's birthday,** 212.
- Orphan house,** first collection for, 134.
 routine of, 136.
- Order, memorable, of Governor Brown to Colonel Lawton,** 358.
- Outposts,** extension of, 45.
- Owens, Dr. W. W.,** 453.
- PARKER, Henry,** appointed president, 148.
 succeeds Stephens, 141.
- Parliament,** acts of, declared unconstitutional at meeting of merchants in 1769, 189.
- Parties,** the two, count noses, 203.
- Penfield Mariner's Church,** 510.

- Physicians deceased since 1850, 444.
- Pinckney, General, plans of, for defense of Savannah, 333.
letter of, 289 note.
- Polk, President, visit of, to Savannah, 351.
- Poorhouse and Hospital Society, the, 552.
- Population of Georgia in 1774, 197.
- Portrait of Tomo-chi-chi, 33.
- Port Royal, effect of bombardment of, in Savannah, 365.
- Posey, Dr. John F., 443.
- Powder, large amount of, captured by citizens of Savannah, 214.
- President and assistants of Savannah appointed for entire colony, 118.
- Prevost's disposition of his troops, 263.
general order of, 264.
refusal of, to permit General McIntosh's family to leave Savannah, 266.
reply of, to D'Estaing's summons to surrender, 256.
temporizing successfully, 259.
- Priber, Christian, frustration of scheme of, 122.
- Proclamations of Colonel Campbell and Sir Hyde Parker, 249.
- Province, serious condition of, in 1772, 196.
- Provincial Assembly, 149.
congress, adjournment of, 207.
of 1775 at Savannah, 204, 214.
of 1776, 221.
reading of Declaration of Independence before, 234.
resolutions of, submitted to General Assembly, 206.
- Provisions of temporary constitutions of 1776, 222 et seq.
- Public buildings, account of, in 1738, 420.
roads about 1764, 175.
Thanksgiving, day of, appointed by Governor Wright, 295.
- Pulaski, fatally wounded, 279.
- Pulaski Loan Association, 491.
- Pulaski, monument to, 288.
- Puritan element, effect of, in the rebellion movement, 208.
- Purse, Daniel G., biography of, 634.
- R**AILROAD Loan Association, the, 490.
- Read, Dr. J. Bond, 449.
- Rebellion, spirit of, exhibited on announcement of Stamp Act, 177.
- Regiment, First, 363.
- Religious efforts of the Wesleys, 493.
Noted, leaders, 494.
opinions, 83.
- "Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger, The," 516.
- Republican council of safety, 216.
- Resolutions against importations, 190 et seq.
of city council, bestowing thanks for services during epidemic of 1854, 355.
of condemnation against importers, 190.
of council of safety relative to vessels sailing from Savannah, 224.
of council upon American naval victories, 335.
of delegates to Continental Congress, 215.
of provincial congress thanking South Carolina troops, 232.
recommending association of Georgia with other colonies, 212.
of the committee of 1774, 199.
of the Lower House relation to Dr. Jones, 193.
to encourage American Manufactures, 190.
upon death of General Greene, 316.
- Retaliatory acts of royalist assembly, 297.
- Reward for Georgia committee and assembly men, 249.
- Reynolds, Governor, administration of, not provocative of peace, 158.
arrival of, 153.
earliest impressions of, concerning the province, 154.
inauguration of administration of, 154.
military enterprise of, 156.
proposal of to establish capitol at Hardwick, 155.
- Richards, R. R. 434.
- Richardson, Dr. Cosmo P., 442.
- Rioting on account of Stamp Act, 177.
- River obstructions, 477.
- Royalist party, strength and influence of, 201.
plundering and stealing by, 306.
- Rum, abrogation of laws against introduction of, 145.
- S**T. ANDREWS Society, 549.
St. Augustine, General Lee's plan to capture, 235.
- St. John's Church, 497.
- St. John's parish faithful to the liberty cause, 203.
firmness of, 207.
the head of the Rebellion, 208.
- St. Patrick's parish, 509.
- Saltzburgers, colony of, 62.
location assigned to, 64.
- Saussy, J. R., 432.

- Savannah**, account of evacuation of, in "Historical Record," 381.
 act incorporating, as a city, 311.
 American loss at capture of, 246.
 arrival of General Sherman in, 383.
 arrival of first ship at, 45 note.
 assault upon, October 9, 1779, 275.
 attack upon by British, 237 et seq.
 attention received by, from General Assembly, 162.
 banks of, 488 et seq.
 bar of, 435.
 Board of Trade, 478.
 breaking up of allied camp before, 290.
 British proclamation at 248.
 capture and occupation of, by the British 245.
 capture of vessel in harbor of, by patriots, 213.
 celebration of ratification of treaty of peace of 1815 at, 337.
 churches of, 492 et seq.
 commercial history of, 457.
 condition of, under Habersham's rule, 195.
 convention at to discuss the Stamp Act, 176.
 Count D'Estaing's siege of, 252 et seq.
 county, Col. Stephens made president of, 140.
 convocation for the formation of the village of, 47.
 damages to by bombardment, 296.
 dearth of historic events in, up to 1812, 332.
 defeat of allies at the siege of, 280.
 defeat of the Americans at, 244 et seq.
 description of by Moore, 69 et seq.
 destructive fire in, in 1820, 340.
 details of attack upon, 240.
 details of siege of, 264 et seq.
 disastrous fire in, in 1820, 469.
 division of, into wards, 310.
 early description of, 27.
 early legislation affecting, 309.
 early military spirit in, 388 et seq.
 early steamboat lines of, 467.
 early vineyard at, 120.
 effect of repeal of Stamp Act at, 185.
 efforts to remove State capitol from, 461.
 evacuation of, 304.
 evacuation of, ordered by Sir Guy Carleton, 302.
 evacuation of, under General Hardee, 380.
 exports from, in 1773, 464.
 exodus of royalists from, 305.
- Savannah**, first century of commercial history of, 470.
 first foreign shipment of cotton from, 462.
 first newspaper in, 516.
 first Sea Island cotton raised near, 466.
 first seal of, 332.
 first use of steam in, as an aid to commerce, 467.
 fortifications of, attention directed to in 1760, 171.
 General Howe's blunder at defense of, 241.
 General Moultrie's censure of General Howe, relative to defense of, 242.
 generous aid of South Carolinians to first settlers of, 25.
 Georgia Medical Society of, 455.
 great fire in, in 1865, 386.
 great loss at, assault upon, 280.
 growth of commerce of, at end of second decade of present century, 469.
 healthfulness of, affected by rice culture, 173.
 hospital, 552.
 Howe's line of battle at, 243.
 importation of ice in, 469.
 in 1800, 467.
 in 1760, 170.
 introduction of the cotton gin in, 466.
 investment of by the Federal forces, 366.
 investment of by Sherman's army, 376.
 isolated situation of, during the War of the Revolution, 250.
 lack of manufactures in, 478.
 leading citizens of, publish protest against resolutions of committee of 1774, 201.
 Library Society, 527.
 Lord Germain's plan of attack upon, 237.
 measures for defense of, in 1812, 333.
 Medical College, 453.
 military companies of, at beginning of War of 1812, 334.
 military companies of, in 1860, 358.
 military organizations of, 388 et seq.
 military protection afforded to by South Carolina, 24.
 military works around, in the civil war, 363 et seq.
 named as seat of provincial congress, 204.
 naming of wards, streets and squares of, by Oglethorpe, 47.
 Oglethorpe's dreams of commercial supremacy of, 458.
 Oglethorpe's efforts to develop the commerce of, 458.

- Savannah**, order of attack by Lincoln at siege of, 272.
 order of battle at defense of, 241.
 outrages by British at, 247.
 plans of citizens of, for defense, 370.
 plantations in vicinity of, in 1733, 46.
 population of, at beginning of present century, 330.
 population of, in 1760, 462.
 powder magazine at, broken open by revolutionists, 210.
 proclamation of mayor, on approach of Sherman's army, 375.
 progress of from 1855, 356.
 prominence of delegates from in the American Congress, 182.
 real beginning of the commerce of, 460.
 reason for not attempting recapture of, by Republicans, 299.
 record of first day's bombardment of, 267.
 release of military restrictions upon, at close of the war, 388.
 resolutions of submission after surrender of, 385.
 salaries of city officials of in 1801, 331.
 school advantages prior to the Revolution, 513.
 Sherman's demand for surrender of, and Hardee's reply, 380.
 Sherman's general order upon occupation of, 383.
 siege of, as related by Colonel Jones, 376.
 slow commercial growth of, 461.
 suffered from attempted removal of seat of government to Hardwick, 172.
 sympathy of, with patriots in New England, 211.
 the objective point of Sherman's march, 375.
 topographical and natural characteristics of site of, 20.
 vineyard in colonial days, 120.
 visit of Aaron Burr to, 331.
 visit of Lafayette at, 342.
 visit of President Munroe at, 337.
 visit of Washington to, 321 et seq.
 yellow fever in, in 1820, 341, 469.
- Savannah and Tybee Railroad Company**, 488.
Savannah Bank and Trust Company, the 489.
 "Savannah Daily Courier," 526.
 "Savannah Daily Times," 525.
Savannah, Florida and Western Railway, 486.
 "Savannah Georgian," 518.
 "Savannah Independent and Brotherhood," 527.
- "Savannah Local," 526.
 "Savannah Museum," 519.
Savannah, the first steamboat, 468.
 "Savannah Tribune," 527.
 Saw-mills, absence of, 29.
 Schools and academies, 511 et seq.
 private, 515.
 School teachers, early, 512.
 Screven, Dr. James P., 438.
 Screven, John, 622.
 Seal, public, adopted, 153.
 Secession, effect of announcement of, 357.
 ordinance of, result of adoption of, 361.
 Secret societies, miscellaneous, 561.
 Sense of curiosity experienced by Governor Wright, 297.
 Sherman's, General, march from Atlanta, 375.
 order sending families of Confederate officers out of the city, 387.
 Shipping, statistics of, 478.
 Siege of Savannah resolved upon, 261.
 Silk culture and wine producing, disappointment in, 120.
 culture, 458, 460, 463.
 first result of culture of, 67.
 production, failure of, 187.
 Slavery, admission of, a question of policy, 113.
 and rum, 66.
 believed to be politic, 142.
 evasions by Colonists to introduce, 143.
 excitement over introduction of, 144.
 introduction of, 145.
 necessity for, 113.
 Oglethorpe's protest against, 109.
 the exclusion of, detrimental to the progress of the colony, 113.
 the question of the introduction of, 108.
 Slaves owned by governor and council, 192.
 purchases of, openly made, 143.
 Smith, Dr. Thomas, 446.
 Société Française de Bienfaisance de Savannah, Ga., 552.
 Solicitor-generals, 435.
 "Sons of Liberty," 204.
 first engagement between, and the King's troops, 224.
 South Carolina and Georgia, threatened interruption of friendly relations between, 105.
 troops at Savannah in 1776, 231.
 Southern Bank of the State of Georgia, the, 489.
 Southern Mutual Loan Association, 491.
 Spain and England, war between, 115.
 Spaziards, 25, 32, 82, 117.

- Stamp act, calm succeeding repeal of, only temporary, 186.
effect of, 176.
- Stamp duties, opposition to, 188.
- Standard Club, the, 554.
- Starr, Dr. E. P., 446.
- State Capitol removed to Augusta, 313.
government, first steps towards, 235.
records removed for safety, 238.
- Statistics of exports and imports, 475.
- Steamship, the first, sent across the Atlantic, 468.
- Stephens, Colonel William, 102.
appointed president of Savannah, 118.
death of, 141.
extract from journal of, 120.
made president, 140.
speech of, to Indians deceived by Bosomworth, 128.
succeeds Oglethorpe, 119.
trustees directions to, 119.
- Streets and wards, establishment of, 48 et seq.
- Stone, Dr. George H., 453.
- Storm of 1854, 355.
of September, 1804, 331.
- Sufferings of the French navy at siege of Savannah, 265.
- Sunbury, importance of, 175.
- Sunday-school, the first, 493.
- Superior Court judges, 434.
- Surrender of Fort Pulaski, terms of, 368.
of Savannah, 302.
- T**AILFER, Dr. Patrick, 110, 436.
and companions leave the colony, 113.
chief of malcontents, 110.
- Taylor, Zachary, death of, 352.
- Telfair Academy of arts and sciences, 533.
- Telfair Hospital, the, 553.
- Thomas, Daniel R., biography of, 594.
- Thomas, Dr. James G., 447.
- Thunderbolt, 536.
- Title Guarantee and Loan Company of Savannah, the, 490.
- Toasts at the banquet given President Monroe, 338.
- Tomo-chi-chi and Wesley, 83.
beneficial results of visit of, to London, 65.
concerning monument to, 117.
death of, 116.
first visit of Oglethorpe to, 20.
gratitude due, 34.
idea of christianity, 83.
- Tomo-chi-chi, letter describing death and funeral services of, 116.
influence of, in securing friendship of other Indians, 34.
sketch of, 31, et seq.
- Trade, growth of naval stores, 474.
rice and lumber, 474.
the fertilizer, 474.
the fruit and vegetable, 475.
- Treaty between Oglethorpe and Indians, text of, 40 et seq.
boundaries, 39.
of 1733, influence of, upon other tribes, 43.
of Oglethorpe and Indians, ratification of, 39 note.
peace relations established by, 43.
with Indians, consummation of, 39.
- Trial, the first notable, 419.
- Trinity Methodist Church, 508.
- Troops, landing of British, before Savannah, 239.
- Truce granted before Savannah, 257.
- Trustees approve Habersham's suggestions, 142.
care and prudence of, and administration of colonial affairs, 147.
extracts from journal of, relative to Hebrew colonists, 52 et seq.
forced to admit slavery and distilled liquors, 145.
obdurate against introduction of slavery, 142.
original deed of, 54.
reply of, to petition of colonists, 111.
surrender their charter, 151.
timely financial relief to, 62.
- Turn Verein Club, the Savannah, 554.
- Tybee Island, 535.
light-house, 172.
occupation of, by the Federals, 367.
- U**NION Society, 547.
- V**ESSELS captured by the French before Savannah, 290.
of war under D'Estaing, 291.
- Vigilance committee, powers of, 336.
- Villages, establishment of, 45
laying out of, 45.
- Visit of Washington to Savannah, graphic account of, 323 et seq.

- Volunteers, the German, 416.
- Von Reck, Baron, impressions of, of Savannah, 63.
- W**ARING, Dr. J. J., 444.
 Waring, Dr. W. R., 438.
- Washington's visit to Savannah, 321 et seq.
- Wayne, General, general order of, 304.
 investment of Savannah by, 301.
 sent to Georgia, 300.
 terms of surrender offered to British at Savannah, 303.
- Webster, Daniel, visit of, to Savannah, 350.
- Wesleys, arrival of the, 68.
- Wesley, Charles, animosity of colonists towards, 78.
 departure of for London, 81.
 failure of, as a business man, 77.
 private secretary to Oglethorpe, 76.
 resignation of, 82.
 statement of his reconciliation with Oglethorpe, 80.
- Wesley, John, abrupt and notorious conclusion of services of, 91 et seq.
 and Charles, 492.
 and Tomo-chi-chi, 82.
 and Tomo-chi-chi dine with Oglethorpe, 83.
 arrival of, at Savannah, 82.
 charges against, 94.
 conference between, and Indian chiefs, 85 et seq.
 criticisms of, 89.
 decides to return to England, 96.
 detention of, 97.
 final departure of, 98.
 findings of grand jury in case of, 95.
 first impressions of, of Savannah, 87.
 his intolerance, 89.
 his services, 88.
 loss of influence and power by, 90.
 warrant of arrest for, 92.
 unclerical steps of, 90.
- Wesleys, the, as school teachers, 512.
- West, Charles N., 432.
- Workingmen's Benevolent Association, the, 552.
- Workingmen's Literary and Relief Association, the, 554.
- Workman's and Traders' Loan and Building Association, the, 492.
- Worth of Highlander colonists, 68.
- Wharfage rates in 1774, 464.
- Whatley, J. L., 433.
- White, Rev. George, 514.
- Whitefield, Rev. George, arrival of, 494.
 as school-teacher, 512.
 Bethesda Orphan House the outcome of efforts of, 130 et seq.
 death of, 138.
 energy and labors of, 134.
 financial difficulties of, 135.
 grant of land to, for orphans' home, 133.
 his argument in favor of importing negroes, 144.
 in favor slavery, 132.
 journeys to England, 133.
 labors of, to establish orphans' home, 132 et que.
 conduct of, approved by the king, 185.
 contradictory accounts sent by, to England, 298.
 efforts of, to suppress provincial congress, 205.
 endeavors of, to quell excitement over Stamp Act, 179.
 escape of, 220.
 failure of, to enforce Stamp Act, 183.
 faithful to loyal cause, 170.
 fitness of, for position, 169.
 goes on leave of absence to England in 1771, 194.
 inability of, to control the "Liberty people," 216.
 lamentations of, 216.
 letter of, after his escape, 221.
 letters to, from John Wesley, 131.
 loyalty of, to home government, 183.
 merits of administration of, 209.
 military force of Georgia at inception of administration of, 170.
 offers reward for despoilers of the powder magazine, 211.
 perseverance of, in building defenses for Savannah, 298.
 personality of, 131.
 pitiable plight of, 217.
 return of, in 1773, 196.
 return of, in July, 1779, 250.
 satisfaction of, at refusal to oppose the Stamp Act, 176.
 second letter of, to Secretary Conway, 181.
 severe measures of, against rebel inhabitants of Savannah, 295.
 statement of, relative to military force, 180.
 statement of, relative to stamped papers, 178.

- Whitefield, stormy administration of, 169.
strenuous exertions of, to overcome rising sentiment for freedom, 202.
want of prudence of, 137.
will of, 138.
- Widows' Society, the Savannah, 551.
- Williams, Robert, land agitator, 109.
- Wine producing and silk culture, disappointment in, 120.
- Wright, Governor, alarm of, at action of committee, 198.
- Wright adjourns the General Assembly to prevent action on resolutions of provincial congress, 206.
- Wright, arrest of, 219.
arrival of, 167.
communication of, to Secretary Conway, 177.
- Y**ACHT Club, the Savannah, 555.
Yamacraws, 33.
- Yellow fever, 341.
in 1820, 469.
in 1854, 354.
in 1854, labors of physicians during the, 443.
- Young, Dr. Thomas, biography of, 437.

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