SECTION I

THE COLONIAL PERIOD OR GEORGIA UNDER THE ENGLISH CROWN, 1732-1775

Georgia and Georgians

CHAPTER I

GEORGIA ORIGINALLY A PART OF FLORIDA—AFTERWARDS INCLUDED IN SOUTH CAROLINA—OUTSTANDING FACTS OF GEORGIA'S HISTORY—NAMED FOR GEORGE II OF ENGLAND—GEORGIA THE OFFSPRING OF PHILANTHROPY—THE YOUNGEST OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES—THE LAST TO LOWER THE FLAG OF ENGLAND—REASONS FOR THIS CONSERVATISM—WHITEFIELD'S ORPHAN HOUSE THE OLDEST ORGANIZED CHARITY IN AMERICA—SLAVERY FORBIDDEN—RUM OUTLAWED—REASONS FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW COLONY—TO SATISFY A PRACTICAL AGE, ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS MADE TO RE-ENFORCE HUMANITARIAN ENDS—SOUTH CAROLINA'S NEED OF PROTECTION—ENGLAND'S TRADE EXPANSION—POPULAR INTEREST IN THE COLONY OF GEORGIA UNPRECEDENTED—OGLETHORPE THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMAN TO CROSS THE SEA DURING THE PERIOD OF AMERICAN COLONIZATION—THE TRUSTEES—GEORGIA NOT A COLONY OF JAIL BIRDS—CHOICE IMMIGRANTS—PREHISTORIC TRADITIONS—COLUMBUS ALMOST IN SIGHT OF GEORGIA WHEN HE DISCOVERED THE NEW WORLD—LANDS ON ONE OF THE BAHAMA ISLANDS—ORIGIN OF THE NAME "AMERICA"—GOVERNOR BROWN'S ARGUMENT—HOW ENGLAND'S RIGHT TO COLONIZE THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WAS ACQUIRED—EARLY EXPLORATIONS—THE HUGUENOT COLONIES—FRENCH NAMES GIVEN TO GEORGIA RIVERS—EARLIEST DESCRIPTION OF OUR SEA-COAST BY RIBAULT—ST. AUGUSTINE FOUNDED—SPANISH MINING OPERATIONS IN THE CHEROKEE MOUNTAINS—THE PROPRIETORS OF SOUTH CAROLINA THE FIRST OWNERS OF GEORGIA SOIL—SPAIN AND ENGLAND BOTH CLAIM OUR VIRGIN LANDS—SIR ALEXANDER CUMING'S MISSION.

Originally the fair domain embraced in what we know today as Georgia formed a part of the Spaniard's Land of Flowers. It was by the name of Florida that all this region of country, for more than a hundred years, was first known to Europeans. In 1663 Georgia was included in the extensive tract granted by Charles II of England to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. It was not until 1732—more than fifty years later—that a separate charter for Georgia gave legal conception to the youngest of the English colonies. Meanwhile the sublime cantos of Milton's "Paradise Lost" had appeared in print for the first time; while John Bunyan, in Bedford prison, had dreamed his immortal allegory of the Pilgrim. The War of the Spanish Succession had been fought. The Duke of Marlborough had become the foremost soldier of

the age; and during this period of transition British allegiance had shifted from the Highland Stuarts to the German House of Brunswick.

It was from George II, of England, a Hanoverian, that the infant colony received its baptismal name. When the proposition to establish Georgia was first launched, the zeal for colonization had commenced to languish. As a money-making investment, the planting of future empires in America had failed to satisfy the British love of acquisition, at least in its craving for immediate dividends; and these colonies had come to be regarded in the light of liabilities rather than as assets. But the motive of philanthropy had hitherto been lacking in the colonial enterprises of England. It was now proposed to found in America an asylum for indigent but honest debtors; and since to the prospect of gain was added this new incentive, appealing to the better nature of Britons, the king was disposed to look with favor upon Oglethorpe's project. Moreover, the proposed experiment, while helping to solve a most difficult sociological problem, was likely to yield the crown large revenues, in the production of raw silk.*

Thus Georgia came into existence as the youngest of the English colonies in North America. She was also the last, as we shall see later, to lower the colonial flag. This reluctance to espouse the patriotic cause, when such an espousal meant separation from the mother country, exposed Georgia to the criticism of her sister colonies. But she persisted in her loyalty to the Crown of England; and when she did at last sever the tie of allegiance it was only in response to the call of blood from the commons of Lexington.

There were manifold reasons for this hesitation on the part of Georgia. She occupied an exposed position on the extreme southern frontier. She needed the protection of the mother country against savage Indians on the one hand and against hostile Spaniards on the other; and she stood in greater need of this protection than did any other province of England. Her territory, though vast in extent, was sparsely settled. Immigrants had been slow in swelling her population, after the initial coast settlements were planted; and she had not accumulated wealth like the other colonies, due in the main to certain ill-advised restrictions as to slavery, land-tenure and rum, imposed upon her by the trustees. On the other hand, she had never been unduly oppressed by the mother country; her royal governors had all been men of high character and of benevolent dispositions; her grievances had all been kindly considered, if not invariably adjusted; and her relations with England had been uniformly of an agreeable nature. Moreover, not a few of the trustees, her earliest sponsors, were still in life, including the great Oglethorpe himself. Nor could she forget that it was from the father of the reigning sovereign that not only her charter but also her name had been derived; and this fact in itself bound her with peculiar tenderness to the House of Brunswick. It constituted a sort of filial tie and caused her to look with a pride akin to reverence upon the crown and scepter of the Georges.

Though the youngest of the colonial group, Georgia, at the fountain head of her history, planted an institution which survives today as the

* James Ross McCain, "The Executive in Proprietary Georgia," p. 10.

oldest organized charity in the United States. This institution, nurtured by the great Whitefield, still bears the Biblical name which its founder bestowed upon it in 1736—Bethesda. Like the ancient pool after which it was called, this great institution has been veritably a fount of healing; and, for nearly two centuries, its noble benefactions have testified to the humane spirit in which the colony originated. Most of the English provinces were the products of an undiluted commercialism; but the mainspring of Georgia's existence was philanthropy. Conceived in the spirit of reform, she was the first of all the colonies to put a ban upon African slavery and to outlaw rum; and for a period of sixteen years—1733 to 1749—not a drop of rum and not a shackle of servitude was tolerated within her borders.

Georgia, therefore, occupies a unique place among all the English colonies because of the philanthropic impulse which underlay her establishment and for the additional reason that it was the first time in the world's history that a colony had ever been formed to relieve pauperism.* But philanthropy alone, in an age of commercial enterprise, did not offer an inducement sufficiently attractive within itself to enlist practical men of means. Consequently, when a charter was obtained from the king, as we shall see later, it set forth three distinct grounds for establishing a new colony in America: (1) the relief of poor subjects who, through misfortune or want of employment, were reduced to great necessity; (2) the increase of England's trade, navigation and wealth; (3) the establishment of a barrier for the defense of South Carolina against the ravages of the Indians. Without stopping to discuss the relative strength of these arguments or to ascertain which furnished the predominating motive for popular assistance it is enough to say, at this point, that Georgia's settlement enlisted greater support and aroused deeper interest than did the settlement of any other colony planted by England in America.†

Oglethorpe, the revered founder of Georgia, whether we view him as a humanitarian or as a soldier, was one of the towering landmarks of his time, and, beyond any shadow of doubt, was the most illustrious Englishman to cross the sea during the whole period of American colonization. The men who served Georgia as trustees were men of eminence, of piety, and of learning; not a few of them were members of the noble orders, including dukes, viscounts and earls; some were members of Parliament; some were ministers of the gospel; some were authors of note; but all of them were men of unblemished character, whose names throughout England were synonyms for integrity, for devotion to high ideals, for world-wide sympathy with the unfortunate, and for an abiding interest in the gentle humanities.

Though it was to furnish an asylum for indigent debtors that Georgia was founded, it was not the shiftless, the idle, or the dishonest insolvent who was to enjoy its privileges but debtors who, in a special sense, were deemed worthy of its peculiar privileges; who were carefully selected by the trustees; and to whom no taint of wrong-doing attached. Georgia was also to be a haven of refuge for oppressed humanity

* R. P. Brooks, in "History of Georgia," p. 30.

† "The Executive in Proprietary Georgia," James Ross McCain, pp. 7-15.

in all lands: for the gentle Salzburgers, for the pious Moravians, for the thrifty Jews. In no sense of the word, therefore, was Georgia a colony of jail-birds but a colony of choice spirits gathered from every part of Europe, a colony whose population was, so to speak, sifted through a fine sieve and safeguarded in every way from the contaminating influence of vicious elements. Indeed, there was no other colony to whose choice of members the selective process was more rigorously applied. These debtor colonists, to quote an eminent authority, were "not the depraved who were suffering confinement as a punishment for crime; not felons who awaited the approach of darker days when graver sentences were to be endured; not the dishonest, who hoped by submission to temporary imprisonment to weary out creditors and emerge with fraudulently acquired gains still concealed; but the honestly unfortunate."* Better protected, therefore, from contaminating contact with vicious characters, better circumstanced than any other colony for the upbuilding of a commonwealth committed to high, unselfish and noble ends, was the colony founded by Oglethorpe.

These great outstanding facts of Georgia's history will be more fully discussed in succeeding chapters. Here, they are detached from the strictly logical connection in which they belong and are placed conspicuously in the foreground of this work for the mere sake of emphasis. Fundamental to much of what will follow, we enumerate them here, so that when other facts, relatively much less important, are elsewhere stressed, these will not be dwarfed in comparison but will be kept vividly in mind by the reader.

The authentic history of Georgia begins with Oglethorpe's humane enterprise to found an asylum in the new world for oppressed debtors. But traditions point to European visitors who came at least two centuries earlier. Some of these only skirted the shores of Georgia, while others penetrated far into the wilderness. Before we begin to deal with established facts, let us linger for a brief season in this border land of legend and see what matters of curious interest are disclosed in its dim twilights. Granting how prone the mind is to invest distant times and remote localities with fanciful creations, there may nevertheless be a world of truth in the unwritten lore which has come down to us from prehistoric days. At least, there is much to enchain the interest, to regale the imagination and to beguile the tedium of dull hours. Back of the musty chronicles of England, lies a realm of myth, peopled by the valiant knights of King Arthur; and behind the historic records of Greece we find the heroes of Homer. Some of the legends which have drifted down to us from prehistoric times in Georgia will compare in fascinating elements of romance with any of these; so let us not shrink, therefore, from an age of fable, even though the historian's task be ours; but entering boldly into this arcadian realm let us seek to ascertain what light it can throw upon the true history to which it forms an introduction.

When Columbus discovered the Bahama Islands in 1492 he was

*"History of Georgia," Chas. C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, p. 85.

almost in sight of the shores of Georgia. His voyage of discovery, as every school-boy well knows, had been taken for the purpose of finding a more direct route to India by sailing in a westerly direction around the globe; and, under the delusion that he had reached his goal, he called the natives of this new world "Indians." But the renowned Genoese navigator did not bestow his name upon the great hemisphere which he had been the first to discover. Amerigo Vespucci (latinized into Americus Vespucius), a Florentine merchant and traveler, who followed in his wake, was destined to deprive him of this honor, if we can rely upon an accepted tradition. Vespucci, on returning home, wrote a letter in which he described in glowing colors and with much extravagance of detail this new world beyond the Atlantic; and, having put it into literature, people came to know it as the land of Amerigo: hence the name America.† Ex-Governor Joseph M. Brown, an archeologist of established reputation, disputes the authenticity of this account. In the first place, he directs attention to the manifest impropriety of calling a hemisphere after a man's first name; and, in the second place, he states that the word America existed among the aboriginal tribes of this continent in more than a dozen modified forms.‡

England's right to colonize the mainland of North America was based upon discoveries made by the Cabots. The first of these, John Cabot, seems to have landed at Cape Breton, on the coast of Labrador, in 1497. Cabot was a native of Venice (Giovanni Caboto), then living at Bristol, England. To find a northwest passage to Asia he was given a commission by Henry VII and it was on this voyage of discovery that he reached the shores of Labrador. Claiming the new found territory for the king of England, he erected thereon the royal cross of St. George. But like a true Venetian he entwined with it the emblem of his birthplace, the banner of St. Mark. On his second voyage he met with tragic disaster and what became of him is one of the unsolved problems of history. There is no evidence to show that his son, Sebastian Cabot, accompanied him on either of these expeditions, though at a later period he, too, reached the headlands of Labrador. It is not [illegible] that he explored the mainland of North America for a distance further south than Cape Hatteras. Nor were any permanent settlements made by England in the new world until more than a century had elapsed.

The explorations made by the renowned Spaniards, Juan Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto, the former in 1513 and the latter in 1539, are sufficiently important to constitute a separate chapter and for the present we omit any further mention of these adventurous knights of Spain.

Seven years after Ponce de Leon had given to the whole southeastern part of North America the name of Florida, a wealthy Spaniard, Lucas

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*"History of the United States," George Bancroft, Vol. 1, p. 1.

† In 1507 a young German professor living at St. Die, in the Vosges mountains, published a little volume on geography and with it some letters of Vespucius and suggested that inasmuch as a fourth of the earth had been discovered by Americus it be called America—"History of the American Nation," A. C. McLaughlin, pp. 20-21.

‡ "Astyanax, a Romance of Ilion, Atlantis, and Amaraca," Joseph M. Brown, Int. VI-VIII.

Vasquez de Ayllon, dispatched from the Island of San Domingo, in 1520, an expedition which landed upon the coast of what is now South Carolina, at a point not far from the present site of Port Royal. Given a friendly reception by the Indians, Spanish treachery took advantage of the credulous savages, a number of whom were enticed on shipboard only to find themselves prisoners. It was the purpose of these cruel captors to sell the Indians into slavery; but when the expedition returned home De Ayllon promptly released the prisoners and administered to the captain a well merited rebuke. Four years later two other vessels were dispatched to the newly discovered mainland under command of Pedro de Quexos, who, regaining the confidence of the natives, explored the coast for a number of miles and probably touched the shores of Georgia. It is more than likely that, entering the Savannah, he proceeded for some distance up this stream. To confirm such a belief there are any number of traditions pointing to a European explorer before the time of DeSoto. As the result of these expeditions, De Ayllon fancied himself the discoverer of a new continent, wholly distinct from Ponce de Leon's, which was still supposed to be the great island of Bimini.

In 1524, Verrazano, an Italian navigator, under a commission from Francis I. of France, seems to have reached the coast of North Carolina, near Cape Fear, but he effected no permanent settlement for his royal patron.

It was a prevalent belief among the early Spanish navigators that Florida was a great island, a supposition based not unnaturally upon the curved shape of the peninsula. Nor was this mistaken impression removed until Stephen Gomez, on an expedition sent out by the king of Spain, probably in 1524 or 1525, discovered proofs to the contrary. Touching Labrador, Gomez turned southward. He explored the whole Atlantic coast, then rounded the peninsula which he found to be not an island but a part of the same mainland which Ponce de Leon had discovered in 1513, calling it Florida, as we shall learn with further particulars in a subsequent chapter. In 1529, from reports made by Gomez, a map of Florida was constructed under orders from the king of Spain. Its author was a Spaniard named Ribero. Though a crude affair, this map is a most precious relic since it records the earliest attempt to trace on paper the indented outlines of Georgia's coast.

It is not at all unlikely that Narvaez, who, in 1527, rambled blindly some eight hundred miles through the wilderness of Florida may have penetrated into what is now the territory of Georgia; but he left behind him no traces of such a visit. In a work of intense interest to archaeologists an account of this expedition has been preserved by Cabeca de Vaca, one of his companions.*

From an old tradition preserved by the Yamacraw Indians, Sir Walter Raleigh, the renowned explorer and favorite of Queen Elizabeth, made a visit to Georgia on one of his western voyages and talked with the Indians. There is no documentary proof to confirm this belief but taken in connection with a statement recorded elsewhere that Oglethorpe, in ascending the Savannah River, took with him Sir Walter Raleigh's journal, the tradition does not wholly lack corroboration. It

* "Relacion of Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca."

was Oglethorpe's impression that Raleigh had visited this region and had landed at Yamacraw. Its latitude was well within the range of his explorations; and there were landmarks tallying with descriptive accounts given by him in this book. Some half mile distant from Yamacraw there was an old grave-mound which the Indians pointed out to Oglethorpe telling him that the king who talked with Raleigh on this visit was there buried. But Colonel Jones, our best authority on the antiquities of Georgia, is somewhat skeptical as to the truth of this tradition. Says he: "It is a pleasant memory and has been repeated for a century and a half, but its truth we seriously question."*

However, there are substantial proofs of a visit made to Georgia as early as 1562 by a colony of French Huguenots under the celebrated Jean Ribault. To find an asylum in America for these victims of religious persecution, Admiral Coligny, then a leader of the Protestant forces in France, sent an expedition to the new world, putting Ribault in command. He seems to have explored the entire shore line from the mouth of the St. John's River to the present site of Port Royal, on the coast of South Carolina. At the latter place he made a settlement and built a rude earthwork which he called Fort Charles (Arx Carolana), in honor of his sovereign, Charles IX, of France. This fort, however, was soon abandoned. On returning to France, to bring back a larger colony of Huguenots, Ribault here left twenty-six men. "But," to quote Dr. Henry A. White, "they did not plant corn. They found pleasure in walking about in the great forests of cedar, magnolia and oak. They enjoyed the fragrance of the jessamin and the rose growing upon the banks of the Broad River. They bought corn and deer meat from the Indians and spent much time in looking for silver and pearls. At last the Huguenot settlers became anxious about Ribault. Day after day they looked out over the sea for his ship but he did not return to them. When the supply of corn was nearly gone, the men in the fort determined to build a small boat and sail back to France. Grass and the inner bark of trees were twisted together to make ropes for the new vessel. Bed-clothes and old shirts were made into sails. Then they turned the prow of the boat to the east and a fair wind bore them far out on the Atlantic. Before they reached the middle of the ocean the wind ceased to fill the sails and the little vessel was left floating idly upon the sea. The supply of food and water failed. The boat began to leak, and a storm broke upon them. Some died of hunger. An English ship by chance came that way, picked up those who were still alive, and carried them to England. All these events took place in the year 1562. Later a second company of Huguenots built another Fort Charles on the St. John's River in Florida. Then, in 1565 Captain Ribault brought a third group of colonists to this fort on the St. John's. The Spaniards, however, killed all of the Huguenot settlers and then built the Town of St. Augustine on the Florida coast, to show that they claimed this entire region." †

In 1563, Captain Ribault published an account of his explo-

* "History of Georgia," Chas. C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, p. 35.

† "The Making of South Carolina," Henry A. White, pp. 2-3.

rations in Florida.* Bishop Stevens doubtless consulted this work in writing his excellent history of Georgia, for he therein gives an account of the expedition telling how the names of French rivers were bestowed upon the streams of this state, giving them the earliest names by which they were known beyond the Atlantic. Says he:† "The expedition sailed from Havre de Grace on February 18, 1562, and in two months reached Florida, at a place which they named Cape Francois. Thence coasting north, they soon entered the mouth of the St. John's which, because discovered on the first day of May, they called the River of May. Here, on a sandy knoll, they erected a pillar of stone, on which was engraved the arms of France. Coasting still northward, they discovered the St. Mary's, which Ribault named the Seine, because it was 'like unto the River of Seine in France.' Leaving St. Mary's, they soon cast anchor off the mouth of the Satilla, termed by them the Somme; and manning two boats they rowed up the river to examine its banks and to hold converse with the Indian king. They next discovered the Altamaha, which they called the Loire; further north, they came to Newport River, emptying into Sapelo Sound, which they termed Charente; next, St. Catharine's Inlet, which they called the Garonne; then Ossabaw Sound, receiving the waters of the Ogeechee River, to which they assigned the name of Gironde; and still further on they entered the broad mouth of the Savannah, styled by them the River Grande; thus bestowing upon the noble streams of Georgia the names of the beautiful rivers of France. Each of these waters was well explored and glowingly described."

But Ribault's colony of Huguenots was doomed to extinction. Two years later, Laudonnier, on visiting Fort Charles, found the settlement deserted. But testifying with a mute eloquence to the character of the early French settlers he found wreathed with garlands a stone pillar inscribed with the arms of France. At the foot of this shrine were offerings made by the natives, bespeaking the veneration in which they held this pathetic memorial of the Huguenots. Laudonnier did not attempt to rebuild Fort Charles, deterred no doubt by the hapless fate of his fellow countrymen. But skirting the Georgia coast he landed at the mouth of the St. John's River, then called the River May, where he erected a fort which he called Fort Caroline. In token of the jurisdiction of France, he there planted a stone column bearing the royal arms.

With seven vessels, in 1565, Ribault returned to America and took command of the colony at Fort Caroline. But the appearance of a Spanish squadron, dispatched with orders to kill all the Protestants in the settlement, caused him to put to sea with great loss. To explain this unexpected check to the enterprising Huguenots, Spain, having learned of these French settlements on the coast, had commissioned Menendez, with a large force, to settle Florida. He executed the commission by a relentless and thorough massacre of the inhabitants and every vestige of the French settlement was obliterated. Captain Ribault was himself among the slain. Leaving there a Spanish garrison, Menendez moved farther on down the coast, where he constructed a fort; and here, on

* "True and Last Discoverie of Florida made by John Ribault, in the year 1562."

† "History of Georgia," Wm. Bacon Stevens, Vol. I, pp. 30-38.

September 8, 1565, were laid the foundations of the oldest city on the Continent of North America—St. Augustine.

Without making any attempt to hold the country, a party of French recaptured Fort Caroline, murdered its Spanish occupants and withdrew, leaving Spain in undisputed possession of Florida; and for more than a century there were no further hostilities between these two rival powers.

Five years subsequent to the hapless fate of Ribault's colony of Huguenots, Admiral Coligny himself fell in the celebrated massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Before we leave this subject, let us glance for a moment at Captain Ribault's description of the Georgia coast. It is couched in glowing terms, quaintly archaic; and, with respect to spelling is delightfully reminiscent of Chaucer's old English. He calls the shore line between St. John's River and Port Royal "a fayre coast, stretching of a great length and covered with an infinite number of fayre trees." He describes the waters as "boyling and roaring through the multitude of all kinds of fish," and the inhabitants as "all naked and of a goodly stature, mightie and as well shapen and proportioned of body as any people in the world; very gentle, courteous and of a good nature." As for the country itself, he characterized it as "the fayrest, fruitfulest and pleasantest of all the world, abounding in honey, venison, wilde foule, forests, woods of all sorts, palm trees, cypresse and cedars, bays, ye highest and greatest, with also the fayrest vines in all the world, with grapes according, which, without natural art and without man's helpe or trimming, will grow to toppes of okes and other trees that be of a wonderfull greatness and height." At sight of Georgia's "fayre medowes" he experienced a pleasure not to be expressed with the tongue. These meadows were full of "hernes, Curlues, Bitters, Mallards, Egrepths, Wood-cocks and all other kinds of small birds; with Harts, Hindes, Buckes, Wilde Swine, and all other kinds of wilde beasts, as we perceived well both by their footing there and also afterwards in other places by their crie and roaring in the night."*

St. Augustine became the seat of Spanish government in America. Nor was it long before mining expeditions were sent by the governors of Florida into the Cherokee country of Georgia to dig gold. The fabulous tales narrated by the returned soldiers of DeSoto's expedition concerning treasures to be found in the rich province of Coça or Coosa, consisting not only of precious metals, like gold and silver, but also of rare pearls, had so inflamed the imagination of the Spaniards that as soon as Florida was settled the initial enterprise of its governors was directed toward the Hills of Gold, in which these treasures were supposed to be embedded.

One of the earliest expeditions of which we have an account—antedating the foundation of St. Augustine—was organized in 1559 by Luis de Velasco who dispatched 300 Spanish soldiers under Tristam de Luna to open communication with the Province of Coosa by way of Pensacola Bay. These soldiers equipped with mining tools, proceeded up the Chattahoochee River into North Georgia, where implements of Spanish manu-

* "History of Georgia," Charles C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, p. 35.

facture have been found in comparatively recent times, telling of these primitive mining operations.

Juan Pardo or Paedo was next sent out by Aviles, the first Spanish governor of Florida, to establish a fort at the foot of the mountains northwest of St. Augustine, in the province of the chief Coaba. There is still to be found near the Town of Spring Place, in Murray County, Georgia, the ruins of an old fort supposed to have been built by DeSoto. But there is little probability that the Spanish explorer lingered long enough in this locality to have built such a stronghold. Its origin, therefore, is no doubt to be referred to the early mining activities of the Spaniards at St. Augustine, nor is it at all unlikely that its builder was Juan Pardo.

Coming down to a much later period, Johannes Lederer, a German traveler, who visited the southern colonies in 1669 and 1670 tells us that at this time the Spaniards were working gold and silver mines in the Appalachee Mountains and he adds this remark: "Had I had with me half a score of resolute youths who would have stuck to me I would have pushed on to the Spanish mines." Consequently, it is not to the expedition of DeSoto that all the relics of a Spanish character found in North Georgia are to be referred. To quote Colonel Jones:* "Thus we are enabled to account with at least some degree of probability for those traces of ancient mining observed and wondered at by the early settlers of upper Georgia—operations of no mean significance, conducted by skilled hands and with metallic tools which cannot properly be referred either to the red race or to the followers of DeSoto."

But we must hasten on. England, as we have already seen, claimed the right to settle North America by virtue of discoveries made by the Cabots, especially Sebastian, who had visited this continent, extending his explorations for several hundred miles along the coast. All of the territory included between the twenty-eighth and the fifty-sixth degrees of north latitude was regarded by England as her rightful possession. Consequently, in 1663, we find Charles II, of England, conveying to eight noblemen called Lords Proprietors all the land lying on the Atlantic coast between the twenty-ninth and the thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, including a large part of the territory claimed by the crown. In 1629 Charles I had made a similar grant to his attorney general, Sir Robert Heath, but the patent for some reason had lapsed. Within the domain granted to the Lords Proprietors for a colony to be called by the name of Carolina was included the territory of the present State of Georgia. These noblemen of England who first owned the soil of our state were: Anthony Ashley, Lord Cooper; Sir John Colleton, the Earl of Clarendon, Sir William Berkeley, John, Lord Berkeley, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, and Sir George Carteret.

According to international law, it was necessary for a power to establish permanent settlements on its newly discovered lands in order to perfect its titles thereto. To quote Mr. Evans:† "The permanent English settlements at Charleston and along the Carolina coast established England's claim to Carolina, while the permanent Spanish settlements at St. Augustine established Spain's title to Florida; but no agreement could be reached as to a dividing line between Florida and Carolina. The northern boundary line of Florida was not fixed until 1763, 100 years after the grant to the Lords Proprietors, when Spain ceded all Florida to England."

* "History of Georgia," Chas. C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, p. 70.

† "History of Georgia," Lawton B. Evans, p. 10.

In a subsequent chapter, we will tell how an effort was made by Sir Robert Montgomery, in 1717, to establish within the Province of Carolina on what is now the Territory of Georgia, a separate jurisdiction to be called the Margravate of Azilia; but the ambitious scheme of this English nobleman, failing to enlist popular support, was finally abandoned.

Meanwhile great dissatisfaction had resulted from the government of Carolina by the Lords Proprietors, seven of whom deeded back to the crown all rights and titles held by them to these lands. Lord Carteret alone retained his interests. When a charter was granted to the trustees of Georgia only an undivided moiety of seven-eights was conveyed to them in the lands lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers. But Lord Carteret subsequently deeded to them his interest; and thus was Georgia's title perfected.

To quell the Indians who had been incited by French and Spanish traders to make inroads upon the Carolina settlements, Governor Moore invaded the territory of the Indians west of the Savannah River and compelled the Province of Appalachee to submit to English rule. At a later period the Yemassees, driven out of Carolina by Governor Craven, allied themselves with the Florida Seminoles among whom they found homes. In 1729 a treaty of peace between England, France, and Spain was signed at Seville, the object of which was to adjust rival interests in the new world; but its effect was only to produce a temporary lull. Meanwhile, the Seminoles on the south and the Cherokees on the west still menaced the Carolina frontier; while French and Spanish traders continued to dwell among them, enjoying the profits of an extensive barter.

There were great advantages to be gained from cultivating more intimate trade relations with the Indian tribes. Consequently, England, in 1730, dispatched Sir Alexander Cuming, a Scotchman, on a secret mission to accomplish this object. Successful beyond his most sanguine expectations, especially in his visit to the Cherokees, he negotiated a treaty with these Indians, who agreed to submit themselves to the sovereignty of King George. Several of the chiefs accompanied him to England where they were received with great popular enthusiasm. It was the first visit of an American Indian to the mother country; but these savages were no less objects of interest to the English people than were the sights of London to these children of the forest. Portraits were painted of the Indians, attired in English garments, standing amid the tall trees of the park in London.*

Dating from this visit of Sir Alexander Cuming, England's trade relations not only with the Cherokees but also with the Creeks became extensive and there followed an influx of Scotch traders, some of whom intermarried with chiefs, producing the noted leaders of mixed blood

* "History of Georgia," Charles C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, p. 78.

who largely shaped the future history of these tribes. But, having brought the narrative down to this point, we will now revert somewhat more in detail to the explorations of the two renowned Spaniards, Juan Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto.

FORT MOUNTAIN—Six miles and a half to the northeast of Spring Place looms a peak of the Cohutta Mountains, near the summit of which can still be seen the ruins of an old fort, the origin of which is shrouded in a thick veil of traditions. This ancient landmark of a region famed for its great natural beauty is known as Fort Mountain, so called from the remnants of this old fort, some of the legends connected with which reach back over a stretch of four centuries to the romantic days of De Soto. But no one who thoughtfully examines what is left of the old fort can accept readily the account which credits its erection to De Soto. There were originally not less than twelve walls in this defensive stronghold. Its erection required time; and, according to the Spanish narratives, less than two weeks were spent in this region, after which the gold seekers proceeded to what is now the City of Rome. Two stopping-places of De Soto have been identified as towns included within the original limits of Murray County, viz., Gauxule and Conasauga; but since in both of these towns he was accorded friendly receptions there existed no occasion for hostile maneuvers, such as the building of a fort would lead us to infer. The rules of historical criticism forbid an assumption that the ruins on Fort Mountain date back to De Soto, but a former occupancy of this region by Europeans is strongly intimated, if not unmistakably proven, by these remains. We are indebted to Prof. S. W. McCallie, State Geologist, for a table of measurements, showing how each of the twelve walls of the old fort ran. This table is given below, as follows:

SE.	40 feet to pit; 160 to gate at spring.	
N.	60 "	
E.	70 "	
N.	20 "	
S. 80° E.	60 "	(2 towers)
NE.	100 "	
S. 80° E.	70 "	
E.	20 "	
N.	120 "	
NE.	90 "	
N. 10° E.	30 "	
NE.	80 "	

Says Professor McCallie: "The old fort is located just a short distance from the highest point of the mountain. Some 250 yards from the main gateway to the fort is a spring. The walls are nowhere more than two feet high, but have a base of more than twelve feet. The masonry about the gateway is somewhat massive. All the stones in the wall can be removed by two men, except for a few boulders in a section over which the wall passes. There are many loose fragments on top of the mountain, from which the fort was no doubt constructed."

L. L. Knight, in "Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends," Vol. II, pp. 896-7.

CHAPTER II

PONCE DE LEON'S QUEST FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH—SOMETHING OF HIS LIFE IN SPAIN—ACCOMPANIES COLUMBUS ON HIS SECOND VOYAGE TO AMERICA—BECOMES GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO—HEARS OF AN ISLAND CALLED BIMINI CONTAINING A FOUNTAIN OF MAGICAL WATERS—SETS OUT TO DISCOVER THIS ISLAND FOR THE KING OF SPAIN—REACHES FLORIDA ON EASTER SUNDAY, 1513—THINKS HE HAS DISCOVERED BIMINI—FROM THE CURVATURE OF THE SHORE ADJUDGES THE LAND TO BE AN ISLAND—HONORS AWAIT HIM IN SPAIN—HIS RETURN TO FLORIDA AND HIS TRAGIC DEATH—FAILS TO FIND HIS ILLUSIVE FOUNTAIN BUT MAKES HIS NAME IMMORTAL—HERNANDO DE SOTO'S SEARCH FOR GOLD—LANDS AT TAMPA IN 1539—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION—ADVENTUROUS YOUNG KNIGHTS ENLIST—PRIESTS AND HISTORIANS—WHAT LED TO THE UNDERTAKING—FABULOUS TALES OF UNTOLD WEALTH IN GOLD, SILVER AND PEARLS—THESE FIRE THE SPANISH IMAGINATION—MEMORIALS OF DE SOTO'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA—CRUELTY OF THE SPANIARDS—WORKS EXTANT RELATING TO THE EXPEDITION—RECENT DISCOVERIES—VARIANT THEORIES ADVANCED BY ANTIQUARIANS—WAS DE SOTO'S LAST STOPPING PLACE IN GEORGIA ON THE SITE OF ROME OR COLUMBUS?—ITINERARY OF HERNANDO DE SOTO.

One of the companions of Columbus on his second voyage to the new world was a Spanish nobleman, Juan Ponce de Leon. With the name of this renowned cavalier is associated a legend of fascinating interest which tells us how in his last years, when eager to mend his fortunes and to renew his strength, he sought to discover in the wilds of Florida a fabled Fountain of Youth. It is not unlikely that in his wanderings he penetrated northward into the Territory of Georgia; and for this reason the story of his hapless quest possesses for us an interest beyond its charm as a mere legend.

Having won his golden spurs in the military service of Spain, chiefly in the wars of Granada, we find him seized with a burning desire to try his fortunes in the new world beyond the west. To quote the historian Bancroft:* "America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and where, beside the clear runnels of water, the sands sparkled with gold. * * * Is it strange that these adventurers were often superstitious? Or that sometimes they indulged the hope that even the laws of nature themselves would yield to men so fortunate and so brave?" Tales such as the re-

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* "History of the United States," George Bancroft, Vol. I, p. 22.

turned voyager brought back to Spain were well calculated to fire an ardent youth, of imaginative temperament, nurtured upon traditions of romance and reared amid the tropical perfumes of the warm Mediterranean.

Consequently when Columbus for the second time turned the prow of his vessel toward the new world we are not surprised to find Ponce de Leon accompanying him on this expedition. His object was to achieve wealth, fame, distinction, in a land of great opportunities; and then, flushed with success, to return to Spain. It was not until disappointment overtook him and grim realities, one by one, came to dispel his cherished illusions that he awoke to find himself an old man, with his life's ambition unattained, with his feverish thirst unsatisfied, with his elusive goal unreached. Then he bethought himself of the Fountain of Youth; but—alas, the pathetic irony of it all—only to be lured to his fate in a Land of Flowers.

But let us not leap too hastily over intermediate events. On arriving in the West Indies he at once became a leader; and as a reward for gallant soldiership was given the eastern province of Hispaniola for his command. Here, from the hill-tops, he could see the green fringes of Porto Rico and fascinated by the prospect he became eager to rule it; so, following a visit to the island, which only stimulated his cupidity, he sought and obtained in 1509 the governorship of Porto Rico; but, according to Bancroft, he used his power to oppress the natives and to augment his personal fortunes. When finally removed, after a clash with kinsmen of Columbus, he possessed a regal estate; converting which into a squadron of three vessels he continued his explorations. But he bore a stained escutcheon; and, what troubled him most, he was no longer young.

Having learned from natives of the West Indies of a great island lying to the north called Bimini, he made the discovery of this island the object of his new enterprise; and, accordingly, on March 3, 1513, he set sail from Porto Rico. Ponce de Leon's commission from the king of Spain gave him the right to settle this island and to annex it to the crown of Spain. Nor was his eagerness to behold this green country diminished by the report that somewhere in its verdant stretches bubbled a fountain whose waters possessed a marvelous power: the power of rejunevating the old and of giving renewed strength to the feeble. Ponce de Leon was now well beyond the meridian of his days and sensuous living had made him a wreck of the once puissant knight who had followed the path of the setting sun toward the west. But he was still filled with feverish dreams of conquest; and what might he not accomplish if he could only find this elusive spring and experience the transforming spell of its wonderful waters.

On March 27, 1513, Easter Sunday, called by the Spaniards Pascua Florida, land was sighted. Supposing it to be the storied island of Bimini, he claimed the discoverer's privilege of changing its name and called it Florida, for the two-fold reason that it was first seen on Easter Sunday and because its blossoms, unwontedly brilliant at this season of the year, gave the name an added appropriateness. Delayed by violent storms in going ashore, he finally effected a landing some few miles to the north of the present City of St. Augustine; and claimed the

country in the name of the King of Spain. Ponce de Leon remained for several weeks investigating the coast. He also made extensive rambles through the tide-water region; but he did not find the spring. Turning southward, he passed through the Florida Straits, thence up the west coast to Tampa Bay, after which he returned to Porto Rico, leaving a trusty follower to continue the search as far north as the Bay of Appalachee; but he returned to Porto Rico, as he had gone forth from its docks: an old man.

From the curvature of the coast, Ponce de Leon was convinced that he had discovered an island, which he believed to be the Island of Bimini. He little dreamed that his newly discovered land was the jutting peninsula of a vast continent; but there was a world of satisfaction in having discovered a great island, amid whose tropical evergreens was somewhere concealed a Fountain of Youth. Hailed as the discoverer of the Island of Bimini, he returned to Spain. There he was given a most enthusiastic reception by court and people alike; and for his great service to his sovereign, in having annexed this great territory to the Spanish dominions, he was rewarded with the command of Florida. But it proved to be an empty honor. He was expected to colonize the new country, a task which he was reluctant to assume, on account of its burdensome responsibilities. More than ever he craved a draught of the magic elixir; but time's only answer was to increase his deepening wrinkles and to multiply his whitening locks.

Ponce de Leon's return to America was delayed for some time, part of which was spent in needed preparations for the voyage and part in an expedition against the Caribbee Indians. Finally, in 1521, after a long interval, he proceeded with two boats to select a site for his colony; but, attacked by savages, many of the Spaniards who accompanied him were killed. Ponce de Leon himself was among the wounded, pierced by an arrow in a vital part; and, soon after reaching Cuba, he closed his eyes in death, never once having pressed his lips to the fabled fountain whose elusive waters still taunted his dying vision. Feverish dreams of a murmuring spring still mocked him to the last. But, while its transparent crystals had eluded him, it was nevertheless his good fortune to have discovered the mainland of North America, to have added an imperial territory to the dominions of Spain, and to have linked his own name in a perennial immortality with the name of Florida—the Land of Flowers.

On March 30, 1539,—nearly two centuries before Georgia received her charter from the crown of England—there landed at Tampa Bay, on the west coast of Florida, a band of Spaniards. It numbered 600 strong and its commander-in-chief was the renowned adventurer, Hernando de Soto.

These cavaliers of Spain were clad in handsome armor and provided with horses splendidly caparisoned, and resembled rather a cavalcade of knights en route to tournament than a band of adventurous argonauts seeking for hidden treasure in an unsubdued wilderness. The avowed purpose of the expedition was to discover the fabulous wealth of the New World; and, after claiming the country in the name of

Charles V and planting the flag of Spain in the white sands of Florida, De Soto pointed his jeweled sword toward the North.

So far as authentic records go, these were the first Europeans to set foot upon the soil of Georgia. From time to time navigators had skirted the coast, entering perhaps for a short distance the mouths of rivers, but none had ventured to explore the interior, at least beyond the range of tide water. It was still an unknown land when De Soto stood upon its borders and peered into its vast solitudes in the spring of 1540. But before tracing the route which lay before these bold but deluded Spaniards, let us cross the water to the ancient Town of Seville and take a hasty survey of the events to which this strange spectacle on the shores of the New World was only the dramatic culmination.*

Hernando De Soto, at the time of this expedition to America, was perhaps the foremost man of his age at the Court of Spain. As a lieutenant-general under the renowned Pizarro, he bore a conspicuous part in the conquest of Peru and returned home enriched with the spoils of the Incas. But life at the Spanish Court grew tame to one whose breast was aglow with the spirit of adventure; and, envious of the greater fame of his old chieftain, he sought and obtained from the Spanish Crown permission to explore an indefinite region of the New World, then known by the name of Florida. It will doubtless be remembered that the ill-fated Ponce de Leon, in search of his fabled Fountain of Youth, some years before, had bestowed this name upon what he took to be an island of vast magnitude and of untold wealth.

Dazzled by the prospect of enlarging the boundaries of his empire,

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*"Original Sources." Four original manuscripts deal with the history of De Soto's expedition:

(1) The brief report of Biedma, an officer of the expedition, presented to the King, in 1544, immediately after the return to Spain.

(2) Next, in point of time, but of first importance for detail and general appearance of reliability, is the narrative of an anonymous Portuguese cavalier of the expedition, commonly known as the Gentleman of Elvas, originally published in the Portuguese language, in 1557.

(3) Third, in order, comes the Spanish narrative of Garcilaso, written but not published in 1587, a document which deals in gross exaggerations.

(4) The last original account is an unfinished report in Spanish by Ranjel, secretary of the expedition, written soon after reaching Mexico, but not published, except in mutilated extracts, until 1851.

Secondary authorities:

(1) "Researches on America," by James H. McCulloh (1816).

(2) "The Conquest of Florida," by Theodore Irving (1845).

(3) "History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley," by John M. Monette, M. D. (1848).

(4) "History of Georgia," by Bishop Wm. B. Stevens, M. D., Vol. I (1847).

(5) "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States, East of the Rocky Mountains," by Albert Gallatin (1836).

(6) "History of Alabama, and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi," by Albert J. Pickett (1851).

(7) "History of Hernando De Soto and Florida," by Bernard Shipp (1881).

(8) "History of Georgia," by Chas. C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I (1883).

(9) "Romantic Passages in Southwestern History," by A. B. Meek (1857), including "Pilgrimage of De Soto" (1839).

(10) "Myths of the Cherokee," by James Mooney (1900), House Document, Vol. 118.

the king readily granted this coveted boon. It was agreed that certain royalties accruing from the treasures obtained on the expedition, whether taken from graves and temples or discovered in mines, were to revert to the crown; and, in order that he might the more readily command a convenient base of operations for the hazardous enterprise, De Soto was commissioned governor of the Island of Cuba. It was not a difficult task to obtain followers. The age was one of romance. Tales of fabulous wealth had fired the imagination of the Spaniard. De Soto himself was sanguine of success; and though the conquest of Peru had netted him 180,000 crowns of gold, he expected to find still vaster treasures on this new voyage to the West.

Six hundred men, picked with discrimination from the chivalry of Spain, were obtained for the expedition. Says Jones:* "This little army was composed of men accustomed to wars, skilled in the use of weapons, and inured to hardships. Scarcely a gray head appeared amongst them." Twelve priests, eight clergymen of inferior rank, and four monks accompanied the army, showing that, in the feverish thirst for conquest, the conversion of the aborigines was not forgotten. Moreover, men of letters, to perpetuate the events of the march and to acquaint posterity with the details of an affair so momentous, were found eager to accompany the adventurous knights.

In due time De Soto embarked for Cuba. Here, busy with preparations for a protracted march over land, he remained until the spring of the year following. On Sunday, May 18, 1539, in a fleet of nine vessels, he sailed from Havana to Florida, arriving at Tampa Bay within twelve days thereafter, where he set up the royal standard of his sovereign. Thus began one of the most eventful marches in the history of time. But fate delights in strange ironies. Four years later, after wandering to the distant slopes of the Rocky Mountains, a remnant of this once buoyant band, haggard and exhausted, found themselves upon the borders of Mexico. But De Soto was not among them. The bold leader of the enterprise, who expected to eclipse the fame of Pizarro, slept beneath the turbid waters of the Mississippi.

Memorials of De Soto's march still abound. In the neighborhood of Tallahassee, where most of the historians locate the ancient town called by the Spaniards Anhayca, pieces of Spanish armor have been found, in addition to other European relics of a remote period. While the accounts furnished by the Spanish narrators are quite full it is difficult, in a study of ancient towns and villages, to make the descriptions in each case conform to modern landmarks; but there are monumental remains still extant which will serve as sign-boards to the antiquarian.

On Wednesday, March 3, 1540, after wintering at Anhayca, the army began once more to move northward. Its objective point at this time was Yupaha, a province governed by a woman, whose chief city was reported to be one of great size. Among some Indians captured by a roving party of Spaniards was a lad who spoke knowingly of this queen and of certain chiefs who paid tribute to her in gold; and so vividly did

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*Jones: "History of Georgia," Vol. I, p. 38.

he describe the process of taking the yellow metal from the earth, of melting it in crucibles, and of taking it therefrom refined and purified that the eyes of the Spaniards began to sparkle with triumph. At last, they were fringing the Land of Gold.

Four days later, beyond a doubt, the Spaniards stood upon Georgia soil, having crossed the Ocklockonee River. Within forty-eight hours they came to an Indian village called Capachiqui. Here, at sight of the Europeans, there was at first great consternation among the natives, who took flight as the Spaniards approached; but when five of the Spaniards visited some Indian cabins, encompassed by a thicket, they were attacked from ambush. As a result, one was killed and three were badly wounded. Says Jones: "Thus does the Gentleman of Elvas record the death of the first Spaniard who fell upon what is now the soil of Georgia."

Toalli, the next Indian village at which the Spaniards arrived, on the 21st of March, is located by Jones at some point south of Ocmulgee River, perhaps in the present County of Irwin; and, after remaining here for three days, they made a short journey to Achese, a village located upon the above-named stream, in the neighborhood of what is now the Town of Abbeville. According to Gallatin, Aches or Ochis was the Muscogee name for the Ocmulgee River. Here the inhabitants likewise fled before the Europeans; but the chief was found to be friendly and he informed De Soto that further on there reigned a powerful king whose country was called Ocute. To assist him in finding the place a guide was furnished. On the first of April, De Soto resumed his march, skirting the edge of a river whose shores were found to be thickly inhabited. Within four days, he arrived at Altamaco, the locality of which is unidentified; but on the tenth day he reached Ocute, the principal town of which was probably somewhere in the neighborhood of the present City of Dublin. According to Colonel Jones, the banks of the Oconee River in this neighborhood give token that in former times the aboriginal population was somewhat dense. On approaching the town, he was met by 2,000 Indians, bearing as a present from the chief an abundance of wild game, including partridges and turkeys.

Here he remained until April the 12th. When ready to depart, he obtained from the chief 400 burden-bearers to accompany him on the march, and, after passing through Cofaqui, he came to Patofa, the chief of which town received him with every mark of consideration. It is astonishing how kindly the Spaniards were treated by the natives when the rapacious character of the expedition is taken into account. They misused women; they employed men as beasts of burden; supplies of every kind were appropriated by them; and in quest of costly ornaments they even ransacked temples and burial places of the dead.

On leaving Patofa, De Soto taxed the king for enough maize to last the expedition four days; but it so happened that soon after leaving the Indian village, he lost the trail which he was following. For several days, the Spaniards wandered blindly through the pine barrens, fording with difficulty two rivers, probably the sources of the Great Ogeechee; and swimming another, supposed by Jones to be Briar Creek, in what

is now the County of Burke. On the 28th day of April, the expedition arrived at Cutifachiqui, a town which Monette locates just north of Augusta at a point where Broad River enters the Savannah. McCulloh places it on the Ocmulgee River, near Macon; but, according to other authorities, including Pickett, Gallatin, Jones, Mooney and others, it occupied the site of Silver Bluff, on the Carolina side of the Savannah River, some twenty-five miles below Augusta. It was here that George Galphin, the celebrated Indian trader, afterwards lived during Colonial times. Mooney thinks it was probably an ancient capital of the Uchees.

It was not without the greatest difficulty that the Spaniards reached Cutifachiqui. Four Indians were captured who refused to give them any information concerning adjacent villages; but one of them having been burned alive the information was at last forthcoming that Cutifachiqui was only two days off and was ruled by a woman. Yupaha, therefore, seemed to be at hand. On learning of De Soto's approach, the queen sent canoes to assist him across the river; and when he came into her presence she threw over his head a string of pearls. Moreover, food in abundance was given to his famished men and horses.

But De Soto ill-requited the queen's kindness. He began a systematic search for pearls of which he learned that she possessed a goodly number; desecrated graves, taking therefrom many costly ornaments, including figures made from iridescent shells; and even invaded the temple, leaving it poorer in sacred relics. On hearing that the queen's mother was a widow, he expressed a desire to meet her and tried persistently to do so; but her ladyship eluded him at every turn. At last the queen herself became so incensed at the outrages perpetrated upon her subjects by the Spaniards that when De Soto announced his purpose to continue his journey she refused either to grant him supplies or to give him directions.

Thereupon the Spanish governor put her under arrest; and, upon resuming his march, on the third day of May, he compelled her to accompany him on foot, escorted by female attendants. While at Cutifachiqui, the Spaniards found hatchets and other implements made of copper, some of which appeared to be mixed with gold. On inquiry they were informed that the metal had come from an interior mountain province called Chisca, but the country was represented as thinly populated and the way as impassable for horses. Some time before, while advancing through Lower Georgia, they had heard of a rich and plentiful province called Coosa, toward the northwest; and now by the people of Cutifachiqui they were informed that Chiaha, the nearest town of the Coosa province was twelve days inland. As both men and animals were already nearly exhausted, De Soto determined not to attempt the passage of the mountains then, but to push on at once toward Coosa and recuperate before undertaking further exploration.

However, the first objective point of the Spaniards, after resuming the journey, was Gauxule, situated near the extreme northern limits of the queen's domain, in a mountainous region. Hardships multiplied, but in seven days the Province of Chelaque was reached. Both Mooney and Jones identify Chelaque as Cherokee, Georgia; and, according to the latter, De Soto was now probably within the confines of the present County of Franklin. The country was almost destitute of maize. It

was also extremely uneven; and not less than five days were spent in reaching Xualla, the next town at which the Spaniards stopped. Pickett locates this town in Habersham County, near what is now the Town of Clarksville; and there are Spanish antiquities in the neighborhood which seem to warrant this impression. Irving locates it on the site of a former Indian town at the head of the Chattahoochee River; while, according to Jones, it was situated in Nacoochee Valley, near the foot of Mount Yonah. There are also numerous relics in this vicinity, which point to the Spaniards.

From this place, De Soto seems to have moved in a westerly direction; but scarcely were his columns in motion before the queen succeeded in making her escape into the forest, and so effectually did she elude pursuit that efforts to recapture her proved fruitless. The journey from Xualla to Gauxule consumed five days. Mountains arose on every hand, with intervening valleys, rich in pasturage and irrigated by clear and rapid streams. Gauxule, according to Jones, occupied the site of Coosawattee Old Town in the County of Murray. Two more days of travel brought the Spaniards, on the 22d day of May to Conasauga, which, according to Meek and Pickett, was a town on the Conasauga River, in Murray County, but which, according to Jones, was between the Conasauga and the Coosawattee rivers, in Gordon County, on the site of New Echota. Thence dispatching an Indian messenger ahead to announce his arrival, De Soto, on June 5, 1540, reached Chiaha, which most of the authorities identify as the modern city of Rome, between the Oostanaula and the Etowah rivers.

It may be of interest in this connection to state that an eminent investigator, James Mooney, dissents from the majority view on this subject and locates Chiaha on the site of the present Town of Columbus. While his opinion in the matter may strike the average reader as somewhat erratic, it cannot be lightly dismissed. Mr. Mooney is a recognized authority on American antiquities. He is connected with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, District of Columbia, and is not only the latest scholar to investigate the route of De Soto but, what entitles his view to special weight is the fact that he has based his researches largely upon an original document which was not published, except in a mutilated form, until 1851, and which was not consulted by the other investigators, namely, an unfinished report in Spanish by one Ranjel, secretary to the expedition.

There is no essential deviation between Jones and Mooney until the Spaniards leave Cutifachiqui, which both identify as Silver Bluff. Then the two commentators part company; and where Jones locates Xualla in Nacoochee Valley, Mooney locates it at the head of the Broad River in Western North Carolina, where a tribe of Indians then lived called the Suwali, better known later as Cherawa. Gauxule, a town which the Spaniards reached after traveling in a westerly direction, he locates in Nacoochee Valley. Thence proceeding down the Chattahoochee River, he identifies Conasauga as an old Indian town near the banks of this stream, in the neighborhood of Kennesaw Mountain, a name whose similarity of sound may be something more than a mere coincidence; and finally he comes on down to Columbus, in the situation of which town he recognizes the Chiaha of the Spanish narratives.

ITINERARY OF HERNANDO DE SOTO

(1) According to Jones:

March	3, 1540.	Left Anhayca (Tallahassee, Florida).
March	7, 1540.	Crossed a deep river (Ocklockonee).
March	9, 1540.	Arrived at Capachiqui.
March	21, 1540.	Came to Toalli, in Irwin County (near the Ocmulgee).
March	24, 1540.	Left Toalli.
March	25, 1540.	Arrived at Achese, in Wilcox County (on the Ocmulgee).
April	1, 1540.	Departed from Achese.
April	4, 1540.	Passed through the Town of Altamaca.
April	10, 1540.	Arrived at Ocute, in Laurens County (near the Oconee).
April	12, 1540.	Left Ocute. Passed through a town whose lord was called Cofaqui, and came to the province of another lord, named Patofa.
April	14, 1540.	Departed from Patofa.
April	20, 1540.	Lost in a pine barren. Six days consumed in fording two rivers (sources of the Great Ogeechee).
April	26, 1540.	Set out for Aymay, a village reached at nightfall.
April	28, 1540.	Departed for Cutifachiqui (Silver Bluff, on the Savannah, 25 miles below Augusta).
May	3, 1540.	Left Cutifachiqui.
May	10, 1540.	Left Cutifachiqui (Cherokee, Georgia, probably in Franklin County).
May	15, 1540.	Arrived at Xualla (Nacoochee Valley, near Mount Yonah).
May	20, 1540.	Arrived at Gauxule (Coosawattee Old Town in Murray County).
May	22, 1540.	Arrived at Conasauga (New Echota, in Gordon County).
June	5, 1540.	Arrived at Chiaha (Rome, Georgia).
July	1, 1540.	Departed from Chiaha.

(2) According to Mooney:

March	3, 1540 to May 10, 1540.	In substantial agreement with Jones.
May	15, 1540.	Arrived at Xualla (town in Western North Carolina, belonging to the Suwalli Indians, at the head of Broad River).
May	20, 1540.	Arrived at Gauxule (Nacoochee Valley).
May	22, 1540.	Arrived at Conasauga (town of this name, near Kennesaw Mountain).
June	5, 1540.	Arrived at Chiaha (Columbus, Georgia).
July	1, 1540.	Departed from Chiaha.

Whether it be Rome or Columbus, De Soto remained at Chiaha for nearly a month. At the expiration of this time, he parted from the king with kind words, and left on July 1, 1540, for the far west, accompanied by a retinue of slaves as the king's gift. In a short while he was beyond the Territory of Georgia. To trace his wanderings through a trackless forest, exposed without protection to the torrid heat of summer and to the rigorous cold of winter, exhausted by hunger, enfeebled by disease, is not within the purview of this sketch. It suffices to say that the gold for which the Spaniards relinquished home and braved the solitudes of an unknown wilderness proved an illusive phantom. Most of them looked no more upon Spain. At last, on September 10, 1543, a pathetic remnant reached Panuco, in Mexico, after suffering untold hardships; but not until they had lowered the body of De Soto secretly at night into the bosom of the Great Father of Waters, where at last his splendid fabric of dreams literally crumbled into dust.

CHAPTER III

GEORGIA'S ORIGINAL DOMAIN—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY SOON TO BE SETTLED—THE MOUNTAINS—THE PIEDMONT PLATEAU—THE COASTAL PLAIN—GEORGIA'S PRE-HISTORIC INHABITANTS—THE MOUND BUILDERS—WHO WERE THESE PRIMITIVE ARCHITECTS?—PROBABLY NOT INDIANS—CERTAINLY NOT THE RED MEN OF A LATER PERIOD—TUMULI ON THE ETOWAH NEAR CARTERSVILLE AND ROME—MOUNDS IN SOUTH GEORGIA—WHY AN INDIAN THEORY IS REJECTED—INDIANS NOT IDOLATORS—INDIANS TOO MIGRATORY TO HAVE BUILT THESE COLOSSAL MONUMENTS—CURIOUS RELICS TAKEN FROM THE TUMULI—TESTIMONY OF A SKELETON—REMOTE INDIAN ANTIQUITIES—BASEBALL A GAME OF INDIAN ORIGIN—FOUR TRIBES OF NATIONS OCCUPYING GEORGIA'S SOIL AT THE TIME OF THE EUROPEANS' ADVENT—THE CREEKS, THE CHEROKEES, THE CHICKASAWS AND THE CHOCTAWS—ONLY THE FIRST TWO TRIBES FIGURE WITH ANY PROMINENCE IN THE HISTORY OF GEORGIA—INDIAN CHARACTERISTICS—VILLAGE LIFE—GOVERNMENT—HABITS—CUSTOMS—OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES—MARRIAGE RITES—RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

Before resuming our narrative let us glance briefly at the physical characteristics of the country, which Oglethorpe's humane enterprise is soon to people with English subjects. The State of Georgia, as we know it today, occupies only a part of the original domain granted to the trustees in 1732. Nevertheless, it contains 59,475 square miles, or 37,120,000 acres, and is still in area the largest state east of the Mississippi River. Its greatest length is 320 miles, its greatest width, 254 miles; and it lies between the 30th and the 35th parallels of north latitude and between the 81st and the 86th degrees of west longitude.*

Georgia's ocean front measures 126 miles in extent. Beginning here at sea level, the land rises toward the north in a series of gradations until it reaches the lofty mountain ranges of the Blue Ridge escarpment. Broadly speaking the state is divided into three sections, the Mountains, the Piedmont Plateau, and the Coastal Plain.

1. The Mountains form a part of the great Appalachian system. These, locally known as the Blue Ridge, occupy the whole upper area of the state running in a southwesterly direction from Rabun Gap toward Cedartown. The highest peaks in these ranges are as follows: Sitting Bull, 5,046 feet; Enota, 4,796 feet, both in Towns; Bald, in Rabun, 4,718; Blood, in Union, 4,468; Tray, in Habersham, 4,435; Cohutta, in Fannin, 4,155, and Yonah, in White, 3,168 feet. The Blue Ridge mountains form

* To be more precise the boundaries of Georgia are as follows: Between 30° 31′ 39″ and 35° of North Latitude and between 81° and 85° 53′ 38″.

a water-shed dividing the streams which flow into the Tennessee from those which empty into the Savannah and the Chattahoochee rivers; and also separating the waters which through these main streams empty, on the one hand, into the Gulf of Mexico and, on the other, into the Atlantic ocean. These mountains are rich in coal, iron, copper, granite, marble, gold and silver. The scenery of Upper Georgia is unrivalled in its picturesque beauty, abounding in majestic water-falls such as Toccoa and Amicololah; in verdant valleys, like Nacoochee; and in magnificent gorges, like Tallulah, in which there were at one time five unrivalled cataracts.*

2. The Piedmont Plateau, as its name implies, is an area of foot-hills. It corresponds roughly to what is sometimes called the middle belt, and is bounded on the south by a line running from Augusta to Columbus. The elevation of this section varies from 300 to 1,500 feet aboye sea level. Here were located some of the great plantations of the state in ante-bellum days. In this part of Georgia, also, the rivers, escaping from narrow channels and rocky shoals, broaden into wide streams, on whose smooth expanse of water floats the majestic steam-boat.

3. To the south of this Piedmont Plateau lies the great Coastal Plain, a region embracing 35,000 square miles, or considerably more than half of the state's entire domain. Georgia was first settled on the ocean front, a strip bounding the coastal plain on its eastern side; but it was not until comparatively recent years that the wire-grass region comprising its western area became the home of a thrifty population. Georgia's ocean front is in many places low, marshy, and malarial, but is indented by splendid harbors, full protection to which is afforded by outlying islands, formerly the homes of a wealthy class of people known as sea-island planters. The state's principal sea-ports are Savannah, Brunswick, Darien, and St. Mary's. But we cannot lengthen this discussion. The reader who is interested in Georgia's water-powers, industries, material resources, etc., is referred to a section of this work devoted exclusively to topics of this character.†

Georgia's original domain, as defined by her royal charter from King George II, of England, lay between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers and extended from the headwaters of these streams, in a westerly direction, "to the South Seas," an expression construed to mean "indefinitely westward;" but at a later period the state's western boundary was fixed at the Mississippi River. Reaching back for immemorial ages beyond the advent of the European this region of country was the wilderness home of Indian tribes. But, antedating the days of the red men, as we know them, at least, the Territory of Georgia was inhabited by a race of people who, for the want of an ethnological name defining their true relation to the human family have been called the Mound Builders. Great mounds or tumuli found today on the banks of the Etowah, near Cartersville, also in the vicinity of Rome, and in the lower part of the state, not far from

* These cataracts were: L'Eau D'Or, Bridal Veil, Tempesta, Oceana, and Hurricane. They were destroyed by the erection some time ago of a dam in the waters of the stream just above Tallulah by the Georgia Railway and Power Company, but the unrivalled gorge still remains and the approaches thereto will from year to year be made increasingly beautiful by splendid driveways leading to palatial country homes.

† Section VII, "The Period of the Present."

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the Town of Blakely, testify to the existence of this prehistoric race, giving us at the same time some of its peculiar habits and characteristics.

Perhaps nowhere on the continent can there be found today memorials of a more colossal character or of a more profound interest to antiquarians, telling of the former existence of this unknown race than we find in the famous monumental structures on the Etowah, some two miles distant from the present Town of Cartersville. These ancient relics of an unknown race are located on what was formerly the property of Col. Lewis Tumlin. There are similar structures to be found in the Valley of the Mississippi and along the Ohio and the Scioto rivers, but none to compare in magnitude with these splendid piles. Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr.,* who visited the locality some time in the '50s for the purpose of making scientific investigations, has put on record an exhaustive monograph, dealing with the subject from almost every point of view. He thus describes these immemorial mounds:

"Situated upon the right bank of the Etowah River, in the midst of a perfectly alluvial bottom, they tower above all surrounding objects, changeless amid the revolutions of centuries. They consist of a series of mounds, surrounded by a large and deep moat—the traces of which are quite distinct; and, when filled with the tide of the river it effectually isolated the entire space included within its boundaries. The Etowah River here turns to the south; and, after a gentle sweep again recovers its wonted course, thus forming a graceful bend. This moat originally communicated at either end with the river, a fact which is still apparent, although the current of the stream, in its flow of years, has filled to a very great extent, the mouths of the ditch, thus preventing the influx and reflux of the tide. Formerly the water must have coursed freely through it, thus isolating the entire space and constituting quite an obstacle in the path of an attacking foe. This ditch varies in depth and width; in some places possessing still a depth of twenty feet—in others, of not more than eight or ten; and differing in width from fifteen to forty feet. North and west of the mounds situated within this enclosure, and along the line of the moat, are two excavations, each having at present a conjectured area of about an acre, and a depth of some twenty-five or thirty feet. With these excavations the moat communicates directly, so that the same rising tide in the river, which flowed into the ditch, would also convert them into deep ponds or huge reservoirs. The reason why these excavations were made is evident. The earth removed in constructing the moat was not sufficient to build even a moiety of the immense tumuli within the enclosure. Hence the Mound Builders were compelled to resort to these enormous excavations, which still exist and will remain for ages yet to come. The space included within the limits of the moat is between forty and fifty acres. From the general appearance and nature of the works, we are induced to believe that these excavations were designed to answer another purpose. They might have been, and probably were, intended as huge reservoirs, wherein a supply of water, sufficient to flood the entire moat, might have been detained and preserved ready for an emergency. The streams of this region, springing as they do from hilly

* "Historical Remains of Georgia," by Charles C. Jones, Jr., pp. 27-29, Savannah, 1861.

sources and passing through valleys, are subject to great increase and diminution in volume. When, therefore, the water was low in the Etowah, it might have been difficult, if not impossible, to have filled the moat."

Speaking of the mysterious structures enclosed within this ditch, the same authority says:*

"Within the enclosure there are seven mounds. 'Three of them are pre-eminent in size; one in particular far surpassing the others in its stupendous proportions, and in the degree of interest which attaches to it. This large central mound stands almost midway between the moat and the river—a little nearer the latter. Its position is commanding, and to the eye of the observer it seems a monument of the past ages. It belongs not to this generation. The hunter tribes had naught to do with its erection. The offspring of an ancient people, who have passed forever beyond the confines of this beautiful valley, it stands a solemn monument, ever repeating the story of what they achieved, while they themselves and all else connected with them are sleeping beneath the shadow of a forgotten past. Composed of native earth, simple yet impressive in form, it seems calculated for an almost endless duration. Although no historian has chronicled the names and deeds of those who aided in its erection—although no poet's song commemorates the virtues, the manners, the loves, the wars, the brave deeds of those who here dwelt—still this monument exists, speaking a language perchance more impressive than the most studied epitaph upon Parian marble.

"This central tumulus is some eighty feet or more above the level of the valley. There is no geological formation entering in the smallest degree into its composition. To all appearances, it consists entirely of the earth taken from the moat and the excavations, together with the soil removed from around its base, having received no assistance whatever from any natural hill or elevation. In view of this circumstance, its stupendous proportions become the more surprising. It is somewhat quadrangular in form, if we disregard a small angle to the south; its apex diameter two hundred and twenty-five feet, measured east and west, and two hundred and twenty-two feet, measured north and south. It is nearly level on top. Originally this tumulus was crowned with the most luxurious vegetation, but the utilitarian arm of the husbandman has shorn it of this attraction. A solitary tree stands near the northern extremity. The native weeds and annual grasses flourish, however, in such rich profusion that the steps of the observer are seriously impeded. The view of the surrounding country from the summit of this tumulus is highly attractive. Almost at its base flows the ever-changing tide of the Etowah River. Alternate fields and forests charm the eye. The rich alluvial bottoms, teeming with the products of intelligent husbandry—the crests of the neighboring hills, adorned with pleasant cottages and covered with well-cultivated orchards—the consecrated spire, rising from the oak grove which marks the suburbs of the neighboring village—all proclaim in glad accord the happy reign of peace and plenty. Tender

* Ibid., pp. 107-119.

must have been the attachment with which the Mound-Builders regarded this beautiful valley."

According to Colonel Jones, the following curious relics, among a number of others, have been found from time to time as the result of excavations made within the area enclosed by the moat. 1. A pipe, fashioned of a species of green stone, almost equal to Egyptian granite. It is 3½ inches in height. It represents a human figure seated in Oriental fashion, the extended arms of which uphold an urn of classic pattern, which constitutes the bowl. The latter is two inches in diameter, with ornamental rim and unique handles. The countenance of the figure is clearly not Indian in a single feature. The head is thrown back, and the uplifted eyes seem to be resting upon some superior, unseen, yet adorable divinity. The chiseled hair upon the front is gathered upon the top in a fold, and thence flowing backward is confined behind in a knot. Ears prominent. 2. A pipe, likewise of stone, 4¼ inches in height, similar in design to the first, but ruder in its construction. 3. Clay pipes—some perfectly plain, others with rude impressions upon the outside, and scalloped rims. Probably of Indian origin. Bowl at right angles with the stem—some of baked, others of undried clay. 4. An idol. This interesting relic, made of a coarse, dark sandstone, is twelve inches in height. It consists of a human figure in a sitting posture, the knees drawn up, almost upon a level with the chin, the hands resting upon the knees. 'Retreating chin and forehead—full head of hair, gathered into a knot behind—face upturned—eyes angular. Not a single feature, not an idea connected with this image is Indian in its character. Everything about it suggests the belief that it must have been fashioned by the ancient Mound-Builders. It is an interesting fact, in this connection, that the Cherokees were never worshippers of idols: Both Adair and Bartram testify in positive terms to this effect. 5. A stone plate. This singular relic is circular in form, eleven inches and a half in diameter, one inch and a quarter in thickness. Between the scalloped edges and the central portion of the plate, there are two circular depressed rings. The material is of a sea-green color. Weight—nearly seven pounds. It was probably never employed for domestic or culinary purposes. We incline to the belief that it was a consecrated vessel, in which was exposed the food placed by the Mound-Builders before the idols which they worshipped. 6. A shell ornament. Five and a quarter inches in length; four and a half inches in width; ovoidal in form; various designs chased on both inner and outer sides; numerous apertures cut—some circular, some elliptical. It was probably worn as an ornament, suspended from the neck. The impressions cut upon this shell appear to indicate the fancy and taste of the artist, rather than any positive attempt at representation of any particular object or thing. The carved lines may be hieroglyphical, but who at this day can reveal the hidden meaning? We are inclined to refer this relic to the handiwork of the Mound-Builders. 7. Fragments of isinglass. In the construction of mirrors, this material was constantly used by the Mound-Builders. The most extraordinary specimen of this character was found at Circleville, in the Scioto Valley, twenty-six miles south of Columbus. It was three feet in length—one foot and a half in breadth—and one inch and a half in thickness—while on it a plate of iron had become an oxide. 8. Stone

pestles. 9. Numerous fragments of pottery. 10. Head and neck of bird, a specimen of clay—baked. 11. Various little images. These remains were found upon the surface of the tumuli and in the fields around them. We may, therefore, eagerly anticipate the revelations which will come to light when the Herculean task of exploring them has been successfully accomplished.

Like the unsolved riddle of the Sphinx, there obtrudes upon the imagination this question, which time has not yet answered: Who were the mysterious Mound-Builders? They must have been an extraordinary race of people to have reared such enduring fabrics. But the days when these primitive inhabitants roamed the continent lie far away in the remote background of the past, beyond even the shadowy range of tradition. The mantle of oblivion rests upon them. No historical records have been left behind; and only from the internal evidence of these tumuli can the least information be deduced. But Colonel Jones speculates interestingly upon the subject. Says he:*

"It will be at once remarked by those who even to a limited degree have bestowed any attention upon the antiquities of our State, that these remains are not at all Indian, in point of origin. They have nothing in common with those which were ascertained to have been constructed by the Indians who were here when the region was first peopled by the whites. We have also the positive testimony of the Cherokees to the effect that they retained not even a tradition of the race by whom they were made. The authors of these tumuli were probably idol worshippers. Among the Cherokees this religious custom was never known to exist. The belief cherished by them with respect to a future state forbids the supposition that the idols found in the neighborhood of these tumuli were fashioned by them. Again, no migratory or nomadic race of people would have undertaken the erection of such vast earth works, involving immense labor and designed for almost endless duration. Men must have emerged from the hunter state; they must have become more advanced in civilization; population must have become more dense before the erection of such temples—such fortifications—could have been undertaken. There was not in the sixteenth century a single tribe of Indians, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, who had means of subsistence sufficient to enable them to apply to such purposes the unproductive labor necessary for the erection of such a work. Nor was there any in such a social state as to enable a chief to compel the labor of the nation to be thus applied. It is only under despotic forms of government that pyramids will ever be erected in honor of princes—or such huge earth works be dedicated to religious purposes. It is evident that these monuments were never constructed by the Indians who possessed this region when Georgia was first peopled by the whites. Without pausing to enumerate the proofs upon which the supposition rests, we may here state in general terms that all the probabilities point to Asia as the country whence came the earliest inhabitants of America. When or what place they located, cannot at this remove be definitely ascertained. While there are indications now and then of what may be termed an intrusive type of civilization, referred by some to occasional adventures and migrations, having an impulse from the east toward the Atlantic coast, we incline to the opinion which looks to Mexico as the parent of the immediate civilization which originated in this valley, and which resulted in these memorials to the industry, religious zeal and military skill of a people who, in the absence of some definite name, are denominated Mound-Builders. The remains which they have left behind them are in many instances precisely similar to those which have been exhumed in the valleys and at the base of these ancient temples, seated upon the plains of Mexico. Another fact worthy of notice is this: these remains are generally located upon or near streams, having communication directly or indirectly with the Gulf."*

* Ibid., pp. 37-41.

Since the locality in question was visited by Colonel Jones, light from other sources has been thrown upon these mysterious tumuli. The following item is copied from one of the old scrap-books of Judge Richard H. Clarke. It reads:

"Several years ago an Indian mound was opened near Cartersville, Ga., by a committee of scientists from Smithsonian. After removing the dirt for some distance a layer of large flag-stones was found, which had evidently been dressed by hand, showing that the men who quarried the rock understood the business. These stones were removed, and in a vault beneath them was found the skeleton of a giant, measuring seven feet and two inches. His hair was coarse and jet black, and hung to the waist, the brow being ornamented with a copper crown. The skeleton was remarkably well preserved and was taken from the vault intact. Nearby were found the bodies of several children of various sizes. The remains of the latter were covered with beads made of bone of some kind. Upon removing these the bodies were found to be enclosed in a net-work of straw or reeds, and underneath these was a covering of the skin of some animal. In fact, the bodies had been prepared somewhat after the manner of mummies and will doubtless throw new light upon the history of the people who reared these mounds. On the stones which covered the vault were carved inscriptions, and if deciphered will probably lift the veil which has enshrouded the history of the race of giants which undoubtedly at one time inhabited the continent."

Concerning the memorials of a prehistoric race to be found in the neighborhood of Rome, Col. Chas. C. Jones, writing in 1861, observes:†

"The organic traces of the Mound-Builders are frequent in this neighborhood. Just where the rivers meet, there once stood upon the point of land, whose base is washed by these streams, an interesting mound, circular in shape, some twelve or fifteen feet in height and, at the base, not less than fifty feet in diameter. The earth and clay which

* Charles C. Jones, Jr., in "Monumental Remains of Georgia," pp. 27-119.

† "Monumental Remains of Georgia," by Charles C. Jones, Jr., pp. 82-83, Savannah, 1861.

composed this tumulus have been almost entirely removed, the same having been employed in leveling the streets of Rome and in making a landing place for the ferry-boats. From this mound silver ornaments and beads of gold were taken. It was found to contain numerous skeletons, pots, vases, stone axes, arrowheads, spearheads, shell ornaments, pipes, copper beads, mortars, circular stones, carefully rounded and polished, besides other relics of a less interesting character. Along the banks of the two rivers are numerous traces of inhumation. This spot appears to have been consecrated to the purpose of burial. The swollen tides never wash the shore, without bringing to light new proofs of this fact. In the immediate neighborhood were several other mounds of smaller dimensions, all of which seem to have been devoted to the purposes of sepulture. They are now nearly level with the plain. Upon the very spot occupied by at least two of them have been erected the dwellings and work-shops of another and a nobler race. The contents of these were all similar. They were composed of the blue clay and alluvial soil of the valley, interspersed with stones and mussel shells taken from the beds of the confluent streams."

But the Cherokees possessed no information concerning these mounds. They knew nothing whatever of the race of people by whom they were built. Says Colonel Jones:* "When questioned by the whites who first located here, they replied by saying that they retained not even a tradition of those who constructed them." The story is shrouded in oblivion. With respect to the physical characteristics of the environment, Colonel Jones waxes eloquent. Says he: "Beautiful in all its features is this necropolis of a departed race. Standing upon the almost obliterated traces of the larger mound, whose base is washed by the confluent waves of the Etowah and the Oostanaula, the eye, gladdened by the joyful meeting, watches the stranger wavelets, now friends, as in joyous companionship they leap along the current of the softly gliding Coosa. * * * The dark green foliage which crowns the left bank grows darker still as the shadow of the opposite hill—almost a mountain—settles upon the river; while the trees on the other side are joyously waving their beautiful branches in the soft sunlight which rests upon the valley beyond. On the right, hill succeeds hill in gentle undulation. Behind, stretches the valley of the Etowah, beautiful in its foliage, attractive in its graceful windings, as it bends over to guard in its accustomed channel, the stream which imparts its life and verdure. Upon the adjacent eminences, sits the village of Rome. The stately trees have fallen before the stroke of the woodsman. Broad bridges span the waters. The steamboat, freighted with the products of intelligent husbandry, stem their currents. Through the echoing valley of the Etowah are heard the shrill whistle and the rapid march of the locomotive. On every side are seen the traces of a new, a superior, and an advancing civilization. How changed since the time when the Mound-Builders fixed here his home, and above the remains of his family and friends, heaped these memorials of his sorrow—these tributes to the memory of the departed.

"Some eight miles above Rome, in a bend of the Oostanaula River,

* Ibid., p. 83.

known as Pope's Bend, is a mount, at present some five or six feet in height and, at the base, some eighty feet in diameter. It stands in the middle of a field, which is said to have been cleared and cultivated by the Indians. Circular in form, its central portion is considerably depressed. In consequence of the exposure of this tumulus to the immediate action of wind and tempest and due to its having been for years cultivated, its present proportions do not realize its original size. The walls of this mound must at first have been raised several feet above its central portion. In this respect, it seems quite unique. Now, however, the outer rim has an elevation of not more than two feet. It is composed entirely of the sand and soil of the valley. Upon its surface were found broken fragments of pottery, a stone axe, a pipe, a soapstone ornament, broken clay utensils and numerous fragments of human bones. This was, without doubt, a burial mound. Just across the river, and upon a neck of land formed by the confluence of Armurchee Creek and the Oostanaula, is still another. The surface of the ground for several acres here is covered with pieces of pottery, and a great variety of spears and arrow-heads. From this mound were taken a mortar of beautiful proportions, pestles, stone axes, etc. We are inclined to refer these last tumuli to an Indian origin. Certain it is that many of the remains found in and about them are purely Indian in character. It will be observed, however, that the same locality sometimes, and in fact not unfrequently, indicates the existence of remains peculiar both to the Mound-Builders and to a later period.

"* * * From the best authority it appears that the Cherokees of this region did not, as a general rule, erect mounds over the dead. The usual custom was to hide the body in some rocky fissure, covering it with bark, depositing with it the bow and arrow, pots, stone axes, and other articles, the property of the deceased, and then close securely the entrance. Often the hut of the deceased was burnt, and with it many articles used by the late owner. Sometimes they interred beneath the floor of the cabin, subsequently setting fire to the walls and roof, thus obliterating every trace of the inhumation.

"Again, they buried by placing the body underneath a ledge of rocks, or upon the slope of a hill in some unfrequented spot, heaping above it a pile of stones. Subsequently they adopted the plan of digging a grave some three feet or more in depth, into which the corpse was lowered. Above it was heaped a small tumulus, some six or eight feet in length and two or three feet in height. Upon the range of hills running to the south of Rome are several graves of this latter description. They lie north and south and are generally located in the vicinity of large trees. On the right bank of the Etowah River, near Rome, at a point known as 'Old Bridge,' a heavy ledge of rocks, projecting from the side of the hill, overhung the river. It was necessary to remove this, in order to construct the track of the Rome Railway. When forced from its position by the blast, the fissures in the ledge were found to be filled with the skeletons of Indians. By many they were supposed to have been the dead killed in a battle fought but a short distance from this spot, and here secreted by those who survived. Upon the hill opposite Rome, known as 'Cemetery Hill,' many bodies have been discovered securely lodged in the inequalities of the hillsides, carefully covered

with utensils of the chase, of war, and of domestic use, buried with them. Scattered throughout these valleys, however, there are mounds of moderate dimensions, circular or ovoidal in form, which are doubtless to be referred to an Indian origin. Judging from the internal evidence, we are inclined to regard them as the oldest organic remains of the Cherokees. Elevated spaces, perfectly level at the top, are still to be seen. These were formerly used by the Cherokees for the purposes of sport, dancing, ball playing, and quoit rolling. In one locality, not far from the village of Rome, was pointed out a track, some quarter of a mile or more in extent, which tradition designates as an Indian race-course. All traces of the dwellings have, of course, disappeared, with the exception of some of the more modern buildings—such as the ruins of the house formerly occupied by John Ross, the chief of the national, beautifully situated upon a gentle elevation, on the edge of the Coosa Valley, near the inception of the river; and the former residence of Major Ridge, which still remains in good preservation [1861], upon the left bank of the Oostanaula River, some two miles from Rome. These, however, are modern in character and belong to the semi-civilized Indian, as modified in his tastes and habits by association with the white race."*

The aboriginal remains of these valleys may be divided into three classes: 1. Those which are to be referred to the Mound-Builders. 2. Such as are purely Indian in character. 3. Those which, although the work of Indians, were modified by intercourse and contact with whites or Europeans. Authorities: Jones, Adair, Bartram.

There is little room for doubt that the most typical as well as the most popular of American games, viz., baseball, originated among the North American Indians. As played by them the game was, of course, crude, and in some respects was not unlike the game of football. It is only by an evolutionary sort of process that the favorite sport of the modern college athlete can be traced to the primitive playgrounds of the savage wilderness, but the essential principles of the game were undoubtedly derived from the aboriginal inhabitants of the continent. Throughout the whole of upper Georgia, there are traditions without number concerning important issues, such as boundary line disputes, which were settled by the game; traces of the old fields can still be found on which the famous contests occurred; and in Cherokee County, not far from the town of Canton, is a village which commemoratively bears the name of Ball Ground. To James Adair, the celebrated annalist of the North American savage, are we indebted for the following description of this favorite pastime of the Indian:

"The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened and stuffed with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer sinews. The ball sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand. They are worked with deer-skin thongs. Between these

*Charles C. Jones, Jr., in "Monumental Remains of Georgia," pp. 82-93, Savannah, 1861.

they catch the ball and are enabled to throw it a great distance, when not prevented by the opposite party, whose effort it is to intercept its passage. The goal is some five hundred yards in extent. At each end of it, they fix into the ground two long, bending poles, which are three yards apart at the bottom, but reach much farther outward at the top. The party who succeeds in throwing the ball over these, scores one; but if the ball goes underneath, it is cast back and played for as usual. The gamesters were equal in number on both sides; and at the beginning of every course of the ball they throw it high in the center of the ground and in a direct line between the two goals. When the crowd of players prevents the one who catches the ball from throwing it directly in front, he commonly sends it in the right course by an artful, sharp twirl. They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing-sticks, without falling to the ground; for they are not allowed to catch it with the hand. In the heat and excitement of the game, the arms and legs of the players are sometimes broken. The celebration of this game is preceded by fastings and night-watches, by those who are about to engage in it. They turn out to the ball-ground, in a long row, painted white, and whooping as if Pluto's prisoners had all broken loose. The leader then begins a religious invocation, which is joined in by his companions. Each party strives to gain the twentieth ball, which they esteem a favorite divine gift." From the foregoing description it will be observed that while the modern game of baseball differs materially from the primitive game played by the North American Indians, the equally popular game of football preserves many of the savage characteristics of its original prototype.

But the primitive inhabitants of the state at the time of Oglethorpe's arrival upon the bluffs at Savannah were Indians. These, broadly speaking, were divided into four great tribes or nations: The Creeks, the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, and the Choctaws. It is only with the first two, however, the Creeks and the Cherokees, that Georgia's history is to any great extent concerned. The Chickasaws and the Choctaws resided in the extreme western part of Georgia and did not, therefore, come in contact with the early settlements.

The Cherokees were the prehistoric mountaineers, dwelling on either side of the lower Appalachians. At the outbreak of the Revolution, these Indians occupied a domain embracing 40,000 square miles. The chief towns of the nation were in East Tennessee, but its territory embraced portions of all the adjacent states, including Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Virginia and Kentucky. On the eve of the final deportation, most of the Cherokee lands were in upper Georgia and East Tennessee, while the capital of the nation was at New Echota, in what is now Gordon County, Georgia.

The Creeks, or Muscogees, comprised a great confederacy to which the Lower Creeks of Georgia, the Upper Creeks of Alabama, and the Seminoles of Florida, all belonged. The Yamacraws, with whom Oglethorpe treated on his arrival at Savannah, were a detached tribe of Creek Indians, at whose head was the great chief, Tomo-chi-chi, of whom there

will be much to narrate as this history proceeds. The Alibamons, a tribe from which the State of Alabama derived its name, the Uchees and the Natchez, also belonged to this confederation. The Hitchittees, or Flint Indians, though originally a distinct people, spoke the Muscogee dialect.

It was because of the beautiful country in which these Indians lived, a region watered by gently flowing streams that, in familiar parlance, they came to be known as Creeks. But ethnologically they were Muscogees. At least, the predominating element of the Confederacy, constituting eighty per cent of its warriors, belonged to this stock whose original habitat was in Northern Mexico; but the eastward migration occurred long before the coming of Oglethorpe to Georgia.

Obviously, in a work of this character, whose main purpose is to trace political events and institutions, only a limited space can be devoted to prehistoric antiquities. We cannot, therefore, discuss the manifold peculiarities which differentiated these aboriginees into various tribes. But the proprieties of such a work will not forbid a brief summary of general characteristics.*

As a rule, the Indians lived in small communities or villages, located on running streams or in neighborhoods where spring water was abundant. There were only a few centers sufficiently large to be called towns, in the modern sense, yet this term was often applied even to the smallest village. Tents or wigwams doubtless furnished them shelter at an early period; but contact with the whites led them to adopt many of the ways of civilization. We find them, therefore, living in frame structures, sometimes whitewashed both within and without, supplied with numerous conveniences such as cooking utensils, gardening implements, and the like. Among the Cherokees, at a late period, there were not a few

* General Characteristics of the Indians—Tall, erect, copper-colored, with long, straight black hair, with prominent noses and cheek-bones, with regular features, arched brows, and eyes rather small but active and full of fire; usually grave in deportment, reserved in conversation, tenacious of natural rights, hospitable to strangers, kind to members of their own tribe, honest, haughty and cruel to an enemy, crafty, valiant, and often engaged in war; expert in hunting and fishing, fond of music and dancing, observant of festivals, nimble of foot; skilled in the use of the bow and arrow, the club, the axe, the harpoon and the blow-gun; patient of fatigue and hunger, yet given to ease and frequent meals; addicted to smoking; acknowledging the existence of a Supreme Being; adoring the sun as the symbol of life and heat; entertaining some notions of a life beyond the grave; plagued with visions, dreams, trances, and the influences of malign and lesser divinities; worshiping the Devil, and offering human sacrifice in propitiation of the Spirit of Evil; indulging to some extent in image worship, and perpetuating the memory of the distinguished dead by mounds and figures of wood and stone; excelling in the manufacture of fictile ware, boats of single trees, shawls, coverings, mantles beautifully woven and adorned with feathers, articles of dress made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and deer, carefully prepared, dyed and colored, fishing lines and nets of the inner bark of trees, mats and baskets of split cane, reeds and rushes, and laboriously constructed weirs for the capture of fishes; extensively engaged in the fabrication, use and interchange of various articles and implements of wood, bone, shell, copper, and stone, frequently monogamous—the contubernal relationship being dissoluble at the will of the male—the chiefs and principal men claiming as many wives as fancy and station dictated; ornament-loving, jealous of their possessions, given to agriculture, obedient to kings,—thus runs a general description of these primitive inhabitants. ("History of Georgia," Charles C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, pp. 11-12.)

substantial brick houses of modern design; and some of these Indians were men of means, owning negro slaves and cultivating large tracts of land. In prehistoric times, however, conditions of life were much the same: there were few inequalities. Each head of a family, in addition to his dwelling, if at all thrifty, had a corn house, a poultry house, and a hot house. The chief agricultural product raised by the Indians was corn, or, as they called it, maize. Hunting was a favorite occupation; but as the Indian became more and more civilized he became less dependent upon the chase as a means of livelihood and pursued it more as a source of enjoyment. The Indian hot house was not like ours, designed for the protection of potted plants. It was a house built of heavy timber and plastered with mud, in which he found shelter during the winter months. It contained no opening except a low door, which when closed made the interior practically an air tight compartment; and, though not to be recommended from the standpoint of sanitation, yielded some protection against the cold weather without. There was also a fireplace built into a crude chimney, and around the warm coals which were constantly replenished, the Indians gathered to smoke and to sleep.

The Indian village usually centered around a public square, in which the courthouse was located, a design whose counterpart is still to be found in the courthouse square of our present day county seats. But the public square, in an Indian village, contained also a great house, used for public gatherings, feasts and dances. It consisted usually of four single-storied structures enclosing a court. The council house occupied a corner of this square, was conical in shape, and measured some twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Here the Indian chief or mico held his council. Each town or village, though bound by a loose sort of tie to other communities, constituting the same great tribe or nation, was a separate jurisdiction within itself, more or less independent. Local self-government was a principle deeply embedded in the natural instinct of the Georgia Indians; and it frequently happened that, when a nation was at war, some of its component villages took no part in the fighting, and sent no warriors into the field. Whenever a nation prepared for war, each village acted independently upon the proposition. There was no central government either to advise or to enforce unanimity of action—except at a comparatively late period; and only in the presence of a common danger was the nation likely to act as a unit in applying the war paint. Besides a mico, who was chosen by the warriors of the village from a certain family, to serve for life, each village had also a war chief, who took command of all military operations. Owing his position to renown in battle, he was more than likely, if overtaken by reverses, to forfeit his honors to one of greater prowess. The council was composed of the town fathers.

Diplomacy was an art unknown to the Indians. To quote a discriminating writer, who has made this subject a special topic of study:* "The various tribes of Indians were seldom at peace with one another for long periods. Quarrels over hunting grounds appear to have been a frui[illegible] cause of war. The Indian method of warfare was quite unlike that of civilized peoples. There was no formal declaration of war, no

* R. P. Brooks in "History of Georgia," p. 21.

marching forth in battle array. Usually a small party of from twenty to forty would steal cautionsly upon the enemy and attaek them by night or lie in ambush for parties returning from the hunt. They often resorted to tricks to conceal their presence or to disguise their numbers, such as wearing the hoofs of buffaloes, or marching in single file, each man stepping in the track made by the warrior just ahead. When lying in ambush, they would communicate with one another by imitating the calls of wild birds or beasts. The slain in battle were always scalped and often dismembered. A warrior's standing in his tribe depended on the number of scalps he took. Captives were treated with the utmost cruelty, and burning at the stake was the usual form of torture. In this sport the women and children joined with great zest. The victim stoically bore the torment, prevented by pride from showing any sign of suffering."

Even as early as DeSoto's visit, the Georgia Indians had become to some extent an agricultural people. They cultivated not only corn but beans and pumpkins, preserved plums by drying them and extracted oil from bear's fat. In addition to small gardens appurtenant to each house, there were larger fields devoted exclusively to corn. Much of the work was done by women; but as time went on there was less of an indisposition on the part of men to perform work of this kind, formerly considered degrading to a warrior. Until the whites came, steel and iron implements were unknown to the Indians, but they developed a rare degree of skill in making arrow-heads, spear-heads, stone pipes and hammers, mortars for grinding corn, and various other utensils. They were also adepts in making earthenware of different designs, in the dressing of skins, and in the art of dying. Trinkets for personal adornment were made from shells. Chairs, tables and baskets were made of bark, while spinning and weaving were widely practiced. To a great extent the industrial enterprise of the Indians was checked by the arrival of the whites, who supplied them with many of these things, thus removing the stimulus of necessity, the mother of invention.

It was difficult to find an Indian who was not fond of tobacco. The plant was even regarded with superstitious reverence as a gift of the Great Spirit. Hence the manufacture of pipes was given a constant impetus. Thousands of the most beautiful specimens have been dug out of mounds and preserved in museums. These have been divided by antiquarians into three classes, calumets, individual pipes and idol pipes. The calumet was the celebrated pipe of peace. It was the common property of a village or tribe, was large and heavy, and its bowl was sometimes the size of a tea-cup. It was smoked only on formal occasions, to conclude alliances or to attest treaties. The function was usually one of great impressiveness, since a whiff of the calumet was equivalent to an oath, pledging the smoker's honor. Individual pipes were of various sizes, most of them, however, small, made of stone or clay, with a reed inserted for a stem. The bowls to some of these were no larger than a thimble; others would hold an ounce of tobacco. Idol pipes were so called because they were made in the shape of some animal or to represent the human figure. It is not likely, however, that any of the Georgia Indians with whom our history deals ever smoked these pipes.

They are found only in the oldest tamuli and are doubtless to be referred to the Mound-Builders. The Southern Indians were not idolaters.

Marriage was an institution which the Indian held in great respect, though it was accompanied by no religious rites. Matches were usually made by female relatives, who settled all the preliminaries; but the final word was, of course, invariably spoken by the head of the household. It was customary for a bridegroom to build a cabin, plant and gather a crop, go on a hunt and bring back a supply of wild game before receiving a maiden under his shelter. Since the nuptial vow was not sanctioned by a priest, either party to the compact could dissolve it at will; but in case of a separation the children accompanied the mother. The Creeks were polygamists; but the Cherokees adhered rigidly, if not religiously, to the Biblical doctrine of marriage, at least with respect to the number of wives.

Both the Creeks and the Cherokees, at an early period, were given to a burial of the dead in mounds; but these were never such colossal structures as were built by the prehistoric race of Mound-Builders. As practiced by the Georgia Indians of a later period, these rites were much simpler. Says Mr. Brooks: "The Creeks buried their dead in a pit under the cabin of the deceased. The pit was about four feet square, and the body was placed in a sitting position. Gun, tomahawk and pipe were deposited with the corpse. Immediately on the death of a Cherokee, his body was washed, anointed and placed in front of his lodge. After a period of mourning, the body was carried three times around the hut, and then buried in a pit under the floor. The Choctaws placed the dead body on a scaffold eighteen or twenty feet above the ground. When only the skeleton remained, it was taken down and placed in a bone-house. After a considerable number of skeletons had accumulated, a funeral ceremony was performed and the bones interred together. Cremation was practiced among some tribes. Most of the tribes seemed to have buried with the dead warrior his weapons and other highly prized possessions, and vessels containing food. This practice indicates the Indian's belief in a future existence. The food was intended to sustain him during the passage from this world to the next."*

Festivals at certain times of the year were observed by the Indians with ceremonious pomp. The most important of these was the husk or harvest festival which was always introduced by a process of purification. Streets were swept, houses and premises cleansed, after which a great bonfire was made of garbage, old clothes, cooking utensils, and whatever food happened to be on hand. Then followed a three days' fast, during which interval all fugitives from justice might return to be pardoned, unless these criminals were murderers. On the morning thereafter, the priest made a new fire by rubbing sticks together, new corn was brought from the fields, and the feast began, to continue amid general rejoicing.

As we have already observed, the Creeks and the Cherokees were not worshippers of idols; nor were any of the Southern Indians. They worshiped the sun as a visible manifestation of the Great Spirit, dispensing light and heat and sustaining life, but they did not bow down to

* R. P. Brooks in "History of Georgia," p. 26.

stocks and stones. They were firm believers in the immortality of the soul, in a future life with its rewards and punishments, in evil spirits which they were wont to appease by incantations; and in every village an important personage was the high priest who was a sort of mediator, holding communion with the realm of spirits. To hunt forever in a fadeless forest, abounding in all manner of game, to catch the radiant sparkle of crystal waters, to hear the soft murmur of whispering emeralds, to awake once more in a green country, with strength renewed, with health restored, this was the Indian's dream of paradise; and, when gathered to his fathers, there was always placed at his side the ever faithful bow, with its quiver of arrows and sometimes, but not always, the spear and the tomahawk.

Some writers find little to admire in the character of the Indian; while others impute to these dusky warriors of the forest many noble and splendid traits. No one can read the pages of Cooper, of Washington Irving, or of William Gilmore Simms, without feeling a thrill of admiration for these prehistoric natives of America. That the red man was enfeebled by contact with a white man's civilivation; that his blood was inflamed by the intoxicating fire-water which he received from traders in exchange for pelts; that his disposition to deceive, to employ the arts of cunning, and to commit murder, rapine and arson, was due in large measure to an unjust encroachment upon his lands, these are facts which cannot be denied; and what the Indian really was in his arcadian home before the advent of the European we have no way of ascertaining; but if the great Tomo-chi-chi, with whom Oglethorpe treated on the bluffs at Yamacraw was a fair type of the prehistoric Indian, in his palmy days, then was he a character worthy of all admiration; not only an ornament to his savage race, but a model for cultured Anglo-Saxons.

CHAPTER IV

OGLETHORPE'S HUMANE ENTERPRISE NOT THE FIRST EFFORT TO COLONIZE GEORGIA—SIR ROBERT MONTGOMERY'S UTOPIAN SCHEME OF COLONIZATION—LAUNCHED IN 1717—HIS GRANDILOQUENT DESCRIPTION OF OUR SOIL AND CLIMATE—COMPARES THE COUNTRY WITH PALESTINE—THE MARGRAVATE OF AZILIA—DETAILS OF HIS PROPOSED SETTLEMENT—TO BE A COLOSSAL MILITARY STRONGHOLD TWENTY MILES SQUARE, CENTERING AROUND THE MARGRAVE'S HOUSE—THOUGH WELL ADVERTISED, THE SCHEME FAILED TO ELICIT SUPPORT AND PROVED ONLY A MAGNIFICENT AIR-CASTLE.

Oglethorpe's humane enterprise was not the first effort to colonize the Territory of Georgia. Fifteen years before the galley Anne started upon her long voyage to the new world, Sir Robert Montgomery conceived the ambitious idea of planting a colony between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, to be called the Margravate of Azilia. It was the most unique scheme of empire building which the human intellect ever conceived. This region was pictured to the imagination of the prospective colonist as another Land of Promise, and there was no lack of zeal on the part of Sir Robert in exploiting the enterprise. But it came to naught. The story is one of fascinating interest. However, instead of telling it anew, we prefer to quote a few extracts from a well digested account:*

"In the summer of 1717, Sir Robert Montgomery secured from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina a grant of land lying between the Altamaha and the Savannah Rivers, with permission to make settlements on the south side of the latter stream. This territory was to be erected into a separate and independent province, was to be holden of Sir Robert, his heirs and assigns forever, and was to be called the Margravate of Azilia. A yearly quit-rent of a penny per acre for all lands occupied was to be paid; such payment, however, not to commence until three years after the arrival of the first ships transporting colonists. In addition, Sir Robert covenanted to render to the Lords Proprietors one-fourth of all the gold, silver, and royal minerals which might be found within the limits of the ceded lands. Courts of justice were to be organized and such laws enacted by the freemen of the Margravate as might conduce to the general good and in no wise conflict with the statutes and customs of England. The navigation of the rivers was to be free to all the inhabitants of the colonies of North and South Carolina. A duty was to be [illegible] on skins, and the revenues thus derived were to be applied to the maintenance of the clergy. Sir Robert, in consideration of this

* "History of Georgia," Charles J. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, pp. 70-82.

cession, agreed to transport at his own cost a certain number of families and all necessaries for forming new settlements within the specified limits. It was mutually covenanted that if such settlements were not made within three years from the date of the grant it should become void.

"In the 'Discourse concerning the Designed Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina in the most Delightful Country of the Universe,' prepared by himself and printed in London in 1717, Sir Robert, in glowing terms, sought to unfold the attractions of his future Eden. 'It lies,' said he, 'in the same latitude as Palestine itself, that promised Canaan which was pointed out by God's own choice to bless the labors of a favorite people.' After commending in the highest terms its woods and meadows, its fruits and game, its soil and climate, its mines and odoriferous plants, its flower and agricultural capabilities, he proceeds to explain his plan of settlement. He did not propose to satisfy himself 'with building here and there a fort, the fatal practice of America, but so to dispose the habitations and divisions of the land that not only out-houses, but whatever else we possess will be enclosed by military lines, impregnable against the savages, and which will make our whole plantation one continued fortress. At the arrival, therefore, of the first men carried over, proper officers shall mark and cause to be entrenched a square of land in just proportion to the number. On the outsides of this square, within the little bastions or redoubts of the entrenchments, they will raise light timber dwellings, cutting down the trees which everywhere encompass them. The officers are to be quartered with the men whom they command, and the governor-in-chief is to be placed exactly in the center. By these means the laboring people, being so disposed as to be always watchful of an enemy's approach, are themselves within the eyes of those set over them, and altogether under the inspection of their principal. The redoubts may be near enough to defend each other with muskets, but field pieces and patareros will be planted upon each, kept charged with partridge shot and pieces of old iron. Within these redoubts are the common dwellings of the men who must defend them, and between them runs a palisaded bank and ditch, which will be scoured by the artillery. One man in each redoubt, kept day and night upon the guard, will give alarm upon occasion to the others at work. So they will cultivate their lands, secure their cattle, and follow their business with perfect ease and safety. Exactly in the center of the inmost square will be a fort defended by a large cannon, pointing every way, and capable of making strong resistance in case some quarter of the outward lines should chance to be surprised by any sudden accident. The nature of this scheme, when weighed against the ignorance and wildness of the natives, will show that men thus settled may at once defend and cultivate a territory with the utmost satisfaction and security, even in the heart of an Indian Country. Then how much rather a place considerably distant from the savage settlements?'

"Next he proceeds to give an explanation of the plan for fixing the districts or divisions in the Margravate. The whole diagram was to be a square twenty miles long each way, containing 256,000 acres. It was agreed that the men to defend the district should be hired in Great Britain or Ireland; that they should dwell in the fortified angles and

cultivate the land immediately around them; that they should be hired for a definite term of years, and that at the expiration of this time such among them who should marry or come married hither might have a right of laying claim to a 'certain Fee Farm, ready cleared, together with a house built upon it, and a stock sufficient to improve and cultivate it, to be enjoyed Tax and Rent free during life as a reward for service.' 'By which means two great advantages must naturally follow: (1) Poor laboring men, so secured of a fixed future settlement, will thereby be induced to go thither more willingly and act when there with double diligence and duty and (2) When the time of service expires, possession just long enough to pass their lives upon at ease and to bring up their children on honestly, the families they have will prove a constant seminary of sober servants of both sexes for the Gentry of the colony, whereby they will be under no necessity to use the dangerous help of Blackamoors or Indians. The lands set apart for the purpose are to be two miles in width, surrounding the district, and lying next within the Margrave's own reserved land. The 116 squares into which the inner quadrangle is divided are to be one mile each way, or 640 acres, bating only for the highways which divide them. These are the estates belonging to the Gentry of the district, who being so confined to an equality in land, will be profitably emulous of outdoing each other in improvement; and when the Margravate is strong enough to form many districts the estates will be given gratis to honest and qualified gentlemen in Great Britain and elsewhere who, having numerous and well educated families, possess but little fortune and will therefore be chosen to enjoy these advantages. The four great parks or forests are each to be four miles square; sixteen miles around each forest, in which are to be propagated herds of cattle of all sorts. The middle hollow square, which is full of streets crossing each other, is the city, and the belt embroidered with trees is to be used for a thousand purposes, among the rest as being airy and affording a fine prospect of the town near it. In the center of the city stands the Margrave's house. This is to be his constant residence, and to contain everything requisite for the dispatch of business. This likewise is to be separated from the city by an embroidered belt like the one separating the city from the rural districts.'

"Sir Robert enlarges upon the profits to be realized from this charming country in the cultivation of rice, tea, figs, raisins, currants, almonds, olives, silk and cochineal. Large gains were expected from the manufacture of potash. Liberal offers were made to all who might wish to become colonists in the Margravate of Azilia and ample guarantees given for protection. Although subscription books were opened in the Carolina Coffee House, near the Royal Exchange, it does not appear that much stock was taken in the enterprise. To the King, Sir Robert addressed a petition specifying the tract of land called Azilia, with which he had been invested by the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, declaring that he had a bona fide intention of founding a colony there and requesting the privilege of establishing in the city of Edinburgh a lottery of 100,000 tickets, at the rate of forty shillings per ticket, for the purpose of raising funds with which to defray the expenses of the adventure. A memorial was received from the Lords Proprietors, explaining the proposal of Sir Robert for settling the most southern parts of Carolina,

of which he was to be Governor. It was referred to a committee of the Privy Council for consideration. The board of trade, while recommending Sir Robert as a proper person for Governor, in order to avoid complications, suggested to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina the advisability of surrendering to the Crown their powers of government over the places included in the proposed Margravate, reserving to themselves only the property in the lands. The whole matter was referred to the attorney-general, who reported that he saw nothing in the cession prejudicial to the rights of the crown, but he doubted whether the powers granted to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina could be divided in the manner proposed. To remove the difficulty he suggested that if the Lords Proprietors would surrender to his Majesty their powers of government over the new province to be erected, reserving to themselves only the right of property therein they might lease the land on such terms as they saw fit and then his Majesty could create a new government upon such conditions and with such powers as he deemed proper.

"Despite the efforts made to induce immigration into the favored region at the expiration of the three years allowed by the cession from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, Sir Robert Montgomery found himself without colonists. His grant expired and became void by terms of limitation. His Azilia remained unpeopled, save by the red men of the forest. His scheme proved utterly Utopian, and it was reserved for Oglethorpe and his companions to wrest from primeval solitude and to vitalize with the energies of civilization the lands lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha. * * * Nevertheless, the attorney-general's suggestion with respect to surrendering powers to the Crown was adopted with respect to the whole of Carolina. The disputes and conflicts between the Lords Proprietor and the colonists continued to be so constant that all except Lord Carteret, taking advantage of the provisions of an Act of Parliament, surrendered to the King, not only their rights and interests in the government of Carolina, but also their ownership of the soil. The indenture of purchase and sale was duly executed and the consideration was 22,500 pounds sterling. Thus, for this small sum, were seven-eighths of the extensive territory constituting the province of Carolina sold by the Lords Proprietors to the crown. The other eighth was owned by Lord Carteret, Baron of Hawnes. Subsequently by deed, dated February 28, 1732, he conveyed to the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, the one undivided eighth part of all lands lying between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers. The other seven-eighths was ceded to them by the Crown. With this explanation, we understand why, in the charter granted by King George II, dated June 9, 1732, royal cession was made of only seven-eighths of the lands to be erected into a province to be called Georgia."

CHAPTER V

ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE II—POLITICAL CONDITIONS FOLLOWING A CHANGE OF DYNASTIES—HEAVY INDEBTEDNESS ENTAILED BY DISASTROUS WARS—THE MANIA FOR SPECULATION—THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE BURSTS—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AN ENDORSER OF THE SCHEME IS INVOLVED IN THE GIGANTIC CATASTROPHE—HUNDREDS OF INNOCENT INVESTORS REDUCED TO WANT AND DESTITUTION—WALPOLE'S ADMINISTRATION AS PRIME MINISTER AN ERA OF COMMERCIAL EXPANSION BUT OF CORRUPT POLITICS—RELIGIOUS ZEAL AT A LOW EBB—INTEMPERANCE FOLLOWS THE MANUFACTURE OF RUM—DEBTOR PRISONS—HOW MANAGED—OUTRAGEOUS ABUSES—THOUSANDS OF INSOLVENTS SUFFER LOSS OF LIBERTY—VICTIMS OF THE HARD TIMES—ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY—OGLETHORPE IN SEARCH OF A FRIEND VISITS THE FLEET PRISON—LEARNS THAT ROBERT CASTELL, AN ARTIST, HAS DIED OF SMALLPOX—RESOLVES TO REFORM THE PRISONS OF ENGLAND—HOW THE COLONY OF GEORGIA WAS CONCEIVED—JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE—HUMANITARIAN AND SOLDIER—SERVES UNDER PRINCE EUGENE—AN EPISODE IN HIS CAREER AS A GENTLEMAN VOLUNTEER—ENTERS PARLIAMENT—ZEALOUS AS A REFORMER ONLY AFTER HIS VISIT TO THE FLEET PRISON—ENLISTS THE CO-OPERATION OF EMINENT ENGLISH GENTLEMEN—THESE JOIN HIM IN A PETITION TO THE CROWN FOR A CHARTER—THE PETITION IS GRANTED BY KING GEORGE.

To grasp with anything like an intelligent appreciation the reasons for establishing a new colony in North America to be called the Colony of Georgia we must endeavor to realize conditions in England during the reign of George II. The beginning of the eighteenth century was marked by a great political and social revolution. It was a period of tremendous upheaval. In the first place, there had been a change of dynasties. The House of Brunswick had superseded the House of Stuart on the English throne; and from a line of Scotch sovereigns the kingdom had turned to a line of German princes. Nor did this change bode much for the better. George I, who could hardly speak a syllable of English, spent most of his time across the channel; but his profligate habits of life made his absence a benefit rather than a bane to his subjects. George II, with some difficulty, learned to speak the language of Alfred, but with a marked Teutonic accent; and while he improved upon his father's English, he did not better the latter's example as an immoral spendthrift. Consequently it was a motley crowd of vulgar flatterers and of coarse sycophants who fawned upon these foreign monarchs until the royal court soon became a school of scandal and, adopting a dissolute code of manners, ceased to recall an age of Elizabeth.

But this was only a beginning of trouble. Disastrous wars had involved the empire in heavy debt. The mania for speculation had become an epidemic, giving rise to numerous ventures which, in the last analysis, were only legalized forms of gambling. But such was the passion for accumulation, such the lure of sudden riches, especially for those who had felt the pinch of poverty, that thousands, persuaded into taking a short cut to fortune, were easily victimized by swindlers. These enterprises came to be known as bubbles, for reasons only too obvious. But during the first quarter of a century more than a hundred were organized. However, a climax was reached when the British Government chartered the South Sea Company, a syndicate which agreed to take over England's entire debt, then aggregating £53,000,000 sterling and to pay the bondholders in certificates of stock. Such was the prospect of rich revenues to be derived from an unlimited trade with Spanish America, a realm whose fabled wealth had become a familiar proverb, that the British imagination was fairly dazed by the stupendous undertaking. Even the most astute statesmen of the age felt its fascination. As a result the British Government accepted the syndicate's proposition. Of course, since England herself endorsed the scheme and was to become a shareholder in its expected profits it was only natural that its stock should have found purchasers in an open market, among private individuals. To the average man it looked like a perfectly safe investment. But it proved to be only a bubble; and in its wake came the heaviest financial crash in England's history, entailing upon thousands of people want, misery, and destitution. The treasury of England was embarrassed by the wars but pauperized by the gamblers.

Robert Walpole becoming England's prime minister at this time brought to the helm of affairs a sagacious intellect but a dissolute life. His administration, in a commercial sense, evolved order out of chaos. It marked an era of maritime enterprise, of industrial activity, of trade expansion; but it also marked an era of corrupt politics.

To add to the prevailing demoralization, religious zeal was at a low ebb. The church had become formalistic. It no longer embodied a vital principle, a regenerating power. It merely proclaimed a code of ethics. Though a spirit of reform, destined to eventuate in the great Wesleyan movement, was already beginning to quicken at Oxford, it came too late to be of help in this hour of England's crisis.

Misfortune always opens a door to intemperance. The gin habit had fastened itself upon the population to an alarming extent. Prior to 1689 drinking in England had been confined largely to the wealthy classes who could afford the luxury of French wines; but trade relations with France having been suspended in the above year, Englishmen began to manufacture a cheap drink called gin, whose use especially among the masses soon became a great evil, spreading throughout the kingdom like a pestilence. To quote a student of economics:* "Statistics of the manufacture of intoxicants bear out this statement. In 1684 only 527 gallons of spirits were distilled in England; in 1714 the figures had risen to 2,000,000 gallons; in 1727 to 3,601,000; in 1733 to 5,394,00 and in 1742 to 7,000,000 gallons. Most of this was gin. It is said that retailers

* R. P. Brooks in "History of Georgia," p. 36.

of gin hung out signs to the effect that one could be made drunk for a pennyworth of gin, dead drunk for two pence, and should have straw to sleep on for nothing. Naturally crime and immorality increased with the consumption of gin."

It was at this crisis of affairs that the debtor prisons of England began to swell with inmates. Every grim fortress for the detention of insolvents began to open wide its devouring jaws. According to writers of the time, 4,000 persons were annually committed to these prisons for debt in the one city of London.* To the shame of England be it said that upon her statute books there existed laws, giving to creditors such an arbitrary power; that no provision was made for the relief of honest debtors, "for a judicious distinction between fraud and misfortune." These laws only diminished a debtor's ability to pay by depriving him of his personal liberty and by making him odious from association with criminals in a common jail.

Hundreds of these hapless debtors were the innocent victims of speculative enterprises to which the government itself had given charters; hundreds had been reduced to penury by the collapse of the South Sea Company, to which England's good faith was itself pledged; hundreds were men of high birth, of gentle blood, of aristocratic family connections; and not a few were even men of genius. To realize what these debtor prisons were and to know what choice spirits they sometimes contained one needs only to read the tale of "Little Dorrit," a novel in which Dickens has charmingly portrayed for us a child of the Marshalsea. Oftimes these debtor prisons witnessed the most cruel outrages. Men of the highest respectability were made to consort with prisoners of the lowest type, all thrown together in dungeons, not only devoid of ventilation but noisome with foul air and offensive with filth. Not unlike Georgia's convict lease system of a later day, the control of these prisons was farmed out to the highest bidder. Sometimes as much as 5,000 pounds sterling per annum was paid for this coveted franchise; and, as a rule, whenever a government, for ends of gain, transfers to private individuals its authority over prisoners, we find a ruthless disregard of human life on the part of monstrous Calabans who call themselves overseers or jailers. England's prison laws were bad enough even under normal conditions; but when, due to exploded bubbles in the financial world, there was a swelling of these dens of torture for unfortunate debtors, suffering reached its climax, endurance was strained to its utmost tension. It was time for the government itself to act. The responsibility for these prison outrages, for these inhuman jailers, for these unhappy debtors, all lay at the door of Christian England.

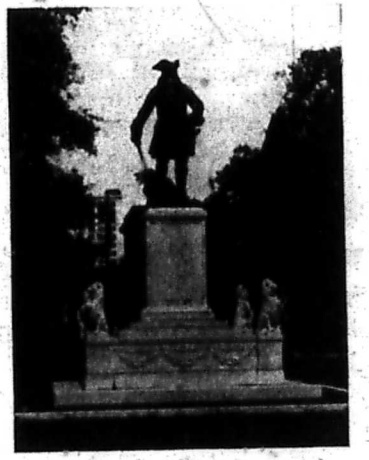
But relief was in sight. One day there appeared at the debtor prison of the Fleet a gentleman whose tall figure, commandingly impressive, bespoke a military training. His face wore an anxious look. For weeks he had missed a friend whom he had finally traced to this prison —Robert Castell, a skilled architect, born to wealth. There was his name enrolled among the inmates. But on further inquiry touching the prisoner's health he learned to his dismay that Castell, having been impris-

* J. R. McCain, "The Executive in Proprietary Georgia," p. 8.

oned in a ward infected with smallpox, had died of this loathsome disease, a victim of cruel neglect.

This visitor was the illustrious Oglethorpe. With the convulsive power of an earthquake, the news of his friend's death awoke in him the slumbering spirit of a great reform. We are told that "in Dante's lonely voice, ten silent centuries spake." So likewise, in Oglethorpe's resolve, the cry of a suffering age was answered. Returning to his home, he tossed upon his pillow but finally he slept and in his dreams he heard a voice calling to him across the Atlantic's wild waters: "bring your prisoners hither!" It was the child of his own fancy—there enthroned like a queen, radiant and beautiful, on the green bluffs at Savannah. It was a vision of Georgia.

Like a true humanitarian, Oglethorpe possessed the spirit of self-effacement. In prosecuting his work of reform, he did not seek his own



OGLETHORPE MONUMENT

preferment; he did not force himself forward. To attest his zeal, he was ready when the time should come to take the leadership, in braving perils, in enduring hardships; but not for mere glory's sake. He was ready, if need be, to conduct his colony in person to the new world, there to share with his less fortunate countrymen a life of privation, of toil, and of danger. On the midnight sky of the eighteenth century, Oglethorpe's sublime unselfishness shines like a lone meteor, a solitary planet, amid the prevailing darkness. Great as was his wealth, his social position, his prestige as a member of Parliament, his rank as a soldier of England, he was ready to imperil everything—to sacrifice all—in his noble crusade of reform. Fortunate for England that in an age of speculative greed, her better impulses found expression in an altruism so pure and so generous. She redeemed herself from a thousand follies in producing one man of such a pattern and with such a soul.

Until this time, Oglethorpe had been a somewhat inactive, if not an obscure member of the English House of Commons. But as the result of this visit to the Fleet, Oglethorpe became a conspicuous figure in the movement for the reform of English prisons, its recognized leader on the floor of Parliament. Humanitarian and soldier both, he became one of the foremost men of his day, extolled by Alexander Pope, admired by Samuel Johnson, limned on canvas by Joshua Reynolds, an intimate friend of Edmund Burke, of Oliver Goldsmith, and of Bishop Berkeley. His work in founding a colony for indigent debtors will be unfolded more in detail as this narrative proceeds. But to give him a better introduction a few preliminary facts are needed.

James Edward Oglethorpe, founder of the colony of Georgia, belonged to an ancient family of high repute in England. His military genius was of paternal origin. Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, his father, to whom he was born the third son, attained a major-general's commission in the British army. He also became first equerry to James II who assigned him to an important command of the forces assembled to oppose the Prince of Orange.* The gentler phases of his character were doubtless derived from his mother. There has been some dispute as to the exact date of his birth but from an entry in the parish register of St. James, Westminster, he was born on June 1, 1689.† While still a mere youth, he matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; but more soldier than student he became impatient for a military career, relinquished his collegiate studies and in 1710 entered the English army as an ensign. This rank he retained until 1714 when he became captain-lieutenant in the first troop of the Queen's Life Guards. But an idle career at home proved irksome to the young officer. Consequently we soon find him on the continent, serving "as a gentleman volunteer." Under the renowned Prince Eugene of Savoy he perfected himself in the art of war. To this gallant commander he bore a strong letter of recommendation from the Duke of Argyle and was thereupon given appointment on Prince Eugene's staff, first as secretary and later as aide de camp. An apt pupil he made rapid progress, winning from his renowned chief not only esteem and confidence, but also high encomiums. When peace was concluded, in 1718, he returned to England, "versed in the principles of military science, accustomed to command, inured to the shock of arms, instructed in the conduct of campaigns, the management of sieges and the orders of battle, and possessing a reputation for manhood, executive ability, and warlike knowledge not often acquired by one of his years."

Boswell, in his "Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson," has preserved the following spicy anecdote of Oglethorpe when a volunteer of the continent; but he is doubtless mistaken as to the young soldier's age at the time in question:‡ "The general told us that when he was a very young man, I think only fifteen, serving under Prince Eugene of Savoy, he was sitting in a company at table with a prince of Wurtemberg. The prince took up a [illegible]s of wine, and, by a fillip, made some of it fly in Ogle-

*"Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe," p. 3.

†Col. Chas. C. Jones, Jr., "History of Georgia," Vol. I, p. 82.

‡Murray's Edition, Vol. III, pp. 217-218.

thorpe's face. Here was a nice dilemma. To have challenged him instantly might have fixed a quarrelsome character upon the young soldier; to have taken no notice of it might have been considered as cowardice. Oglethorpe, therefore, keeping his eye upon the prince and smiling all the time as if he took what his highness had done in jest, said, 'Mon Prince' (I forget the French words he used; the purport, however, was), 'that's a good joke, but we do it much better in England,' and threw a whole glass of wine in the prince's face. An old general, who sat by, said, 'Il a bien fait, mon Prince, vous l'avez commence;' and thus all ended in good humor."

But an unexpected turn of affairs soon launched Oglethorpe upon a political career. His brother, Theophilus, dying, he succeeded to the family estate at Westbrook. In 1722, as a member from Haslemere, in the County of Surry, he took his seat in the House of Commons. Though not a trained debater, he continued, despite numerous interruptions and through frequent changes of administration, to represent his ancient borough in Parliament for a period of thirty-two years. Throughout his long sojourn in Georgia, he was continuously a member of the House of Commons. Finally he met defeat in 1754. Like most of the country gentlemen of the period, Oglethorpe was a pronounced Tory; and though he entered Parliament at a time when the Jacobites were meditating a restoration of the Stuarts, a line to which his family was attached, he maintained an independent course; spoke seldom, but always to the point; and was chiefly interested in legislation for extending commerce, for propagating knowledge, and for ameliorating distress.

Oglethorpe may possibly have been interested in the reform of English prisons before his visit to the Fleet; but his zeal for the cause received a fresh inspiration, a new baptism, from this hour. In 1729, we find him chairman of a committee to visit the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench—three noted debtor prisons—to inquire rigidly into the conditions of each and to submit a report thereon to the House of Commons. It is needless to say that Oglethorpe's exposure of prison abuses was ruthlessly severe. He applied the scorpion's lash with vigor, not only to paid underlings but to high officials. However, when sifted to its last analysis, the responsibility attached to England for tolerating a system which permitted such enormities; and he proposed to dig to the roots, to perform a major operation in surgery, for the purpose of extirpating a cancerous growth. As appears from the records, three separate reports were made by him from time to time, in consequence of which radical reforms were effected not only in the management of prisons but in the statute law itself, prescribing how these institutions should be governed.

We have already intimated that Oglethorpe's idea of founding a colony in the new world for insolvent debtors was inspirationally given; but intimate contact with these unfortunate individuals only confirmed him in his project. It also gave him an opportunity for working out its details. There were scores of men to be found in these debtor prisons, who possessed good family connections, upon whom no stigma of guilt, no shadow of crime, rested, who only needed an opportunity, under uniform and just laws, to show what was really in them; and why not organize these men into a colony and give them a fresh start in the new

world? Sir Richard Montgomery's Utopian scheme having failed to materialize, he thought of the fertile domain in the western part of South Carolina's grant, where the sanguine Scotch nobleman, had expected to plant his ill-fated Margravate of Azilia. Here was a territory vast in extent, whose resources of soil and whose charms of climate had already been extolled. To establish between the Altamaha and the Savannah rivers a self-supporting colony, it was only necessary to avoid some of the fundamental errors in Sir Richard Montgomery's plan. Moreover, if a colony were located here, it would be a protection to South Carolina whose complaints were of long standing. Incidentally, England's trade and commerce might be augmented.

Mature reflection only intensified the burning desire of Oglethorpe to realize his cherished ambition. Though a man of wealth, his private means were not sufficient to compass the ends of so vast an undertaking. In planting a colony, there were heavy expenses involved. Moreover, the task of directing such an enterprise was too stupendous for one man to assume, however great his zeal or mature his wisdom. It was needful, therefore, as a condition precedent, to accomplish two things: to associate with him in the enterprise men of independent fortune and of secure reputation and to obtain royal sanction for the project in the nature of a direct grant from the crown of England.

But how was he to enlist this co-operation? How obtain this patent from King George II?. More than a hundred years had elapsed since a corporation for colonizing purposes had been organized in England; it had been in fact more than fifty years since a colony had been established by English people in America.* Religious persecution as a driving wheel to induce colonization no longer existed, though an established church was disposed to show little favor to Catholics. Few of the colonies had been successful as money-making ventures; while the experience of the Lords Proprietors of South Carolina had been in this respect a sort of fiasco; and there was no longer any credence to be placed in the account of untold wealth to be found in America. Such tales no longer fired the imagination; but on the contrary had become "a weariness to the flesh."

There seemed to be no hope for a new colony at this time except by showing the practical ends to be gained. It was pre-eminently an age of greed. The underlying motive for Georgia's establishment was to furnish an asylum for insolvent debtors; but had its purely humanitarian aspects alone been stressed such an age would have laughed it to scorn. It was necessary to find some economic basis on which to ground the project. Consequently a striking array of facts was presented along this line. Figures were brought forward to show that it took £2,000 sterling to support a hundred families in London while families of the class who would be sent to Georgia could earn only £1,000: so that to support them at home would entail a loss of £1,000 per year on the public: It was estimated that in Georgia a hundred families could earn £6,000, saving to the crown, therefore, £4,000, to be used in buying English merchandise.†

With arguments like these, showing not only the humanitarian but

* J. R. McCain, "The Executive in Proprietary Georgia," p. 7.

† Ibid., 9.

the economic basis for his proposed enterprise, Oglethorpe enlisted the co-operation of some of the best men in England, including members of the nobility like Lord Percival. These, on September 17, 1730, joined him in a memorial addressed to the Privy Council, asking for a grant of land in the new world on which to start this humane experiment; and, broadly speaking, the practical reasons set forth in favor of the proposed enterprise were as follows:* 1. To establish an asylum for indigent debtors in the new world would not only give these insolvents a fresh start but would prove a material saving to England's treasury already little short of bankrupt; that languishing in the prisons of London there were thousands of worthy debtors, from the number of whom a meritorious few could be selected with which to start the experiment; and that these would willingly and gladly seek a livelihood in any of his majesty's plantations in America, if they were only provided with transportation and furnished the means of settling. Moreover, it was believed that men of property could also be found to embrace an opportunity for acquiring lands in Georgia, and whose maintenance would not be an item of expense. 2. It was urged that a colony planted between the Savannah and the Altamaha, if organized upon a military basis, would provide an adequate protection to the exposed frontiers of South Carolina, whose large slave population was largely at the mercy of designing Spaniards in Florida; also that a failure to establish in this region a permanent settlement might strengthen the claims of rival powers to South Carolina's disputed lands. 3. It was argued that a successful colony, in this part of North America, lying well within the temperate zone, where grapes and mulberry trees could be cultivated with great success, would prove a rich asset to the mother country and would mean much to the maritime supremacy of England.

Finally, the petitioners agreed to take charge of the enterprise, to transport the colonists to America, and to erect the plantation into a proprietary government; they prayed that the lands above indicated be granted to them under a royal patent and that as a corporation they be allowed both to receive and to disburse all contributions and benefactions and to be clothed with full authority to enforce law and order within the limits of the province; they also requested the right to acquire lands of inheritance in Great Britain to the value of £1,000 sterling.

First, the petition was referred to a committee of the Privy Council for investigation, after which the law officers of the crown and the Board of Trade were consulted as to the legal questions involved and as to the expediency of granting the proposed charter. Thus two years elapsed. There was inevitably some delay; but in the end the proposed enterprise was favorably reported by the Privy Council; whereupon, under his Majesty's direction, a charter was prepared which on June 9, 1732, received the royal sanction, thus kindling a new star in the diadem of England.

* "Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia with Regard to the Trade of Great Britain, etc." Benjamin Martyn, London, 1733.

CHAPTER VI

GEORGIA'S ROYAL CHARTER—THE TRUSTEES NAMED THEREIN—THE CORPORATION TO EXIST FOR TWENTY-ONE YEARS—THE COMMON COUNCIL—ALL MEMBERS OF THE TRUST TO SERVE WITHOUT COMPENSATION—DENIED THE RIGHT TO HOLD LANDS IN GEORGIA—RELIGIOUS FREEDOM GRANTED TO ALL EXCEPT CATHOLICS—REASONS FOR THIS EXCEPTION—GEORGIA'S TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES—PERMISSION GRANTED FOR TRANSMITTING BRITISH SUBJECTS—FOREIGNERS REQUIRED TO TAKE THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO ENGLAND—ALL SETTLERS TO ENJOY THE RIGHTS OF ENGLISHMEN—NO GRANT TO EXCEED FIVE HUNDRED ACRES, EVEN TO MEN OF MEANS—LANDS TO BE RENT FREE FOR TEN YEARS—OFFICERS TO SERVE THE COLONY—COMMISSIONS TO BE ISSUED UNDER A COMMON SEAL—PROVISIONS FOR MAINTAINING THE SETTLERS—MILITARY REGULATIONS AND POWERS—CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF GEORGIA'S CHARTER—FIFTY YEARS SINCE A BRITISH COLONY WAS PLANTED IN AMERICA—THE CHARTER ACCEPTED BY THE TRUSTEES—SUBSCRIPTIONS SOLICITED—THE BANK OF ENGLAND MADE CUSTODIAN OF FUNDS—THE COLONIAL SEAL—MULBERRY TREES AND SILK WORMS—RULES ADOPTED BY THE TRUSTEES—ESTATES IN TAIL MALE—SLAVERY FORBIDDEN—RUM EXCLUDED—LICENSE REQUIRED FOR TRADING WITH INDIANS—GREAT POPULAR INTEREST AROUSED.

Before proceeding further, let us glance briefly at Georgia's charter. The new colony was to be named for the reigning sovereign, King George II, whose royal sanction was affixed to the grant. As the grounds for its establishment, the various reasons set forth in the preceding chapter were enumerated. To serve the colony as trustees, all who signed the petition were designated, to-wit: John, Lord Viscount Percival, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Tower, Robert Moor, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Belitha, Esqs., A. M., John Burton, B. D., Richard Bundy, A. M., Arthur Bedford, A. M., Samuel Smith, A. M., Adam Anderson and Thomas Coram, gentlemen. These, together with others, afterwards to be elected, were to constitute a body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, to exist for a period of twenty-one years and to be styled: The Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America. The corporation was vested with perpetual succession. It was empowered to establish courts, to make laws, to use a common seal, and to hold lands, hereditaments and franchises in fee simple, also personal property requisite for settling and maintaining the colony. It was given the right to dispose of such holdings by the usual modes of conveyance, including gifts, grants, leases and demises. It was, moreover, clothed with all the powers necessary

for attaining the objects set forth in the charter. The corporation was to meet annually for an election of officers on the third Thursday in each year.

To transact the ordinary business of the trust a common council was to be appointed, each member of which before entering upon his duties was to take an oath of office, which the president of the corporation was to administer. He, in turn, was to be sworn into office by the chief baron of the exchequer. Lord John, Viscount Percival, was designated as the first president of the corporation and it was made his duty within thirty days from the granting of the charter to convene the trustees for the purpose of perfecting an organization. Edward Digby was named as chairman of the common council, a board to consist of fifteen members, eight of whom were named in the charter, as follows. John, Lord Viscount Percival, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Laroche, James Vernon, William Belitha, Esqs., and Stephen Hales, A. M.

Both the president of the corporation and the chairman of the common council were declared competent to vote and to participate in all discussions. Provision was also made for each of these offices to be filled by rotation.

All members of the trust were to serve without salary, fee, perquisite, benefit, or profit whatever. Permission was granted for soliciting and receiving subscriptions; also for appointing agents to collect moneys and gifts. It was made the duty of the corporation to submit annually in writing an account of all moneys and effects received and expended. Furthermore, the corporation was empowered to frame such rules and regulations for the government of the colony, to prescribe such pains and penalties for infractions, and to establish such methods of enforcement as were not repugnant to the statutes and laws of the realm.

Religious freedom was accorded to all except Catholics. Says Mr. Brooks:* "This discrimination was due to historical causes. In 1688 the Catholic monarch, James II, was expelled from England, and it was made the law of the land that no Catholic should ever sit on the throne. Catholics were also excluded from holding any civil or military office or from sitting in Parliament. For many years the exiled family of Stuart schemed to regain the lost throne, usually with the assistance of a powerful party in England and with the sympathy of Catholic France. Only seventeen years before the granting of the charter of Georgia there had been a rising of Catholics in favor of the Stuart Pretender. So it was natural that Englishmen did not care to harbor within the new colony persons whom they regarded as hostile to the English throne and religion."

Georgia's territorial domain, as fixed by the terms of her charter, was to include all the lands embraced between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, reaching back from the headwaters of these streams, in a westerly direction, to the South Seas, an indefinite expression which, at a later period, was construed to mean the Mississippi River. It was to include also the islands of the sea lying opposite the eastern coast, within a distance of twenty leagues therefrom, together with all the

* "History of Georgia," R. P. Brooks, p. 45.

soils, grounds, havens, ports, gulfs and bays, mines, precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, pearls, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, franchises, privileges and preeminences within the said frontiers. However, only an undivided seven-eighths interest in these lands was conveyed to the trustees by King George. It will be remembered that all this territory had been granted to eight noblemen called the Lords Proprietors of Carolina; and in ceding the tract thus conveyed back to the crown only seven of the grantees joined. Lord Carteret retained his undivided one-eighth interest. But Georgia perfected her title in time by obtaining a deed from Lord Carteret.

Permission was granted for transporting out of the limits of the United Kingdom or from any of the British dominions into the province of Georgia, for settlement there, as many subjects of the Crown as should be willing to go, and also such foreigners as should consent to abide there, under the allegiance of the English Crown. These were to be given land rent-free for ten years. Permission was granted also to carry into the province such munitions of war as were requisite for its defense and such clothing, implements, furniture, victuals, merchandise, cattle, horses and wares as were needed by the colonists either for use or for traffic with the natives. All persons born within the province were to enjoy all the liberties, franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural born citizens and subjects of Great Britain as fully as if born and residing within the Kingdom of England. No grant of land was to exceed five hundred acres; no member of the trust was to be granted lands; and no one holding lands was to be elected to the trust. There was to be an annual quit-rent of four shillings per hundred acres to be paid by the trustees for all lands granted to others; and all grants, leases, plantings, conveyances, settlements and improvements of any lands, tenements and hereditaments within the province, made by the corporation, were to be registered with the auditor of plantations within one year from the respective dates thereof; otherwise they were to become void. From time to time statements showing the progress of the colony were to be rendered.

Officers to serve the colony including governors, judges, magistrates, also military and naval officers, were to be commissioned by the common council, eight members of which body were to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but the right to be reserved by the Crown to select all officers concerned in the collection of revenues for the general government. Commissions were to be issued by the trust under the common seal. The appointment of a colonial governor was to be approved by the crown and said officer was to take such oath as was required of governors in the other colonies and give bond for an observance of the various acts of Parliament relating to trade and navigation and for obedience to all orders issued to him by the home government. There was also to be a secretary and a treasurer for the colony, neither of whom could be a member of the corporation.

The charter made adequate provision for a defense of the colony in the event of hostilities. To this end, the trustees were empowered to establish a militia; and in an emergency, all who were competent to bear arms were to be assembled, to repulse, whether on land or at sea, any enemy, either within or without the province, and in all fitting ways to

destroy or conquer any who, in a hostile manner, might attempt the invasion, detriment, annoyance or destruction of the plantation. Martial law was to be declared in the event of hostilities. The trustees were furthermore empowered to erect forts, to fortify towns, to establish garrisons, and to take such other precautionary measures as were requisite to protect both the coast and the frontier from the incursions of marauders, pirates, savages, or enemies. Though a proprietary government, its militia was to remain in the hands of the king, and the dominion of the Crown was to prevail.* Free importation and exportation of all goods and products was authorized. In conclusion, the life of the corporation was to continue for twenty-one years, and at the expiration of this time such a form of government was to be adopted as the Crown should ordain.

Mr. J. R. McCain, a recognized authority on Georgia's colonial period, has given us the following critical estimate of her charter. Says he:† "The granting of such a charter was in a measure a reversion to type. It has been noted that more than a hundred years had elapsed since a corporation resident in England had been chartered for the purpose of colonization, but it was through corporations in the nature of trading companies that British colonization was first successfully achieved within the present limits of the United States. Virginia, the first of the colonies, was the proprietary province of a corporation just as was Georgia, the last of the thirteen to be settled. Only two other corporations had been formed for the purpose of colonizing America, and they, like the London company, were organized prior to 1630. Individual proprietorships had been established, and in the case of Carolina eight men had been associated for the purpose of founding a colony: but apparently the interest in colonization had not been widespread enough in England from 1630 to 1730 to call for the organization of a company or corporation. The settlement of Georgia enlisted the interest and the aid of a larger number of people than that of any other British colony.

"Since the charter was granted fifty years later than that of any other British colony, it is interesting to note the effect of experiments with the colonies on the terms of the Georgia charter. Since the establishment of Pennsylvania in 1681, there had been marked efforts on the part of the British government to increase imperial control in America, and there was a strong tendency to substitute royal provinces for those of proprietary or corporate nature. In its first report, the Board of Trade showed several tendencies in this direction. The land was not granted outright to the petitioners, but they were to be tenants of so much as they might occupy, paying therefor to the King the rather heavy quitrent of four shillings proclamation money per hundred acres. Careful registers were to be kept to ascertain the King's rights in the matter. Of greater importance, was the provision in the report requiring that officers be approved by the King, and that all laws be submitted to him for approval. Moreover, a great deal of imperial control was secured by the requirement that officials in the new colony must take

* J. R. McCain, "The Executive in Proprietary Georgia," p. 13.
† Ibid., pp. 14-16.

and receive instructions such as were given to the royal governors in the American provinces.

"As the charter was finally issued, there were numerous provisions also for imperial control. The most remarkable one was that limiting the powers of government bestowed on the founders of Georgia to a period of twenty-one years. The petitioners had sought greater powers of appointing and removing officers and of establishing courts, and the request was granted only on the condition of this time limitation. Formal laws must be approved by the King, but regulations and orders to fit special occasions could be given without approval. The power of making laws was also limited to a period of twenty-one years, and no law could become effective until actually approved. Even in the matter of appointing officers, there were two restrictions in favor of royal control. The Crown reserved the right to appoint all those who should be chosen to collect the King's revenue. Moreover, the person appointed to be governor in the colony must have the approval of the King, and must qualify himself properly by taking oaths and giving security to obey the acts of Parliament relating to trade and navigation and to obey instructions sent him pursuant to said acts. He was not bound, however, to obey general instructions. The supervision of the British government over the financial management of the colony was secured by the requirements that an annual account of all moneys received and expended be presented in writing to two officials of the home government. It was further stipulated that from time to time accounts of the progress of the colony should be given to the secretaries of state and to the Board of Trade."

On July 20, 1732, the trustees named by the king met in London* to perfect an organization under the new charter whose terms and provisions were, at this first meeting, formally accepted. Lord John, Viscount Percival, after exhibiting a certificate from the lord chief baron of the exchequer to the effect that he had taken the required oath, was thereupon duly installed in office as president of the corporation, following which he proceeded to administer the prescribed oath to his colleagues of the trust.

The Bank of England was designated as custodian of all moneys to be contributed to the trust for Georgia's colonization. Benjamin Martyn was elected secretary, while the following gentlemen formed the first common council: Anthony, Earl of Shaftsbury; John, Lord Viscount Percival; John, Lord Viscount Tyrconnel; James, Lord Viscount Limerick; George, Lord Carpenter; Edward Digby, Esq., James Oglethorpe, Esq., George Heathcote, Esq., Thomas Tower, Esq., Robert Moor, Esq., Robert Hucks, Esq., Roger Holland, Esq., William Sloper, Esq., Francis Eyles, Esq., John Laroche, Esq., James Vernon, Esq., Stephen Hales, A. M., Richard Chandler, Esq., Thomas Frederick, Esq., Henry L'Apostre, Esq., William Heathcote, Esq., John White, Esq., Robert Kendal, Esq., aldermen, and Richard Bundy, D. D.

Most of the business of the trust was transacted by the common council, subject, however, to final review at the hands of the corporation. Its first chairman, as designated in the charter, was Hon. Edward Digby.

* Palace Court, in Old Court Yard, Westminster.

Without dealing with the business of particular meetings, we merely give results.

First, it was necessary to adopt a corporate seal. The design selected for its two faces was as follows: "That for the authentication of legislative acts, deeds and commissions contained this device: two figures resting upon urns, from which flowed streams typifying the two rivers, viz., the Savannah and the Altamaha, which formed the northern and southern boundaries of the province. In their hands were spades, suggesting agriculture as the chief employment of the settlers. Above and in the center was seated the genius of the colony, a spear in her right hand, the left placed upon a cornucopia, and a liberty cap upon her head. Behind, upon a gentle eminence stood a tree, and above was engraven this legend: 'Colonia Georgia, Aug.' On the other face—which formed the common seal to be affixed to grants, orders, and certificates—were seen silk-worms in the various stages of their labor, and the appropriate motto: 'Non Sibi Sed Aliis.' This inscription not only proclaimed the disinterested motives and intentions of the trustees, but suggested that the production of silk was to be reckoned among the chief employments of the colonists."

Encouraged by Sir Thomas Lombe to believe that a superior quality of silk could be produced in Georgia, to whose soil mulberry trees were indigenous, the trustees decided to engage Italian experts to accompany the colonists to Georgia and to teach them the best methods of feeding silk-worms, how to obtain the thread from the cocoons and how to manufacture the silk into fabrics. Oglethorpe himself became quite an enthusiast on the subject. In fact, he came to believe that vast sums annually spent in the purchase of foreign silks might be saved to the nation. Moreover, in the culture of grapes for the manufacture of wines, it was contemplated that a rich revenue would accrue to the Crown.

Some of the regulations adopted by the trustees require notice in this connection. Since Georgia was to be an agricultural colony, organized upon a military basis, each male inhabitant was to be regarded both as a planter and as a soldier.* Together with tools and implements for industrial use, he was to be provided with weapons for defending the settlement. He was also to be instructed in the manual of arms. Forts were to be erected at strategic points on the exposed ocean front and on the endangered frontier. Each town was to be a sort of citadel, containing its garrison of troops, its arsenal, etc.; and whatever lands were allotted to the colonists were to be in the neighborhood of these fortified towns, so that instantly the inhabitants, on the first signal of alarm, might betake themselves thereto for protection, without loss of time and without great personal hazard. Besides the likelihood of a Spanish invasion, there was the ever present dread of an Indian outbreak.

It was for the purpose of strengthening Georgia as a military province designed to protect not only South Carolina but all of the colonies to the north that a system of land tenure was adopted which in after

* An Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its First Establishment, London, 1741; "Colonial Records," Vol. I.

years gave rise to much complaint. Fifty acres of land—to define the system briefly—were deemed sufficient for each family's support. Consequently, to each able-bodied colonist was allotted this amount of land, to be held, however, not in fee simple but as a military fief; and on this land he was to plant 100 white mulberry trees to every ten acres. It was feared that if the lots were otherwise conveyed, it would tend to enfeeble the garrison by giving rise to an accumulation of lots in one ownership; and to prevent such a result it was planned that for each lot there should be an occupant to cultivate the ground and to bear arms.

Since women were not expected to act as soldiers, it was not contemplated, except in certain contingencies that they should be landholders. Consequently, grants were to be made in tail male rather than in tail general. To give to a female the portion of a soldier would be to diminish the strength of the settlement. Moreover, by intermarriage several lots might be merged into one ownership; and inasmuch as women were not supposed to serve on juries or to perform military duties, these burdensome obligations, in the event she were given a soldier's portion, would devolve more frequently upon the men.

There were numerous reasons to justify the trustees in refusing to sanction alienations in fee. To begin with, the right of sale was necessarily inherent in such an estate; and immediately following an investiture of title a grantee, if he saw fit to do so, might sell, mortgage or alien his lands. Most of the colonists to be transported to Georgia were indigent; and, having failed as managers at home, it was not deemed prudent at the outset to entrust them with the ownership of property which in a short while might be squandered. Again, the colony was surrounded by Papists, French to the west and Spaniards to the south; and it was thought unsafe, therefore, to grant estates in fee because it might be the means of introducing Catholics into the colony of Georgia. Though religious persecution had become less rigorous, there still existed in England a feeling of bitter hostility toward all non-Protestants.

The charter forbade a grant of more than 500 acres of land to any one person; but if titles were conveyed in fee simple it would not be long before thrifty individuals would acquire a concentrated ownership of lots, thus contravening the charter's manifest intent. Moreover, since the trustees were defraying the passage of these settlers, maintaining them on the voyage, giving them tools, weapons, seeds, etc., with which to begin life anew in the colony, and agreeing furthermore to support them for a season from the general stores, all this in addition to having compromised with creditors for sums due them by these debtors, it might, therefore, be well argued that the public had purchased from these settlers, for an adequate consideration, whatever they could give in the way of just equivalent. Consequently there seemed to be no alternative, save to grant estates in tail male, if Georgia's character as a military province was to be maintained.

Nor were men of means to hold lands under a different tenure. Where a settler defrayed his own expenses and brought ten able-bodied servants, over twenty-one years of age, into the colony, he was to receive 500 acres of land, not an acre of which, however, could be sold; and at his death this land was to descend to his male heirs. He was to pay a rental of 20 shillings a year on each 100 acres but payment was not to

begin for ten years. Within a month after its execution, the grant was to be registered with the auditor of plantations. The grantee obligated himself to repair at once to Georgia with his servants, there to remain for at least three years, building houses and cultivating his lands. Within ten years from the date of grant he was to have 200 acres under cultivation and 200 white mulberry trees planted. The grantee was not to leave the province without special permission from the authorities. Male servants, when released from contracts, provided they had been four years in the province, were to be given, on application, twenty acres of land in tail male, under certain conditions and restrictions.

But an equally drastic law enacted by the trustees was a law forbidding the introduction of slaves into the Colony of Georgia. There was no precedent for such a regulation in any of the other colonies; but a law of this character was deemed essential to a province organized on a strictly military basis. Nor were other reasons lacking. In the first place, a great majority of the colonists were wholly without means either to purchase slaves or to support them under the peculiar system of land tenure which the trustees thought it wise to adopt. One of the main sources of weakness, in the case of South Carolina, was due to the preponderating number of slaves. These considerably outnumbered the whites who were powerless, on the one hand, to protect them against the mischievous wiles of the Spaniards or to subdue any insurrectionary spirit among them, on the other. Moreover, South Carolina weakened by an excessively large slave population was, in a most critical sense, at the mercy of the foe, including not only the Spaniards but also the French; nor was she without frequent visits from the Indians who kept her borders constantly embroidered with crimson. Knowing her enfeebled condition, these enemies especially the Spaniards and the Indians, were incessantly annoying; and since the design of a new colony was to protect South Carolina it was important to avoid, therefore, what in the latter province had proven an element of weakness.

To state another reason, the average cost of a negro servant at this time was £30, a sum sufficient to defray the passage of a white man, supply him with needed equipment, and support him for a whole year; and to permit slaves, therefore, would only lessen the ability of the trustees to maintain the white settlers. Moreover, on account of the limited funds at the disposal of the trust, every slave sent over would mean a white man displaced or a soldier withdrawn from the garrison. Thus to allow slaves would be to subtract from the fighting strength of the province; and since Georgia was to be a barrier interposed between South Carolina and her enemies, not only would she fail to give this desired protection but her own security would be endangered, on account of her closer contact with these foes who would show her no quarter.

Furthermore, it was argued that the ownership of slave property would lessen a settler's inclination to perform individual labor; that it would put a badge of servitude upon honest toil; and that, should the head of a family be removed by death or incapacitated by sickness, or should he be temporarily absent from home, his undefended household would be at the negro's mercy: a menace serious at least in its possibilities. Besides, the Spaniards, when not enticing slaves into Florida would be inciting them to insurrections. South Carolina though some distance

removed from St. Augustine had nevertheless suffered greatly in both of these respects; nor would Georgia prove exempt from such annoyances, which in her case, from a closer proximity to the Spaniards, would be even more aggravated. Whatever justification there may have been, therefore, for permitting slaves in South Carolina where extensive rice plantations along the coast required arduous labor, under malarial conditions, no such pretext could be urged in the case of Georgia, where the culture of grapes and the production of silk, while calling for greater intelligence, imposed much lighter burdens upon the laborer. Indeed, this work would be of such a mild character that even the women could assist, finding such employment a pastime rather than a hardship.

It was thought wise to deny slaves even to settlers of independent fortune who might wish to settle in the province without expense to the trust. The ownership of slaves by some would only tend to create a spirit of discontent in others to whom this privilege was denied, would give rise to invidious comparisons, would cause class distinctions to appear, and would lay an undue emphasis upon existing inequalities.

Nor did another argument fail to impress the trustees. It was this: if slaves were introduced into Georgia it would only tend to facilitate the desertion of slaves from South Carolina into Florida by furnishing an intermediate place of shelter for these fugitive negroes in connivance with Georgia allies and abettors.

Thus it will be seen that for the prohibition of slaves in the Colony of Georgia there were no lack of sound arguments both from the economic and from the humanitarian point of view; and at first this drastic law no doubt proved salutary in its operation. But in time it became a serious detriment. To meet the demands of competition—in fact, to save the colony from utter collapse—its abrogation was eventually demanded; and when this barrier was removed not only did the tide of prosperity begin to rise but there came into Georgia her largest and wealthiest slaveholders: the Dorchester Puritans of whom we shall have much to say later.

Rum was also excluded from the colony for reasons too obvious to require statement. It was of the utmost importance that settlers who were expected to meet a two-fold demand, to serve the colony both as competent workers and as good soldiers, should be men of temperate habits.

Trading with the Indians, unless authorized by special license, was also forbidden. Such were some of the regulations adopted by the trustees for Georgia's government. As we shall see, though founded in excellent logic and justified by what was undoubtedly the wisdom of the hour, they became in time detrimental to the colony's growth; but the trustees were too far removed from actual contact with the settlement—too idealistic perhaps—to understand the condition of life which prevailed in Georgia or to lose sight of the fundamental reasons upon which they had acted at the start. Committed to these regulations, from the standpoint of principle, they were slow to yield to any demand for change; and in doing so at last they were forced to recognize the failure of these Utopian ideals. Nor was it without a sigh of relief that when the twenty-one years expired a responsibility which had grown burdensome was finally relinquished. Thousands of good English pounds

sterling had been expended with little immediate profit. Even the effort to grow mulberry trees proved abortive. The looms of England were never overtaxed in weaving Georgia's silk into fabrics. But a colony was planted in the wilds of America which, in spite of all these discouragements, took deep root. Nor is it any small debt which Georgia owes to her earliest sponsors, all of whom were men of the highest character, of the purest benevolence, of the most exalted patriotism. To the latest generation, her history will be fragrant with the names of these English gentlemen.

Subscriptions were next solicited. As an evidence to the public of perfect good faith and to prevent any misappropriation of funds an account was opened with the Bank of England, where a register was kept in which to record the names of all donors, together with the amounts subscribed by each to the colonial fund. Responses were liberal, coming not only from individuals but from corporate institutions. Even Parliament subscribed £10,000, thus attesting its good-will toward the enterprise and its confidence in the trustees. This spontaneous outpouring of gifts was largely the result of an address published by the trustees, setting forth the benevolent ends and objects of the undertaking. The public was informed that money was needed not only to defray the passage of colonists, hundreds of whom were ready for embarkation, but to give them subsistence until they could clear their lands and build their homes; that for success in this great philanthropic enterprise reliance was placed, first, in the goodness of divine providence and, second, in the compassionate disposition of the Christian people of England; that much could be spared from luxury, by generous tempers, when such an opportunity was offered them, to provide in perpetuity for a man or woman with £20 and for a child with £10. The location of the province, in a temperate zone, its mild climate, its rich soil, its authorization by the government of England, its management by men of high official position, its importance in protecting the exposed borders of South Carolina; and, last but not least, its stimulating and enriching effect upon the commerce of England.

To aid in the enterprise newspapers gave wide publicity to its benevolent designs and ministers from the pulpit preached eloquent sermons in approval of its philanthropic scope and spirit. Much of this popular awakening was only the reflex of Oglethorpe's powerful influence; for his zeal in launching the colony knew no abatement. In a carefully considered tract to which his name was not signed but in which his mind and heart were reflected as in a mirror and which every one admits that he not only circulated but prepared, we find a poem from the pen of Waller, in which occur these lines descriptive of Georgia's environment:*

> "So sweet the air, so moderate the clime
> None sickly lives or dies before his time
> Heaven sure has kept this spot of earth uncursed
> To show how all things were created first."

* A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, London, 1732.

Besides the tract prepared and circulated by Oglethorpe, there also appeared a pamphlet written by Benjamin Martyn, secretary of the board, entitled "Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia, with regard to the trade of Great Britain, etc.," a discussion of some merit; but for lack of time we cannot pause to discuss its contents. The author's appeal was a strong one, based upon sound arguments and it closed with an imaginative picture of the future colony, rich in its flocks and herds. All things considered it is not a matter of surprise that England's interest in a colony organized for the relief of insolvent debtors should have reached a degree of interest hitherto unknown in the empire's experience as a colonizer and that Georgia, her latest offspring, fostered by the humane soul of an Oglethorpe, should have become the favorite child of England, the darling of the Crown.

CHAPTER VII

PLAN OF SAVANNAH DRAWN BEFORE OGLETHORPE LEAVES ENGLAND—HUNDREDS EAGER TO EMBARK FOR GEORGIA—SELECTING EMIGRANTS—RIGID EXAMINATION OF APPLICANTS—ONLY THE WORTHY CHOSEN—PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE—THIRTY-FIVE FAMILIES SET SAIL FOR GEORGIA ON NOVEMBER 17, 1732—OGLETHORPE ACCOMPANIES THE EXPEDITION—PEN-PICTURE OF THE GREAT HUMANITARIAN AND SOLDIER—TWO CHILDREN DIE AT SEA—CHARLESTON IS SAFELY REACHED—JOY OF THE COLONISTS—SOUTH CAROLINA'S WELCOME TO OGLETHORPE—ROYALLY ENTERTAINED—WITH COL. WILLIAM BULL, THE FOUNDER SETS OUT ON A RECONNOITERING TOUR—SAILS UP THE SAVANNAH RIVER—LOCATES THE SITE OF A TOWN ON A HIGH BLUFF—MAKES A TREATY WITH TOMO-CHI-CHI, AN AGED MICO, OF THE YAMACRAWS, A SMALL DETACHED TRIBE OF THE CREEK INDIANS—RETURNS TO CHARLESTON—CONDUCTS THE COLONISTS TO YAMACRAW BLUFF—THE EXPEDITION LANDS ON THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY 12, 1733—GEORGIA DAY.

Oglethorpe, while still in England, devising plans for his settlement, drew the diagram of a town to embody his conception of a military stronghold and to constitute at the same a civic center for the new province. Savannah, therefore, began to exist in embryo long before its foundations were actually laid upon the bluffs at Yamacraw. We will discuss somewhat more in detail the specifications of this plan at a later period. We pause just here only to record in its proper chronological place an interesting fact. The future metropolis of Georgia's seaboard, though still unnamed, was already, so to speak, in life. It only needed to be transferred from England to Georgia. Its earliest inhabitants were already gathering upon the banks of the Thames and, with rosy anticipations of a bright tomorrow, were waiting for the hour to sail.

But let us not anticipate. Having secured funds sufficient to launch the new enterprise and to defray its initial expenses and furthermore having adopted regulations for governing the colony soon to be planted, it was next in order to secure emigrants. To this end the trustees announced themselves ready to receive applications from all who wished to emigrate to Georgia. The bare announcement was like an opening of the flood-gates. Applications poured in upon the trustees. To give these an unbiased consideration, a committee was appointed from the trust to visit the prisons. Its object was to inquire into the worthiness of all applicants and when satisfied on this point to make compromises with creditors for whatever debts were due, to assume payment thereof, and to procure a release of the debtor.

There was also a committee appointed to hear such applications as came in person to the office of the corporation at Westminster. Many were, of course, rejected. No criminal was even considered. No man upon whom rested a shadow of suspicion or a stigma of any kind was accepted. Nor was any applicant received who in coming to Georgia would leave behind him a family dependent upon his labor for support. There were no wife deserters among these beneficiaries of the trust; no fugitives from justice; no men of vicious character; no debtor whose obligations had not been canceled. As a rule preference was given to those whose applications were endorsed by ministers, church-wardens and overseers. After an emigrant was chosen he was drilled each day by the sergeant of the Royal Guards, a much needed discipline since it was not only as a planter but also as a soldier that he was expected to serve the trust. Says a well known Georgia historian in refuting a popular misconception concerning these early colonists:* "It has been idly charged that in the beginning 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 renegades from justice. The suggestion is utterly without foundation. 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 to enter her borders who was not by competent authority, adjudged worthy the rights of citizenship."

On October 3, 1732, the enrollment lists disclosed 114 persons who were ready to embark as emigrants for the new world. This number included men, women and children. But no one was admitted to passage until he or she had first been apprised in detail of the terms and conditions involved in this change of residence nor until he or she had testified acceptance thereof in a formal document containing articles of agreement, signed, sealed and filed in the office of the trust. To meet a few objections which were well founded, as, for example, in families where there were daughters only, it was provided that any person claiming the privilege might name a successor to the lands held by him and that in case the original grantee died without issue such successor should take possession, the property thereafter to descend to his or her male heirs. It was also ordained that a widow should receive a third of her deceased husband's property as fixed by the laws of England.

On the eve of sailing, a certain amount of land within the limits of the future colony—5,000 acres—was, for purposes of distribution, deeded in trust to three of the colonists to wit: Thomas Christie, William Calvert, and Joseph Hughes. These were to reconvey the land in fifty-acre lots to each male adult, at his request, upon arrival in the province. There attached to each transfer the conditions of settlement thereon; and

* "History of Georgia," Charles C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, p. 113, footnote.

except in cases for which special provision was needed the property was to descend to his male heirs.

At the time of embarkation, on November 17, 1732, there were thirty-five families enrolled, aggregating 130 individuals. These comprised carpenters, brick-layers, mechanics and farmers. To convey them to the new world a galley of some 200 tons burden, named the Anne, Captain Thomas in command, was provided by the trustees. It was comfortably fitted out for the voyage, containing in addition to food supplies such agricultural implements, household utensils, tools, weapons, munitions and stores as were needed for the colonists on arrival. To show that nothing was overlooked necessary to the comfort of the voyagers we are told that the vessel's cargo included "ten tons of Alderman Parson's best beer." Among the passengers on board were: Dr. Henry Herbert, a clergyman of the established church, Mr. Amatis, an Italian from Piedmont, engaged to instruct the colonists in breeding silk-worms and in the art of winding silk; and, last but not least, this vessel, freighted with the destinies of a new province, carried its illustrious founder, James Edward Oglethorpe.

It was at his own solicitation that Oglethorpe was chosen to accompany the emigrants to Georgia; but the trustees were a unit in regarding him as the best man in all England to superintend the work of Georgia's establishment. Not only was he the originator of this project to found an asylum in the new world for indigent debtors, but from first to last he was its most enthusiastic, zealous, and unremitting advocate. Moreover, as chairman of the committee on prisons, he had achieved a world-wide reputation in the English Parliament. He had been largely instrumental in purifying the prisons of England and was perhaps the best known humanitarian and philanthropist of his day. But what qualified him, in a peculiar sense, to organize a colony founded upon a military basis was his ripe experience and rare genius as a soldier. When we remember that in a few years he was to become the official head of the English army, we can form some estimate of his qualifications at this time as a military commander. He was in the prime of life, tall and erect, possessed of a vigorous constitution, and one of the handsomest men to be encountered in a tour of rural England. Though often in London, it was not as a metropolitan but as a country squire that he loved to be known; nor did any man of his time better illustrate this title in its softer and finer phases. Not too austere, he was characterized as the beau ideal of an English gentleman; and blest with means ample for the gratification of every wish he was ready to sacrifice ease and elegance and to share with penury a lot of toil, of privation, and of peril. In the language of an eloquent biographer: "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, with an experience of men and climes and matters, which only years of careful observation and intelligent travel and thoughtful study could supply, he was, beyond all dispute, the man of his age and people best qualified to inaugurate and conduct to a successful issue an enterprise so entirely in unison with his own philanthropic sentiments and so important to the interests of both England and America."*

* Charles C. Jones, Jr., in "History of Georgia," Vol. I, p. 115.

Says a contemporary writer: "To see a gentleman of his rank and fortune visiting a distant and uncultivated land, with no other society but the miserable whom he goes to assist, exposing himself freely to the same hardships to which they are subjected, in the prime of life, instead of pursuing his pleasure or ambition, intent on an improved and well-concerted plan from which his country must reap the profits, at his own expense, and without a view or even a possibility of receiving any private advantage from it; this, too, after having done and expended for it what many generous men would think sufficient to have done,—to see this, I say, must give every one who has approved and contributed to the undertaking the highest satisfaction, must convince the world of the disinterested zeal with which the settlement is to be made, and entitle him to the truest honor he can gain—the perpetual love and applause of mankind."*

As above stated, Oglethorpe accompanied the colonists to Georgia at his own expense. He also provided the furnishings for his cabin and laid in supplies, all of which were placed at the disposal of his fellow-voyagers. The Sabbath before sailing was spent by the colonists at Milton on the Thames, where, in a body, they worshiped in the parish church. On the 16th of November quite a number of the trustees went down to Gravesend where the galley Anne was moored, to extend a formal farewell to Oglethorpe and to bid him Godspeed on his voyage to Georgia. Next morning the vessel lifted anchor and under fair skies began its long journey across the wide Atlantic. En route, the galley Anne touched at the Madeira Isles, where five tons of wine were taken on board. Favoring gales wafted the vessel upon its journey westward. Few mishaps were encountered. Only two infants died on the voyage; and finally, after a lapse of two months, the excited passengers, on January 13, 1733, entered the harbor of Charleston.

Going ashore after nightfall, Oglethorpe assembled the colonists together for the purpose of returning thanks to Almighty God who had prospered them on a perilous voyage to the new world and had brought them at last in safety to the shelter of a friendly haven. Thence he proceeded to Charleston, a short distance up the river, where his excellency, Robert Johnson, governor of the Province of South Carolina, greeted him with formal honors, a reception in which his council participated.

Without attributing to selfish motives a welcome which was undoubtedly sincere, we can well understand the joy with which the Georgia colonists were hailed when we remember that one of the chief objects in establishing a colony to the west of the Savannah River was to protect South Carolina's exposed borders. Nor was the coming of these settlers unheralded. The Lords of the Admiralty had issued instructions to commanders in the Virginia and Carolina waters to render every assistance possible to the Georgia colonists. At the same time the Duke of New Castle, then at the head of colonial affairs, had apprised all the governors in America of Oglethorpe's mission, commending him to the courteous favor of these officials. All awaited his coming with interest. To quote Colonel Jones:† "In truth, Georgia was to constitute a pro-

* Political State of Great Britain, February, 1733, Vol. XLV, p. 181, quoted by William B. Stevens in "History of Georgia," Vol. I, p. 81.

† "History of Georgia," Charles C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, p. 118.

tection to all of the American colonies, but especially to Carolina against the encroachments of the Spaniards, who regarded with jealous and hostile eyes the growing power and expanding settlements of England upon American shores. This mutual sympathy and dependence were, at an early date, acknowledged 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 favor move,
> And Carolina bloom by Georgia's love."

Before leaving Charleston, Governor Johnson, we are informed, "cheerfully responded to Oglethorpe's needs." What these were we do not know. But the reception to the colonists included a sumptuous banquet at which some old wine was uncorked. Under the guidance of the king's pilot, a Mr. Middleton, who performed this office by Governor Johnson's direction, the colonists were conducted to Port Royal where the Anne was securely anchored, after which the settlers went ashore at Beaufort to find convenient quarters in the substantial new barracks. Oglethorpe's arrival at Beaufort was signalized by an artillery salute. Here leaving the colonists to refresh themselves amid pleasant surroundings, he set out with Col. William Bull, on a reconnoitering expedition and proceeded up the Savannah River until he reached a point some eighteen miles inland, where a high bluff overlooked the stream. Hitherto, on either side, the river had coursed through marshy lowlands; but here, some forty feet above low tide, arose an elevated plateau, on which stood a forest of pines, interspersed with fragrant magnolias, while here and there an ancient live oak trailed its pendant mosses. The river was deep enough at this point to float an ordinary vessel; and in the shadow of this high bluff a ship could easily discharge its cargo at the water's edge.

It was an ideal site for a town. Oglethorpe's trained eye was quick to detect its advantages; and realizing in an instant that he had found the spot of which he was in search he called it Savannah, from the river which murmured at its base. On the heights stood an Indian village which, on inquiry, he learned to be the seat of a small detached tribe of the Creek Nation known as Yamacraws. Tomo-chi-chi, an aged prince of the forest, was its chief or mico. On this same side of the river—though in contravention of a law governing South Carolina's commerce with the Indians—was a trading post, here established by a man named Musgrove, whose wife, Mary, was a half-breed, afterwards famous in the history of the settlement.

Deeming it wise to treat with the recognized chief of the region before bringing his colonists hither, at what might prove an imminent risk, he sought and obtained an interview with this Indian mico—the first Georgian of whom we have any account—Tomo-chi-chi. To this end he procured the mediatory services of Mary Musgrove, whom he found to be kindly disposed toward her husband's fellow-countrymen and whose fair knowledge of English made her a good interpreter. Mary's Indian name

was Coosa-pon-a-kee-see. She was subsequently employed by Oglethorpe in similar negotiations at a stipulated salary of £100 sterling per annum.

Though at first disposed to regard the proposed settlement with disfavor, Tomo-chi-chi, who was far above the ordinary savage in his powers of intellect, was made to realize ere long that the coming of the Europeans, instead of proving a menace, was likely to open a door of opportunity for his people; and then and there was cemented a friendship which survived until the old mico's dying hour. Nor did Oglethorpe's love for the noble old Indian prove less enduring. Fortunate it was for Georgia that, on the threshold of her existence as a struggling colony, surrounded by enemies on every side, she was protected by so powerful a friend, so noble a character. It looked like a special providence designed to shield her from an untoward fate.

Having prepared the way for his colony not only in the matter of a site but in what was equally as important, a definite understanding with the Yamacraw Indians, Oglethorpe returned to Beaufort. Here he found the settlers greatly refreshed. The safe return of the little colony's head and founder and the successful nature of his visit gave increased cause for gratitude to Almighty God; and on the following Sabbath a day of special thanksgiving was observed. There was an exchange of courtesies at this time, the Rev. Lewis Jones preaching for the colonists, while the Rev. Dr. Herbert occupied the former's pulpit in Beaufort.

To conclude the day's observance a bountiful dinner was provided by Oglethorpe and included among the articles mentioned as constituting the feast were "eight turkeys, four fat hogs, many fowls, English beef, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a generous quantity of wine." It is quite evident from this inventory that while rum was to be excluded from the colony by an express edict of the board of trustees, Georgia was not committed to a policy of total abstinence nor was she in any sense an advocate of strict prohibition. We are glad to be informed that at this feast no one was intoxicated.

Leaving Beaufort for Savannah, the colonists were conveyed in a sloop of several tons, re-enforced by a cluster of five periaguas. En route a storm was encountered, which forced them to seek shelter from its violence at a point called Lookout. Here they remained all night, suffering keenly no doubt from exposure to an inclement winter season. On the next day they proceeded to John's Island where eight men had been stationed some few days before to provide huts for the colony's accommodation at this place, midway between Savannah and Beaufort. But the morning of February 12, 1733* found the colonists safely landed upon the bluffs at Yamacraw.

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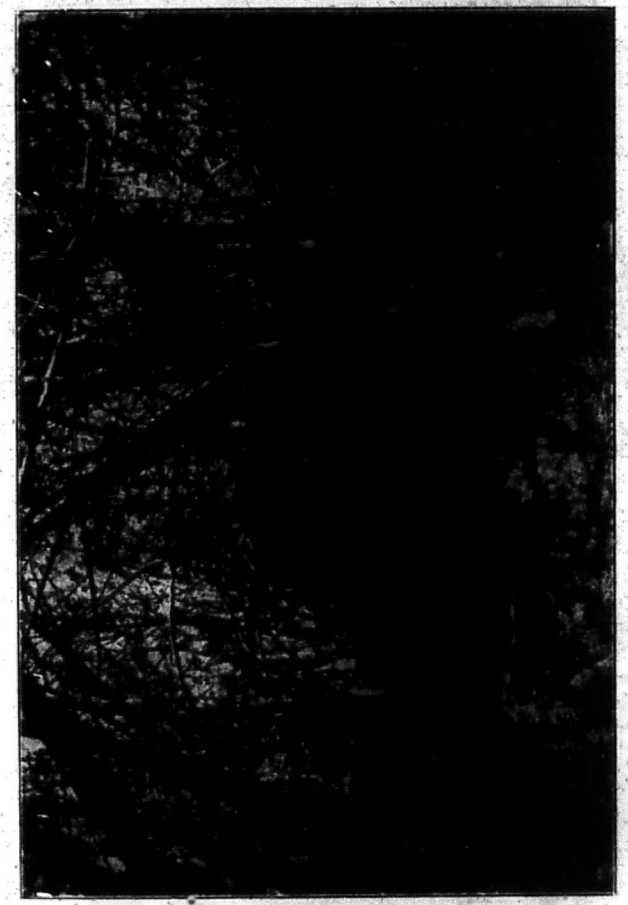
* Old Style, January 30, 1733.

WORMSLOE: THE HOME OF NOBLE JONES.—Near the mouth of the Vernon River, at the extreme southern end of the Isle of Hope, lies the oldest estate in Georgia: Wormsloe. It was formerly the country-seat of Noble Jones, a companion of the great Oglethorpe on his first voyage to America, and for years a distinguished officer of the Crown. He came into possession of the estate in 1733, at which time he gave it the name which it still bears. Here he built a wooden fort, which he called Fort Wymberley, placed in such a position as to command the inland passage from the Vernon to the Wilmington River. This passage



RUINS OF FORT WYMBERLEY ON THE ISLE OF HOPE

still bears his name. It was much used by Indians, Spaniards and outlaws when visiting the South Carolina coast for purposes of plunder and to carry off the negro slaves to Florida. Later he rebuilt it of "tabby" or "manchecolas" as the Spaniards called it, with outbuilt port-holes to defend it from escalade. In 1741, he was given a four-pound cannon with which to defend the fort. Here he established headquarters for his famous marines, who lived in huts near by and who rendered double duty by scouting the country on horse-back and the river in boats. One of these guarded Skiddaway Narrows and carried dispatches between Savannah and Frederica for General Oglethorpe.

On December 22, 1739, Noble Jones with his boat well armed captured a schooner in "Ussybaw" Sound and carried her around to Tybee. He also cruised with Captain Demetree to intercept unlawful trading vessels. Fort Wymberley was at one time successfully defended against a party of Indians and Spaniards by Mary Jones who, in the absence of her father, took command; and tradition records it that in recognition of her courage Wormsloe has always been left to the widows and unmarried daughters of the house for life, the fee to be vested at death in the male heir. There were many mulberry trees at Wormsloe and the colony in a measure depended upon this source of supply for a sufficient quantity of silk worm seed, and one year it was deplored that the crop would be short, as "Mr. Noble Jones's daughter had suffered her worms to issue from the cocoons without sorting them." Mary Jones married James Bulloch, Sr., father of Governor Archibald Bulloch and was his third wife. She died at Wormsloe without issue in 1795.

Noble Wymberley Jones, a zealous whig, who was kept from attending the Continental Congress by the serious illness of his father, who remained to the last a devoted royalist, became in 1775 by inheritance the owner of Wormsloe. But the necessity for mending his fortune, shattered in the Revolution, left him little time to spend on his place. He practiced medicine in Charleston, Philadelphia, and Savannah. The estate passed at his death to his son, Judge George Jones, who used it as a place in which to raise fine horses, of which he was excessively fond. It was his custom on the circuit to drive a four-in-hand. George Wymberley Jones, his son, afterwards George Wymberley Jones DeRenne, then became the owner of Wormsloe, where he lived until the time of the Civil war and where he collected and published early Georgia manuscripts in the Wormsloe quartos. Here, on the southern extremity of the island, a battery was built at this time, called "Lawton Battery," after Gen. A. R. Lawton. This battery exchanged one shot with a Federal gunboat ascending Vernon River. The gunboat withdrew finding the river fortified.

It was after the war that Wormsloe came to the rescue of the family by tempting a Northerner to lease the estate for the purpose of raising sea island cotton thereon. But the lessee soon tired of the existing labor conditions, whereupon Wormsloe reverted to the owners. Wymberley Jones DeRenne, son of George Wymberley Jones DeRenne, the present incumbent, has laid out live-oak tree avenues and arranged native trees and plants in groups and lines, thus developing the natural beauties of the place. He has also built a library dedicated "to Noble Jones, owner of Wormsloe, from 1733 to 1775," a handsome structure devoted entirely to Georgia books, maps, manuscripts, etc., relating to the history of Georgia. Near the ruins of the Old Fort, the name by which Fort Wymberley is called, there stands a tombstone erected by the father of the present owner, on which appears this inscription:*

George Wymberley Jones DeRenne hath laid this stone
MDCCCLXXV to mark the old burial place of Wormsloe,
1737-1789, and to save from oblivion the graves of his kindred

DERIVATION OF THE NAME "SAVANNAH."—To quote Col. Absalom H. Chappell: "No one can ascend the river from the sea or stand on the edge of the bluff which the city occupies and overlook the vast expanse of flat lands on either side, without knowing at once that from these plains or savannas came the river's name, derived from the Spanish word 'Sabanna;' and the fact that it was baptized with the Christian, though not saintly, name which it bears is just as certain as it is that the great grassy plains in South America owe the name by which they are called to the same parental source."

* These facts in regard to Wormsloe were given to the author by Mr. Wymberley Jones DeRenne.

CHAPTER VIII

TOMO-CHI-CHI FORMALLY WELCOMES THE NEWLY-ARRIVED COLONISTS—AN INDIAN CEREMONIAL—LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF SAVANNAH—OGLETHORPE ASSEMBLES THE COLONISTS FOR A FEW TIMELY WORDS OF ADMONITION—HIS FIRST LETTER TO THE TRUSTEES—SOUTH CAROLINA EXTENDS SUBSTANTIAL HELP—SAWYERS CONTRIBUTED—MANY HANDSOME DONATIONS—FRIENDS WHO LENT A HELPING HAND—OGLETHORPE AT WORK—PORTRAYED BY A SOUTH CAROLINA GENTLEMAN—SAVANNAH'S RAPID GROWTH—DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN BY BARON VON RECK—OGLETHORPE VISITS CHARLESTON—ADDRESSES THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THANKS THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA—LETTERS OF CONGRATULATION FROM THE NORTHERN COLONIES—CHRIST CHURCH, SAVANNAH.

To meet the colonists on arrival there was a large company of Indians assembled on the bluff. Nor was this greeting unaccompanied by the spectacular formalities characteristic of the savage tribes. We quote from an old account the following paragraph, descriptive of these ceremonies: "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 each 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."

Busily setting themselves to work the colonists before nightfall had cleared a wide space among the pines, in which area four tents were erected large enough to accommodate the entire settlement. These were provided, of course, for temporary purposes, to serve until permanent homes could be built. Thither such bedding as was needed to give comfort and protection was brought from the boats anchored underneath the bluff. Oglethorpe, having posted his sentinels, lay down near the central watch-fire, a sharer in the common hardships, privations and dangers of his little flock; and thus, amid the solitudes of a primeval forest and underneath the stars of a new world, disturbed by no spectres of impending danger, was passed in sweet repose the first night spent on Georgia's soil.

[1] "History of Georgia," Charles C. Jones, Vol. I, pp. 132-133.

Next morning Oglethorpe called the people together for a two-fold purpose: first, to offer devout thanksgiving to a merciful providence; and second, to give the settlers a few words of practical advice, on the threshold of a new life, rich in its possibilities but great in its pit-falls and perils. He reminded them of the far-reaching effects upon future generations of even the most trivial thing, whether for good or for evil. Two vices against which he specially inveighed were: idleness and intemperance. He also warned them against improper dealings with the Indians. Said he: "It is my hope that through your good example the settlement of Georgia may prove a blessing and not a curse to the native inhabitants." Then followed an assignment of tasks. To facilitate a handling of bulky articles, some were set to work erecting a crane; others, equipped with axes, were directed to fell trees. There were also squads organized to unload the cargoes, to begin the erection of a fort, and to do a thousand other necessary things. The Georgians were reenforced at this time by a number of South Carolina friends who came over with servants to lend a helping hand. Col. William Bull was unremittingly active. His qualifications as an engineer enabled him to be of material help in laying off squares, lots and streets. He also contributed four expert saw men, to aid in preparing boards, with which to build the settlement store and to erect homes.

Oglethorpe bestowed no thought upon himself. He claimed "in his own behalf and for his own comfort no labor from the colonists." Four stately pines were by his direction left standing near the bluff and opposite the center of the encampment; and under these he pitched his tent. He wished to enjoy no luxury in which the humblest settler did not partake. He declined to accept for himself any labor of which he was not in urgent need, and for more than a year he lived under canvas. He then moved into hired lodgings. When a convenient opportunity offered, Oglethorpe addressed to the trustees his first letter written on Georgia soil. It ran 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's 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 set 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. Mr. Whitaker has given us one hundred Head of Cattle. Col. Bull, Mr. Barlow, Mr. St. Julian, and Mr. Woodward are 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."

Limitations of space will not permit us to reproduce the documents received from South Carolina, of which Oglethorpe makes mention: one from the governor and council, the other from the house of assembly, both felicitating Oglethorpe upon his arrival and pledging him every assurance of friendship, co-operation and encouragement. It was ordered in the resolutions of the House of Assembly that Captain MacPherson, with fifteen of the Rangers "do repair at once to the new settlement of Georgia to cover and protect Mr. Oglethorpe and those under his care * * till the new settlers have enforted themselves." Moreover the settlement was given as a present "an hundred head of breeding cattle and five bulls, also twenty breeding sows and four boars, with twenty barrels of rice, the whole to be delivered at the Charge of the Publick at such Place in Georgia as Mr. Oglethorpe shall appoint." These resolutions were adopted soon after Oglethorpe's arrival in Charleston; and to facilitate his work of settling the new province we find it ordered "that Colonel Bull be desired to go to Georgia with the Hon. James Oglethorpe, Esq. to aid him with his advice and assistance in the settling of that place."

Pursuant to this order, Colonel Bull spent more than a month in Savannah, supervising the work of four expert sawyers whose labor he contributed. Besides helping with surveys, he also aided in the erection of buildings. Mr. Whitaker, in association with some friends, donated a hundred head of cattle to the settlement. Mr. St. Julian for several weeks gave his time and attention to the settlement in a supervisory way. Mr. Joseph Bryan donated the labor of four servants, all of whom were sawyers. He also came in person to assist the colonists. The residents of Edisto Island donated twenty sheep. Mrs. Ann Drayton

sent over four sawyers. Governor Johnson made the colony a present of seven horses; while Colonel Bull and Mr. Bryan together furnished Oglethorpe twenty servants to be employed in whatever way the founder might deem most advantageous. Mr. Hammerton donated a drum. To the first child born on Georgia soil, Mr. Hume offered a silver boat and spoon, the recipient of which was an infant born to Mrs. Chase.

On March 22, 1733, a South Carolina gentleman who had lately visited the new province published a letter in the South Carolina Gazette, in which the following pen picture is drawn of the founder at work: "Mr. Oglethorpe is indefatigable, 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 never 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."

Savannah grew rapidly. The tents disappeared one by one as the new houses were finished. On the outskirts of the town a public garden was laid out, to cultivate which a servant was detailed at the expense of the trust. It was planned to make this garden a nursery from which fruit trees, vines, plants, and vegetables might be obtained for private gardens owned by the inhabitants. It was also to be devoted largely to the propagation of white mulberries, from the cultivation of which as food for silk-worms, great profits were expected. Baron Von Reck, who came to Georgia in 1734, to establish a colony of Salzburgers in the province, has given us the following sketch of the Town of Savannah: †

"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 public 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 strictle 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

* William B. Stevens in "History of Georgia," Vol. I, p. 92.

† An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck and of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, pp. 12-15, London, 1734.

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."*

Oglethorpe, later in the summer, visited Charleston where he addressed the General Assembly and thanked the Province of South Carolina through its assembled law-makers for the many courtesies extended to him and to the Colony of Georgia. On this visit Governor Johnson met him at the water's edge. Besides another generous appropriation from the General Assembly, Oglethorpe also received a handsome donation from the people of Charleston. But while Oglethorpe's settlement, due to its peculiar location, was likely to prove of special benefit to South Carolina, it was also regarded with favor by the colonies further to the north; nor was it long before Pennsylvania and Massachusetts sent addresses to Georgia, expressing an interest in the colony's welfare and offering to its founder not only felicitations but practical encouragement.

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* Charles C. Jones, Jr., "History of Georgia," Vol. I, p. 170.

CHRIST CHURCH, SAVANNAH: WHERE THE GEORGIA COLONISTS FIRST WORSHIPPED GOD.—To quote a distinguished local historian*: "On the original spot where the Colonists established a house of worship stands today the beautiful and classic proportions of Christ Church. Here Wesley preached and Whitefield exhorted—the most gifted and erratic characters in the early settlement of Georgia. Wesley came to these shores with a fervor amounting almost to religious mysticism. He thought his mission was to Christianize the Indians. No priest of Spain ever carried the Cross among the Aztecs and Incas of Mexico and Peru with greater zeal; but his career in Georgia was checkered and unfruitful. Though a man of gifts he suspended his work among the Indians because he could not learn the language; and his ministry among the whites was characterized by a severity which made it unpopular. He seems to have been a martinet in the pulpit. He became embroiled with his parishioners and left Savannah between two suns. Yet Bishop Candler probably spoke the words of truth when, from the pulpit of Wesley Monumental Church, in November, 1899, he said: 'No grander man ever walked these historic streets than John Wesley.'"†

On February 26, 1838, the corner stone of the present handsome edifice was laid. It is the third religious structure which has occupied this time-honored site since the days of Oglethorpe. The plans were drawn by James Hamilton Couper, Esq., a noted planter; and the building committee appointed to supervise the work consisted of the following substantial members of the parish: William Scarborough, who built the first steamship to cross the Atlantic Ocean; Dr. Theodosius Bartow, father of the afterwards celebrated Col. Francis S. Bartow, who fell at Manassas; William Thorne Williams, Robert Habersham and William P. Hunter. The rector at this time was the Rev. Edward Neufville, and his vestrymen were: Dr. George Jones, a United States senator; William Thorne Williams, Robert Habersham,

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* Pleasant A. Stovall, in a chapter on "Savannah," written for Historic Towns of the Southern States, pp. 308-310, New York, 1904.

† It must not be forgotten that Wesley and Whitefield were both ministers of the Church of England. Though holding peculiar views and belonging to a society called in derision "Methodists," they both lived and died Episcopalians. Wesley and Whitefield also differed between themselves. The former was Arminian, the latter Calvinistic in theological doctrine.

William Scarborough, R. R. Cuyler, a famous railroad pioneer; William P. Hunter and Dr. P. M. Kollock. For nearly fourteen years the eloquent Dr. Stephen Elliott, afterwards the first bishop of the diocese of Georgia, was rector of Christ Church. He died in 1866, lamented by the entire South. The following inscription on the corner stone gives an epitomized history of this ancient house of worship:

I. H. S. Glory to God. Christ Church.
Founded in 1743. Destroyed by fire in 1796. Refounded on an enlarged plan in 1803. Partially destroyed in the hurricane of 1804. Rebuilt in 1810. Taken down in 1838.

Says a well-known writer‡: "Dating from the first Episcopal services held in Savannah by the Reverend Henry Herbert, one of the voyagers in the galley 'Ann,' Christ Church constitutes the oldest ecclesiastical organization in Georgia. The present site was chosen when Oglethorpe planned the town. Until the first building was erected for the congregation, divine worship was held in the tent of Oglethorpe, in the open air, and in the Court House. Progress in the work was retarded for several years on account of hostilities with Spain.

"The successor of Henry Herbert was the Reverend Samuel Quincy, a member of the famous family of Massachusetts; and he in turn was succeeded by John Wesley and by George Whitefield. It was under the latter that the parish was first organized in 1843 and the original house of worship erected. During the rectorship of the Reverend Bartholemew Zouberbuhler, Colonel Barnard, of Augusta, presented the church with the first organ ever seen in Georgia. In 1774, the Reverend Haddon Smith, then rector, gave great offence to the Liberty element by his pronounced Loyalist views, in consequence of which he was approached by a committee of the church, who forbade him further to officiate in Georgia. Disregarding the command, he went to the church as usual to find the doors barred against him. Later he was published in the *Gazette* as an enemy to America; and being apprised of the fact that a mob was approaching the rectory, whose purpose was to tar and feather him, the unhappy clergyman escaped with his family to Tybee, whence he sailed for Liverpool. In 1815 Bishop O'Hara, of South Carolina, came to Savannah to consecrate a building, which was then recently erected, and, at the same time, he held the first confirmation service in Georgia, at which time sixty persons were presented by the rector, the Reverend Mr. Cranston."

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‡ Adelaide Wilson in "Historic and Picturesque Savannah," Boston, 1889.

CHAPTER IX

THE ARRIVAL OF THE JAMES—CAPTAIN YOAKLEY AWARDED A SPECIAL PRIZE FOR BRINGING THE FIRST SHIP-LOAD OF EMIGRANTS TO SAVANNAH—OGLETHORPE CONVENES THE SETTLERS TO EXPLAIN THE PLAN OF SAVANNAH—NAMES ITS STREETS, SQUARES, WARDS AND TITHINGS—EARLY FRIENDS OF THE COLONY REMEMBERED—BAILIFFS AND CONSTABLES CHOSEN—CONSERVATORS OF THE PEACE—TITHING MEN—THE FIRST JURY EMPANELLED—HEBREW EMIGRANTS ARRIVE IN GEORGIA—IRREGULARITY OF THE EXPEDITION—OGLETHORPE WELCOMES THE JEWS—FRICTION RESULTS BETWEEN OGLETHORPE AND THE TRUSTEES BUT OGLETHORPE STANDS FIRM—ON JULY 7, 1733, AN ALLOTMENT OF LANDS IS MADE TO THE COLONISTS—DETAILS OF THE DISTRIBUTION—NAMES OF THE EARLY COLONISTS PRESERVED IN AN OLD DOCUMENT—TOMO-CHI-CHI'S FRIENDSHIP FOR GEORGIA.

Within the next few weeks the settlement's population was increased by small accessions from Charleston; but in May, 1733, a vessel, the James, dropped anchor at Savannah with a list of seventeen passengers, all of whom had been approved by the trustees and transported at the expense of the corporation. On board there were some Italians from Piedmont who had come to instruct the colonists in breeding silk-worms and in other important phases of an industry from which large revenues were expected. Captain Yoakley, the vessel's commanding officer, was awarded a special prize offered by the trustees to the first English vessel to discharge its cargo at Yamacraw Bluff.*

On July 7, 1733, Oglethorpe called the settlers together for the purpose of acquainting them with the town's design, to promulgate the names given to streets, squares, wards and tithings and to distribute town lots, gardens and farms. As was customary, whenever Oglethorpe assembled the colonists together on any important occasion, the business of the day was preceded by an invocation of the divine blessing. From an authoritative account, we quote the following description of how the city was laid off and how the lands allotted to settlers were in each instance divided into three portions, a town lot, a garden in the immediate vicinage, and a farm in the remoter environs:†

"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

* Gentleman's Magazine for 1733, p. 384.

† "History of Georgia," Charles C. Jones, Jr., Vol. I, pp. 149-150.

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.

"Johnson Square 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 Nathaniel Greene, which testified 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."

Until this time Oglethorpe had embodied in his own person not only the executive but also the judicial power of the province. However, warned by the increasing burden of responsibility, he now determined to delegate some of his duties to others. Accordingly, during the afternoon of this eventful day, he established a town court for the determination of causes both civil and criminal. George Symes, Richard Hodges

and Francis Scott were appointed bailiffs. These were the highest magisterial officers which Georgia knew for several years. Noble Jones was made recorder. Richard Cannon and Joseph Coles were designated to serve as constables; while Francis Magridge and Thomas Young were named as tithing men. Commissions had been issued to these men on November 8, 1732, a week in advance of the first embarkation; but Oglethorpe had waited to establish his settlement before imposing upon these officers the duties encumbent upon them. Conservators to keep the peace were chosen by the trustees at the same time as follows: Peter Gordon, William Waterland, Thomas Causton, Thomas Christie, George Symes, Richard Hodges, Francis Scott and Noble Jones.

To be keeper of the public stores, Thomas Causton was selected.

The first jury drawn and empaneled in the colony of Georgia was constituted at this time as follows: Samuel Parker, Thomas Young, Joseph Coles, John Wright, John West, Timothy Bowling, John Milledge, Henry Close, Walter Fox, John Grady, James Carwell, and Richard Cannon.

On July 11, 1733, a vessel bearing forty Hebrew colonists arrived at Savannah. It was a galvanizing force which came at this time to invigorate the province with new life, but there was something irregular in the method by which these emigrants were transported. They came direct from England and at the expense of the trustees but not with the approval of the corporation. Three Jews had been commissioned by the trustees to solicit contributions in aid of Oglethorpe's scheme. These were: Alvarro Lopez Sausso, Francis Salvador, Jr., and Anthony Da Costa. Starting a canvass they had secured benefactions to a large amount, but instead of paying these funds to the trustees they began at once to collect Hebrew colonists; and, without permission from the trustees, chartered a vessel on which forty Jews were transported to Savannah, using for this purpose the moneys collected by them, chiefly, no doubt, from Jewish contributors.

Oglethorpe, having received no advice from London relative to these emigrants, was naturally perplexed. But since the charter of Georgia guaranteed religious freedom to all except Papists he thought that in giving the Hebrew colonists a welcome he was acting clearly within the discretion which the charter of Georgia gave him and was at the same time exemplifying its philanthropic spirit. As the founder of the province he well knew for what ends it was called into existence; but he did not know, of course, that on January 31, 1733, the corporation in London had instructed its secretary, Mr. Martyn, to demand from the Jews above mentioned a surrender of the commissions held by them; and that in consequence of a refusal to make this surrender an embarrassing situation had resulted. Oglethorpe's action in receiving the Jews was not approved. On the contrary, a committee was appointed to prepare a statement for publication and to assure the public that Georgia was not "a Jew's colony." Oglethorpe was urged to use his best endeavors to prevent the Hebrew colonists from acquiring a permanent foothold in the province. Letters from the trustees informed him that the sending over of these people had alienated some of the best friends of the trust and had turned aside many intended benefactors.

But Oglethorpe refused to take any step which was prejudical to these colonists. The irregularity of the expedition was admitted. There was ample ground on which to justify the action of the trustees, so far as it concerned a revoking of commissions; but Oglethorpe was undoubtedly right in according the Jews a home in Savannah. His firmness in this matter created a temporary breach which the founder hoped to heal on his return to England; but he was fully prepared to take the consequences.

Going back to the vessel which brought the Hebrew colonists to Georgia, its roster included: Benjamin Sheftall, accompanied by his wife, Perla Sheftall; Doctor Nunis, with his mother, Mrs. Nunis; two other bearers of this name, Daniel and Moses; Shem Noah, a family servant; Isaac Nunis Henneriques, with his wife, Mrs. Henneriques, also a son Shem; Raphael Bornal and Mrs. Bornal, his wife; David Olivera; Jacob Olivera; Mrs. Olivera, the latter's wife, two sons, Isaac and David, and a daughter, Leah; Aaron Depevia; Benjamin Gideon; Jacob Costa; David Lopez, with Mrs. Lopez, his wife; Mr. Veneral; Mr. Molena; David Cohen and Mrs. Cohen, his wife, three daughters, Abigail, Grace and Hannah, also a son, Isaac; Abraham Minis and Mrs. Minis, his wife, with two daughters, Leah and Esther; Simon Minis; Jacob Yowell; and Abraham DeLyon. These colonists were in the main Portugese and Spanish Jews, though a few were descendants of English refugees from Holland. Doctor Nunis, whose knowledge of medicine proved to be of great value to the settlers, came from Portugal. The Sheftalls were of Bavarian stock, but came from England. Some have claimed that the first native Georgian was a Jew—Philip Minis, who was born on the bluffs of Savannah, not long after the vessel dipped anchor.

These Hebrew emigrants constituted an important asset. But discouraged in part by the attitude of the trustees and in part by the adverse conditions which, at a later day, prevailed in the province, some migrated to Charleston and some to Philadelphia; but others continued to reside in Savannah, where descendants of the original Jewish settlers are still to be found.

While the allotment of land to the colonists took place in Savannah on July 7, 1733, it was not until several months thereafter that deeds were executed formally conveying these tracts and parcels. On the eve of the first embarkation it will be remembered a body of land containing 5,000 acres had been conveyed in trust to three colonists for subsequent distribution. One of these grantees, Joseph Hughes, had died in the meantime; but the other two, Thomas Christie and William Calvert, finally executed a deed. The original instrument making this transfer is still preserved in the office of the secretary of state and is a document to which the greatest value attaches. But a new shipload of emigrants having arrived in the province, these were likewise included in the distribution made under the old deed. The vessel in question was the Savannah, which left England on September 12, 1733, bearing 132 passengers. It was not every colonist to whom land was granted. As a rule only those who were able to bear arms were thus favored. But there were some exceptions. In the following table will be found the names of all who were granted land at this time. The

original deed to which these names are attached is still preserved in the state department. It is to be regretted that the plan of the town which accompanied this instrument has been irretrievably lost.

Derby Ward

	Gardens. No.	Farms.
Wilmington Tything—		A
John Goddard	33 E.	5
Walter Fox	12 E.	4
John Grady	53 E.	8
James Carwall	61 E.	6
Richard Cannon	62 E.	5
Frances, Relict of Dr. William Cox	52 E.	7
George Sims	41 E.	10
Joseph Fitzwater	37 E.	9
Relict of John Sarams	7 E.	3
Elizabeth, Relict of John Warren	64 E.	2
Jekyll Tything—		B
Mary, Relict of Joshua Overend	51 E.	9
Francis Mugridge	37 E.	2
Robert Johnson	42 E.	6
William Horn	59 E.	5
John Penrose	30 E.	1
Joseph Hughes	26 E.	4
Mary, Relict of Richard Hodges	36 E.	10
James Muir	48 E.	7
Thomas Christie	3 E.	8
Joseph Cooper	27 E.	3
Tyreonnel Tything—		C
John West	13 E.	3
James Wilson	63 E.	8
Thomas Pratt	57 E.	5
William Waterland	27 E.	4
Timothy Bowling	4 E.	2
Elizabeth, Relict of Thomas Milledge	66 E.	6
Elizabeth, Relict of William Little	60 E.	7
Samuel Parker, Senr	49 E.	9
Daniel Tibbeau	39 E.	1
Henry Close	6 E.	10
Frederick Tything—		D
Joseph Stanley	34 E.	6
Robert Clark	9 E.	3
Peter Gordon	10 E.	7
Thomas Causton	8 E.	10
John Vanderplank	5 E.	9
Thomas Young	38 E.	4
Joseph Coles	65 E.	3
Thomas Tibbit	51 E.	8
John Dearn	24 E.	2
John Wright	1 E.	5

Decker's Ward

	Gardens. No.	Farms.
Digby Tything—		E
John Clark	34 E.	5
William Gough	36 W.	2
William Mackay	97 W.	
Thomas Ellis	35 E.	9
Edward Johnson	36 E.	1
Isaac Nunez Henriquez	33 W.	7
William Mears	23 E.	6
Moses Le Desma	41 W.	10
Carpenter Tything—		F
Noble Jones	29 E.	6
Paul Cheeswright	40 E.	5
Samuel Nunez Ribiero	63 W.	3
John Musgrove	45 E.	9
Noble Wimberly Jones	25 E.	8
Daniel Ribiero	43 W.	2
Charles Philip Rogers	47 E.	10
Moses Nunez Ribiero	64 W.	4
Robert Gilbert	2 E.	1
Tower Tything—		G
Edward Jenkins, Senr	40 W.	2
Jacob Lopez d'Olivero	30 W.	7
William Savory	33 W.	3
Edward Jenkins, Junr	68 W.	9
Isaac de Val	70 W.	
Heathcote Tything—		H
David Cohen del Monte	61 W.	30
Benjamin Shaftell	72 W.	6
Bearsley Gough		
Robert Hows	23 E.	5
——— Hows	44 E.	
Abraham Nunez		
Monte Santo	34 W.	
Peter Tondee		

Percival Ward

	No.	
More Tything—		I
James Willoughby		
Robert More		
Robert Potter		
Robert Hanks		
Thomas Egerton		
John Desborough		
Lewis Bowen		
John Kelly		
John Lawrence		
Thomas Chenter		

	Gardens.	Farms.
Hucks Tything—		K
John Milledge	45 E.	10
Jacob Yowel	65 W.	1
Samuel Parker, Junr.	32 W.	7
Abraham Minis	51 W.	6
James Turner		9
Thomas Atwell		2
Hugh Frazier		5
John Graham		3
Samuel Marcer		4
William Bornjohn		8
Holland Tything—		L
Sloper Tything—		M
Henry Parker		7
Thomas Gapen		
Francis Delgrass		
Jeremiah Papot		
Peter Baillou		
James Papot		

HEATHCOTE WARD

	No.	
Eyles Tything—		N
LaRoche Tything—		O
Jacob Lopez de Crasto	42 W.	
David de Pas	27 W.	
Vernon Tything—		P
Belitha Tything—		Q

TOMO CHI CHI'S FRIENDSHIP FOR GEORGIA.—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 emissaries, 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. Ouecka-shumpa, 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 Musgrove * 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, 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

* Her Indian name was Coosaponakesee.

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John Milledge	45 E.	10
Jacob Yowel	65 W.	1
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Abraham Minis	51 W.	6
James Turner		9
Thomas Atwell		2
Hugh Frazier		5
John Graham		3
Samuel Marcer		4
William Bornjohn		8
Holland Tything—		L
Sloper Tything—		M
Henry Parker		7
Thomas Gapen		
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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 guaranties 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. Chas. C. Jones, "History of Georgia," Vol. I.

CHAPTER X

OGLETHORPE'S TREATY WITH TOMO-CHI-CHI NEEDS TO BE CONFIRMED BY THE CREEK NATION--THE AGED MICO ARRANGES A MEETING TO BE HELD IN SAVANNAH—WHAT TOOK PLACE AT THIS CONFERENCE WITH THE INDIANS—CONCESSIONS MADE TO THE ENGLISH—FRIENDLY RELATIONS STRENGTHENED—SCHEDULE OF PRICES FOR ARTICLES SOLD TO THE INDIANS—FORT ARGYLE IS LOCATED—HIGHGATE AND HAMPSTEAD—THUNDERBOLT IS FORTIFIED—SKIDOWAY NARROWS—JOSEPHTOWN—ABERCORN—IRENE—TYBEE LIGHTHOUSE IS STARTED—BETHANY—GOSHEN.

Oglethorpe's interview with Tomo-chi-chi, on the eve of Savannah's establishment, was in no sense of the word a treaty with the Creek nation of Indians. It only secured the friendship of a small detached tribe known as the Yamacraws whose aged chief, though a man of powerful influence throughout the whole Georgia forest, was nevertheless unable to bind his nation by any compact into which he himself might enter with the whites. But Oglethorpe found Tomo-chi-chi's friendly offices of priceless value to the infant colony of Georgia.* Not only did he obtain from this aged Indian both the names and the abodes of all the principal Creek chiefs, but Tomo-chi-chi became himself an intermediary, through whom an earnest invitation was extended to these chiefs to meet Oglethorpe in Savannah at some convenient time in the early summer. What the fate of Georgia might have been without the timely help of this noble Indian we cannot tell—we shudder to contemplate.

Due to Tomo-chi-chi's influence, the Creek kings and warriors were not only willing to attend a meeting in Savannah but were ready to regard its objects with favor. The time set for the interview was May 14, 1733. It was necessary for Oglethorpe to make a visit to Charleston in the meantime but he hastened back to attend this important convention of red men. We find a full account of what took place at this conference in an old volume, from which we quote the following extracts:†

"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 Col. 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 Capt. Bull's, where he lay on the 15th. On the 16th, in the morning,

* See article in small type at the close of the preceding chapter.

† "Political State of Great Britain," Vol. 46.

he embarqued at Daho, and rested at Mr. Cochran's island. On the 17th he dined at Lieut. 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 St. 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:—

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

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

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

"From the tribe of Cheehaws—Outhleteboa, the mico, Thlanthothlakee, Figeer, Sootapmilla, 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 Eufaule—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 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 the 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.'* He sat down, and Yahou-Lakee, mico of Coweeta, 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 Creek town that they

* 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 a 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.'"

may have 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 insisted upon acting the part of host to the visiting Creek Indians. Accordingly, after the conference in Savannah, he invited these warriors to his home village, where they passed the night in a round of entertainment, feasting and dancing. On the 21st of May a treaty was formally signed. At this time, to each of the Indian chiefs was given a laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt; to each of the warriors a gun and a mantle of duffils; and to all the attendants cloth of a coarse texture. Besides, a number of useful articles were distributed.

Under the terms of this treaty the Lower Creeks ceded to the trustees all lands and waters lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, from the ocean front to the head of tide-water. The islands off the coast were likewise included in this grant, excepting three of these, Ossabaw, Sapelo and St. Catherine, which were reserved by the Indians for hunting, bathing and fishing. There was also reserved a small tract of land above Yamacraw, as a place of encampment for the Indians when visiting Savannah. Stipulations were made at this time regulating the price of goods, the value of pelts, and the privilege of traders.*

During the visit of these Indians to Savannah, Oglethorpe took occasion to impress upon them the power and greatness of the British nation. Consequently the colonists were put through the manual of arms. There was marching and firing, all of which visibly impressed the savages; but when the great guns were called into action, reverberating for miles around and breaking a silence which for ages had brooded upon the forest, it seemed to them as if they were in the presence of the Great Spirit, whose voice was making the earth tremble. Such an exhibition of power moved them to awe and veneration.

The treaty made with the Indians at this time still required the acquiescence of the trustees in England to make it valid; but this formal confirmation was duly obtained. As a result of this compact not only were the Lower Creeks conciliated but also the Yamacraws and the Uchees, all of whom with respect to the lands ceded under this treaty recognized the supremacy of England.

Thus, having secured the good will of these Indians, Oglethorpe was free to devote himself to the upbuilding of the settlement. As we have already seen, while the colonists were building homes in Savannah, Captain MacPherson, of South Carolina, had been stationed above Yamacraw at a point on the river known as Horse-shoe Quarter. But since a battery had been planted at Savannah and since a stockade had been built completely surrounding the town, there was no longer any need of an armed force to protect the colony in this neighborhood. Consequently, it was thought best to transfer this garrison to the Ogeechee River, in the rear of Savannah, at a point where the Indians were in the habit of crossing this stream on predatory expeditions into South Carolina. The stronghold here built was called Fort Argyle, in honor of John, Duke of Argyle, an intimate friend of Oglethorpe. To further strengthen this outpost, ten families were sent from Savannah, to reside in its vicinity, to cultivate the lands, and to establish the nucleus of a town.

* Schedule of the Prices of Goods Agreed On, Annexed.—Two yards of stroud, five buck-skins; one yard of plains, one buck-skin; white blanket, one buck-skin; blue blanket, five buck-skins; a gun, ten buck-skins; a pistol, five buck-skins; a gun-lock, four buck-skins; two measures of powder, one buck-skin; sixty bullets, one buck-skin; one white shirt, two buck-skins; one knife, one doe-skin; eighteen flints, one buck-skin; three yards of cadiz, one doe-skin; three yards of gartering, one doe-skin; one hoe, two buck-skins; one axe, two buck-skins; one large hatchet, three doe-skins; one small hatchet, one buck-skin; brass kettles, per pound, one buck-skin. Doe-skins were estimated at half the value of the bucks.

On an eminence of ground some four miles to the south of Savannah a French settlement containing twelve families was planted, to which was given the name of Highgate, while just to the east of Savannah, perhaps a mile distant, was located the village of Hampstead, where twelve German families were grouped. These settlers were truck farmers, from whose industry it was designed to furnish the Savannah market with vegetables. Both communities were flourishing in 1736 when visited by Francis Moore, but they proved short lived, doubtless for the reason that each of the families at Savannah had a five-acre garden of its own, from which to obtain supplies of this kind. There may also have been malarial causes for this decline. At any rate, in 1740, there were only two families residing at Highgate, while the settlement at Hampstead was entirely extinguished.

To safeguard the colony from attack by way of Augustine Creek, a small fort was constructed at Thunderbolt in the neighborhood of which several families were located; but the fort was only a temporary affair, it seems, and falling into decay was not rebuilt. Equally short lived was a settlement planted at the northeast end of Skidoway Island, where a fort was built for the protection of some families, ten in number, clustered in its neighborhood. However, a Manchecolas fort, erected for the defense of Skidoway Narrows, proved to be of a more permanent character. This stronghold was garrisoned by a detachment from a company of marines commanded by Captain Noble Jones, whose home, called Wormsloe, was on the Isle of Hope, an estate granted its owner in 1733. Captain Jones accompanied Oglethorpe to Georgia on the galley Anne, became first recorder and afterwards treasurer and was for years one of the colony's foremost leaders. His famous country seat is still the property of his descendants.*

There was a small Scotch settlement called Joseph-Town planted on the Savannah River, at a point opposite Argyle Island, but discouraged by a failure of crops its thrifty inhabitants sought homes elsewhere. There was perhaps an additional reason for this exodus in the prevailing unhealthiness. Many of the servants in the employ of these Scotch owners died.

Just above Joseph-Town, on a creek some three miles distant from its confluence with the Savannah, was located the village of Abercorn, likewise a Scotch settlement. The town site was divided into twelve lots.

* See article in small print at the end of this chapter.

in addition to which, at either end of the village, there was a trust lot. Between Joseph-Town and Savannah was Sir Francis Bathhurst's plantation, Walter Augustine's settlement, Captain Williams' plantation, Mrs. Matthews' plantation, Horseshoe Quarter, and a tract of land reserved by the Indians as a place of encampment. Later the Moravians built an Indian schoolhouse which they called Irene, at a point on the river, not far from the Matthews place, reference to which will be made later. But none of these rural communities prospered. The story of one is the story of all. It was not until African slaves were brought into the colony that the river bottom and sea-island plantations could be worked with profit. Take Abercorn, for example. Out of the ten families resident here in 1733 not one remained in 1737. John Brodie, with twelve servants, then occupied the settlement but his stock of patience was exhausted in three years. It was, in each case, a losing battle with malarial conditions. Only negroes accustomed to a sub-tropical sun could till these swampy lands. The work was ill suited to colonists reared in the mild air of England.

Thus from the beginning the end was foreshadowed. In 1733 the first lighthouse to throw its beams upon the ocean from Georgia headlands was commenced on Tybee Island, at the extreme northern end. When completed, the lighthouse was to measure ninety feet. Here was stationed a guard to command the mouth of the Savannah River. With the influx of emigrants a number of plantations were settled to the south and west of the Savannah, on Augustine Creek, on Wilmington Island, at Beaulieu, on the Little Ogeechee and even on the Great Ogeechee, but none of these colonists found a planter's life on the Georgia coast, under prevailing conditions, a bed of roses.

BETHANY.—Five miles northwest of Ebenezer a settlement was planted by William DeBrahm, in 1751. He established here 160 Germans. Most of the newcomers were either friends or relatives of the settlers at Ebenezer; and between the towns a road was opened across Ebenezer Creek. The settlers probably supplied the filatures at Ebenezer with cocoons. There is no evidence that they were themselves engaged in the manufacture of silk. The town was little more than an agricultural community and was fated to perish amid the clash of hostilities with England.

GOSHEN.—Goshen was located about ten miles below Ebenezer, near the road leading to Savannah. It was another rural town of the pious Germans destined to become extinct soon after the Revolution. According to DeBrahm, there were 1,500 Salzburgers in Georgia, when the wave of emigration from Germany reached flood-tide.

THUNDERBOLT: HOW THE NAME ORIGINATED.—Five miles to the southeast of Savannah lies Thunderbolt. Guarding one of the rear approaches to the city, it was the site of early fortifications. Here also an important garrison was stationed during the Civil war. As for the origin of the name, there is still in existence an old letter written by Oglethorpe, in which he traces the derivation to a rock which was here shattered by a thunderbolt, causing a spring to gush from the ground, which continued ever afterwards to emit the odor of brimstone. At present, Thunderbolt is one of the many playgrounds to which the population of Savannah resorts in summer. It was also until 1916 a place where refreshments were served to patrons who were not strict prohibitionists.

CHAPTER XI

SAVANNAH HAVING BEEN SETTLED, OGLETHORPE VISITS THE SOUTHERN CONFINES OF THE PROVINCE ON A TOUR OF INSPECTION—ANTICIPATES A SPANISH INVASION AND WISHES TO ASCERTAIN THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF THE COAST—FINDS A SPLENDID SITE FOR A MILITARY STRONGHOLD ON ST. SIMON'S ISLAND, FACING THE MOUTH OF THE ALTAMAHA—EXPECTS THE SPANIARDS TO ATTACK AT THIS POINT—HERE FREDERICA WAS AFTERWARDS BUILT—JEKYLL ISLAND—FORT ARGYLE IS VISITED—THE SALZBURGERS—OLD EBENEZER—NEW EBENEZER—TWELVE MONTHS ELAPSE SINCE OGLETHORPE'S LANDING—STATISTICS OF GROWTH.

To visit the extreme southern confines of the province was Oglethorpe's next care. Having settled Savannah, established a number of rural communities and built forts at strategic points, it was next in order to ascertain what natural advantages, if any, were possessed by the province to the south, where an attack from Spain was likely to occur at any moment. For months the anxious face of Oglethorpe had been turned toward the Altamaha River. He had conciliated the Indians; but not so the Spaniards. On January 23, 1734, accompanied by Captain Ferguson, he left Savannah in a large rowboat, on a tour of inspection. He was followed by a yawl, which carried provisions and supplies. Besides Captain Ferguson, there were sixteen attendants in the party, two of whom were Indian guides. Threading the interior waters between the coast islands and the mainland, he reached the delta of the Altamaha, opposite to which, on St. Simon's Island, he found an ideal site to be fortified. Here he afterwards built Frederica. Arriving at this place in a violent downpour of rain, he spent the night on shore. Next morning he proceeded to the southern point of the island, where the site for another fort was located, after which he examined an island which he called Jekyll, in honor of Sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls. Some little distance up the Altamaha he found an eminence well adapted for a town site, where a settlement known as New Inverness was afterwards planted.

Before returning to Savannah, Oglethorpe also visited Fort Argyle, on the Great Ogeechee. Here we are told that for the first time since leaving Thunderbolt "he lay in a house and upon a bed." To his gratification, he found the fort practically finished and several guns in position. Captain MacPherson had lost no time in establishing a secure stronghold at this point, where a trail from the south led to an old Indian village on the Savannah River called Palechocolas.

Expenditures for the colony had reduced the resources of the trustees in England to a state of exhaustion. Indeed, the situation had become

extremely critical, when unexpectedly, by a sort of special providence, the exchequer of the trustees was replenished. Quite a large sum of money had been realized from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher; and, on motion of Sir Charles Turner, in the House of Commons, the sum of £10,000 was turned over to the trustees to be used by them in settling European Protestants in the colony of Georgia. On December 15, 1733, a resolution was adopted by the common council offering a home in the province to persecuted Salzburgers, 30,000 of whom had been driven from home by the tyranny of Leopold, and had found temporary asylums in various parts of Europe. These Salzburgers were to be transported at the charge of the trust. On arrival in the province, each family was to be given three lots, one for a residence, one for a garden, and one for a small farm. Moreover, the trustees agreed to supply them with tools and to furnish them maintenance from the stores until they could make a crop. Out of this offer to establish a colony of Salzburgers in Georgia grew the famous settlement at Ebenezer, on the Savannah River.

To this gentle religious sect Georgia owes much. They were not given to martial deeds, but they were law-abiding, industrious and frugal people, and they have left behind them an incense of memory which has sweetened the whole history of the state. The story of how they came to settle in Georgia may be told in very few words. Says Doctor Lee:* "In the lovely district of the Tyrol there is to be found an historic city which the painter Wilkie has described as 'Edinburg Castle and the Old Town, brought within the cliffs of the Trossachs and watered by a river like the Tay.' It is the city of Salzburg, on the Salza, famous as the birth-place of Mozart and as the burial-place of Haydn. Almost simultaneously with the accession of George II there came to the principality, of which Salzburg was the capital, a new ruler, who inaugurated an era of persecution. The Thirty Years War in Germany had ended with the complete suppression of Protestantism in Austria. In quiet nooks, here and there, however, it still lingered on; and Salzburg was one of these. The rulers of Salzburg were ecclesiastics, and bore the title of Archbishop. To this class belonged Count Firmian, who, on coming into power, determined to uproot the heresy which was contaminating his flock. He put into force all the terrors of the law—fine, confiscation, imprisonment. When the suffering people pleaded the provisions for religious tolerance contained in the treaty of Westphalia, signed eighty years before, he dubbed them rebels, and borrowed Austrian grenadiers to suppress what he was pleased to call a revolt. The matter then became a national one, and Frederick William of Prussia espoused the cause of the Salzburgers. Under the provisions of the treaty of Westphalia, peaceful emigration offered the best solution of the problem. The Prussian king, Frederick the Great's stern old father, was the most powerful Protestant ruler in Germany, and he insisted upon fair treatment for the refugees. Count Firmian was about to banish them in the winter season, without provisions for the long journey, but he was compelled to comply with the dictates of humanity, and to allow them a daily dole. The story of the sad departure has been

*"Illustrated History of Methodism."

told by Goethe in the sweetest of his verse narratives, 'Hermann and Dorothea,' the only poem of his early life which he cared to read when old.

"Journeying eastward, the main body of exiles passed through Frankfort-on-the-Main. This was Goethe's native town. The Prussian king was ready to welcome the whole army of refugees, over 10,000 in number, but a band of them, conducted by Herr Von Reck, a Hanoverian nobleman, sailed down the Rhine and took refuge under the British flag. They finally landed on the shores of America, where they settled at Ebenezer, in the new colony of Georgia. None of the settlers were superior to these excellent Salzburgers, whom George Whitefield considered the cream of the population for industry and uprightness. The orphan home, which he afterwards instituted at Bethesda, was based upon an institution of like character at Ebenezer."

Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., adds some additional particulars in regard to the emigration of the Salzburgers to Georgia.* Says he: "During the four years, commencing in 1729 and ending in 1732, more than 30,000 Salzburgers, impelled by the fierce persecutions of Leopold, abandoned their home in the broad valley of the Salza, and sought refuge in Prussia, Holland, and England, where their past sufferings and present wants enlisted substantial sympathy from Protestant communities. Persuaded by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and acting upon the invitation of the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia, forty-two Salzburgers, with their wives and children—numbering in all seventy-eight souls—set out for Rotterdam, whence they were to be transported free of charge to Dover, England. At Rotterdam they were joined by their chosen religious teachers, the Rev. John Martin Bolzius and the Rev. Israel Christian Gronau." According to the same authority, the Georgia Trustees engaged not only to advance the funds necessary to defray the expenses of the journey and to purchase the requisite sea stores, but also to allot to each emigrant on his arrival in Georgia fifty acres in fee and provisions sufficient for maintenance until such land could be made available for support.

After taking the oath of loyalty at Dover, the emigrants, on December 28, 1733, embarked for the new world in the ship Purisburg, which, in due season, anchored safely at Charleston, South Carolina. It so happened that Oglethorpe was in Charleston at this time to meet them and, without delay, he arranged to take the emigrants to Savannah, reaching port on March 10, 1734. It was Reminiscere Sunday—according to the Lutheran calendar—when the boat arrived. By a queer sort of coincidence the Scripture lesson for the day, so the good Mr. Bolzius informs us, was the passage which tells how the Saviour, after suffering persecution in his own country, came to the borders of the heathen. He then describes the vessel as "Lying in fine and calm weather, under the shore of our beloved Georgia, where we heard the Birds sing melodiously;" and notwithstanding the sacred character of the day and the gentle disposition of the new arrivals, he adds that the inhabitants of the town of Savannah "fired off some Cannons."

While the Salzburgers rested from the fatigues of the long trip across

*"Dead Towns of Georgia," p. 11, Savannah, 1878.

the seas, Herr Von Reck, in company with Oglethorpe, set out on horseback to select a place of settlement for the emigrants. It was finally reached on the morning of March 17, 1734. The site chosen for the purpose was four miles to the south of the present town of Springfield, in a region which was wholly destitute of fertility and without the least claim to attractiveness. But to judge from the description of Herr Von Reck it was veritably a bit of Eden. On the banks of a creek which was found after meandering several miles eastward to empty into the Savannah River, he marked off the future town, which he called Ebenezer, in devout recognition of the Lord's help; and he likewise bestowed the name upon the adjacent stream. As soon as the reconnoitering party returned to Savannah, eight able-bodied Salzburgers were dispatched to Ebenezer to fell trees and to erect shelters for the colonists. Early in April the rest followed. Substantial cabins were built, bridges were thrown across the water-courses, and a roadway constructed to Abercorn. The people of Savannah gave the settlers a number of cows and a lot of seed with which to begin industrial activities. Altogether the outlook was most promising, and with none to molest them or to make them afraid the once persecuted Salzburgers began anew the struggle of life in the free wilderness of Georgia.

On February 5, 1736, there was another arrival of Germans at Savannah; and, though a few of them under Captain Hermsdorf were dispatched to Frederica, for the purpose of strengthening the military post on St. Simon's Island, the majority of them preferred to settle at Ebenezer, a wish in which they were indulged by Oglethorpe. With this addition the population of the new town was little short of two hundred souls. But the community was not prosperous. The climate proved to be malarial. The water disagreed with them. The soil refused to reward even the most diligent efforts to cultivate it; sickness prevailed among the colonists; and, to lengthen the catalogue of complaints, it was found that the distance from the settlement to the Savannah River, though only six miles over land, was twenty-five miles by water. The matter was finally laid before Oglethorpe who, realizing the difficulties under which the Salzburgers labored at Ebenezer, gave them permission to move elsewhere. Accordingly they selected a high ridge, near the Savannah River, at a place called Red Bluff, because of the peculiar color of the soil; and, setting themselves to work, the change of abode was speedily effected.

Less than two years were consumed in transferring the household goods of the Salzburgers to the new site. It was called New Ebenezer, to distinguish it from the former place of abode, which in turn became Old Ebenezer. Whatever could be moved with the means at hand was conveyed to the new town. Even the cabins were taken down and carted through the woods, log by log. It was slow and tedious work, but the Salzburgers were marvelously patient. By the summer of 1738 the old town had degenerated into a cow pen, where one Joseph Barker resided, in charge of some cattle belonging to the trustees. William Stephens, who visited the locality about the same time, found it an abandoned settlement; and it need hardly be added that not a vestige of the old town today survives.

The choice of the new place of abode was wisely made. It was only six miles to the east of Old Ebenezer, but it was located to much better advantage with respect both to fertility of soil and to general healthfulness. As described by Mr. Strobel, the situation was somewhat romantic.* Says he: "On the east lay the Savannah with its broad, smooth surface. On the south was a stream, then called Little Creek, but now known as Lockner's Creek, and a large lake called Neidlinger's Sea; while to the north, not very distant from the town, was to be seen an old acquaintance, Ebenezer Creek, sluggishly winding its way to mingle with the waters of the Savannah." The landscape was here gently undulating, so he tells us, the countryside covered with a fine growth of forest trees, the fields luxuriant with many-colored flowers, among them the woodbine, the azalea and the jessamine. But the pestilential germs were found to be here, too, for on three sides the town was encompassed by low swamps, which were subject to periodical inundation, and which generated a poisonous miasma prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants.

For years New Ebenezer prospered. The Salzburgers did not know what it was to eat the bread of idleness. John Wesley was lavish in praise of the neat appearance which the town presented when he called to see them. He found the houses well built. He was also impressed with the frugality of these Germans. They did not leave a spot of ground unplanted in the little gardens belonging to them, and they even made one of the main streets yield a crop of Indian corn. From first to last, they were an agricultural people. As early as 1738 they began to experiment with the culture of cotton. But the trustees were partial to silk and wine. Consequently the growth of this plant was discouraged. By 1741 it is estimated that in the Colony of Georgia there were not less than twelve hundred German Protestants, most of whom were at Ebenezer.

But we must not anticipate. Oglethorpe, after assigning a location to the Salzburgers, made them a visit, helped in laying out the town and ordered six carpenters to assist them in erecting houses. On this same trip, he visited Aberdeen and Palachocolas, the latter an Indian village on the Savannah River.

Twelve months had now elapsed since the landing of the first emigrants upon the bluffs at Yamacraw. Many difficulties and hardships had been encountered, in all of which Oglethorpe had borne his full share. There are no statistics at hand for showing the exact status of the colony at this time; but, on June 9, 1733, one year after the granting of Georgia's charter, the trustees submitted an annual report from which it appeared that up to this time 152 persons had been sent over by the trust, eleven of whom were foreign Protestants, the rest Britons.† Five thousand acres of land had been granted in parcels to the colonists sent over by the corporation, besides which 4,460 acres had been deeded to parties settling in Georgia without expense to the trustees. Over £2,254 sterling had been expended. Again, on June 9, 1734, the trustees

*"Salzburgers and Their Descendants," p. 91, Baltimore, 1855.

†"An Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its First Establishment," pp. 14-16, London, 1741.

reported that for the year preceding 341 persons had been transported by the corporation, of whom 237 were Britons and 104 foreign Protestants. To parties coming at their own expense, 5,725 acres had been deeded, in addition to 8,100 acres conveyed to indigent colonists. Out of £11,500 sterling received in contributions, £6,863 had been disbursed. To quote Colonel Jones:* "With the progress of colonization the Trustees certainly had good cause to be pleased. Never was a trust more honestly administered. Among all the English plantations we search in vain for a colony the scheme of whose settlement was conceived and executed upon like principles, whose colonists were selected with like care, whose affairs were conducted with equal regularity, and whose supervisors and agents could be matched in respectability, culture and benevolence. By judicious treatment the red men had been won over to peace and amity. By treaty stipulations these sons of the forest had surrendered to the Europeans their titles to wide domains. The pine-covered bluff at Yamacraw was transmuted into a town, well-ordered, regularly laid out, and possessing forty completed houses and many others in process of construction. A battery of cannon and a palisade proclaimed its power for protection. An organized town court was opened 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, bringing articled servants with them, were already seeking out and subduing fertile tracts. Thus the colony enlarged its domains and multiplied its settlements."

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*"History of Georgia," Vol. I, pp. 172-173.

EBENEZER, THE SALZBURGER SETTLEMENT.—Twenty five miles above Savannah, on an eminence which at this point overlooks the historic stream, there is still to be seen a quaint little house of worship, from the belfry of which glistens a swan, copied from the coat-of arms of Martin Luther. It stands alone in the midst of a silent waste; for the sturdy Germans who once peopled the surrounding area have long since disappeared from the region. Near the church is the ancient burial ground. The inscriptions upon the yellow tombstones can hardly be deciphered, so busily have the destructive forces of time been here at work. But some of the graves are almost, if not quite, as old as the Colony of Georgia; and, with naught to disturb them in this quiet spot, save the pitiless elements, most of the inmates have here slept for the better part of two centuries. It is the old deserted settlement of the pious Salzburgers: Ebenezer.

To the outside world there were various names by which the little church was known. It was sometimes called the Lutheran Meeting House. Occasionally it was called the Salzburger Church, or the German Church, but in the official records of the parish it was always Jerusalem Church, so named for the old original church of the apostles at Jerusalem. It was indeed the center of a little German Palestine, here planted among the lowlands of Georgia, a religious capital where the divine law was promulgated. The present unpretentious but substantial edifice of brick was

commenced in 1767 and completed in 1769, on the site formerly occupied by a temporary structure of wood. It was invested by the British during the Revolution, who used it first as a hospital for the sick and then as a stable in which the horses of the officers were kept. The house of worship was also desecrated in other ways. With unbridled license, these ruffians, who were most of the time under the influence of bad liquor, converted the pulpit, the windows, the mottoes on the walls, and other objects into targets, at which they discharged firearms. The result was that at the close of hostilities it was little better than a ruin; but the walls were intact, and, subsequent to the Revolution, it was restored to something like the appearance which it formerly presented.

On April 21, 1911, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, a handsome tablet of bronze was unveiled on the walls of the old church at Ebenezer by the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America; and lettered upon the tablet is this inscription:

> To the Glory of God. In Memory of the Salzburger Lutherans who landed at Savannah, Georgia, March 12th, 1734, and built this Jerusalem Church in 1767-1769. Erected by the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America.

L. L. Knight in "Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends," Vol. II

CHAPTER XII

OGLETHORPE SETS SAIL FOR ENGLAND ON A RETURN VISIT—THOMAS CAUSTON GIVEN THE GENERAL CONDUCT OF AFFAIRS—TOMO-CHI-CHI, HIS WIFE, SCENAWKI, AND HIS NEPHEW, TOONA-HOWI, ACCOMPANY OGLETHORPE ON THE VOYAGE—OGLETHORPE IS GREETED WITH ENTHUSIASTIC ACCLAIM—POEMS WRITTEN IN HIS HONOR—RECEPTION GIVEN THE INDIANS—TOMO-CHI-CHI MAKES A DEEP IMPRESSION—INSPIRES A LENGTHY ODE—THE INDIANS PRESENTED AT COURT—TOMO-CHI-CHI'S PORTRAIT PAINTED BY VERELST—ONE OF THE INDIANS DIES OF SMALLPOX AND IS BURIED IN LONDON—SAVAGE RITES OF BURIAL OBSERVED—OGLETHORPE TAKES THE DEPRESSED INDIANS TO HIS COUNTRY SEAT—WHAT TOMO-CHI-CHI THOUGHT OF LONDON—LOADED WITH PRESENTS THE INDIANS RETURN TO GEORGIA ON THE PRINCE OF WALES—OGLETHORPE RESUMES HIS SEAT IN PARLIAMENT—MORE STRINGENT LAWS ADOPTED BY THE TRUSTEES—SAMPLES OF GEORGIA SILK PRESENTED TO THE QUEEN—SHE ORDERS A COSTUME TO BE MADE OF THE FABRIC, IN WHICH TO APPEAR ON HER BIRTHDAY—THE MORAVIANS—COUNT ZINZENDORF'S SCHEME OF COLONIZATION—IRENE—SOME OF THE MORAVIAN SETTLERS AFTERWARDS MEN OF DISTINCTION—GEORGIA LOSES THESE COLONISTS TO PENNSYLVANIA, EXCEPT FOR A SMALL REMNANT—SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS INDUCED TO EMIGRATE TO GEORGIA AND TO START A SETTLEMENT ON THE ALTAMAHA RIVER—NEW INVERNESS—JOHN MOHR MCINTOSH—REV. JOHN MCLEOD—CAPT. HUGH MACKAY—THIS SETTLEMENT ALMOST COMPLETELY EXTINGUISHED BY THE SPANISH WARS—DARIEN.

On April 7, 1734, Oglethorpe set sail for England on a return visit. Before leaving Georgia he placed Thomas Causton in authority, giving him the general conduct of affairs. Mr. Causton was not only storekeeper for the province, an office of the first importance under the trustees; but he was also a bailiff. In the event any problem arose which he did not feel competent to decide, he was to consult Mr. James St. Julian, of South Carolina, or Mr. Francis Scott, of Georgia, either of whom would prove a safe councilor. Oglethorpe had been absent from England for more than sixteen months and there were a number of matters to call him back, some of which pertained to his own private affairs, others to his management of the province, on which he wished to confer with the trustees. It was not without sad hearts that the colonists bade him adieu. To quote the exact language of Baron Von Reck, he "was their Benefactor and their Father; who had watched over them as a good shepherd does over his flock; and who had so tender a care over them both by Day and by Night." It was a tribute well deserved.

But Oglethorpe did not return to England unaccompanied. His companions, on this eventful voyage, were: Tomo-chi-chi, the aged chief of the Yamacraws, his wife, Scenawki, and his adopted son and nephew, Toonahowi. The party of Indians also included Hilli-spilli, war chief of the Lower Creeks, four other chiefs of this nation and one chief of the Uchees, from Palachocolas, besides an interpreter and other attendants. Tomo-chi-chi, despite his advanced age, was eager to behold the marvels of England: he, therefore, gladly accepted Oglethorpe's invitation. He wished to learn more of England's greatness, to acquire new ideas for himself, and to obtain instructors to teach his people the English language and religion.

The voyage lasted seventy days. But the passage of the Atlantic was made without serious mishap. Leaving the Indians at his estate, he proceeded at once to London where he was greeted with most unusual honors. On the evening of June 21, 1734, a formal reception was tendered him and at this time he presented to the trustees a narrative of Georgia's progress. Oglethorpe's return was heralded throughout the kingdom; his philanthropy, his patriotism, his self-sacrifice, his altruism, his shining catalogue of Christian virtues, these were all extolled. It was at this time that Alexander Pope, in a glowing couplet, praised his

"strong benevolence of soul;"

adding these lines:

"Thy great example shall through ages shine,
A favorite theme with poet and divine;
To all unborn thy merits shall proclaim,
And add new honors to thy deathless name."

Thomson, in his "Seasons," thus speaks of Oglethorpe the humanitarian:

"And here can I forget the generous hand
That, touched with human woe, redressive searched
Into the horrors of the gloomy jail?
Unpitied and unheard, where misery mourns;
Where sickness pines; where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice.

This same gifted author in his "Ode to Liberty" says of Oglethorpe's colony in America:

"Lo, swarming southward, on rejoicing suns
Gay colonies extend; the calm retreat
Of undeserved distress; the better home
Of those whom Bigots chase from foreign lands;
Not built on Rapine, Servitude, and Woe,
And, in their turn, some petty tyrant's prey;
But, bound by social freedom, firm they rise,
Such as of late an Oglethorpe has formed,
And crowding round the charmed Savannah sees."

Such adulation was seldom if ever known. But Oglethorpe's honors were not unshared by Tomo-chi-chi, the aged mico, to whom an ode with eleven stanzas was composed. Since we cannot reproduce this poem in full, we cull therefrom the following lines:

"What Stranger this? and from what Region far?
This wondros Form, majestic to behold?
Uncloath'd but arm'd offensive for the War.
In hoary Age and wise Experience old? * * *
Thine with thy Oglethorpe's fair fame shall last,
Together to Eternity consigned,
In the immortal Roll of Heroes placed,
The mighty Benefactors of Mankind."

Tomo-chi-chi was, of course, the bright particular star among the Indians; but all of these savages were objects of curious interest. Great crowds flocked to see them at the Georgia office in London; they were also given numerous handsome presents. On August 1, Sir Clement Cotterill was sent to conduct them to Kensington Palace, where they were to be presented to the king. Indian-like these warriors desired to appear at court in scant clothing; but Oglethorpe dissuaded them from this intention. However, adorned with imperial feathers and gorgeously arrayed in bright colors, they presented a most impressive spectacle: one to which London with its strange sights was wholly unaccustomed. Tomo-chi-chi, giving the king a bunch of eagle feathers, said: "These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flieth all around our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there, and we have brought them over to leave with you, O great king, as a sign of everlasting peace."*

While on this visit to London, Tomo-chi-chi's portrait was painted by Verelst and for many years hung in the Georgia rooms, an object of deep interest to all visitors. It represents the old mico in a standing posture, his left arm resting lightly upon the shoulders of Toonahowi, his adopted son, while the latter held in his arms an eagle. Engravings from this portrait were subsequently made by well-known artists, among them Faber and Kleinschmidt.

It was a matter of universal regret that on this visit one of the Indian chiefs died of small-pox. His companions, deeply affected and greatly depressed, wished to take the body back to Georgia for sepulture, but finally in deference to Oglethorpe's wishes consented to an interment in St. John's Cemetery, Westminster, where as nearly as circumstances would permit the customary funeral rites were observed. Sewed up in two blankets, with deal boards, one over and one under, both lashed together with a cord, the corpse was carried to the grave on a bier. On lowering the body into the earth, some of the dead Indian's clothes, a quantity of glass beads, and some pieces of silver were thrown into the grave with him, thus ending a ceremony full of deep pathos.

Considerate always, Oglethorpe, to divert the minds of the Indians, carried them for a visit of two weeks to his country seat, where, under the boughs of ancestral oaks, they found balm amid scenes which called to mind their own beloved forest in the wilds of Georgia. Tomo-chi-chi always bore himself well, whether at the royal court, or in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or on a visit to Lady Dutry. His own noble blood put him on a conscious equality with the proudest aristocrat whom he met and, in a thousand gentle ways, made it apparent to all that, savage though he was, without the culture of courts or the training of schools, he was not a stranger to gentleness, but an inate nobleman, a forest-born Chesterfield. He was profoundly impressed by the magnificence of the English capital but surprised that short-lived people should build such long-lived structures. For years the visit of these Georgia Indians remained a fragrant tradition in the life of London. Royally entertained for four months by the English people, they were eager at the expiration of this time to return home; for, while there had been no diminution of hospitality, they felt the lure of the home land; they longed once more to hear the music of murmuring waters, to lie down beneath a canopy of whispering oaks.

* Gentleman's Magazine, Thursday, August 1, 1734.

Loaded with presents the Indians returned to Georgia on a vessel bearing fifty-six Salzburgers, besides not a few English emigrants who went over at the expense of the corporation. The vessel on which the Indians returned to Georgia was the Prince of Wales, commanded by Capt. George Dunbar. It anchored safely at Savannah, on December 27, 1734. The handsome gifts brought home by Tomo-chi-chi, coupled with the wonderful stories which he never tired of narrating, went far toward confirming the friendship of the Creeks.

Oglethorpe, resuming his seat in the House of Commons, caused two measures to be introduced and passed for the purpose of re-enforcing certain regulations already made by the trust. Both were prohibitory measures, one forbidding the introduction of slavery into the province, the other an importation of rum. Upon a moderate use of English beer no restriction was placed. Edmund Burke always doubted the wisdom of these measures which he thought ill-adapted to conditions in America, an opinion in which he was sustained by later developments.

Not only did the trustees approve with great unanimity what had been done by Oglethorpe but they also readily endorsed his plan for constructing fortifications on the southern frontier of the province. At the suggestion of the common council, one of these, a stronghold to be erected on St. Simon's Island, opposite the mouth of the Altamaha, was to be called Frederica.

While Oglethorpe was in England some excellent specimens of raw silk were received from the province. Accompanied by Sir Thomas Lombe, the trustees exhibited one of these samples to the queen who was so pleased with its quality that she ordered a handsome costume to be made of Georgia silk, in which she appeared on her birthday at the royal court.

More stringent rules were adopted at this time for the colony's regulation. As might have been anticipated, some of the emigrants sent over by the trust had proved a worthless sort. Consequently it was necessary to use greater vigilance in selecting the beneficiaries of such a favor and to draw the reins of government with a firmer hand. To this end the trustees cautioned Thomas Causton to keep a watchful eye on the province and to employ the utmost wisdom, fidelity and zeal in discharging the duties of his office; but to this solemn trust, as we shall see later, he was destined to prove recreant.

We have already observed how the Salzburgers found a home in Georgia. Not unlike these pious German peasants was another Protes-

tant sect called Moravians, a colony of which was sent over by Oglethorpe in 1735 to form a settlement at Irene, on land situated between Savannah and Ebenezer.

Scarcely a vestige today survives in the way of a memorial to tell of the brief sojourn in this state of the pious Moravians. But the early annals of Georgia are too fragrant with the memories of this sweet-spirited sect to justify any omission of them in this historical retrospect. Both in simple habits of life and in deep religious fervor, they were not unlike the Salzburgers, to whom they were remotely allied by ties of kinship. The missionary activities of the Moravians among the Georgia Indians were successful in a marked degree; and, with little opposition from the red men of the forest, who learned to trust them with implicit confidence, they penetrated far into the Blue Ridge Mountains and established at Spring Place, in what is now Murray County, a mission which exerted a powerful influence among the native tribes, converting not a few chiefs and warriors, and continuing to flourish down to the final deportation of the Cherokees, in 1838. Both Elias Boudinot and David Vann were Moravian converts.

But who were these Moravians? To answer this question, we must cross the sea to Bohemia. Coincident with Oglethorpe's humane project, there was an effort made by Count Zinzendorf, a Protestant, to organize on his estate a community of believers, modelled upon the old original church of the Apostles. When a charter was granted for the Colony of Georgia, the count sought and obtained a concession of 500 acres of land from the trustees, with permission to absent himself in person from the colony, on condition that he send over ten male servants, in his own stead, to cultivate the soil. Accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Gottlieb Spangenberg, the first emigrants of this religious persuasion arrived in Georgia in the spring of 1735, and settled near the Savannah River, on a body of land between the Salzburgers and the Town of Savannah.

To quote Colonel Jones:* The history of the Moravians in Georgia may be quickly told. Under the auspices of Count Zinzendorf, seconded by the good offices of the trustees, additions were made from time to time to this settlement. A schoolhouse called Irene was built near Tomochi-chi's village, for the accommodation and instruction of Indian children; and in its conduct and prosperity the aged mico manifested a lively interest. With the Salzburgers the Moravians associated on terms of closest friendship. In subduing the forest and in the erection of homes they manifested great zeal. Above all others were they successful in tilling the ground, and in the accumulation of provisions, which sufficed not only for their own wants, but also met the needs of their less provident neighbors. * * * They were in all respects useful colonists.

When summoned, however, to bear arms in defense of the province against the Spaniards, they refused to do so, alleging that since they

* Jones: "History of Georgia," Vol. I.

were not freeholders there was no obligation resting upon them to perform military duties. They further insisted that they were prevented by religious convictions from becoming soldiers, and stated that before coming to Georgia it had been expressly stipulated that they should be exempt from such obligations. After mature deliberation, it was agreed that the Moravians be excused; but this exemption embittered the minds of the other colonists against them and rendered a further residence in the province unpleasant. Accordingly, in 1738, some of them, having first refunded to the authorities all moneys disbursed for them, abandoned the settlement in Georgia * * * and removed to Pennsylvania, * * * where the settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth preserve to this day some of the distinguishing features of this peculiar people.

According to Bishop Stevens:* Several of the Moravian ministers who came to Georgia were men of eminent distinction. Christian Gottlieb Spangenberg had been an adjunct professor in the University of Halle, in Saxony; and after leaving Savannah he went to Europe, where he was ordained bishop. He returned to America and took entire charge of the affairs of the brethren in the British Colonies. He was also an author and wrote the "Life of Count Zinzendorf," besides a number of religious books. David Nitschman was one of the companions of Wesley on his visit to Georgia. He rose to be a bishop, and was one of the first missionaries to the blacks in the Danish West Indies. Peter Beuler also became a bishop. He was a graduate of the University of Jena and a man of ripe scholarship. Martin Mack, after leaving Savannah, labored for years among the Indians in Pennsylvania, and was then made a bishop and assigned to the Danish West Indies. The Moravians did not remain long enough in Georgia to fashion the plastic mass; but could they have aided in moulding the institutions of the Commonwealth, many calamities might have been avoided and many virtues might have been developed which would have reflected glory upon Georgia's name.

Steps for protecting the exposed southern frontier of the province were hastened by a memorial received from South Carolina urging immediate action on this line because of irritating transactions with the Spaniards. The likelihood of an invasion from this quarter had become alarmingly imminent. Oglethorpe, with the leverage of his wide influence and great popularity throughout England at this time, induced Parliament to grant a special sum of £26,000 to be used chiefly in safeguarding the province. Successful in this endeavor, he next sought to find settlers of a hardy type for his border outposts on the Altamaha River. Incident to life on the southern confines of Georgia there were not only great hardships but dire perils; and for such a settlement as the one contemplated by Oglethorpe men of sturdy mold, of vigorous fibre, of proven mettle were needed.

To this end the trustees commissioned Lieut. Hugh Mackay to recruit among the highlands of Scotland. The well-known Jacobite sympathies of Oglethorpe were doubtless instrumental in arousing wide-spread interest in the proposed scheme of colonization.

* Stevens: "History of Georgia," Vol. I.

There was no attempt made to overpaint the charms or conceal the hazards of life in Georgia. The situation of affairs was well understood. But the rugged mountaineers were inured to hardships; and to men who touched elbows with peril every day of the world and who took little counsel of fear there was an element of zest added to the prospect of adventure in an unknown world. John Mohr McIntosh, a chief of one of the most powerful clans of Scotland, whose support of the Pretender cost him the forfeiture of his estates, was one of the first to enlist; and he induced many of his kindred to accompany him. Not less than 130 Highlanders, with 50 women and children, were enrolled at Inverness; and these, together with some who held special grants and who went without expense to the trustees, sailed from Inverness, October 18, 1735, on board the Prince of Wales, commanded by Capt. George Dunbar.

Three months were consumed by the voyage. They carried a clergyman, the Rev. John McLeod, a native of the Isle of Skye, to minister to them in sacred things, and he became the pioneer evangel of Presbyterianism in Georgia. Most of the emigrants were soldiers; but some of them, like the Cuthberts, the Bailies, the Mackays, and the Dunbars, went in the capacity of freeholders. They were accompanied by servants and were possessed of titles to large tracts of land.

In due season, the vessel entered the mouth of the Savannah River; and the new arrivals, after a period of rest spent in the village to which they were given a cordial welcome by the inhabitants, were transported in rude canoes through the various inlets and up the Altamaha River, to the appointed place of settlement selected by Oglethorpe. The alluvial bottoms of the low-lying region which they reached at length bore little resemblance to the hills of heather which they left behind them; and the homesick Highlanders must have experienced a chill of disappointment when they disembarked upon the monotonous stretch of level ground on which they were henceforth to dwell.

But they wasted no time in vain regrets. At a point which was best adapted to defensive purposes, they at once erected a fort, mounted four pieces of cannon, built a guard-house, a store, and a chapel, and constructed huts for temporary accommodation, preparatory to erecting more substantial structures. Dressed in plaids and equipped with broad-swords, targets, and firearms, the Scotch soldiers presented quite a unique and novel appearance on this remote belt of the savage wilderness, separated by 3,000 miles of water from the familiar highlands which now smiled upon them only in the sad retrospect of the past. In honor of the town from which they sailed they gave to the young settlement the name of New Inverness, while to the military post and to the outlying district they gave the name of Darien.

To the colony of Oglethorpe, the arrival of these sturdy Highlanders proved an important acquisition. They were more than mere sinews of war. They were representatives of the thriftiest and best elements of the Scotch population. They brought with them the highest ideals of citizenship and the profoundest reverence for divine truth. Says Doctor Stevens:* "They were not reckless adventurers or reduced emigrants,

*"History of Georgia," by William Bacon Stevens, Vol. I, pp. 126-127, New York, 1847.

volunteering through necessity or exiled by insolvency and want. In fact, they were picked men. They were commanded by officers most respectably connected in the Highlands, and the descendants of some of them have held and still hold high offices of honor and trust in the United Kingdom."

According to Colonel Jones, the Scotch emigrants, while in Savannah, were told by some Carolinians that they were foolish to interpose themselves between Savannah and Florida, that it was perilous in the extreme thus to court danger on the frontier, and that the Spaniards, from the secure forts in which they dwelt on the border, would shoot them upon the very spot which they were expected to defend. But the Scotch Highlanders were in no wise intimidated, and they replied by saying that they would beat the Spaniards out of the forts which they occupied and would thus find houses ready built in which to live. Such an answer was well in keeping with the record which they were destined to make as courageous fighters. It was full of the spirit of Bannockburn, and to men like John Mohr McIntosh, Capt. Hugh Mackay, Ensign Charles Mackay, Col. John McIntosh, Gen. Lachlan McIntosh and others of the same heroic stock, Georgia, both as a colony and as a state, owes a debt of gratitude which time cannot diminish.

At an early date, Capt. Hugh Mackay, with the assistance of Indian guides furnished by Tomo-chi-chi, located a road between New Inverness and Savannah, and the same route is today followed by the splendid highway which runs between Savannah and Darien. The town which was settled by the Highlanders began to prosper. It was beautifully situated on a bluff of the river, in a grove of wide-spreading live oaks, while around it for miles stretched the level forests of Georgia. In after years it was destined to become an important commercial seaport; but before this time arrived it was fated to suffer almost complete annihilation. The Highlanders at New Inverness were the chief dependence of Oglethorpe in the Spanish hostilities which ensued; and while they saved Georgia from destruction, it was at grim cost to themselves.

Most of the gallant band were either killed in battle or taken prisoners. The greatest fatalities occurred during the disastrous assault upon St. Augustine. It seems that Colonel Palmer, who commanded a force of Highlanders at the time of the siege, disregarded the instructions of Oglethorpe, only to be surprised by the enemy at Fort Moosa, with tragic results. The Highlanders fought like tigers, but fell in great numbers. Those who survived were afterwards permitted to taste the sweets of victory when the Spanish power was overthrown at the battle of Bloody Marsh. But the remnant was pathetically small, some moved to other localities, and the little Town of New Inverness finally passed into other hands, to emerge eventually into the modern City of Darien.*

*Of the condition of this town in 1743 we find the following account in the London Magazine for 1745, p. 551: "Our first Stage we made *New Inverness*, or the *Darien*, on the Continent near 20 miles from *Frederica*; which is a Settlement of Highlanders living and dressing in their own Country Fashion, very happily and contentedly. There is an Independent Company of Foot of them, consisting of 70 men who have been of good service. The Town is regularly laid out, and built of Wood mostly, divided into Streets and Squares; before the Town is the Parade, and a Fort not yet finished. It is situated upon a very high Bluff, or point of Land,

from whence, with a few cannon, they can scour the River, otherwise it is surrounded by Pine-barrens, and Woods, and there is a Rout by Land to *Savannah* and *Fort Argyle*, which is statedly reconnoitred by a Troop of Highland Rangers who do duty here. The Company and Troop, armed in the Highland manner make an extreme good appearance under arms. The whole Settlement may be said to be a brave and industrious People; but were more numerous, planted more, and raised more cattle before the Invasion, with which they drove a good trade to the Southward; but things seem daily mending with them. They are forced to keep a very good Guard in this Place, it lies so open to the Insults of the *French* and *Spanish Indians*, who once or twice had shewn Stragglers some very bloody Tricks."

"Altamaha," according to Col. Absalom H. Chappell, is derived from the Spanish expression "alta-mia," signifying a deep earthen plate or dish. The name may have been suggested by the character of the lower end of the river, perhaps the only part which the Spaniards saw before the christening and which looked to them like a dish kept full to the brim by tidal impulses from the sea rather than by hidden sources of supply from an unknown interior. Oliver Goldsmith's famous picture of the region where the "Wild Altama" murmured to the woe of the settlers was probably drawn from some exaggerated account.

CHAPTER XIII

TOMO-CHI-CHI'S VISIT TO ENGLAND IS TURNED TO GOOD ACCOUNT—INCREASED INTEREST IN THE COLONY OF GEORGIA—TWO VESSELS CHARTERED TO CONVEY THE NEW SETTLERS—THE SYMOND AND THE LONDON MERCHANT—OGLETHORPE DECLINES TO ACCEPT PASSAGE ON HIS MAJESTY'S SLOOP OF WAR, THE HAWK—PREFERS TO SHARE THE DISCOMFORTS OF HIS FELLOW-VOYAGERS—THE GREAT EMBARKATION—THE WESLEYS ACCOMPANY OGLETHORPE TO GEORGIA—STORMY WEATHER ENCOUNTERED—CALMNESS OF THE MORAVIANS—AN INCIDENT OF THE VOYAGE—TYBEE ISLAND IS REACHED—OGLETHORPE DISAPPOINTED TO FIND THE LIGHTHOUSE STILL UNFINISHED—REASONS FOR THE DELAY—WHISKY BROUGHT OVER FROM SOUTH CAROLINA—ON ARRIVING IN SAVANNAH, THE MORAVIANS DESIRE TO LOCATE AT IRENE—OGLETHORPE CONSENTS, THOUGH HE WISHED TO SETTLE THEM AROUND HIS MILITARY STRONGHOLD ON ST. SIMON'S ISLAND—EBENEZER VISITED—FORT AUGUSTA IS GARRISONED—THE INDIAN TRADE AT THIS POINT JUSTIFIES A LINE OF BOATS—EFFORTS TO DIVERT IT FROM CHARLESTON—OGLETHORPE BUILDS A HIGHWAY BETWEEN SAVANNAH AND DARIEN—FORT FREDERICA IS COMMENCED—THE TOWN—FRANCIS MOORE'S DESCRIPTION—THIS BECOMES OGLETHORPE'S HOME—RETURNING TO SAVANNAH, HE STOPS AT NEW INVERNESS—WEARS THE SCOTTISH PLAID—ON REACHING TYBEE, HE FINDS THE TWO CAPTAINS UNWILLING TO ENTER THE SHALLOW WATERS OF JEKYLL SOUND—CARGOES TRANSFERRED—DELAY INVOLVED—OGLETHORPE EXPLORES THE LOWER COAST—CUMBERLAND ISLAND—FORT ST. ANDREW—FORT WILLIAM—FORT GEORGE—FORT ST. SIMON—CHARLES DEMPSEY, AN ENGLISH ENVOY, VISITS ST. AUGUSTINE TO CONCILIATE THE SPANIARDS—RESULTS OF HIS MISSION.

Tomo-chi-chi's visit to England was turned to good account by the trustees. As a result, popular interest in the colony was greatly stimulated. Donations poured into the London office. Applications were received by the score from persons who wished to settle in Georgia, many of these without expense to the trust. Great preparations, therefore, were made for Oglethorpe's return voyage to Georgia. It became an absorbing topic of discussion throughout the kingdom. Prizes were offered by the Gentleman's Magazine for the four best poems to be written on "The Christian Hero." Oglethorpe was the toast of all Britain.

But he was too deeply absorbed in the details of his work, if not too well poised in his splendid balance of character, to be disturbed by this adulation. Mr. Francis Moore was put in charge of all provisions and supplies for the voyage. These included food products, agricultural implements, household utensils, small arms, heavy guns, in fact, every-

thing needed for the colony's maintenance and protection. This departure of Oglethorpe for Georgia became known as the Great Embarkation.

To preach the gospel both to the Indians and to the colonists, John Wesley, a young divine of ascetic habits of life, accompanied him, under a commission from the trustees, to succeed the Rev. Samuel Quincey, with whose conduct as resident minister there was much dissatisfaction. Mr. Wesley was employed at a salary of £50 sterling per annum. For a young minister who was both a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and a fine classical scholar, to undertake such an errand to the wilds of America at such a salary was proof sufficient of John Wesley's consecration. His brother, Charles Wesley, wishing to accompany him, was retained as Oglethorpe's private secretary and was also designated as secretary of Indian affairs. These gifted divines embodied all unconsciously at this time one of the great reform movements of modern times; but the hour had not yet struck for its awakening.

Two vessels were chartered by the trustees to convey the new emigrants to Georgia. These were the Symond, a vessel of 220 tons, Capt. Joseph Cornish in command, and the London Merchant, a sister ship, Capt. John Thomas in command. On Tuesday, October 14, 1735, Oglethorpe, accompanied by the two Wesleys, the Rev. Mr. Ingram, and Charles Delamotte, the son of a London merchant, set out for Gravesend, where these vessels were waiting at the docks ready to spread sail. Besides the two vessels above named there was also a convoy, his majesty's sloop of war, the Hawk, commanded by Captain Gascoine. This was provided with special reference to Oglethorpe's comfort; but he declined to avail himself of quarters better than those allotted to his fellow-voyagers. He, therefore, took a cabin on the Symond. Two hundred and fifty-two passengers were listed for this eventful voyage. These included a number of German Lutherans, under Captain Hermsdorf and Baron Von Reck, also twenty-five Moravians, accompanied by the Rev. David Nitschman. Sir Francis Bathhurst, his son, three daughters, and a number of servants, were also among the voyagers, going without expense to the trust to settle in Georgia.

But adverse weather conditions prevented a departure for several weeks. It was not until December 10, 1735, that favoring gales arrived; and even then it was a tempestuous voyage upon which these colonists embarked. Violent storms raged, tossing the ships upon angry seas. The following anecdote of the voyage has been preserved: On one occasion the waters broke over the Symond, flooding the vessel from stem to stern. It even burst through the windows of the state cabin and drenched the inmates. John Wesley was almost washed overboard by one of the waves. But in all these storms and dangers the Moravians were calm and unterrified. The tempest began on Sunday, just as they commenced services; the sea broke over the ship, split the mainsail, and poured down upon the vessel, threatening instant destruction. The English screamed, but the Germans sang on.

"Were you not afraid?" asked Wesley, speaking to one of them.

"I thank God, no," he replied.

"But were not your women and children afraid?" he inquired.

"No," answered the Moravian, "our women and children are not afraid to die."

Mr. Wesley afterward said that the example of these Moravians exerted so powerful an influence upon him as to make him doubt if he were really converted before he met them.*

At last, however, on February 4, 1736, the voyagers reached Tybee Island. On going ashore, Oglethorpe was disappointed to find what little progress had been made in building the light-house, whose beams the founder had expected to light his entry back into Georgia's home waters. Work had commenced more than eighteen months before, but only the foundations had been laid. As an explanation for this state of affairs, it was found that cheap rum had been conveyed across the estuary from South Carolina, in consequence of which the workmen were "frequently drunk, idle and disobedient."

On arrival in Savannah, Oglethorpe was greeted by all the freeholders under arms and was given a salute of twenty-one guns from a battery of cannon. The new emigrants were delighted with the settlement and glad to partake once more of fresh meat. It was Oglethorpe's intention to locate all the new settlers, brought over at this time, on the trust's account, at Frederica, where he planned with the co-operative help of many hands to build a town and a fort on St. Simon's Island. But the Moravians were not fighters. Religiously opposed to warfare they did not wish to live in a military town on the exposed borders, where they might come to blows at any time with the Spaniards. Consequently they prevailed upon Oglethorpe to send them to Irene, where a Moravian colony had already been planted. For like reasons, the Lutherans wished to settle at Ebenezer and they were not opposed in this desire; but Captain Hermsdorf, a soldier, volunteered with a small company to go to Frederica and "to serve with the English to the last."

Before establishing his military stronghold at Frederica, however, Oglethorpe went first to Ebenezer where he found these German settlers clamorous for removal to a new site nearer the Savannah River; but we have already anticipated this change in a former discussion of the Salzburger settlement in Georgia. Oglethorpe was at first opposed to removal but finally consented. Nor did he ever regret having done so. It marked a new era in the lives of these frugal and industrious people who worked all the harder to conquer success from a savage wilderness. It was estimated by Benjamin Martyn, secretary of the trustees, that up to 1741 there were not less than 1,200 German Protestants in the province, settled at the following places: New Ebenezer, Bethany, Savannah, Frederica and Goshen; nor did the colony boast better inhabitants.

Without stopping to discuss matters which cannot be included in a general survey of conditions or which do not bear directly upon the main current of events, we must hasten on to note important developments.

In 1736 a garrison was stationed some distance up the Savannah River at a point which Oglethorpe, during the year previous, had selected for a fort to guard the extreme northern frontier. On the opposite side of the river was a settlement, the origin of which dated back

* Lawton B. Evans, in "School History of Georgia."

to 1716. It was called at first Savannah Town, afterwards Fort Moore, and was planned as a sort of trading post to facilitate commerce with the Cherokee Indians who occupied the mountain regions and with the Upper Creeks who dwelt principally in Alabama. The first agent in charge of the store was Theophilus Hastings. There was a well established trail running through the wilderness from Fort Moore to Charleston, with which town there was also communication by water.

The garrison located on the west side of the Savannah River at this time was called Fort Augusta, in honor of a royal princess by this name. Besides a rude fortification built to defend the neighborhood there was erected in its shadow a large warehouse well stocked with supplies such as were usually sought by the Indians. Animal skins of various kinds called pelts, taken in exchange, always brought good prices in the

Celtic Cross, Marking the Site of Old Fort Augusta

Charleston market. To divert this trade to Savannah was one of the primary objects of the new settlement. Accordingly a line of boats was established between Savannah and Fort Augusta, which in time became a source of great profit. The new settlement proved to be a great resort for traders, especially in the spring of each year. Here was purchased from the Indians annually "some 2,000 pack horse loads of skins and other articles offered by the natives in the way of barter; and including residents of the town, pack horse men, boat hands and servants, it is estimated that not less than 600 white persons were, at an early date, engaged in commercial transactions." With the growing importance of Fort Augusta, the settlement at Fort Moore began to decline. In addition to a water route, there was also opened a road to Savannah over which one could travel on horseback. On the authority of Colonel Jones a man by the name of O'Bryan was the first settler at Fort Augusta, erecting there at his own expense a well furnished store house. Roger

De Lacy, a noted Indian trader, was also an early pioneer resident of the town. The garrison at this place was commanded for some time by a Captain Kent. Its maintenance was a charge upon the trustees.

Oglethorpe next turned his attention to the south. First a highway was surveyed to connect Savannah and Darien. Mr. Hugh Mackay was engaged to run this line, assisted by Messrs. Augustine and Tolme, with guides furnished by Tomo-chi-chi. Captain MacPherson, at the head of a detachment of rangers, was sent to aid the Highlanders on the Altamaha River.

But the founder's most cherished project was the fortification of St. Simon's Island. With this end in view, he secured some fifty rangers, besides one hundred workmen, to assist him in building a fort to command the mouth of the Altamaha River, also a town to be located in its immediate neighborhood. Having made these preliminary arrangements, he returned to where the Symond and the London Merchant lay at anchor in the Savannah River. But he found their captains unwilling to risk a hazardous trip through unknown waters. He, therefore, purchased the cargo of a sloop, the Midnight, on condition that its freight should be at once delivered at Frederica. Captains Cornish and Thomas were to board this sloop, leaving their vessels in charge of Mr. Francis Moore, keeper of the stores, and proceeding southward were to acquire a knowledge of the entrance into Jekyll Sound; after which they were to conduct their vessels thither. With thirty single men, Messrs. Horton and Tanner were ordered to acompany the sloop, which was well supplied with munitions for resisting an attack. Oglethorpe set sail in a scout boat to meet the sloop at Jekyll Sound. Captain Hermsdorf, some Indians and two colonists accompanied him, while Captain Dunbar, with his boat, followed behind. Threading the interior waters, St. Simon's was reached on the morning of February 18, 1736. All hands were immediately put to work. Three days later a periagua arrived from Savannah bringing workmen, provisions, and military supplies for the new settlement. On the 26th Captains Cornish and Thomas returned to Tybee; but after sounding these waters they were still unwilling to risk their vessels on a journey to Frederica. At great delay, therefore, and much to the annoyance of Oglethorpe, it was necessary to transfer the cargoes brought over by these vessels to smaller ones, the Peter and the James; but in time both cargoes were discharged at St. Simon's.

Fort Frederica was soon built. Nor could a better site have been chosen. It faced one of the several streams into which the delta of the Altamaha River divides on approaching the ocean, but it so happened that the channel which it overlooked at this point constituted the most important outlet to the sea. Oglethorpe possessed the trained eye as well as the stout arm of the soldier. He saw at once the strategic value of the bluff, while in the level area of ground which stretched behind it he found the ideal spot for his future home town. Here he began to erect the fort, which was to guard the exposed southern frontier of Georgia. The original structure was in the main built of tabby, a concrete material of lime mixed with shells and stones. It was quadrangular in shape, provided with four bastions, and defended by eighteen-pounders. Oglethorpe himself superintended the work of con-

struction and taught the men to dig the ditches and to turf the ramparts. There were two large magazines, sixty feet in length and three stories in height included within the stockade. The barracks were at the north end of the town, where they occupied quarters ninety feet square. Over the gateway rose a tower, while on either side there were bastions two stories in height and twenty feet square, each equipped with heavy guns. To furnish adequate water supplies, a well was dug within the fort. In honor of Frederick, Prince of Wales, the stronghold was christened Frederica.

To quote Colonel Jones again: "Such was the simple beginning of Frederica. Near this town Mr. Oglethorpe fixed the only home he ever owned in the province. In its defence were enlisted his best energies, military skill and valor. Brave are the memories of St. Simon's Island. None prouder belong to the colonial history of Georgia." But we must dissent from a statement made by Colonel Jones in the foregoing paragraph. Oglethorpe's ownership of a home contravenes one of the express rules adopted by the corporation forbidding a trustee to own any land in the province. It was not, therefore, in any sense of absolute proprietorship that Oglethorpe owned a home on St. Simon's Island.

Having given explicit directions to the workmen at Frederica the founder once more turned his face northward to superintend the transfer of stores and passengers from the vessels anchored off Tybee Island. En route, he stopped over to visit the Highlanders at Darien. These Scotch settlers accorded him a hearty welcome, and there was great rejoicing among them when it was learned that a town was soon to be established on St. Simon's Island and that direct communication by land was soon to be opened with Savannah. Though importuned by Capt. Hugh Mackay to occupy his tent for the night, Oglethorpe excused himself, preferring to make his couch at the Guard Fire, wrapped in his Scotch plaid, "for he wore the Highland Habit." Despite the cold weather, Captain Mackay followed his example, as did also the other gentlemen.

In due season Oglethorpe reached Tybee Island. Assembling the colonists together he informed them of his failure to persuade the two captains to conduct them to Frederica in the ocean transports. He also apprised them of the difficulties to be encountered in making a passage of the inland waters in open boats, and gave them an option of settling in Savannah; but after conferring for two hours they decided to make the trip to Frederica, notwithstanding the hazards involved. On March 2d the new settlers embarked for Frederica in a fleet of open boats, for each of which spare oars were provided. Oglethorpe accompanied them on this trip, taking passage in the rear craft. To encourage the men who operated the oars, Oglethorpe, we are told, "placed all the strong beer on board a fast boat." Five days were consumed in the voyage; but finally on March 8th Frederica was safely reached.

To make amends for lost time the colonists worked with a vim. In three weeks a battery of cannon had been mounted upon a high rampart covered with sod, streets had been laid out for the town, and a store house, sixty feet in width, had been started. The earliest description of

Frederica dates back to this time and comes from the pen of Mr. Francis Moore. Says he:*

"The Main Street that went from the Front into the Country was 25 yards wide. Each Free-holder had 60 Foot in Front by 90 Foot in Depth, upon the high Street, for their House and Garden; but those which fronted the River had but 30 Foot in Front, by 60 Foot in Depth. Each Family had a Bower of Palmetto Leaves, finished upon the back Street in their own Lands. The Side towards the front Street was set out for their Houses. These Palmetto Bowers were very convenient Shelters, being tight in the hardest Rains; they were about 20 Foot long and 14 Foot wide, and, in regular Rows, looked very pretty, the Palmetto Leaves lying smooth and handsome, and of a good Colour. The whole appeared something like a Camp, for the Bowers looked like Tents, only being larger and covered with Palmetto Leaves instead of Canvas. There were 3 large Tents, two belonging to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and one to Mr. *Horton*, pitched upon the Parade near the River."

Before returning to Savannah, Oglethorpe proceeded further down the coast, accompanied by a body of Indians, some forty in number, including Tomo-chi-chi. The party was conveyed in two scout boats. On the day following, Capt. Hugh Mackay, with twenty Highlanders, ten men of the Independent Company and a supply of provisions, overtook them on the journey southward. Reaching an island called by the Indians Wisso, meaning "sassafras," he changed its name to Cumberland. This was done at the suggestion of Toona-howi, nephew of Tomachi-chi, who had received from the Duke of Cumberland, while in England, a gold watch as a memento. "We will give his name to this island," said Toona-howi, "so that we will remember him at all times." On the north-western point of Cumberland the site for a fort was marked out to be called Fort Andrew. Captain Mackay was left on the island with his command to construct this stronghold, attended by a company of Indians to supply them with game for food while thus engaged.

The island to the south of Cumberland was named Amelia, because of its rich coloring, then beautiful with the soft tints of early spring. To the Spaniards this island was known as Santa Maria, the English of which is St. Mary, a name still retained by a river forming the present southern boundary line of Georgia.

At a later period, Fort William was built at the lower end of Cumberland to control the inland passage to St. Augustine. On San Juan Island, at the entrance to the St. John's River, he found an old fort which he called Fort George, since this island was included in a cession of land made by the Indians to King George. Captain Hermsdorf was left with a detachment of Highlanders to rebuild this fort.

En route back to Frederica a battery called Fort St. Simon was erected at the lower end of St. Simon's Island to guard the inland passage to Frederica and to command the entrance to Jekyll Sound. Arrived at Frederica, Oglethorpe was gratified to find the men busily at work. Within the fort had been dug a well which yielded an abundant supply of good water. Under one of the bastions of the fort a powder magazine had also been excavated. To encourage the workmen an in-

* "Voyage to Georgia."

dented servant, a baker, was detailed to bake bread for them, while venison, brought in by the Indians, took the place of salt provisions. Oglethorpe was anxious to see the fort completed before an attack from the Spaniards should materialize; and in order that news of any movement from the enemy in this direction might be obtained without delay Indian runners were employed to watch the walls of St. Augustine. In the event of trouble the Chehaws had promised a band of warriors. Tomo-chi-chi, with his brave Yamacraws, was also ready to assist. Ensign Delegal, hearing that trouble was imminent, reached Frederica on the 10th of May, with thirty men of the Independent Company, but only tarried to locate a fort on the east side of St. Simon's Island. Here he mounted several guns. Returning, on June 8th, with the rest of the Independent Company, he brought thirteen cannon, and completed his earthwork which became known as Delegal's Fort at the Sea Point. Volunteers from Georgia and South Carolina offered themselves in such numbers that Oglethorpe was compelled to issue orders directing all who had plantations to cultivate them until summoned to arms.

Meanwhile steps were taken by England to conciliate the Spaniards. Mr. Charles Dempsey, an envoy of the British government, had accompanied Oglethorpe to America, with instructions to proceed to St. Augustine. On February 19, 1736, with Major Richards, he set out for the Florida capital. We cannot enter into any detailed narrative of these negotiations. It is useless to deny that, during his residence in St. Augustine, Mr. Dempsey did much to adjust relations between Georgia and Spain and to prevent a Spanish invasion of Georgia soil. His visit was well timed, for Spain was only too eager to crush the struggling Province of Georgia. She had long been maturing plans to this end. But while much is to be credited to the diplomatic errand of Mr. Dempsey, still more is due to the sleepless vigilance of Oglethorpe and to the splendid show of batteries, scout boats and armed men which he made on Georgia's ocean front. Thus two whole years elapsed before the blow contemplated by Spain was finally delivered.

Fort Augusta: 1736.—Overlooking the Savannah River, from the rear of St. Paul's Church, stands a cross of Celtic design which marks the birth-place of the present City of Augusta. It was on this spot, at the head of navigation, that the great founder of the colony caused a fort to be erected in 1736, the object of which was to protect the trading post established at this point, in the fall of 1735, and to divert the extensive Cherokee and Creek Indian trade hitherto monopolized by South Carolina. In honor of the Princess of Wales, whose royal consort afterwards became George III, it was christened Fort Augusta, though it was sometimes called King's Fort. It was not a large affair. The dimensions were 120 feet each way and the walls were constructed of wood. But it answered the purpose: Augusta was never attacked or pillaged by the savages. Sometimes they came quite near; indeed, their faces often peered through the dense forest across the river and their footprints were often seen in the nearby trails, but they never ventured to hurl a torch or a tomahawk against the village.

At first the garrison consisted of less than twenty men. However, with the increase of trade, it was gradually strengthened. According to an early document on the state of the province, dated November 10, 1740, and made under oath it was estimated that 2,000 pack-horse loads of peltry were brought to Augusta annually and that 600 white persons, including servants, were engaged in the traffic. Thus the importance of Augusta as a trading point, even from the earliest times, is clearly shown; and William Batrram, the celebrated English naturalist,

who visited the place twice, expected it to become the metropolis of Georgia. There was no commercial intercourse allowed except through licensed traders; warehouses were constructed in which were stored goods suited for barter with the natives; and it was not long before the Indians began to come to Augusta in large numbers from the most distant stretches of the wilderness.

In 1739, Oglethorpe himself visited the settlement. It was on his return trip to Savannah, after the famous conference with the Indians at Coweta Town, and, exhausted with his long journey across the province, he sought repose in Augusta, where he was the recipient of marked attention from the inhabitants. In 1763, an important gathering was held in Augusta called the Congress of the Five Indian Nations, to which 700 savages came for the purpose of meeting the governors of Virginia, of North Carolina, of South Carolina, and of Georgia. We are told by an early chronicler that the congress adjourned under a salute from the guns of Fort Augusta, and there was doubtless some method in the compliment of Governor Wright when he ordered the salute to be fired. It gave the Indians something to remember. It sounded a note of warning, and the moral effect was fine. Says Doctor Williams, a former rector of St. Paul's, on the occasion when the site was marked by the Colonial Dames:* "Fort Augusta discharged the very highest functions for which military armaments are intended. It kept the peace throughout the whole Colonial time, up to the breaking out of the Revolution and, indeed, until 1781. It fulfilled its first purpose—a mission of peace. The bloody time, the time of tragedy, came later, when we took those guns and turned them against one another."

On the ruins of the old fort, in 1901, the Colonial Dames erected the handsome memorial tribute which today marks the historic spot. It is a cross of Celtic design, rough-hewn, perhaps twelve feet in height and mounted upon a base of granite to match the superstructure. At the base rests an old cannon, one of the ancient guns which formerly stood upon the parapets. It is difficult to conceive of anything more appropriate. The purpose for which the fort was built, in part at least, was to protect the house of worship over which it kept grim and silent watch and around which clustered the rude cabins of the settlers. Both the religious and the primitive character of the little frontier town are charmingly commemorated. Inscribed on the side nearest the church are the following words:

> This stone marks the site of the Colonial Fort Augusta, built
> by order of General Oglethorpe and the trustees in 1736 and known
> during the Revolution as Fort Cornwallis.

St. Paul's Church was built in 1750 under a curtain of this fort. On the opposite side, facing the river, the inscription reads:

> Erected by the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America,
> November, 1901. Virtues majorum felice conservant.

Doctor Williams, in speaking of the old cannon at the base of the monument said: "To my mind, it is the most interesting relic in Augusta. It is all that is left of the old fort—the one thing which was here in 1736 and is here today; the one thing which puts us in actual touch with Oglethorpe, for it was here when he came on his visit, in 1739, and when he wrote a letter in his own hand, dated 'Fort Augusta, in Georgia.'" There were originally eight guns mounted upon the walls of the fort, all of which were bought in England by Oglethorpe himself. Yet this one, dismounted, spiked, rusting from long disuse and old age, is the sole survivor of the early frontier days when Fort Augusta first stood upon the bluff.

Historic Old St. Paul's.—Opposite one of the curtains of the fort, in 1750, fourteen years after the establishment of the garrison, were laid the foundations of the most ancient edifice in Augusta: historic old St. Paul's. The present house of worship is not the original structure. Two others have preceded it; but around this ancient land-mark cluster the memories of a hundred eventful years. Moreover, it occupies the site of the earliest rude building in which religious services were first held, according to the impressive ritual of the Church of England; and, standing in the very heart of the bustling city, it carries the imagination back to

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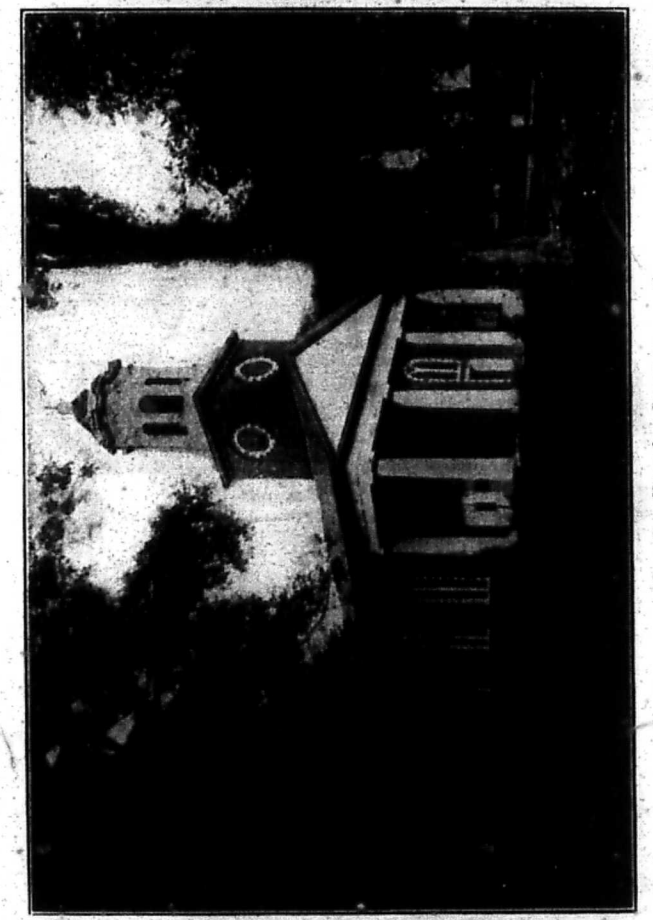
* Story of St. Paul's Parish, a pamphlet, by Rev. Chauncey C. Williams, D. D.



OLD ST. PAUL'S, AUGUSTA

the time when the old fort rose in the wilderness to protect the infant settlement. Says Doctor Williams, formerly rector of the parish:* "It was appropriately named for the great pioneer Apostle, since it stood on the frontier line of civilization in Georgia, and was not only the first church but for over fifty years the only church of any kind in Augusta. Its rectors were of course missionaries of the Church of England. The first of the number was the Rev. Jonathan Copp who came to take charge in 1751. He found the conditions very difficult, lived in constant fear of an Indian invasion, and wrote somewhat doleful letters, but he held services at regular intervals, and, encouraged by the better class of people, he carried the gospel into the neighboring country, within a radius of thirty miles. He was succeeded in 1756 by the Rev. Samuel Frink, a delicate man, who, in spite of ill-health, went everywhere, re-enforcing his sermons by the wholesome power of example. Next in 1767 came the Rev. Edward Ellington, a missionary in the severest sense of the word. He was seldom at home, except on Sundays, and frequently journeyed into the wilderness for more than a hundred miles. He was followed in 1771 by the Rev. James Seymour, who was rector of St. Paul's throughout the vicissitudes of the Revolutionary War.

"During the struggle for independence the fort was three times taken and retaken and Mr. Seymour saw the church appropriated first by the Americans as a barracks and then by the British for other military purposes. The parsonage house he willingly allowed to be used as a hospital for sick soldiers. The old churchyard became a battlefield, drenched with the blood and sown with the bones of the slain, and the church itself was practically destroyed by the fire of an American cannon mounted upon a tower thirty feet high and raking the whole interior of the fort. At this time, having been occupied and enlarged by the British, it was called Fort Cornwallis; and it was this stronger fortification which was besieged in 1781 by the Americans, under 'Light-Horse Harry' Lee, father of our own general, Robert E. Lee. Hunted down by a mob and driven into a swamp, because of his loyalty to England, Mr. Seymour escaped after many privations to Savannah. When hostilities were over, he was invited to return, but he engaged in other work and never came back. Meantime, the church and the glebe had been confiscated by the State. The property of St. Paul's then comprised 300 acres. When the land was sold, the proceeds were given to the Trustees of the Richmond Academy, and in 1786 the church was virtually rebuilt by the town authorities. While Episcopal clergymen still officiated in St. Paul's, the church was denied titles both to the building and to the ancient burying ground. In fact, in 1804, the church was rented for five years to the Presbyterians and it was not until 1818 that the Legislature of Georgia tardily restored the property to the Episcopalians." Soon after the transfer was made, the present handsome old edifice was built, in 1819, at a cost of $30,000, under the rectorship of the Rev. Hugh Smith. He was succeeded in 1832 by the Rev. Edward E. Ford, who ably served the church for thirty years, dying on Christmas eve, 1862, and at his request he was buried under the altar of the church. Dr. Wm. H. Clarke was then rector for sixteen years, after which at his death he was given like honors of interment. Dr. Williams became rector in 1878 and served the church with great usefulness for 28 years, at the expiration of which time he resigned his office to labor in another field. He was succeeded by the present rector.

Dr. Williams preached his farewell sermon on December 2, 1906. At the same time a tablet was erected in St. Paul's Church by the vestry, commemorating the events of which it became the historic center in Colonial times. Lettered thereon is the following inscription:

> This Tablet commemorates the founding of St. Paul's Church A. D. 1750, nearby the King's Fort in the town of Augusta, in the Colony of Georgia, under the English Crown.
>
> Also the faithful services of its Colonial Rectors: Rev. Jonathan Copp, 1751; Rev. Samuel Frink, 1765; Rev. Edward Ellington, 1767; Rev. James Seymour, 1771-1781; Missionaries of the Church of England and of the Society for [illegible]ropagating of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

L. L. Knight in "Georgia's L[illegible]dmarks, Memorials and Legends," Vol. I.

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*"Story of St. Pa[illegible]'s Parish," a pamphlet, by Rev. Chauncey C. Williams, D. D.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WESLEYS IN GEORGIA—JOHN WESLEY COMES AS A MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS AND AS A SPIRITUAL SHEPHERD TO THE WHITE FLOCK—CHARLES WESLEY ENGAGES AS OGLETHORPE'S PRIVATE SECRETARY, BUT LATER TAKES HOLY ORDERS—THE FORMER LABORS CHIEFLY IN SAVANNAH, THE LATTER AT FREDERICA—THE TWO EXCHANGE PLACES FOR A TIME—CHARLES WESLEY GETS INTO HOT WATER—OGLETHORPE RESENTS SOME OF HIS INJUDICIOUS MEDDLING—SAVANNAH, THE CRADLE OF METHODISM AND THE BIRTHPLACE OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS—JOHN WESLEY QUITS SAVANNAH—HIS LOVE AFFAIR WITH SOPHIA HOPKEY OR HOPKINS—WESLEY'S GEORGIA DIARY AND HYMN BOOK—BETHESDA—HOW WHITEFIELD CAME TO ESTABLISH HIS FAMOUS HOME FOR ORPHANS—THE GREAT PREACHER'S OWN ACCOUNT—LADY HUNTINGDON BECOMES A PATRONESS—ONE OF THE GREATEST OF PULPIT ORATORS.

When Oglethorpe returned to Georgia, in 1736, after a sojourn of several months in England, there sailed with him to Savannah two young religious enthusiasts, whose names were destined to become household words throughout the whole of Christendom: John and Charles Wesley. It was the founder's anxiety for the spiritual welfare of the colony which induced him to make overtures to these devout men. On the other hand, it was the somewhat ascetic creed of self-denial embraced by the Wesleys which induced them to exchange the luxurious life of an English countryside for the privations of an unexplored wilderness beyond the Atlantic. Reared under the pious roof of old Samuel Wesley, who, for more than forty years, was rector of the church at Epworth, both heredity and environment impelled them toward the pulpit. However, it was not until they became students at Oxford that they acquired the austere habits of life which set them peculiarly apart; and here, in association with congenial spirits, few in number but kindred in character, they formed a club, which drew upon them no small amount of ridicule and abuse. They were regarded in the light of pietists. The name which finally stuck—Methodists—seems to have been given to them by a fellow of Merton College. At first John Wesley declined the offer of Oglethorpe. His father was recently deceased and his mother was old. The latter, however, rallied him with mild rebuke. "Had I twenty sons," said she, "I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more." Thus admonished, he waived his scruples and agreed to accompany Oglethorpe to Georgia, his special desire being for missionary work among the Indians; and for this purpose he came with full religious ordination. But Charles engaged himself in the capacity of private secretary to Oglethorpe; and

his acceptance of purely secular work in preference to holy orders is said to have given offense to John, whose paramount reason for sailing to Georgia was "to save his soul." But Charles, almost from the outset, felt himself to be a misfit. It was at the expense of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that John embarked upon the expedition. At first he refused to receive the stipend of £50 per annum, but he afterwards agreed to take it. Another of the Oxford band who joined the brothers was Benjamin Ingham, a man of parts, who later joined the Moravian brethren, married a titled lady, and became the head of a sect called the Inghamites.

It was late in the fall of the year when two vessels, the Symond and the London Merchant, each of 220 tons burden, quit the English docks, bearing 300 emigrants to Georgia. The Wesleys traveled in the former. Among the passengers were twenty-six Moravians, whose demeanor during the progress of a somewhat stormy voyage made an extraordinary impression upon the Oxford men; and such was John Wesley's eager desire to converse with them that he immediately began the study of German and acquired no little familiarity with the language before reaching port. The piety of these devout Moravians moved him to admiration. Indeed, he questioned the genuineness of his conversion prior to meeting them. In his mission to the new world he was destined to meet with little apparent success, but he needed just the mental and spiritual discipline which it gave him. To quote Dr. J. W. Lee: "The John Wesley who went out to Georgia was still in a chrysallis condition; he had yet to learn how to expand his wings. It is not true that his career in Georgia was the utter failure it has been represented to be in many treatises. It is true, however, that it was hampered by the uncertain condition of will which is apt to precede some great spiritual change." On the 14th of February, 1736, which proved to be the Sabbath, the vessels anchored in one of the coves of an island, probably Cockspur. The day was calm and beautiful. Early in the morning the voyagers went ashore, and there, on a rising knoll, with his fellow voyagers around him, John Wesley lifted his voice in prayer for the first time in the new world, where the present generation sees his followers numbered by millions. Soon after reaching Savannah, John Wesley was designated to succeed Samuel Quincy, in charge of the religious affairs of the settlement, while Charles, in company with Oglethorpe, journeyed still further to Frederica.

To the west of the main highway and in less than half a mile of Fort Frederica, on St. Simon's Island, looms an ancient oak, gnarled and twisted. It rises to a height of some 200 feet, while, over an area of several acres, its cool shade rests like a benediction. It stands at the gateway to the churchyard of Christ Church; and, according to local tradition, it marks the exact spot on which the Wesleys preached during the infant days of the settlement. At first, Charles Wesley was employed in secular work. He engaged himself to Oglethorpe in the capacity of private secretary, before leaving England, but he afterwards took orders and devoted much of his time to preaching in the neighborhood of Frederica. From time to time he was also joined by his brother John, who came down from Savannah. Even if the oak in question is not the identical forest monarch under which the Wesleys preached, its

antiquity, from outward appearances at least, is sufficiently great to embrace the period of Georgia's early settlement, and several generations sleep within the quiet enclosure over which it stands sentinel. From the outstretched limbs of the old oak trail the pendant mosses, giving it an appearance of great solemnity and beauty and making it the picturesque embodiment of the austere memories which cluster about the sacred spot. The present chapel is comparatively new and thoroughly modern in every appointment, but it occupies the site of one which was quite old, and on the parish register are the names of the earliest residents of St. Simon's Island.

WESLEY OAK, A FOREST GIANT UNDER WHOSE BOUGHS THE FOUNDER OF METHODISM ONCE PREACHED IN GEORGIA

When Charles Wesley accompanied Oglethorpe to this place, opposite the mouth of the Altamaha, it was an infant settlement and the walls of Fort Frederica were just beginning to rise as a bulwark against the powerful encroachments of the Spaniards. Says Doctor Lee:* "Of this settlement, Charles Wesley, now in holy orders, took the spiritual charge. But he failed to make a success of his work. Benjamin Ingham was with him, a man of sincere piety but of doubtful judgment. Even before the close of the first month he had come to loggerheads with the people and was finding his duties as secretary an intolerable burden. His congregation had 'shrunk to two Presbyterians and a Papist,' and the physical

* "Illustrated History of Methodism," by Rev. James W. Lee, D. D., St. Louis, 1900, pp. 69-70.

discomforts of the place nearly drove him wild. Nor was he pleased with the manner in which Oglethorpe treated him. The good man, who had to attend to everybody's claims all over the Colony, and, in addition, was providing against threatened attacks from without, grew impatient with the incessant complaints made against Charles Wesley, who seemed to be always in hot water. Moreover, in the ecclesiastical attempts of the latter to set everything on a basis of thorough propriety, there was present a distinct element of insubordination to civil authority, which was beginning to show disintegrating effects in the attitude of the community at large. Being a thorough disciplinarian Oglethorpe keenly resented the injudicious meddling; and he visited his wrath upon his secretary in some acts of petty tyranny for which he afterwards expressed regret.

"In the beginning of April, John Wesley came to Frederica and preached in the new store-house. He had hoped to set matters right by his presence but was unsuccessful. We can picture the two brothers sitting together under the broad oak, which is still pointed out on the island as having afforded them shelter and can be seen by tourists on board the vessels which pass through the channel. Under it they no doubt discussed the worries and trials of colonial life. John Wesley decided to change places for a time with his brother; and Charles seems to have been much happier in Savannah. But he found that Georgia was no place for him; and, on July 26, 1736, at noon, he took his final leave of Savannah, surprised that he 'felt no more joy in leaving such a scene of sorrow.' In the friendly parting with Oglethorpe, the latter advised him to take a wife, as it would be likely to increase his usefulness."

Savannah may not inaptly be called the cradle of Methodism. Both of the Wesleys, when in Georgia, labored within the bounds of the Church of England; but the seeds of the great Wesleyan movement were nevertheless here planted. To quote John Wesley himself: "The first rise to 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 first, 1738, when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together every Wednesday evening." Of the four young men who met together at Oxford, all visited Savannah, John and Charles Wesley, Benjamin Ingham and George Whitefield, three of them having the charge of churches in the colony. Verily, Savannah has every right to be a stronghold of Methodism.

To quote a local historian, well-versed in the antiquities of Savannah: "Another event which lends luster to the small settlement on the banks of the Savannah River was the establishment of a Sunday-school in the parish of Christ Church by Reverend John Wesley, nearly fifty years before Robert Raikes began his system of Sunday instruction in Gloucester, England, and eighty years before the first Sunday-school in America, modeled after his plan, was established in New York. . . . This Sunday-school begun by Wesley, was perpetuated by Whitefield at Bethesda, and has continued until the present—constituting the oldest Sunday-school in the world. Nor does this end the claim of Savannah upon John Wesley. Here in Savannah was his first book of hymns written, though it was published in Charleston, in 1737. But one copy is known to be in existence, discovered in England in 1878. Rare as any

Shakespeare, this hymnal escaped the search of both English and American collectors; no biographer of John Wesley so much as dreaming of its existence. It is also interesting as an early-printed American book, apart from its interest as a hymnal and a portrayal of Wesley's mind during his eventful visit to Georgia. The volume is a small octavo volume of seventy-four pages, the title page of which reads: 'A Collection of Psalms and Hymns—Charleston. Printed by Timothy Lewis, 1737.' "*†

Says Dr. James W. Lee, in narrating the circumstances under which the great founder of Methodism left Savannah, in 1736:

"During his stay at Ebenezer, Wesley opened his heart to Spanenberg on a matter which was weighing heavily upon his mind; and he has placed on record his approval of the good pastor's advice. On his return to Savannah the affair was to assume a very serious aspect, and to bring to an abrupt termination his career in the settlement. The chief man at Savannah was a certain Thomas Causton, who began his career as the company's storekeeper, and was successful in securing the good will of Oglethorpe. This led to rapid advancement, which, however, was undeserved; for, some years later, he was detected in a course of fraudulent dealing and was summarily cashiered.

"There was living in his household at this time an attractive young lady, named Sophia Christina Hopkey, or Hopkins, his niece, who showed herself a devoted attendant at church services, and most receptive to the ministrations of the handsome young pastor. Desirous of learning French, she found in him an excellent teacher. Wesley's London friend, Delamotte, however, who regarded Miss Sophia as sly and designing, and doubted the sincerity of her professions, warned John Wesley against her. Wesley seems also to have discussed the matter of her sincerity—or rather of her fitness to be a clergyman's wife—with the excellent Moravians. The advice which they gave him coincided with Delamotte's, and the result was a distinct coolness in his manner toward the young lady. She resented the change, and, understanding its significance, accepted the advances of a less scrupulous suitor named Wilkinson, a man by no means conspicuous for piety. As her spiritual adviser, Wesley still continued to visit Mrs. Wilkinson.

"At length, believing that he perceived in the lady's conduct distinct marks of spiritual degeneracy, he deemed it his duty to repel her from holy communion. This summary and injudicious step was naturally interpreted in an unpleasant way. The husband and uncle of the lady sued him in the civil court for defamation of character; and in the squabble which followed, the people took part against Wesley. Holding peculiar views respecting the limited jurisdiction possessed by civil courts over clergymen, Wesley refused to enter into the necessary recog-

* Adelaide Wilson, in "Historic and Picturesque Savannah." Consult also: James W. Lee, in "Illustrated History of Methodism."

† Though Savannah has been called the "cradle of Methodism," it was not until 1807, nearly three-quarters of a century after the Wesleys returned to England, that this new religious denomination succeeded in obtaining a foothold in Savannah. Rev. Hope Hull, in 1790, undertook to hold a series of meetings in a chairmaker's shop, but; according to Doctor White, his preaching aroused mob violence, and his success was small. White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," under Chatham.

nizances, and a warrant for his arrest was accordingly issued. To avoid further trouble, he determined to fly, like Paul from Damascus. He left the place secretly by night, in the company of a bankrupt constable, a ne'er-do-well wife-beater named Gough, and a defaulting barber. They rowed up the river in a boat to the Swiss settlement at Purysburg, and proceeded thence on foot to Beaufort; but, misdirected by an old man, they lost the way, wandered about in a swamp, and, for a whole day, had no food but a piece of gingerbread. Finally they arrived at Beaufort, where Delamotte joined them, and thence they took boat to Charleston. Here Wesley preached again 'to this careless people,' and four days later took leave of America, embarking on board the 'Samuel,' Captain Percy.

"On the voyage, which was a stormy and unpleasant one, he devoted himself to ministering to the spiritual wants of those on board. In the solitude of his cabin he gave himself up to deep heart-searching. He felt that the want of success which attended his work in America was due to some lack of real devotion in himself. As he expressed it very tersely in a note to one of the entries in his journal: 'I had even then the faith of a servant, though not of a son.'

"Meanwhile, George Whitefield, to whom he had sent a pressing invitation to join him in Georgia, had embarked on his journey; and, the two vessels, as it happened, the one outward bound, bearing Whitefield, all aglow with missionary enthusiasm, the other about to enter port, carrying the disappointed Wesley, met at the mouth of the Thames. The question whether Whitefield should proceed or return weighed heavily on the mind of the older man, who seems to have thought that the decision rested with him. At length, having cast lots—a Biblical practice shared by him with the Moravians—he sent word to Whitefield that he had better return. But Whitefield did not highly esteem this method of coming to a practical decision, resolved to continue on his voyage; and, in due time, he landed at Savannah."*

"Bishop E. R. Hendrix had the good fortune, while on a visit to England in 1900 as the fraternal delegate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the British Wesleyan Conferences, to come into possession of the original diary kept by John Wesley during his stay in Georgia. This rare manuscript journal has been in the hands of only two families since it was given, in 1817, by the Rev. Henry Moore to Miss Elizabeth Taylor, of Caermarthen. She left it by will, in 1847, to the Rev. John Gould Avery, a Wesleyan preacher, who valued it so highly that it was retained in the possession of himself and his only daughter, Mrs. Norton Bell, the wife of a London architect, until bought, in 1897, by Mr. R. Thursfield Smith, J. P., of Whitechurch, Shropshire, a retired engineer and iron manufacturer.

"The book is a small duodecimo, bound in leather, and contains one hundred and eighty-six pages, all but eleven of which are numbered, and are filled with Wesley's handwri[illegible] Each of the numbered pages is devoted to the doings of a single day, and each line to the work of a single hour, except on one or two occasions when the writer was travel-

* Rev. James W. Lee, D. D., in Illustrated History of Methodism.

ing. The whole, therefore, contains a minute account of the way in which Wesley spent every hour of every day during the time embraced in the record. The first entry is dated Saturday, May 1, 1736 [Old Style]; the last is dated February 11, 1737. Wesley relates in his printed journal that he 'first set foot on American ground,' Friday, February 6, 1736, entering upon his ministry in Savannah on Sunday, March 7, of the same year; and on Friday, December 2, 1737, he continued, '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.' He took his final leave of America on the twenty-second. This record therefore relates to the greater part of the time spent by him as a missionary in Georgia.

"In the journal, the entries for the day begin at four o'clock in the morning, and end at nine o'clock at night; and also every hour of the day is inserted, whether the writer was on land or sea. The dates are given at the head of each page with the utmost exactness. The handwriting is neat and clear, and resembles that found in Wesley's later manuscripts. It was all written with a quill pen, on good paper, and with durable ink. The book is stained with oil or sea water, for he carried it with him on his voyages during his stay in America, several of such voyages being mentioned in the book. In one passage he uses the shorthand of Byrom's system, which he learned as early as 1731. The book shows that he was often attacked by ailments which ordinary mortals would have regarded as severe. Again and again he is seized with 'cholick,' which he sometimes spells with and sometimes without the 'k.' The first registered attack was on May 5th. It was on this date he met with trouble by declining to baptize a child because the mother refused to have it dipped. Wesley dined there, and 'took a glass of spirit and water to cure me of the cholick.' He abstained from spirituous liquors, 'unless in cases of extreme necessity' or 'at a wedding feast.'

"On one occasion he suffered from an attack of 'St. Anthony's fire,' which 'smarted much.' He was also attacked by 'shocking headaches,' intermittent fever, violent and protracted nausea, dysentery, and boils. He was also occasionally deprived of sleep by the attacks of nocturnal insects. He had often to take 'physick,' and was frequently 'in pain' or 'sick.' The only robust exercise he took was 'walking' or 'felling trees,' or 'nailing pales.' References are made to different places about Savannah, such as Frederica and Thunderbolt, and to the different people whom he chanced to meet. He speaks of Tomo-chi-chi and the Indians. While in Savannah, Mr. Wesley acquired German, Spanish and Italian. He prepared while there a small volume of seventy-four pages, with the title-page: 'A Collection of Psalms and Hymns. Charles-town: printed by Lewis Timothy.' This was the first Methodist hymn-book ever published.

On a bluff, near the seashore, nine miles from Savannah, is situated Bethesda, one of the noblest memorials in existence to the great English divine, the mature flower of whose genius was devoted to the establishment of this orphan house in what was then a remote wilderness of the New World. It is the oldest organized charity in America, a record

which may excite some surprise in view of the fact that Georgia was the youngest of the original thirteen colonies, founded more than a hundred years after Jamestown. But the humane enterprise of Oglethorpe originated in an impulse of philanthropy; it was an experiment in which some of the noblest minds of England were interested; and there is nothing illogical or strange in the fact that such an institution should have found birth in a colony, the motto upon whose seal was "non sibi sed aliis." To the people of Georgia, it will ever be a source of the keenest satisfaction not only that this pioneer institution possesses an age record of this character but that it originated in the heart of George Whitefield, the foremost pulpit orator known to the English-speaking world of his day and time. On a special visit to England, he secured from the trustees of the colony a grant of land comprising 500 acres, on which to establish his plant; and with the help of James Habersham, a fellow-traveler on his first voyage to America, he began to launch the humane project.

The site having been selected, a road was cut from Savannah to Bethesda—the first highway ever constructed in Georgia.

Perhaps the circumstances connected with the establishment of Bethesda are best narrated in the language of the great founder himself. Writing of the project, Whitefield, in a letter, dated March 21, 1745, and postmarked Bethesda, says:* "* * * it was first proposed to me by my dear friend, the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, who, with his excellency, Gen. Oglethorpe, had concerted a scheme for carrying on such a design before I had any though. of going abroad myself. It was natural to think that as the Government intended this Province for the refuge and support of many of our poor countrymen, numbers of such adventurers must necessarily be taken off, by being exposed to the hardships which unavoidably attend a new settlement. I therefore thought it a noble design in the general to erect a house for fatherless children; and, believing such a provision for orphans would be some inducement with many to come over, I fell in with the design, when mentioned to me by my friend, and was resolved, in the strength of God, to prosecute it with all my might. But, knowing my first stay in Georgia would necessarily be short, on account of my returning again to take priest's orders, I thought it most prudent to go and see for myself and defer prosecuting the scheme till I came home. When I came to Georgia I found many poor orphans who, though taken notice of by the Honorable Trustees, yet through the neglect of persons acting under them, were in wretched circumstances. For want of a house to breed them up in, the poor little ones were tabled out here and there; the others were at hard services and likely to have no education at all. Upon seeing this, and finding that his Majesty and Parliament had the interest of the Colony at heart, I thought I could not better show my regard to God and my country than by getting a house and land for these children, where they might learn to labor, read, and write, and, at the same time, be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Accordingly on my return to England, in the year 1738, to take priest's orders, I appealed to the Honorable Society for a grant of five hundred acres of land and laid

* White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," Chatham County, Savannah, 1854.

myself under obligations to build a house upon it and to receive from time to time as many orphans as the land and stock would maintain • • • I called it Bethesda because I hoped it would be a house of mercy to many souls."

Whitefield gave himself unreservedly to the work. Throughout the remainder of his life, it was the constant theme of his eloquence. Voyages back and forth to England and travels up and down the continent were made by him, almost without number, in behalf of his beloved Bethesda. Large sums were contributed on both sides of the water, and people in every walk of life were charmed into giving by the marvelous witchery of his words. Benjamin Franklin records this anecdote of Whitefield: "I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection and I silently resolved that he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles of gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of oratory made me ashamed to give so little and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all."

Nineteen years later found Whitefield making Bethesda an academy of high character, similar in design to one in Philadelphia. For this purpose two wings, 150 feet each, were added to the main building. But the great friend of the orphans was nearing the end of his pilgrimage. It was not reserved for him to witness the ultimate fruition of his work. By Whitefield's death, the institution passed to Lady Huntingdon. The clause in his will, transferring the property to her, reads: "I will and bequeath the Orphan House at 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 to enter upon her glorious rest before my decease, then to the Honorable James Habersham, a merchant of Savannah." Lady Huntingdon's first thought upon hearing of the bequeathal to her of Bethesda was characteristic of her devotional nature; a day was set apart for fasting and prayer. But preparations were hardly begun for taking over the work, when the buildings were destroyed by lightning.

Lady Huntingdon contributed largely of her private means to restore the institution and to provide sufficient accommodations; but anything like permanent growth was intercepted by the outbreak of hostilities between the mother country and the colonies in America. It is an interesting fact that this noble and gifted woman was distantly related to George Washington. She presented to the Orphan House at Bethesda, a full-length portrait of herself, the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds. It was sent to New York in 1851 to be re-touched and, after this result was skillfully accomplished, it was reshipped to Savannah. With the consent of the officers, it was placed in the keeping of the Georgia Historical Society, and today hangs in Hodgson Hall. At the close of hostilities with England an effort was made by the Legislature to carry out Whitefield's idea; and Chatham Academy was projected, which took over the educational work of Bethesda. The latter, for some time, retained an interest in the school property in Savannah, but eventually relinquished it and then seemingly passed out of existence, until finally revived by the Union Society: an organization only ten years younger than Bethesda. Planned upon non-sectarian lines, it existed for practical benevolence; and, in 1854, the board of managers of the Union Society, purchasing 125 acres of the Bethesda estate, erected buildings thereon for the orphans under its charge, and removed them thither. Ever since then the prosperity of the institution has been continuous and unbroken.

Recollections of George Whitefield.—Urged by the letters of Wesley, the Rev. George Whitefield resolved to answer his call for help, and go over to his assistance in Georgia. This young gentleman, born in an inn, of humble but worthy parents, was early left fatherless, and thrown upon resources so slender as scarcely to give him support. At school his talents for oratory were very nearly turned towards the drama; but at the age of fourteen, he persuaded his mother to take him from school and, putting on his blue apron, "washed mops and cleaned gowns" in his mother's tavern. Learning accidentally from a Pembroke servitor that, by aid of such a menial office, he could go through college with small means and having already made himself a good scholar in the classics, he hastened when eighteen years of age to Oxford, and, by the aid of £10 borrowed from a friend to defray the expenses of entering, he was admitted as a servitor in Pembroke College; where he was soon drawn towards the religious club of which the Wesleys were leaders. • • • He chose the worst food, wore mean apparel, often knelt under the trees of Christ Church walk until he was benumbed with cold, and passed Lent in such rigorous fastings, that, by Easter, he had to be under a physician for weeks. • • • Ordained, June 20, 1736, at the age of twenty-one, to the office of deacon in the Church of England, he commenced his clerical life with six guineas and one sermon; but soon called to officiate in London, he there began to exhibit the marvelous eloquence, for which in after years he was much noted.

Crowds flocked to hear him preach. Never before in England had so young a clergyman produced such wonderful effects. The churches could not contain the multitudes. His renunciation of honors and preferments at home that he might devote himself to the spiritual wants of a feeble colony abroad, combined with his bold oratory to beget an interest in the young divine which many lordly prelates might have coveted in vain. Yet in the midst of this tide of popular applause, we find him preserving his piety, his humility and his unswerving zeal. He left London, December 28, 1737, and, "in the strength of God as a poor pilgrim," went on board the Whittaker to embark for Georgia. He took with him, however, one friend, Mr. James Habersham, who, in opposition to the views of his uncle and guardian, resolved to cast his lot among the people where Whitefield was to labor. The ship in which the two friends sailed was a transport employed to convey part of General Oglethorpe's regiment to Georgia; but it was nearly a month before it was out to sea, being detained by head-winds; and in the meantime Wesley had returned to England.—Wm. Bacon Stevens, M. D., D. D., in History of Georgia, Vol. I.

His congregations were immense, filling valleys or covering hills; and the whole evangelical dissent of England still feels his power. With the Countess of Huntingdon, he founded the Calvinistic Methodism of Great Britain; but such was the moral unity of both parties, the Arminian and the Calvinistic, that the essential unity of the general Methodist movement was maintained. Whitefield crossed the Atlantic thirteen times and journeyed incessantly through the colonies, from Georgia to Maine, like a "flame of fire." The Congregational churches of New England, the Presbyterians and the Baptists of the Middle States, and the mixed colonists of the South, are largely indebted to the impulse received from his powerful ministrations. The great awakening under Edwards had not only subsided before Whitefield's arrival, but had reacted. Whitefield restored it. Though he did not organize the results

of his labors, he prepared the way for Wesley's itinerants. Abel Stephens, LL. D., in History of American Methodism.

On Saturday, September 29, 1770, he left Portsmouth on horseback for Exeter, where he preached in the open air to a large multitude. The effort was made in opposition to medical advice and exhausted him greatly. After dinner he rode to Newburyport with his friend, Jonathan Parsons, at whose house, close by the church, he was wont to stay. The walk in the garden, where the two used to pace up and down, is still shown. When they arrived he complained of weariness, took but a light supper, and thought of retiring. But the people of the place had gathered in front of the house to listen to words from the great preacher; and, with candle in hand, he stood on the doorstep, then considerably higher above the roadway than now. Earnestly he spoke to them regarding eternal salvation, until the candle was almost burned away and guttered in its socket. Then he withdrew and ascended to his bedchamber, where, at 6 o'clock the next morning, he succumbed to an attack of asthma. His last act before going to bed was to read from the Bible and from a volume of hymns by Watts.

His funeral was attended by an immense concourse of all classes; flags were at half-mast in the harbor, and the bells were thrice tolled for half an hour. He was buried according to his own request, in front of the pulpit of the Old South Church, in a brick vault. There in the coffin his bones are still to be seen; but the full canonicals in which he was laid to rest have long since moldered. Beside him repose the remains of his friend, Jonathan Parsons, who died at Newburyport, in July, 1776, after an honored pastorate of thirty years; also the remains of the blind preacher, Joseph Prince, who survived them both. In the corner to the left of the pulpit stands a cenotaph erected in 1828 to his memory by the Hon. William Bartlett; and the inscription, composed by Prof. Ebenezer Porter, reads as follows:

"This cenotaph is erected with affectionate veneration to the memory of the Rev. George Whitefield, born at Gloucester, Eng., Dec. 16, 1714; educated at Oxford University; ordained 1736. In a ministry of 34 years he crossed the Atlantic 13 times, and preached more than 18,000 sermons. As a soldier of the cross, humble, devout, ardent, he put on the whole armor of God, preferring the honor of Christ to his own interest, repose, reputation or life; as a Christian orator, his deep piety, disinterested zeal, and vivid imagination, gave unexampled energy to his look, action, and utterance; bold, fervent, pungent, and popular in his eloquence, no other uninspired man ever preached to so large assemblies or enforced the simple truths of the gospel by motives so persuasive and awful, and with an influence so powerful on the hearts of his hearers. He died of asthma, Sept. 30, 1770, suddenly exchanging his life of unparalleled labors for his eternal rest." James W. Lee, D. D., in Illustrated History of Methodism.

CHAPTER XV

THE SPANIARDS PROVE TREACHEROUS NEIGHBORS—GEORGIA IN CONSTANT DREAD OF A SPANISH INVASION—THE OLD BOUNDARY LINE DISPUTE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN REMAINS UNADJUSTED—TO PREPARE FOR A CLASH OGLETHORPE RETURNS TO ENGLAND FOR RE-ENFORCEMENTS—BARELY ESCAPES SHIPWRECK IN THE BRITISH CHANNEL—EFFORTS MADE BY SPAIN TO SECURE OGLETHORPE'S REMOVAL, BUT THE FOUNDER OF THE COLONY IS TOO SECURELY ENTRENCHED—WARMLY RECEIVED IN ENGLAND—IS EMPOWERED TO RAISE A REGIMENT—HOW IT WAS ORGANIZED—TROOPS ORDERED FROM GIBRALTAR TO GEORGIA—WHITEFIELD ACCOMPANIES THE SOLDIERS—OGLETHORPE SETS SAIL FOR GEORGIA WITH HIS REGIMENT, IN FIVE TRANSPORTS—SAFELY LANDS AT FREDERICA—MUTINY AMONG THE TROOPS CAUSED BY A SOLDIER IN THE PAY OF SPAIN—QUELLED BY OGLETHORPE—CAUSTON'S DEFALCATIONS—OGLETHORPE HASTENS TO SAVANNAH WHERE CAUSTON AT THE HEAD OF THE BAILIFFS IS ONE OF THE FIRST TO GREET HIM; BUT THE BLOW SOON FALLS—CAUSTON GOES TO ENGLAND TO EXPLAIN MATTERS—ON THE RETURN VOYAGE HE DIES AT SEA.

NOTE: OGLETHORPE'S REGIMENT

But the Spaniards were treacherous neighbors. There was no prospect of a settled peace so long as the old boundary line dispute between Spain and England remained unadjusted. It will be remembered that the former claimed all of South Carolina as a part of Florida, while England, on the other hand, insisted that her sovereignty in North America extended as far south as the St. John's River. The whole of Georgia's territory, therefore, was a bone of contention, lying entirely within this disputed belt. Moreover, since Georgia was organized as a buffer colony to protect the endangered frontier of South Carolina, the very existence of such a colony was a standing menace and a source of irritation to Spain. Realizing that sooner or later the long contemplated invasion was bound to come, Oglethorpe had lost no time with the means at his command in fortifying the southern boundaries of the province. The mission of Mr. Dempsey had not been without its helpful and wholesome results. But Oglethorpe well knew the Spanish temper. He had witnessed its exhibition too often. If there was to be a lull in the vexatious outbreaks along the border—if a truce was to be observed between Georgia and Florida—he well reasoned that its opportunities would be improved by Spain for quietly perfecting her plans. To thwart these designs by counter preparations was, therefore, the part of sound wisdom.

Accordingly, having put the colony in a fair condition to withstand an

attack, having guarded every passageway of approach, by such means as lay within his power, Oglethorpe again set sail for England, on November 29, 1736. He went to secure re-enforcements for the struggle, whose fiery storm-clouds were gathering. This trip also met the wishes of the trustees, who desired him to be present at the approaching session of Parliament, so that needed supplies for Georgia's maintenance and protection might be obtained. Major Horton, in the absence of Oglethorpe from the colony, was left in general charge of its defense. With headquarters at Frederica, the latter made frequent tours of inspection to its various outposts. But nothing of any special moment transpired to disturb the even tenor of life on the frontier; and while the founder was away a benign providence seemed to brood over Georgia, shielding her from all harm.

Narrowly escaping shipwreck in the British Channel, Oglethorpe reached London in time to attend a special meeting of the trustees on January 19, 1737. After giving a full report of the colony's progress, he discussed at some length his negotiations with the Spanish authorities at St. Augustine, his preparations for an attack from the Spaniards, and his need of further assistance from England. The trustees, by a unanimous vote, returned thanks to Oglethorpe for his wise oversight of the colony and resolved at once to petition Parliament for a grant of men, munitions and money, with which to protect the province against a threatened invasion by Spain. Coincident with Oglethorpe's arrival, a communication was received from Madrid asking for his dismissal. The Spanish ambassador also protested against the sending of troops to Georgia and against the return of Oglethorpe; but the underlying motives for these overtures was only too obvious. To quote a writer in the "London Post": "If this be a fact"—the rumor of Spain's request for Oglethorpe's recall—"we have a most undeniable proof that the Spaniards dread the abilities of Mr. Oglethorpe. It is, of course, a glorious testimony to his merit and a certificate of his patriotism that ought to endear him to every honest Briton." England's further answer to this appeal for the dismissal of Oglethorpe was a commission from the Crown appointing him general and commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in Georgia and Carolina. This was done in order that he might wield the military power of the two provinces all the more readily in the event of hostilities. At the same time, along with this general command, he was specially authorized to raise a regiment in England, to consist of six companies, of 100 men each, exclusive of non-commissioned officers. Later, a company of grenadiers was added. The manner in which this regiment was raised will indicate its select character. Oglethorpe secured as officers, so we are told, only such persons as were gentlemen of family and well reputed. He disdained to commercialize the service of his country by selling commissions in his regiment; and so far from deriving any pecuniary benefit from these appointments, it is known that in some cases he actually advanced out of his own private fortune what sums were necessary to procure commissions and to purchase uniforms. He also engaged some twenty young men of position but without fortune to serve as cadets with the promise of promotion as vacancies occurred. Moreover, at his own expense, he engaged forty supernumeraries. To induce the members of his regiment to settle in Georgia, permission was granted each to take to the colony a wife for

whose support additional maintenance was provided. In the language of Colonel Jones: "So carefully was the regiment recruited and officered that it constituted one of the best military organizations in the service of the King."*

But no time was to be lost. While Oglethorpe was raising his regiment, a detachment of troops, to meet emergencies, was sent from Gibraltar to Georgia, arriving at Savannah May 7, 1738. On this ship, the famous clergyman and orator of the Church of England, Rev. George Whitefield, was a passenger. As we have seen, he was coming to take the place of John Wesley as the colony's religious instructor. Not long thereafter, two companies forming a part of Oglethorpe's regiment were sent over, under command of Lieut.-Col. James Cochrane, and arriving in Charleston they marched overland by a road leading from Port Royal to Darien.

On July 7, 1738, with the rest of his command, numbering altogether—wives, children and supernumeraries—between 600 and 700 souls, Oglethorpe set sail for Georgia, on his third and last trip. Five transports were filled. These convoyed by two men of war, Blandford and Hector, arrived safely in Jekyll Sound, on September 18, 1738.†

On landing at Soldier's Fort the troops were greeted with an artillery salute. The construction of a road from Soldier's Fort to Frederica next engaged the attention of Oglethorpe and so rapidly was this work pressed to completion that in three days a highway was built, destined to prove of immense value in the military operations of a later period. This road ran for two miles along a marsh which, in the near future, was to be the scene of a most decisive conflict in the history of America. To quote Mr. Thomas Spalding: "It was due to the manner in which this road was laid out and executed that General Oglethorpe owed the preservation of the fort and town to Frederica."‡

Notwithstanding the extreme care employed by Oglethorpe in selecting the men who were to compose his regiment, it was nevertheless found to contain spies. The story of how these were first discovered is told as follows: While on board the Blandford it was discovered that one of the enlisted soldiers in Oglethorpe's regiment had been in the Spanish service, and that he was endeavoring to persuade several of his comrades, upon their arrival in Georgia, to desert with him to the Spaniards in Florida. His scheme further contemplated a murder of the officers at the post to which his company might be ordered, and desertion to the enemy with such valuables as might then be secured. He had a plenty of money, and stated that he was to be rewarded according to the number of men he should be able to seduce. Upon the concentration of the regiment in Georgia it was ascertained that several of the enlisted men were spies. They strove to persuade some stanch companions to betray a post to the Spaniards. Instead of complying with their suggestion, the honest and loyal fellows revealed to their commanding officer this evil intention. One of these spies, when arrested, confessed that he was a Papist and denied that the king of England possessed any authority over him whatever. A court martial was convened, and

* History of Georgia, Vol. I, p. 260.

† Stephens' Journal, Vol. I, pp. 294-295.

‡ History of Georgia, by Charles C. Jones, pp. 261-262.

the traitors, having been found guilty, were whipped and drummed out of the service. One of them, Shannon by name, afterwards committed murder at Fort Argyle. He was brought to Savannah and there tried, condemned and executed. Oglethorpe was extremely mortified at beholding this treacherous element, exceedingly small though it was, in his regiment, and used prompt measures for its extirpation.*

Accompanied by Capt. Hugh Mackay, Oglethorpe, on October 8th, set out in an open boat for Savannah, where he was greeted at the landing by a deputation of magistrates and saluted by the militia under arms and by the cannon from the fort. Tomo-chi-chi was also on hand to greet him, having arisen from a sick bed for this purpose. There were stopping at the old mico's house at this time, several Creek Indian chiefs who were in Savannah to congratulate him upon his safe return and to offer allegiance to the king. On the night of Oglethorpe's arrival bonfires were kindled in Savannah, and there was a great demonstration of rejoicing.

But Oglethorpe returned none too soon. Trouble was already brewing. On account of financial embarrassments under which the trust was laboring at this time, it had been necessary for the founder to draw largely upon his private means in conducting operations on the southern frontier. But he had not desisted from his labors on this account. To explain these difficulties of finance, Thomas Causton, keeper of the public stores and first magistrate at Savannah, had plunged the colony into debt. There were strong reasons for believing that he had misappropriated funds, aggregating perhaps as much as £13,000 sterling,† for the improvement of his plantation at Ockstead where he maintained himself in a style unapproached by any of his neighbors. Complaints had been made to the trustees of Causton's conduct while Oglethorpe was still in England. Moreover, the corporation had been distrustful of the storekeeper's integrity for some time. On June 7, 1738, the common council had sealed the removal of Mr. Causton as first bailiff and had in his room appointed Mr. Henry Parker. To examine into the storekeeper's accounts, Mr. Thomas Jones was appointed, with instructions to make a rigid investigation. At the same time Causton's arrest was ordered and directions given to seize his books and papers. Oglethorpe, on his arrival in Savannah, brought these documents. Causton, ignorant of what was coming, appeared at the head of the magistrates to welcome Oglethorpe on his return from Frederica. But he was not long kept in the dark. Some of the charges which the grand jury in Savannah had preferred against him were as follows: 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 tyrannical, arbitrary and oppressive in the discharge of his duties as an officer; that he was partial in the distribution of the public stores; that he had rendered the other magistrates subservient to his will. On October 18, 1738, Causton was dismissed from office as keeper of the public stores and required to deliver into the hands of Mr. Jones all books, papers and accounts connected with his office

* Ibid., p. 264.

† Letter from Harman Verelst, accountant, Westminster, June 2, 1738, Colonial Records.

as such. Mr. Henry Parker became first magistrate in his stead; while, to succeed him as storekeeper, Colonel William Stephens, who was then in Savannah, serving as secretary to the trustees in the province, was appointed.* Oglethorpe demanded bond of Causton; but since there were not in the colony men of sufficient means to make good the sums involved it was necessary to take Causton's individual bond secured by an assignment of his home at Ockstead, with all improvements thereon.

Examining Causton's accounts proved intricate work. His system of bookkeeping was a marvel of confusion. Months elapsed without bringing matters to an end. Finally Causton was ordered to London to appear before the common council; but with no better result. Failing to produce proper vouchers, he was permitted to return to Georgia, where he promised to make everything satisfactory to the trustees. But, en route home, he died at sea and in a grave beneath the Atlantic's rolling waters the restless spirit of this unhappy man at length found rest.

* Jones, History of Ga., Vol. I, p. 271.

OGLETHORPE'S REGIMENT.—Whatever may be said to the disparagement of Georgia as a colony of indigent debtors and of impecunious exiles, there was not to be found in the service of the King of England a body of soldiers whose family connections were superior to those of the men who composed Oglethorpe's Regiment. The story of how he gathered them is thus told by Colonel Jones. Says he:

"Oglethorpe's regiment was limited to six companies of one hundred men each, exclusive of non-commissioned officers and drummers. To it a grenadier company was subsequently attached. Disdaining to 'make a market of the service' by selling commissions, the General secured the appointment, as officers, only of such persons as were gentlemen of family and character in their respective communities. He also engaged about twenty young gentlemen of no fortune to serve as cadets. These he subsequently promoted as vacancies occurred. So far from deriving any pecuniary benefit from these appointments, the General, in some cases, from his private fortune advanced the fees requisite to procure commissions, and provided moneys for the purchase of uniforms. At his own expense he engaged the service of forty supernumeraries—'a circumstance,' says a contemporary writer, 'very extraordinary in our armies, especially in our plantations.' In order to engender in the hearts of the enlisted men an attachment for and an interest in the Colony which they were to defend and also to induce them to become settlers, permission was granted to each to take a wife with him, for the support of whom additional pay and rations were provided. So carefully was this regiment recruited and officered that it constituted one of the best military organizations in the service of the King."

As gathered by Mr. G. W. J. DeRenne, from the Book of Army Commissions, from 1728 to 1841, in the Record Office in London, some of the members of Oglethorpe's Regiment are given below. The list is fragmentary, but a more complete one is probably not in existence. These names are as follows:

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

CHAPTER XVI

WHILE OGLETHORPE IS AT FORT ST. ANDREW, AN INSOLENT SOLDIER FORCES HIMSELF UNANNOUNCED INTO THE FOUNDER'S TENT—DEMANDS AN INCREASE OF RATIONS—OGLETHORPE'S NARROW ESCAPE FROM A MURDEROUS ASSAULT—THE WOULD-BE ASSASSIN COURT-MARTIALED AND SHOT—FINANCIAL EMBARRASSMENT FOLLOWS CAUSTON'S IRREGULARITIES—WANING INTEREST IN THE COLONY—GRADUAL SHRINKAGE IN PRIVATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TRUST—FAILURE OF CROPS—CONDITIONS IN GEORGIA AT THIS TIME DESCRIBED BY OLIVER GOLDSMITH—THE DISCONTENT CENTERS CHIEFLY AROUND SAVANNAH—ON DECEMBER 9, 1738, A PETITION FOR REDRESS IS SENT TO THE TRUSTEES—THE NEED OF NEGRO SLAVES AND OF FEE SIMPLE TITLES TO LAND—BUT THE SALZBURGERS AND THE HIGHLANDERS PROTEST AGAINST AN INTRODUCTION OF SLAVES—DOCTOR TAILFER EXPELLED FROM THE PROVINCE—HIS VICIOUS PAMPHLET—OGLETHORPE IS ADVISED TO VISIT COWETA TOWN WHERE THE CREEK INDIANS ARE SOON TO ASSEMBLE—HE MAKES A HAZARDOUS JOURNEY THROUGH THE FOREST AND NEGOTIATES A TREATY WHICH BINDS THE INDIANS TO THE ENGLISH IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS AND GIVES AN ANGLO-SAXON CHARACTER TO THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA—THE DEATH OF TOMO-CHI-CHI.

Having adjusted matters in Savannah, after Causton's dismissal from office, Oglethorpe, on October 25, 1738, returned to the southern frontier, establishing his headquarters temporarily at Fort St. Andrew on Cumberland Island, where military defenses were in process of construction. The garrison at this place was manned by troops brought over from Gibraltar and these soldiers, besides receiving full pay, had for a season been allowed extra provisions from the public store. There was great dissatisfaction when these rations were discontinued: so much so that one of the men, forcing himself upon Oglethorpe unannounced, demanded a renewal of the allowance, in a manner most insolent. Captain Mackay, who was present, instantly drew his sword. But the desperado seizing it broke the blade in two, threw the hilt at the officer's head, and rushed to the barracks where he snatched up a loaded gun and gave an alarm shouting "one and all." It was evidently a preconcerted affair. Followed by some half dozen men he ran back to Oglethorpe's quarters and fired a shot that grazed the general's ear. Another soldier took deliberate aim but his gun missed fire. Thereupon a third approached, with his knife drawn in an effort to stab the commander but Oglethorpe having drawn his sword parried the murderous blow. At this time an officer appeared who, seeing Oglethorpe's peril, ran the ruffian through the body, at sight of which the conspirators fled. But

overtaken they were put into irons; and, after trial by court martial, having been found guilty, were shot. As we shall see later, the preservation of Oglethorpe's life at this time by what seemed almost a miraculous intervention meant much not only to Georgia's future existence but to an Anglo-Saxon supremacy in North America.

Financial embarrassment made the outlook for Georgia at this time dark with threatening storm-clouds. Causton's defalcations were not unattended by other calamities. There had been a gradual shrinkage for some time in private contributions to the trust. Parliament had decreased its appropriations for the colony's support; and, having authorized a regiment, the sum of £12,000 sterling was set aside for its maintenance, while only £8,000 was put at the disposal of the trust, to meet its customary expenditures. Consequently the trustees had incurred a debt of £12,000. Not only were forts still in need of cannon but colonists were clamoring for bread. There had been a failure of crops. The constant dread of a Spanish invasion had proved demoralizing to agricultural pursuits. Malarial fevers had become prevalent. To prevent a threatened destruction of the province, therefore, it was necessary for Parliament to act. An appropriation of £20,000 was accordingly made with which the trustees were enabled to meet outstanding obligations.

But there was a growing spirit of discontent in the colony, due to causes the roots of which struck still deeper. The system of land tenure had not given satisfaction. Since a property owner could neither mortgage nor sell his lands there was a check put upon trade. The necessity for slaves was hourly becoming more and more urgent. Effluvia from the swamps was rapidly destroying life among the white servants who tilled the river bottom plantations. As a result scores of settlers had quit the province, most of these going to South Carolina, where no restrictions were put upon lands and where there were 40,000 slaves. It was doubtless at this time that Oliver Goldsmith was inspired to write his doleful lines descriptive of conditions in Georgia. Portraying the region along the "wild Altama" he wrote as follows:

> "• • • To distant climes, a dreary scene,
> Where half the convex world intrudes between,
> Through torrid tracts with fainting steps they go,
> Where wild Altama murmurs to their woe.
> Far different these from all that charm'd before,
> The various terrors of that horrid shore;
> Those blazing suns that dart a downward ray,
> And fiercely shed intolerable day;
> Those matted woods where birds forget to sing
> But silent bats in drowsy clusters cling;
> Those poisonous fields with rank luxuriance crowned
> Where the dark scorpion gathers death around,
> Where at each step the stranger fears to wake
> The rattling terrors of the vengeful snake;
> Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey
> And savage men more murderous still than they,

While oft in whirls the mad tornado flies,
Mingling the ravished landscape with the skies.
Far different those from every former scene,
The cooling brook, the grassy vested green,
The breezy covert of the warbling grove
That only sheltered thefts of harmless love."

However, it was chiefly around Savannah that most of the unrest was to be found at this period. On December 9, 1738, a petition signed by 121 male inhabitants of the province was transmitted to the trustees asking for redress. The misfortunes of the province were at this time assigned to a two-fold cause: first, the want of a fee simple title to lands; and, second, the need of negro slaves. But the Scotch settlers at New Inverness, hearing of this petition, importuned the trustees not to grant slaves. The arguments made by the Highlanders were: (1) the proximity of the Spaniards whose offer of freedom to runaway slaves would make additional labor necessary to protect slave property; (2) the superiority of white labor to negro labor; and (3) the modest circumstances of the settlers who, if encumbered with debt to buy slaves would, in the event these slaves ran away, be confronted with ruin. In a letter to Oglethorpe the Salzburgers at Ebenezer also protested against the introduction of slaves. Consequently there was a refusal by the trustees to grant the reforms sought.

Dr. Patrick Tailfer, an apothecary of Savannah, in association with one Robert Williams, was, according to Oglethorpe, in a letter to the trustees, dated March 24, 1738, the chief instigator in fomenting strife among the colonists. This man became literally a thorn in Oglethorpe's flesh. As the ring-leader of a rowdy element or club of malcontents in the province he made himself notorious, so much so indeed that with some of his followers he was forced to quit the colony and to take refuge in South Carolina. Signing himself "Plain Dealer," he had addressed a scurrilous communication to Oglethorpe, replete with sarcasm, denunciation and invective. Finding himself beyond the confines of Georgia, he dropped his literary disguise and, in joint responsibility with two others, Hugh Anderson and David Douglass, published a defamatory pamphlet entitled: "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia." The fine Italian hand of Doctor Tailfer was recognized in its authorship. There was a vigor of English about it, an Addisonian flavor of style, but it failed to compass Oglethorpe's undoing. Even when thus maligned the object of this defamatory article was planning a hazardous journey through the forest to negotiate a treaty with the Indians at Coweta Town and to achieve a diplomatic feat which was destined to resound with his praise for ages to come. In a letter addressed to the trustees, June 15, 1738, he had intimated his intention of making this trip. Said he:*

"I have received frequent and confirmed advices that the Spaniards are striving to bribe the Indians, and particularly the Creek nation, to differ from us; and the disorder of the traders is such as gives but too much room to render the Indians discontented; great numbers of

* Colonial Records.

vagrants being gone up without licenses either from Carolina, or us. Chigilly, and Malachee—the son of the great Brim, who was called emperor of the Creeks by the Spaniards—insist upon my coming up to put all things in order, and have acquainted me that all the chiefs of the nation will come down to Coweta town to meet me and hold the general assembly of the Indian nations, where they will take such measures as will be necessary to hinder the Spaniards from corrupting and raising sedition amongst their people. This journey, though a very fatiguing and dangerous one, is quite necessary to be taken; for if not, the Spaniards, who have sent up great presents to them, will bribe the corrupt part of the nation; and, if the honester part is not supported, will probably overcome them and force the whole nation into a war with England. Tomo-chi-chi and all the Indians advise me to go up. The Coweta town, where the meeting is to be, is near five hundred miles from hence; it is in a straight line three hundred miles from the sea. All the towns of the Creeks and of the Coursees and Talapousees, though three hundred miles from the Cowetas, will come down to the meeting. The Choctaws also and the Chickasas will send thither their deputies; so that 7,000 men depend upon the event of this assembly. The Creeks can furnish 1,500 warriors, the Chickasas 500, and the Choctaws 5,000. 'I am obliged to buy horses and presents to carry up to this meeting."

Opposite the great bend in the Chattahoochee River, just below the site of the present City of Columbus, on the Alabama side of the stream, there stood an old Indian settlement: Coweta Town. It was the principal village of the great Muscogee or Creek Confederacy of Indians, a seat of government at which council fires were annually kindled by the various component tribes. Here, on August 21, 1739, occurred an event of transcendent importance not only to the State of Georgia but to the whole English-speaking world, for there was here signed and sealed a treaty of friendship the ultimate effect of which was to give an Anglo-Saxon character to the whole subsequent history of North America. This compact not only kept the Muscogee nation from re-enforcing the Spaniards who were soon to invade Georgia; but it brought them to the side of England in the French and Indian wars. Let us refresh our recollection upon this point with a brief statement.

It will be remembered that the French, at this time, by reason of the explorations of LaSalle, claimed the entire Mississippi basin of the continent, reaching from the Great Lakes on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. They were already securely entrenched upon the ice-bound heights of the great St. Lawrence; but they sought to strengthen the hold of France upon the vast and fertile region which bordered upon the warm tropics. For thirty-five years Bienville had governed with far-sighted statecraft the Province of Louisiana. His great aim was to give reality to the old dreams of LaSalle, viz.—to bring the native tribes under French control, to foster trade relations, to discover mines, to establish missions, and to unite Louisiana to Canada by means of a chain of forts planted at strategic points along the great Father of Waters.

In furtherance of this grand design, he had not only fortified the Mississippi delta but had planted the standard of King Louis upon the bluffs at Mobile.

As a sequel to this latter exploit, he claimed for France two-thirds of the land ceded to Georgia by the Crown of England. Had Oglethorpe failed, therefore, at this critical moment to enlist the friendship of the powerful Muscogee or Creek Confederacy of Indians and to confirm by treaty agreement the English right of ownership to the land described in Georgia's charter, there would have been an altogether different story for the future historian to tell. It is quite certain that the Indians would have come under the spell of the French diplomacy, for the Jesuits, a noble band of missionaries, were not slow in finding the key to the savage heart; and, in such an event, not only would the territory today embraced within Alabama and Mississippi have been lost to England but, from the additional strength gained by this alliance, another result might have been given to the French and Indian wars. In the light of this somewhat rapid survey, therefore, it is not difficult to trace

BOULDER OF GRANITE MARKING THE BURIAL PLACE OF TOMO CHI-CHI IN SAVANNAH

an intimate logical connection between the treaty of friendship concluded at Coweta Town on the Chattahoochee and the final overthrow of the French power in North America on the Heights of Abraham!

The masterful mind of Oglethorpe, with almost prophetic ken, foresaw at once the danger which confronted the Colony of Georgia; and, in good season, he struck a blow for England, which was destined to echo down the centuries. The great philanthropist and soldier had already in the fall of 1738 met at Savannah the chiefs of four of the Creek towns with whom he had sealed a pact of friendship. But Georgia was begirt by enemies. To the south were the Spaniards in Florida and to the west were the French in Louisiana; and, in order to circumvent any covert designs on the part of these powers to seize the territory of Georgia, he sought by means of larger co-operation with the Indians to confirm the English right of occupation to the Georgia lands and to bind the savage tribes more securely to him, in the event of an outbreak of hostilities.

He therefore resolved to attend the next great annual conclave or council-fire of the Muscogee Indians, on the Chattahoochee River, at Coweta Town.

In pursuance of this purpose, he accordingly left Savannah, on July 17, 1739, accompanied on the perilous expedition by a few chosen companions, among them, Lieutenant Dunbar, Ensign Leman, and Cadet Eyre, besides a small retinue of servants. The journey from Savannah to Coweta Town lay through a trackless forest, 300 miles in extent; and, taken in the heat of midsummer, there was added to the likelihood of attack from savage Indians the risk of exposure to the pestilential air of the swamps. We can thus form some idea of the sturdy mold of character in which this stalwart and heroic Englishman was cast. The wonderful influence of his strong personality upon the savage tribes of the wilderness again bore fruit in the success of his mission to Coweta Town, where, in due time, a treaty of alliance was concluded with the Creeks by virtue of which he obtained the good-will of 20,000 warriors and sealed the future welfare and happiness of the Colony of Georgia.

En route back to Savannah, on the return trip, the splendid constitution of Oglethorpe gave way, and, for weeks, at Augusta, he lingered in the uncertain balances of fate, equipoised between life and death—the victim of a malignant fever. But at length he came successfully through the severe ordeal of illness. His great work, under divine providence, was still unfinished for, besides thwarting the designs of France, there was still reserved for him the supreme and final task of sounding the death-knell of the power of Spain in the decisive battle of Bloody Marsh.

Tomo-chi-chi's health had been slowly failing for some time. It will be remembered that while the old Indian mico had been present in Savannah to welcome Oglethorpe on his second return from England, he had risen from a sick bed in order to extend his personal greetings to the founder. His sands of life were running low. Nor was it long after Oglethorpe's return before there occurred an event which steeped the whole colony in profoundest gloom. This was the aged mico's death. To the end of his days, this noble savage, this sage philosopher of the forest, had been a true friend to the colonists; nor did he ever tire of recalling his wonderful visit to England. Tomo-chi-chi was ninety years of age, according to tradition, when Oglethorpe landed upon the bluff at Savannah; and was close upon the century mark when he died. It was the last wish of the aged chief to be buried among the whites. His remains were, therefore, brought to Savannah, where they were interred in Percival, now Court House, Square, with impressive ceremonies. Six of the most prominent citizens of Savannah acted as pall-bearers, Oglethorpe himself among the number. Minute guns were fired from the battery as he was lowered to rest, and every respect was paid to the memory of the aged chief. His death occurred on October 15, 1739. An appropriate monument was planned by Oglethorpe, but for some reason it was not erected. However, the belated tribute has been paid at last. On the reputed spot of the old Indian's burial, a rough boulder of granite has been placed by the Georgia

Society of Colonial Dames of America, and a circular plate of copper bears the following inscription:

"In memory of Tomo-Chi-Chi, Mico of the Yamacraws, the companion of Oglethorpe, and the friend and ally of the Colony of Georgia. This stone has been here placed by the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America. 1739-1899."

CHAPTER XVII

OGLETHORPE'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS AT COWETA TOWN NEGOTIATED NONE TOO SOON—RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN REACH AN ACUTE STAGE—WAR IS DECLARED—ADMIRAL VERNON IS COMMISSIONED TO COMMAND A SQUADRON IN THE WEST INDIES—SPANIARDS BUTCHER DEFENSELESS SETTLERS ON AMELIA ISLAND—THE FIRST BLOODSHED—OGLETHORPE PURSUES THE MURDERERS WITH DIREFUL VENGEANCE AND BY WAY OF RETALIATION SWEEPS THE ST. JOHN'S AND BURNS THREE OUTPOSTS—RAVAGES THE COUNTRY IN THE DIRECTION OF ST. AUGUSTINE—NEXT PLANS A DECISIVE BLOW AT THE FLORIDA CAPITAL—EXPECTS FLEET IN THE HARBOR TO RE-ENFORCE LAND OPERATIONS—WHY THE ATTACK UPON ST. AUGUSTINE FAILED—COLONEL PALMER'S DISOBEDIENCE OF ORDERS—HIS TRAGIC DEATH—FORT MOOSA A DEATH-TRAP FOR THE GEORGIANS, WHO FIGHT LIKE LIONS AT BAY—MORE THAN A YEAR ELAPSES—THE SPANISH INVASION AT LAST MATERIALIZES—THE HISTORIC BATTLE OF BLOODY MARSH—OGLETHORPE'S ACCOUNT—SPAIN IS GIVEN A DECISIVE BLOW—CARLYLE'S OPINION—WHITEFIELD'S COMMENT—OGLETHORPE'S FAREWELL TO GEORGIA—FINAL RETURN TO ENGLAND—HIS SUBSEQUENT CAREER.

NOTES: BLOODY MARSH—FORCES ENGAGED—MEMORIAL OF BLOODY MARSH—FORT FREDERICA—GENERAL OGLETHORPE'S EPITAPH.

Oglethorpe's treaty with the Indians at Coweta Town was negotiated none too soon. Relations between Spain and England had reached an acute stage. British trade with America had for years been harrassed by Spanish coast guards who, under the most frivolous pretenses, had seized English merchantmen, confiscating the property on board. At the same time, English sailors had been thrown into prison and subjected to cruel treatment. There was naturally a demand for redress raised throughout England, but Walpole, eager for extending British trade, was anxious to maintain peace, a condition essential to this end. He, therefore, sought reparation by means of indemnity; and, under the terms of an agreement signed at Pardo, in January, 1739, Spain had agreed to pay a stipulated sum to cover losses sustained by British subjects. With respect, however, to the territory in dispute between Georgia and Florida, the issue as to a boundary line was to be settled by a commission representing the two powers. But Spain had failed to meet her obligations under this compact and had defaulted in the matter of paying an indemnity at the time stipulated. War, therefore, was declared.

Oglethorpe's defensive activities in safeguarding Georgia had given

offense to the Spanish king, who demanded a discontinuance of these hostile preparations. "No more forts and no more soldiers in Georgia"—these were his angry orders; but when this message was read in the King's Council the Duke of Argyle impatiently arose. "This should be answered," said he, "but not in the usual way—the reply should be a fleet of battleships on the coast of Spain."*

To command a squadron in the West Indies a commission was issued to Admiral Vernon, a gallant naval officer for whom Washington's country seat on the Potomac was afterwards named. Coincident with this appointment, Oglethorpe was ordered to harrass the Spanish settlements on the Florida coast. Before assuming an aggressive, however, Oglethorpe first began to repair forts, to strengthen garrisons and to concentrate munitions of war on the southern frontier. Relying upon promises made to him at Coweta Town, he dispatched runners to the Indian villages asking for a thousand warriors to reinforce him; and there came in response to this summons a host of bowmen. Some of these were employed as scouts. To guard the coast, vessels of war were detailed. Nor did Oglethorpe lose any time in preparing his regiment for hostile maneuvers. St. George's Island, having been abandoned in 1736, his southernmost garrison was on Amelia Island. Here he stationed a scout boat with sixteen men and later added a sergeant's guard. On November 15, 1739, tidings of the first bloodshed were brought to Frederica. Spaniards, having secretly landed in the night on Amelia Island and having concealed themselves in ambush, killed two unarmed Highlanders on the following day, at an early hour, when these men, unsuspicious of danger, were in quest of food. To murder, these Spaniards added butchery, frightfully mutilating the bodies of the two hapless victims.† Oglethorpe was no sooner informed of this outrage than he started in pursuit, only too anxious to visit condign punishment upon its perpetrators.

While the effort proved futile, Oglethorpe, by way of retaliation, swept the St. John's River, landed on the Spanish Main, and burnt three outposts. He also ravaged the country in the direction of St. Augustine, and for three days without success endeavored to provoke the Spaniards to combat. On January 1, 1740, with a detachment of his regiment, re-enforced by a band of Indians, he ascended the St. John's River and, after burning Fort Picolata, invested another stronghold, Fort St. Francis de Papa. Oglethorpe narrowly escaped death from a cannon ball in seeking to reduce this second fort; but he won the day. On driving the Spaniards out, he occupied it with a garrison and strengthened its defenses, deeming it too strategic a point to be abandoned.

Oglethorpe next planned a decisive blow at the enemy's citadel—St. Augustine. With the approval of the home authorities, he left Frederica in May, 1740, in command of a body of troops, numbering 2,000 men, of whom 1,000 were Indians. Fort San Diego, nine miles from the Florida capital, was easily captured, after which he continued his victorious march. Two miles from St. Augustine was Fort Moosa,

* L. B. Evans, History of Georgia, p. 28.

† Gentlemen's Magazine, 1740, Vol. X, p. 129.

the garrison in command of which, hearing of Oglethorpe's approach, retreated to the city for protection. On arriving before the gates of St. Augustine, Oglethorpe demanded the surrender of the town; but this message was returned by its commander: "I will shake hands with General Oglethorpe in the castle." Though somewhat ambiguous as to its exact meaning, it clearly implied a refusal to surrender.

Oglethorpe's plan of campaign included a naval attack. But unfortunately the ships could not get close enough to support the land forces, whereupon, instead of storming the city, a siege was instituted. From the standpoint of military science, no criticism was to be made of Oglethorpe's plan. His object, in the first place, was to prevent re-enforcements from reaching the Spaniards within the walls. He also wished to deceive the enemy as to his own strength, which was all too small to compass so hazardous an undertaking. Accordingly, he ordered Colonel Palmer, with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians, to scour the country in every direction, to cut off all supplies, to keep the Spaniards deceived as to his number, to be constantly on the march, showing himself everywhere, and to rest at no one place two nights in succession. But a violation of orders proved fatal to the success of this stratagem. Colonel Palmer remained three nights at Fort Moosa; and the Spanish general, learning of his whereabouts, took him one morning by surprise. Colonel Palmer fell early in the action; also a captain. Twenty Highlanders were killed and twenty-seven were captured, but never lions fought more fiercely, and, to quote Colonel Jones, "this hand to hand conflict was won at a cost to the enemy of more than a hundred lives." Oglethorpe was chagrined at this unexpected turn. It completely upset his calculations, opening the way for food supplies, of which the Spaniards were already greatly in need. Had it not been for Colonel Palmer's violation of orders the fall of St. Augustine would doubtless have followed within a week's time. There was now no alternative left but to withdraw the troops. The sultry days of mid-summer were at hand. Many of Oglethorpe's men had been prostrated by fever; and there seemed to be no likelihood of success in accomplishing the city's reduction. The attack on St. Augustine was therefore abandoned; but the English had lost only fifty men while the Spaniards had lost 450, besides four forts.

On returning to Frederica—his home since 1735—Oglethorpe lay for weeks in the clutches of a slow fever which threatened to end his life. It did leave him weak, emaciated and enfeebled, and he was months in regaining his former strength. But his zeal for the province was unabated; his vigilance, his enthusiasm, his courage—these knew no weariness. Five reasons are given by an eminent historian for Oglethorpe's failure to reduce St. Augustine:

1. The delay in starting. This was due mainly, if not entirely, to tardiness on the part of the South Carolina authorities in contributing troops and provisions, for which requisition had been made in due season. Upon Oglethorpe's regiment, supported by Indian allies and Georgia colonists, had devolved the brunt of the siege. The Carolinians, under Colonel Vanderdussen, proved inefficient, turbulent and disobedient.

2. The re-enforcement of St. Augustine with men and supplies from

Havana just before the English expedition set out, thereby materially repairing the inequality previously existing.

3. The injudicious movement against Forts Francis de Papa and Diego, which put the Spaniards on the alert, encouraged concentration on their part, and foreshadowed an immediate demonstration in force against their stronghold.

4. The inability of the fleet to participate in the assault previously planned, and which was to have been vigorously undertaken as soon as General Oglethorpe with his land forces came into position before the walls of St. Augustine.

5. The destruction of Colonel Parker's command, thereby enabling the enemy to communicate with and draw supplies from the interior; the lack of heavy ordinance with which to reduce the castle from the batteries on Anastasia Island; the impossibility of bringing up the larger war vessels to participate in the bombardment; the inefficiency of Colonel Vanderdussen's command; the impatience and disappointment of the Indian allies who anticipated early capture and liberal spoils; hot sun, heavy dews, a debilitating climate, sickness among the troops, the arrival of men, munitions of war, and provisions through the Matanzas River, these in the end rendered quite futile every hope which at the outset had been entertained for a successful prosecution of the siege.* It is needless to add that Oglethorpe was most severely and harshly criticized in England for the failure of the expedition against St. Augustine; but much of this criticism was captious, ill-advised, and unjust.

To prepare for a Spanish invasion, which was now imminent, Oglethorpe, on recovering from his malady, employed his regiment in erecting new fortifications. At the same time, old ones were put in repair. But more than a year was destined to elapse before a renewal of hostilities. Taking advantage of the lull, let us contemplate a picture of Georgia's founder drawn by the master-hand of an eminent historian:†

"During these seven years, which constituted the entire life of the colony, General Oglethorpe had enjoyed no respite from his labors. Personally directing all movements, supervising the location, and providing for the comfort, safety, and good order of the settlers, accommodating their differences, encouraging and directing their labors, propitiating the aborigines, influencing necessary supplies and inaugurating suitable defenses, he had been constantly passing from point to point, finding no rest for the soles of his feet. Now in tent at Savannah, now in open boat reconnoitring the coast, now upon the southern islands, his only shelter the wide-spreading live-oak, designating sites for forts and look-outs, and with his own hands planning military works and laying out villages; again in journeys oft along the Savannah, the Great Ogeechee, the Altamaha, the St. John and far off into the heart of the Indian country; frequently inspecting his advanced posts, undertaking voyages to Charlestown and to England in behalf af the trust, and engaged in severe contests with the Spaniards, his life had been one of incessant activity and solicitude. But for his energy, intelligence, watchfulness, and self-sacrifice, the enterprise must have languished. As we look back upon this period of trial, uncertainty, and poverty, our admiration for his achievements increases the more closely we scan his limited resources and opportunities, the more intelligently we appreciate the difficulties he was called upon to surmount. Always present whenever duty called or danger threatened, he never expected others to press on where he himself did not lead.

"The only home he ever owned or claimed in Georgia was on St. Simon's Island. The only hours of leisure he enjoyed were spent in sight and sound of his military works along the southern frontier, upon whose safe tenure depended the salvation of the colony. Just where the military road connecting Fort St. Simon with Frederica, after having traversed the beautiful prairie constituting the common pasture land of the village, entered the woods, General Oglethorpe established his cottage. Adjacent to it were a garden, and an orchard of oranges, figs, and grapes. Magnificent oaks threw their protecting shadows above and around his quiet, pleasant abode, fanned by delicious sea-breezes, fragrant with the perfume of flowers, and vocal with the melody of song-birds. To the westward, and in full view, were the fortifications and the white houses of Frederica. Behind rose a dense forest of oaks. 'This cottage and fifty acres of land attached to it,' says the Honorable Thomas Spalding in his 'Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe,' 'was all the landed domain General Oglethorpe reserved to himself, and after the General went to England it became the property of my father. . . . After the Revolutionary war, the buildings being destroyed, my father sold this little property. But the oaks were only cut down within four or five years past, and the elder people of St. Simon's yet feel as if it were a sacrilege, and mourn their fall.' Here the defenses of St. Simon's Island were under his immediate supervision. His troops were around him, and he was prepared, upon the first note of warning, to concentrate the forces of the colony for active operations. In the neighborhood several of his officers established their homes. Among them, 'Harrington Hall,' the country seat of the wealthy Huguenot, Captain Raymond Demere, inclosed with hedges of cassina, was conspicuous for its beauty and comfort."

To note briefly some of the elements of strength presented by Georgia's southern frontier at this time, the town of Frederica, guarded by a secure fort built of tabby, was a town of probably 1,000 inhabitants, most of whom were soldiers. On the south point of the island, at the village of St. Simon, was erected a watch-tower, from which the movements of vessels at sea might be conveniently observed and to apprise Oglethorpe of any information gathered from this point of observation there were signal guns mounted to give the alarm and a horseman ready to convey dispatches to headquarters. Vigils were also kept by a party of rangers at Bachelor's Redoubt and by a corporal's guard at Pike's Bluff. There was also a canal built to facilitate communication with Darien. On Jekyll Island, where Captain Horton owned a plantation, defensive works were erected. There was also established there a brewery to supply the troops with beer. On

* Colonel Charles C. Jones in History of Georgia, Vol. I, p. 334.

† Charles C. Jones, Jr., History of Georgia, Vol. I, pp. 336-7.

Cumberland Island there were three batteries: Fort St. Andrew, Fort William, and a battery on the west to control inland navigation. There was a fort at Darien garrisoned by Highlanders; while on Amelia Island was stationed a guard of Highlanders in scout boats. Such were some of the features in Georgia's plan of defense against the Spaniards.

During the midsummer of 1742 the long-expected Spanish invasion at last materialized, and in the historic battle of Bloody Marsh Oglethorpe's crowning service to the colony of Georgia was rendered. The best account of this renowned engagement is from Oglethorpe himself in a letter addressed to the trustees, on July 30, 1742. It is preserved both in the records of the Georgia Historical Society and in the Colonial Records of Georgia.* On account of the far-reaching effect of this battle not only upon the immediate fortunes of Georgia but upon the future destinies of America, Oglethorpe's letter describing this celebrated encounter is reproduced in full. It is to be regretted that in repelling the Spanish invasion little help was received from South Carolina. The victory was won almost entirely by Georgians. Says Oglethorpe:

"Frederica in Georgia, 30th July, 1742.

"The Spanish Invasion which has long time threatened the Colony, Carolina, and all North America has at last fallen upon us and God hath been our deliverance. General Horcasilas, Governour of the Havannah, ordered those troops who had been employed against General Wentworth to embark with Artillery and everything necessary upon a secret expedition. They sailed with a great fleet: amongst them were two half Galleys carrying 120 men each & an 18 pound Gun. They drew but five feet of water which satisfied me they were for this place. By good great Fortune, one of the half Galleys was wreacked coming out. The Fleet sailed for St. Augustine in Florida. Capt. Homer the latter end of May called here for Intelligence. I acquainted him that the Succours were expected and sent him a Spanish Pilot to shew him where to meet with them. He met with ten sail which had been divided from the Fleet by storm, but having lost 18 men in action against them, instead of coming here for the defence of this Place he stood again for Charles Town for repair, and I having certain advices of the arrival of the Spanish Fleet at Augustine wrote to the Commander of His Majesty's Ships at Charles Town to come to our assistance.

"I sent Lieut. Maxwell who arrived there and delivered the letters the 12th of June, and afterwards Lieut. MacKay, who arrived and delivered letters on the 20th of June.

"Lieut. Colonel Cook who was then at Charles Town, and was Engineer, hastened to England, and his son-in-law Ensign Eyre, Sub-Engineer, was also in Charles Town, and did not arrive here till the action was over: so, for want of help, I myself was obliged to do the duty of Engineer.

"The Havannah Fleet, being joined by that of Florida, composed 51 sail, with land men on board, a List of whom is annexed: they were

* Georgia Collections III, pp. 133 *et seq.*

separated, and I received advice from Capt. Dunbar (who lay at Fort William with the Guard Schooner of 14 Guns and ninety men) that a Spanish Fleet of 14 sail had attempted to come in there, but being drove out by the Cannon of the Fort and Schooner they came in at Cumberland Sound. I sent over Capt. Horton to land the Indians and Troops on Cumberland. I followed myself and was attacked in the Sound, but with two Boats fought my way through. Lieut. Tolson, who was to have supported me with the third and strongest boat, quitted me in the fight and run into a River where he hid himself till next day when he returned to St. Simon's with an account that I was lost but soon after found. I was arrived there before him, for which misbehaviour I put him in arrest and ordered him to be tryed. The Enemy in this action suffered so much that the day after they ran out to sea and returned for St. Augustine and did not join their Fleet till after their Grenadiers were beat by Land.

"I drew the Garrison from St. Andrews, reinforced Fort William and returned to St. Simon's with the Schooner.

"Another Spanish Fleet appeared the 28th off the Barr: by God's blessing upon several measures taken I delayed their coming in till the 5th of July. I raised another Troop of Rangers which with the other were of great service.

"I took Capt. Thomson's ship into the service for defence of the Harbour. I embargoe'd all the Vessells, taking their men for the service, and gave large gifts and promises to the Indians so that every day we increased in numbers. I gave large rewards to men who distinguished themselves upon any service, freed the servants, brought down the Highland Company, and Company of Boatmen, filled up as far as we had guns. All the vessells being thus prepared on the 5th of July with a leading Gale and Spring Tide 36 sail of Spanish vessels run into the Harbour in line of Battle.

"We cannonaded them very hotly from the Shipping and Batterys. They twice attempted to board Capt. Thomson but were repulsed. They also attempted to board the Schooner, but were repulsed by Capt. Dunbar with a Detachment of the Regiment on board.

"I was with the Indians, Rangers, and Batterys, and sometimes on board the ships, and left Major Heron with the Regiment. It being impossible for me to do my duty as General and be constantly with the Regiment, therefore it was absolutely necessary for His Majesty's service to have a Lieut. Colonel present, which I was fully convinced of by this day's experience. I therefore appointed Major Heron to be Lieut. Colonel, and hope that your Grace will move His Majesty to be pleased to approve the same.

"The Spaniards after an obstinate Engagement of four hours, in which they lost abundance of men, passed all out Batterys and Shipping and got out of shot of them towards Frederica. Our Guard Sloop was disabled and sunk; one of our Batterys blown up, and also some of our Men on board Capt. Thomson, upon which I called a Council of War at the head of the Regiment where it was unanimously resolved to march to Frederica to get there before the enemy and defend that

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Place: & To destroy all the provisions, Vessels, Artillery, &c., at St. Simon's that they might not fall into the Enemy's hands.

"This was accordingly executed, having first drawn all the Men on shoar which before had defended the shipping. I myself staid till the last, and the wind coming fortunately about I got Capt. Thompson's Ship, our Guard Schooner, and our Prize Sloop to sea and sent them to Charles Town. This I did in the face and spite of thirty-six sail of the Enemy: as for the rest of the Vessells, I could not save them, therefore was obliged to destroy them.

"I must recommend to His Majesty the Merchants who are sufferers thereby, since their loss was in great measure the preserving the Province.

"We arrived at Frederica, and the Enemy landed at St. Simon's.

"On the 7th a party of their's marched toward the Town: our Rangers discovered them and brought an account of their march, on which I advanced with a party of Indians, Rangers, and the Highland Company, ordering the Regiment to follow, being resolved to engage them in the Defiles of the Woods before they could get out and form in the open Grounds. I charged them at the head of our Indians, Highland Men and Rangers, and God was pleased to give us so much success that we entirely routed the first party, took one Captain prisoner, and killed another, and pursued them two miles to an open Meadow or Savannah, upon the edge of which I posted three Platoons of the Regiment and the Company of Highland foot so as to be covered by the woods from the Enemy who were obliged to pass thro' the Meadow under our fire. This disposition was very fortunate. Capt. Antonio Barba and two other Captains with 100 Grenadiers and 200 foot, besides Indians and Negroes, advanced from the Spanish Camp into the Savannah with Huzzah's and fired with great spirit, but not seeing our men by reason of the woods, none of their shot took place, but ours did.

"Some Platoons of ours in the heat of the fight, the air being darkened with the smoak, and a shower of rain falling, retired in disorder.

"I hearing the firing, rode towards it, and at near two miles from the place of Action, met a great many men in disorder who told me that ours were routed and Lieut. Sutherland killed. I ordered them to halt and march back against the Enemy, which orders Capt. Demere and Ensign Gibbon obeyed, but another Officer did not, but made the best of his way to Town. As I heard the fire continue I concluded our Men could not be quite beaten, and that my immediate assistance might preserve them: therefore spurred on and arrived just as the fire was done. I found the Spaniards intirely routed by one Platoon of the Regiment, under the Command of Lieut. Sutherland, and the Highland Company under the Command of Lieut. Charles MacKay.

"An Officer whom the Prisoners said was Capt. Don Antonio Barba was taken Prisoner, but desperately wounded, and two others were prisoners, and a great many dead upon the spot. Lieut. Sutherland, Lieut. Charles MacKay and Sergt. Stuart having distinguished themselves upon this occasion, I appointed Lieutenant Sutherland Brigade Major, and Sergt. Stuart second Ensign.

"Capt. Demere and Ensign Gibbon being arrived with the men they had rallied, Lieut. Cadogan with an advanced party of the Regiment, and soon after the whole Regiment, Indians, and Rangers, I marched down to a causeway over a marsh very near the Spanish Camp over which all were obliged to pass, and thereby stopt those who had been dispersed in the fight in the Savannah from getting to the Spanish Camp. Having passed the night there, the Indian scouts in the morning advanced to the Spanish Camp and discovered they were all retired into the ruins of the Fort and were making Intrenchments under shelter of the cannon of the ships. That they guessed them to be above 4,000 men. I thought it imprudent to attack them defended by Cannon with so small a number but marched back to Frederica to refresh the soldiers, and sent out Partys of Indians and Rangers to harrass the Enemy. I also ordered into arrest the officers who commanded the Platoons that retired.

"I appointed a General Staff: Lieut. Hugh MacKay and Lieut. Maxwell Aids de Camp, and Lieut. Sutherland Brigade Major. On ye 11th of July the Great Galley and two little ones came up the river towards the Town. We fired at them with the few Guns so warmly that they retired, and I followed them with our boats till they got under the cannon of their ships which lay in the sound.

"Having intelligence from the Spanish Camp that they had lost 4 Captains and upwards of 200 men in the last Action, besides a great many killed in the sea-fight, and several killed in the night by the Indians even within or near the camp, and that they had held a Council of War in which there were great divisions, insomuch that the Forces of Cuba separated from those of Augustine and the Italick Regiment ——— of Dragoons separated from them both at distance from the rest near the woods and that there was a general Terror amongst them, upon which I was resolved to beat up their Quarters in the night and marching down with the largest body of men I could make, I halted within a mile and a half of their camp to form, intending to leave the Troops there till I had well reconitred the Enemy's disposition.

"A French Man who without my knowledge was come down amongst the volunteers fired his Gun and deserted. Our Indians in vain pursued and could not take him. Upon this, concluding we were discovered, I divided the Drums in different parts and beat the Grenadiers march for about half an hour, then ceased, and we marched back with silence.

"The next day I prevailed with a prisoner, and gave him a sum of money to carry a letter privately and deliver it to that French Man who had deserted. This letter was wrote in French as if from a friend of his, telling him he had received the money; that he should strive to make the Spaniards believe the English were weak. That he should undertake to pilot up their boats and Galleys and then bring them under the Woods he knew the Hidden Batterys were; that if he could bring that about, he should have double the reward he had already received. That the French Deserters should have all that had been promised to them. The Spanish Prisoner got into their Camp and was immediately carried before their General Don Manuel de Montiano. He was asked how he escaped and whither he had any letters, but denying his having any, was strictly searched and the letter found, and he upon being pardoned, confessed that he had received money to deliver it to the French-

man, for the letter was not directed. The Frenchman denied his knowing anything of the contents of the letter or having received any money or correspondence with me, notwithstanding which, a Council of War was held and they deemed the French Man to be a double spy, but General Montiano would not suffer him to be executed, having been employed by him; however they imbarqued all their Troops, and halted under Jekyll; they also confined all the French on board and imbarked with such precipitation that they left behind them Cannon, &c., and those dead of their wounds, unburied. The Cuba Squadron stood out to sea to the number of 20 sail; General Montiano with the Augustine Squadron returned to Cumberland Sound, having burnt Captain Horton's houses, &c., on Jekyll. I, with our boats, followed him. I discovered a great many sail under Fort St. Andrew, of which eight appeared to me plain, but being too strong for me to attack, I sent the Scout Boats back.

"I went with my own Cutter and landed a man on Cumberland who carried a letter from me to Lieut. Stuart at Fort William with orders to defend himself to the last extremity.

"Having discovered our Boats & believing we had landed Indians in the night they set sail with great haste, in so much that not having time to imbarque, they killed 40 horses which they had taken there, and burnt the houses. The Galleys and Small Craft to the number of fifteen went thro' the inland Water Passages. They attempted to land near Fort William, but were repulsed by the Rangers; they then attacked it with Cannon and small Arms from the water for three Hours, but the place was so bravely defended by Lieut. Alexander Stuart that they were repulsed and ran out to sea where twelve other sail of Spanish vessels had lain at anchor without the Barr during the Attack without stirring; but the Galleys being chased out, they hoisted all the sails they could and stood to the Southward. I followed them with the Boats to Fort William, and from thence sent out the Rangers and some Boats who followed them to Saint John's, but they went off rowing and sailing to St. Augustine.

"After the news of their defeat in the Grenadier Savannah arrived at Charles Town, the Men of War and a number of Carolina People raised in a hurry set out and came off this Barr after the Spaniards had been chased quite out of this Colony, where they dismissed the Carolina vessels, and Capt. Hardy promised in his letters to cruise off St. Augustine.

"We have returned thanks to God for our deliverance, have set all the hands I possibly could to work upon the Fortifications, and have sent to the Northward to raise men ready to form another Battalion against His Majesty's Orders shall arrive for that purpose. I have retained Thompson's ship, have sent for Cannon shott, &c., for Provisions and all kinds of stores since I expect the Enemy who (tho' greatly terrified) lost but few men in comparison of their great numbers, as soon as they have recovered their fright will attack us with more caution and better discipline.

"I hope His Majesty will approve the measures I have taken and I must entreat Your Grace to lay my humble request before His Majesty that he would graciously pleased to order Troops, Artillery and other Necessarys sufficient for the defence of this Frontier and the neighboring Provinces, or give such direction as His Majesty shall think proper, and I do not doubt but with a moderate support not only to be able to defend these Provinces, the same numbers they had in this expedition."

To this interesting narrative we append, without comment, two contemporaneous accounts, copies from documents on file in the Public Record Office, in London, and found among the Shaftesbury Papers:

"The following particular Account of the Spaniards invading Georgia was received by Messrs. Skinner & Simson, Merchants in London, from Mr. John Smith, who was then on board the Success Frigate, Captain William Thomson, dated at Charles Town in South Carolina, the 14th of July last:

"'This serves to inform you of my safe arrival in Georgia after a Passage of 10 weeks. We met no Molestation from the Privateers in our way, nor could make no Prizes, tho' we pursued and brought to several Vessels. Our People were all healthy 'till the last three weeks of our Passage, when a Malignant Fever came amongst them and sweeped away several Soldiers, and the best part of our Ship's Company with out Chief Mate, Carpenter, and Boatswain. I was also visited, but got well over it.

"'Three days after our arrival in Georgia we were alarmed by several small Vessels being seen off the Harbour which we took to be Spaniards. The General sent his Privateer Schooner to Fort William which lyes to the Southward of our Harbour to help to defend that Place in case of being attacked, and the next day (being the 22nd of June) sent out his own Barge to make discovery if the Enemy had landed. They returned in the afternoon with Account that the Enemy with eleven Galleys were in the Sound called Cumberland, about 20 miles to the Southward of St. Simon's, where we lay. Upon which the General put two Companies of Soldiers in three Boats and went along with them himself to the relief of Fort William, so that crossing Cumberland Sound the Galleys, full of men, bore down upon them. He began the Engagement himself with his own Boats' Crew, and exchanged several Volleys with one of the Galleys. In the mean time two Galleys engaged one of the General's Boats where was 50 Soldiers commanded by one Toulson, who thinking himself hard set, bore away and left the General with the other two Boats engaged, but they bravely fought their way through with the loss only of one man, and got to Fort William. Toulson got clear and afterwards came to St. Simon's. That night we heard several great Guns fired, and volleys of small arms to the Southward, so that we got all ready for an attack; next day heard nothing of the General, which put everybody under great concern. The Day after saw a Sail off the Bar which proved to be the General's Schooner with himself aboard, and a Company of Soldiers, who brought account of all being well at Fort William, and that they had beat off 9 Galleys which thought to surprise them. The General came ashore and was saluted by us with 31 Guns, and by the Fort. He confined Mr. Toulson for leaving him, and sent for Captain Thomson, and advised him to send his Goods to Town, and get all ready for defence, for he thought of being attacked at St. Simon's. And soon after we had an Account that there were 32 Sail hoisting Spanish Colours where they lay in the same place for 5 days without making the least attempt, but sent out their small Vessels to

sound the Bar. July the 4th, they got under sail and came to in the right way off the Channel so that we expected to be attacked next day. The General came on board of us and made a very handsome Speech encouraging us to stand by our Liberties and Country. For his part he was resolved to stand it out, and would not yield one inch to them tho' they appeared so formidable. He was convinced they were much superior in Numbers, but then he was sure his men were much better, and did not doubt (with the favour of God) but he would get the better. We having but 10 seamen on board, the General sent us 100 Soldiers, and being well provided with warlike stores, were ready for twice the number of Spaniards. There were several Vessels in the Harbour which we (as Commodore) placed in the following order, viz:—

"'The Success, captain Thomson, 20 guns, 100 men, with springs upon our cable.

"'The General's Schooner, 14 guns, 80 men, on our starboard bow.

"'The St. Philip Sloop, 14 guns, 50 men, on our starboard quarter.

"'8 York Sloops close in Shore with one man onboard each in case of being overpowered, to sink or run them on shore.

"'July 5th. The Spanish Vessels got all under Sail and stood in. They sent two Quarter Galleys carrying 9 Pounders, and one Half Galley with two 18 Pounders in her bow to begin the Attack which were warmly received by the Fort which exchanged several Shot with them. The Wind and Tide both serving, they soon came up with us and fired upon us, which we returned very briskly. They attempted to come up under our stern, upon which I run out two 6 Pounders at the Stern Ports (they being the Guns I commanded) and fired upon her which made them lye upon their Oars, and drive with the Tide. The Admiral came next and was saluted with our whole broad-side, then by the Schooner and Sloop, which made him sheer off from us. In short we received all their Fire and returned the same very briskly, having fired near 300 Shot out of our Ship, they coming on one by one just gave us time to load, so that I believe there was not one Ship but had some Shot in her. They fired at the York Sloops which had run aground. After, they came to anchor and landed a great many men, of which they had great Plenty.

"'The General sent us off Thanks for our brave Resistance and ordered his men ashore and us with what other Vessels could go to make the best of their way to Charles Town or anywhere to save the Vessels; upon which, we gott ourselves in train for going to sea, and cutting our Cable dropped down with the Tide. The Schooner and Prize Sloop followed us, next morning got over the Bar, and said 4 Galleys standing after us, we got all ready for a second engagement, and having sea-room, would have made a market of them, but they did not care to come over the Bar.

"'All that night saw several fires, and a sloop blow up, which proved the General destroying all that might be of service to the Enemy, intending to march all his men to frederica and there hold it out.

"'July 7th. Got all into Charles Town. Captain Thomson petitioned the Assembly for assistance to the General, and to have his own Ship manned to go against the Enemy with the Man of War and what

other Merchantmen they can fit out, which they have taken into consideration.

"'The Flamborough, Man of War, and two Sloops, with a Galley, have been gone from this place a fortnight, and been drove to the Northward by a Gale of Wind. They yesterday came abreast of this place and had account how the General's Affairs stood: upon which they made sail for the Southward.

"'I wish our Fleet had been ready to have gone with them, and I dare say we would have cateht them all. Every minute appears an age to me till we can assist our Friends to the Southward and 'till I have Satisfaction for being left naked: They have got my all amongst them: not having one shirt but as I borrow. I hope next opportunity to write you better news. In the mean time remember me to all our Friends'

"On the 28th of June, 1742, thirty three Spanish Vessels appeared off the Bar. The General staid at St. Simon's taking all possible measures for the Defence of the Harbour, and opposed them in such a manner that they could not become Masters of the Bar 'till 5th instant when they entered the Harbour in-line of Battle ahead. The General's Disposition of the Land Troops prevented the Spaniards from Landing. The General's three Vessels, with Captn Thomson's Ship, fought stoutly. The Officers and Men in the Merchant Service, as well as those of the Regiment behaved with the greatest courage. After three hours' fight by the Land Batteries as well as the Vessels, the Spanish Fleet broke all through and made for Frederica, but in a very Shatter'd condition, which obliged the General immediately to send the Regiment for the defence of that Place, and followed in the rear himself, and before he would leave St. Simon's, had all the Cannon, Magazines, &c., burst and destroyed, and sent out such Vessels as were on float to sea, the Harbour having been left open by the Spaniards running up the River. The loss is very considerable, and chiefly owing to the want of Artillery, Engineers, good Gunners, and Ships of Force,—the Officers of the Regiment, Sailors, Indians, &c., having done all that men could do for their numbers. The General himself was everywhere but chiefly at the Main Battery and Shipping, Major Herpn being with the Regiment on Shore, and Col. Cook at Charles Town, by leave of Absence by reason of sickness, on his way to England. The General is preparing to make the best defence he can in this Place.

"General Oglethorpe being arrived on the 6th of July by day break, without the loss of a man, having brought up all the wounded on his horses, he dismounted and marched on foot himself and gave his own Horse to me. He immediately gave Orders for the Defence of this Place, sending our Scouts on all sides and, supplying the broken and lost arms &c., ordered all the Companies to be paraded on the afternoon of the same day. The Creek Indians brought in five Spanish Prisoners on the 7th day: On which day about the hour of ten, the Rangers who had been on the Scout came chased in by Spaniards, giving an account that the Enemy was within a mile of this Place where they had kill'd one Small. The General leaped on the first Horse and immediately marched the Highland Company, who were then under arms a parading, and ordered sixty from the Guard to follow. He himself

galloped with the Indians to the Place which was just within the Woods about a Mile from hence, where he found Captain Sebastian Santio, and Captain Magaleeto with 120 Spanish Troops and forty five Spanish Indians. Captn Grey with his Chickesaws, Capt. Jones with his Tomohetans, and Tooanahowi with his Creeks, and the General with six Highland Men, who outran the rest, immediately charged them. Captn. Mageleeto was killed, Captn. Sebastian Santio taken, and the Spaniards entirely defeated. The General took two Spaniards with his own Hands. Captn Mageleeto Shot Toonahowi in his right arm as he rushed upon him. Toonahowi drawing his Pistol with his left Hand, shot him through the Head. The General pursued the Chace for near a mile, when halting at an advantageous Piece of Ground, stayed till the Guard came up, and then posting the Highlanders on the right, and the guard upon the left of the Road,—hid in a Wood with a large Savannah or Meadow in the Front over which the Spaniards must pass to come to Frederica,—the General returned and ordered the Regiment, Rangers and Companies of Boatmen to march. Whilst they were preparing, we heard Platoons firing. The General immediately got on Horseback, and riding towards it met three Platoons on the Left coming back in great disorder, who gave him an account they had been broke by the Spaniards who were extremely numerous. Notwithstanding which, he rallied them and he himself rode on, and to his great satisfaction found Lieut. Sutherland and the Platoon of the Regiment under his command, and Lieut. Mackay with the Highlanders had entirely defeated the Spaniards who consisted of two Companies of Grenadiers, making 100 Men and 200 Foot. Don Antonio Barbara, who commanded them, was Prisoner, but was mortally wounded; they also took several other Grenadiers and the Drum. The General ordered all the Troops to march from Frederica to him. As soon as they arrived he pursued the Enemy four Miles. In the two Actions there were one Captain, one Corporal, and sixteen Spaniards taken, and about 150 killed: the rest are dispersed in the Woods, for the General halted all night at a Pass through the Marshes over which they must go in their return to their Camp, and thereby intercepted them. The Indians are out, hunting after them in the Woods and every hour bring in Scalps.

"July 8. Before daybreak the General advanced a Party of Indians to the Spanish Camp at St. Simon's who found they were all retired into Ruins of the Fort, under the Cannon of the Men of War. Upon which the General marched back and arrived here about Noon. About the same time a Party which the General had drawn from Fort William arrived, notwithstanding the Spanish Fleet lyes between us to secure us from that Place.

"July 9. This day was spent in going on with the Works."

On July 23, 1743, Oglethorpe returned to England, leaving Colonel William Stephens as deputy-general of the colony and Major Horton as military commander at Frederica. Despite the signal victory achieved by Oglethorpe over the Spaniards, he was not given the cordial reception in England which had signalized his former returns, due partly to a decline of popular interest in the colony itself and to a coldness

between Oglethorpe himself and the trustees touching financial matters. Because of this estrangement, Oglethorpe ceased to manifest the same interest in the affairs of the trust and to attend with anything like his former regularity upon its meetings; but he retained his commissions as governor down to 1752, when the charter of Georgia was formally surrendered to the Crown. The nature of these frictional troubles between Oglethorpe and the Trustees will be given more at length in a subsequent chapter. The illustrious founder returned no more to Georgia but in England he continued to mold events. For more than a decade, we find him a power in Parliament. His marriage in 1745 to an heiress, Elizabeth Wright, daughter of Sir Nathan Wright, a baronet, brought him a long rent roll and served to enlarge his influential family connections. Ten years later he became the official head of the Royal Army, with the full rank of general. In the most brilliant coterie of the Eighteenth Century, a group of intellects which included the great lexicographer, Dr. Samuel Johnson, with Boswell at his elbow; the renowned artist, Sir Joshua Reynolds; the celebrated poet, Dr. Oliver Goldsmith; and the foremost orator of his time, Edmund Burke; we find in this select company of immortals the tall figure of General Oglethorpe. He was too old, at the outbreak of the Revolutionary struggle, to accept the command of the British forces in America, but he was the ranking soldier of Great Britain.* It is also a fact of some interest to note that his sympathies were upon the side of the Colonies. Boswell, in his "Life of Johnson," makes frequent allusion to General Oglethorpe, and the great soldier's biography was to have been written by no less renowned a pen than Doctor Johnson's, but for some reason the author of "Rasselas" failed to execute this task. The portrait of Oglethorpe painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds was lost in the destruction by fire of his famous country seat, Cranham Hall. Alexander Pope, in a famous couplet, extolled the great philanthropist. Hannah More, in a gossipy letter, refers to him with some degree of gusto as her new admirer. Thomson, in his poem on "Liberty," pays him a fine tribute, and, in his most famous production, "The Seasons," he alludes still further to his humane experiment. The hardships of the Georgia colonists are also rehearsed at some length in Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." The friend of Bishop Berkley, the patron of John Wesley, and the colleague of Horace Walpole, the great man who founded Georgia was a personality of Titanic proportions. Royal favor was not bestowed upon Oglethorpe because of the well-known attachment of his ancestors to the House of Stuart. According to an old account, he was himself a foster-brother to the pretender. This explains why England failed to knight the first man of his age. But there was little need for England to lay the accolade of her chivalry upon one of God's noblemen.† Gen-

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* "The assertion has frequently been made, though the authority for it is not conclusive, that being the senior of Sir William Howe there was offered to him the command of the forces to subjugate America in the war of the Revolution, but that he declined the appointment, assuring the ministry that he knew the Americans well, that they would never be subdued by force of arms, but that obedience would be secured by doing them justice." History of Georgia, by Wm. B. Stevens, p. 207, New York, 1847.

† The following Oglethorpe bibliography may be helpful to students: "Memoirs of General James Edward Oglethorpe," by Robert Wright, London, 1867; "Life of

eral Oglethorpe died at the patriarchal age of ninety-seven. He lived to see the Colony which he founded an independent commonwealth and to meet John Adams, the first ambassador from the United States to the Court of St. James. He was buried at Cranham Church, in Essex County, England, where his last resting place commands an outlook upon the North Sea.

General Oglethorpe," by Henry Bruce, New York, 1890; "James Oglethorpe, the Founder of Georgia," by Harriet C. Cooper, New York, 1904; "James Edward Oglethorpe," an address at the Annual Banquet of the Georgia Society of Sons of the Revolution, at Savannah, February 5, 1894, by Judge Emory Speer, included in a volume of speeches on "Lee, Lincoln, Grant," etc., New York and Washington, 1909; and Judge Charlton's oration at the unveiling of the Oglethorpe monument in Savannah, November 23, 1910.

Bloody Marsh: Where a Battle was Fought in which Spain Lost a Continent.—Between the lighthouse at St. Simon's and the old citadel of Frederica there stretches a low plain on which was staged a war drama, the far-reaching effect of which upon the subsequent fortunes of America hardly admits of a parallel in the history of the New World. Here, on July 7, 1742, was fought the historic battle of Bloody Marsh. To quote an authority whose opinion is universally respected, Thomas Carlyle, "half the world was hidden in embryo under it;" and this wisest seer and clearest thinker of the nineteenth century further adds: "The Yankee nation itself was involved, the greatest phenomenon of these ages."* The renowned Whitefield declared that Georgia's deliverance from the Spaniards at this time was to be paralleled "only by some instances out of the Old Testament."† Said he:‡ "Certain it is that this battle, though well nigh forgotten, is one of the most glorious and decisive in the annals of our country. It determined that North America should be left to the exploitation of the Anglo-Saxon, the Celtic and the Teutonic races. Had success attended the Spaniards, they would have advanced upon the more northern settlements." To quote an eminent jurist of this State,* "General Oglethorpe received from the Governors of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina special letters, congratulating him on his success and expressing gratitude to the Supreme Governor of Nations for placing the affairs of the Colonies under the direction of a General, so well qualified for the important trust." In the ancient Spanish burial ground near Frederica lie the remains of some of the hapless victims who fell in this engagement, but the sacred area is choked with briars and brambles while, amid the damp undergrowth, hisses the vengeful snake. The disappearance of the Spanish flag, on January 1, 1899, from the whole upper half of the Western Hemisphere, when the independence of Cuba was recognized by the government of Madrid, merely served to record the final issues of the great victory achieved by Oglethorpe when, with a force of six hundred men, he inaugurated the era of Spain's downfall and gave the whole continent of North America to English civilization. Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends, L. L. Knight, Vol. I.

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* Judge Emory Speer, in a speech delivered at the annual banquet of the Georgia Society of Sons of the Revolution, at Savannah, on February 5, 1894, and incorporated in a volume entitled "Lincoln, Lee, Grant, and Other Biographical Addresses," pp. 130-131, New York and Washington, 1909. In this same work, Judge Speer reproduces the "Official Report of Don Manual Montiano, Spanish Commander of the Expedition against Georgia," a document of very great value to historians.

† McCall, Stephens, Jones.

‡ Judge Speer in the work above mentioned, pp. 130-131. Also an address delivered by Judge Walter G. Charlton, at the unveiling of the Oglethorpe monument in Savannah, November 23, 1910.

Forces Engaged.—The following is an estimate of the forces engaged:*

Spanish Troops	
One Regiment of dismounted Dragoons	400
Havana Regiment	500
Havana Militia	1,000
Regiment of Artillery	400
Florida Militia	400
Battalion of Mulattoes	300
Black Regiment	400
Indians	90
Marines	600
Seamen	1000
Total	5,090

General Oglethorpe's Command	
His Regiment	472
Company of Rangers	30
Highlanders	50
Armed Militia	40
Indians	60
Total	652

Memorial of Bloody Marsh.—During the summer of 1913, the historic battlefield of Bloody Marsh, on St. Simon's Island, was marked by a handsome granite memorial, unveiled under the auspices of two patriotic organizations: the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America, and the Georgia Society of Colonial Wars. Hon. Richard D. Meader, of Brunswick, Chancellor of the latter society, delivered the principal address, in which he discussed the far-reaching significance of this decisive battle, on the Georgia coast. Said he, among other things:

"The entire population of Georgia in 1750, eight years after Bloody Marsh, was only 5,000, whereas South Carolina at the same time had 68,000, North Carolina 80,000 and Virginia 275,000. In 1742 Georgia probably did not number more than 4,000 inhabitants, so that we have the spectacle of a small army of 650 men, less than a modern regiment, defending more than 300,000 people against the attack of a powerful enemy without any assistance from those people. Assuming that Georgia's population was 4,000 in 1742, it is not probable that the adult male population was more than one-third that number, so that we see another unusual spectacle, that of one-half the entire male population being engaged in one force, a proportion which I doubt has ever been equalled in the world's history. Had this small army of 650 men been killed or captured by the Sapniards, there could have been no effective resistance from the other parts of the colony, and Georgia as an English colony would have ceased to exist, while South Carolina and the more northern colonies would have had to fight for their existence.

"Oglethorpe, knowing the overpowering strength of the Spanish and his own weakness, realized the desperate straits he was in and made repeated but fruitless calls for additional troops upon the more northern colonies. Finally realizing that he must rely upon what force he had, in the face of great and impending danger he wrote those brave and memorable words which appear above his name on the monument that we are dedicating today."

Embedded in the monument is a neat tablet of bronze on which the following inscription is lettered:

> "We are resolved not to suffer defeat. We will rather die like Leonidas and his Spartans, if we but protect Georgia and the Carolinas and the rest of the Americans from desolation."—Oglethorpe.
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> Erected on the battlefield of Bloody Marsh—by the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America and the Georgia Society of

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* See McCall's History of Georgia, Vol. I, p. 196, Savannah, 1811.

Colonial Wars in memory of the great victory won over the Spaniards on this spot July 7, 1742. Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends, L. L. Knight, Vol. II.

FORT FREDERICA: 1735.—On the west side of St. Simon's Island, at a point which commands the entrance to the Altamaha River, stands an ancient pile, the origin of which can be traced to the days of Oglethorpe. It is the oldest of Georgia's historic ruins. Some of the very guns which were used to expel the Spaniards may be seen upon its moss-covered ramparts; and not only the earliest but the bravest memories of Colonial times cluster about its dismantled walls. Except for the part which it played in checking the haughty arrogance of Madrid, an altogether different sequel might have been given to the subsequent history of North America, for here it was that the Castilian power in the Western Hemisphere was for the first time challenged and the march of Spain toward the North halted by an overwhelming victory for the English Colonies.

Only some twelve miles distant from the beach, an automobile brings the visitor in less than half an hour to the picturesque old ruin and puts him in touch with the romantic life of two centuries ago.

RUINS OF FORT FREDERICA

The road to Frederica winds through splendid forests of live-oak, weirdly and gloomily draped with pendant mosses. It skirts the historic battle ground of Bloody Marsh, passes underneath the famous Wesley oak, and commands a view of Christ Church, within the sacred precincts of which there are a number of tombs wherein repose the dust of the old planters, whose elegant homes and fertile acres have long since been abandoned.

If the visitor prefers he can make the trip to Frederica by water.

But time has spared only the barest remnant of the ancient citadel which saved the continent of North America from Spanish domination. Only the walls of the old fort have been spared. Not a vestige of the town survives. Says one who has often visited the historic spot*: "It is a shame to think how the blocks of tabby were carted away to build the lighthouse and the negro quarters, so that nothing remains of the old town of Frederica. I remember when a child seeing a house on the ruins of the old battery and I can recall how I peeped down with awe at the magazine below. If our patriotic societies had been earlier founded how much might have been saved from vandal hands. But we are thankful to save even this remnant,

* Mrs. J. J. Wilder, of Savannah, President of the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America.

which the greedy waves had already overthrown when we determined to preserve it. On these very blocks of tabby the great and good Oglethorpe may have laid his hand. It is preserved in honor of him, the Founder of Georgia, whose energy was boundless, whose watchfulness was unceasing."

It is to the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America that the credit belongs for the rescue of this historic ruin on the Georgia coast. Occasional visits to the upper part of the island disclosed the sad plight in which the old fortifications were left and emphasized the importance of immediate action if anything were done to rescue the ancient land-mark from utter extinction. At one time there stood upon the ruins of the old fort an occupied building. Just how long ago it stood here is uncertain, but in removing the debris some of the workmen chanced to discover the walls. Thus after the lapse of long years was the existence of the old fort brought to the attention of the public. In 1902 a resolution was adopted by the Colonial Dames looking toward the restoration of the ancient stronghold. This was possible only in part; but without losing a moment's time these patriotic women took the initiative, raised the funds which were needed for making the proper repairs, and in due time completed the task. Embedded in one of the outer walls of the old fort is an elegant tablet of bronze, eighteen by twenty-four inches, on which may be read the following inscription:

OGLETHORPE

This remnant is all that time has spared of the Citadel of the Town of Frederica, built by General Oglethorpe, A. D., 1735, as an outpost against the Spaniards in Florida. Presented by the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1904.

With impressive exercises, the above mentioned tablet was unveiled on April 22, 1904. There were a number of distinguished visitors present, including representatives from the various patriotic orders. The fort on this occasion was profusely decorated with flowers. The tablet was covered with the British flag, while the American colors floated from the parapet. Mrs. J. J. Wilder, President of the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America, unveiled the tablet. The prayer of invocation was offered by Rev. D. W. Winn, rector of Christ Church at Frederica, after which the anthem "America" was sung by a choir of children. Then followed an address by Mrs. Wilder, at the conclusion of which Captain C. S. Wylly, of Brunswick, introduced the orator of the day, Hon. Pleasant A. Stovall, of Savannah, who, in eloquent language, told the brave story of the old fort. Some few paragraphs from this address are herewith reproduced.

Said Mr. Stovall, in substance: "Those who would have a glimpse of the real James Oglethorpe must come to Frederica, for he was above everything else a soldier. When he had finished his earlier task at Savannah, his face by some mysterious fascination was turned to the southward. He thereupon set out for St. Simon's where, true to his military instincts, he built his forts and assembled his regiment, and where, for the first time, yielding to the domestic spirit, he reared his roof-tree and established the beginning of his home. Until he left the Colony never again to return he resided at his cottage on St. Simon's Island, and of all the places planted and nurtured by him, none so warmly enlisted his energies or engaged his constant solicitude as this fortified town at the mouth of the river.

"The men who sailed with Francis Drake and who ravaged the Spanish main in the sixteenth century did not lead a more venturesome or heroic existence than did Oglethorpe at Frederica, yet according to Colonel Jones, 'the only hours of leisure he ever enjoyed were in sight and sound of his military works on the southern frontier.' Weary of the outcries and intrigues of the settlers at Savannah, stung by their evidences of ingratitude and discouraged by their protests against his benign supervision, he found rest at Frederica, where he stationed his regiment and revived a military regime. Here he mounted guard under the spreading oaks and watched the sentinels as they paced the lonely beats. Now and then he conversed genially with the cadets of the old families who had enlisted here, while ever and anon he heard the bugles ring out in the silver moonlight and saw his guard sloop patrol the estuaries of the Altamaha.

"Oglethorpe proved to be a sea-fighter as well as an infantry commander. He seemed to be at home in every branch of the service. Napoleon, when he heard that

the English had vanquished the French fleet in the battle of the Nile, held up his hands in helplessness and exclaimed: 'I cannot be everywhere.' But Oglethorpe seemed to have the faculty of being everywhere and of covering every foot of ground and every sheet of water, from the mouth of the St. John's to St. Simon's Island. He served the guns on shipboard and on the land batteries, and even acted as engineer. He had the power of initiative. He possessed the aggressive genius of attack."

"Walpole called him a 'bully.' He was not that; but he was a military man every inch of him, strict and severe in discipline, better suited to the scenes of war than to the patient civic administration of the council board. After the Spanish had been driven from the limits of Georgia and the peace of Europe had been accomplished, leaving Frederica free from the fear of further invasion, Oglethorpe sailed away to the old country and left the work of rehabilitating the Colony to other hands. It is fortunate, perhaps, for his fame that he did so. The rules of the trustees were much modified. The charter was surrendered to the Crown and the drastic lines upon which the paternal government of Oglethorpe had been projected were partially changed. But conditions had shifted. A Colony environed by an implacable foe, subject to spoliation at any time, must be governed, perhaps, by the rules of the ramparts and of the quarterdeck. A people basking in peace and developing under the arts need vastly different regulations. But fortunate for all of us it was that the first period of Georgia's existence was shaped by a master hand and its destines guided by one of the noblest men and one of the knightliest soldiers in Europe.

"After the departure of Oglethorpe and the conclusion of peace Frederica began to retrograde. The troops were finally removed and the fortifications fell into decay. Houses commenced to tumble down, and there were 'barracks without soldiers, guns without carriages, and streets overgrown with weeds.' Even in 1774, two years before the Declaration of Independence, Frederica was a ruin; from the crumbling walls of the deserted houses, figs and pomegranates were growing; and the brave town soon dwindled into nothingness. During the Revolution the British troops well nigh completed the spoliation of time. The mission of Frederica, according to Col. Jones, was accomplished when the Spaniards no longer threatened. Its doom was pronounced in the hour of its victory. Fannie Kemble, who visited the ruins in 1839 saw 'the wilderness of crumbling gray walls compassionately cloaked with a thousand graceful creepers.'"*

GENERAL OGLETHORPE'S EPITAPH.—In the chancel of the parish church at Cranham, in the County of Essex, Eng., on a mural tablet of white marble, is the following inscription to General Oglethorpe. The last resting place of the great humanitarian and soldier is near the water's edge, sixteen miles to the east of London. His palatial residence, which stood in the immediate neighborhood, was burned to the ground some time during the last century and the moldering gateway to the garden alone remains to tell where the colony of Georgia was first outlined in the dreams of the illustrious founder.

Near this place lie the remains of JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE, Esq., who served under Prince Eugene, and in 1714 was Captain Lieutenant in the first troup of the Queen's Guards. In 1740 he was appointed Colonel of a Regiment to be raised for Georgia. In 1745 he was appointed Major-General; in 1747, Lieutenant General; and in 1760, General of His Majesty's forces. In his civil station he was very early conspicuous. He was chosen Member of Parliament for Haslemere, in Surry, in 1722, and continued to represent it till 1754.

In the committee of Parliament, for inquiring into the state of the jails, formed 25th of February, 1728, and of which he was Chairman, the active and persevering zeal of his benevolence found a truly suitable enjoyment, by visiting with his colleagues of that generous body, the dark and pestilential dungeons of the Prisons, which at that time dishonored the metropolis; detecting the most enormous oppressions; obtaining exemplary punishment on those who had been guilty of such outrages against humanity and justice; and redressing multitudes from extreme misery to light and freedom. Of these, about seven hundred, rendered, by long confinement for debt, strangers and helpless in the country of their birth, and desirous of seeking an asylum in the wilds of America, were by him conducted thither in 1732.

* Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends, by L. L. Knight. Vol. I.

He willingly encountered in their behalf a variety of fatigue and danger, and thus became the founder of the Colony of Georgia; a Colony which afterwards set the noble example of prohibiting the importation of slaves.

This new establishment he strenuously and successfully defended against a powerful attack of the Spaniards. In the year in which he quitted England to found this settlement, he nobly strove to secure our true national defence by sea and land—a free navy—without impressing a constitutional militia. But his social affections were more enlarged than even the term Patriotism can express: he was the friend of the oppressed negro,—no part of the globe was too remote,—no interest too unconnected,—or too much opposed to his own, to prevent the immediate succor of suffering humanity.

For such qualities he received from the ever memorable John, Duke of Argyle, a full testimony, in the British Senate, to his military character, his natural generosity, his contempt of danger, and regard for the Public. A similar encomium is perpetuated in a foreign language;* and, by one of our most celebrated poets,† his remembrance is transmitted to posterity in lines justly expressive of the purity, the ardor, and the extent of his benevolence. He lived till the 1st of July, 1786; a venerable instance to what a duration a life of temperance and virtuous labor is capable of being protracted. His widow, Elisabeth, daughter of Sir Nathan Wright, of Cranham Hall, Bart., and only sister and heiress of Sir Samuel Wright, Bart., of the same place, surviving, with regret, but with due submission to Divine Providence, an affectionate husband, after an union of more than forty years, hath inscribed to his memory these faint traces of his excellent character.

(Then follows several lines of inferior verse.)

* Reference is here made, to an eloquent eulogy of Oglethorpe by Abbé Raynal, in his "Historie Philosophique et Politique."

† Alexander Pope's famous lines are here recalled—

Hail, Oglethorpe! with nobler triumphs crowned
Than ever were in camps or sieges found.

* * *

Thy great example shall through ages shine,
A favorite theme with poet and divine;
People unborn thy merits shall proclaim
And add new honors to thy deathless name."

CHAPTER XVIII

GEORGIA DIVIDED INTO TWO GREAT COUNTIES: SAVANNAH AND FREDERICA—COLONEL WILLIAM STEPHENS IS MADE PRESIDENT OF THE FORMER—BUT ON THE RETURN OF OGLETHORPE TO ENGLAND HE BECOMES PRESIDENT OF THE COLONY OF GEORGIA—SKETCH OF PRESIDENT STEPHENS—HIS JOURNAL AN IMPORTANT SOURCE-BOOK OF INFORMATION IN REGARD TO COLONIAL AFFAIRS—IMPOVERISHED CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE FOLLOWING THE SPANISH WARS—THE SILK-WORM INDUSTRY DECLINES—GREAT DISTRESS PREVAILS—PRAYER FOR RELIEF IS MADE TO THE TRUSTEES—THOMAS STEPHENS EMBARKS FOR ENGLAND TO REPRESENT THE MALCONTENTS, MUCH TO THE EMBARRASSMENT OF AN AGGRIEVED FATHER—SLANDERS THE TRUSTEES, FOR WHICH OFFENCE HE IS MADE TO KNEEL BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND TO RECEIVE A REPRIMAND FROM THE SPEAKER—NEVERTHELESS, IN RESPONSE TO REPEATED COMPLAINTS, RADICAL CHANGES ARE MADE—SLAVERY IS ALLOWED UNDER CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS—EVEN THE SALZBURGERS WITHDRAW OBJECTIONS—RUM IS ALSO ADMITTED—ESTATES IN TAIL MALE ABOLISHED—OGLETHORPE'S DIPLOMACY IN DEALING WITH THE INDIANS—CHRISTIAN PRIBER—SEEKS TO ORGANIZE AN INDIAN CONFEDERACY—PROVES TO BE A CATHOLIC—PAPERS FOUND ON HIS PERSON—THE BOSOMWORTH CLAIM—MARY'S DRAMATIC ENTRANCE INTO SAVANNAH—PRESIDENT STEPHENS TAKES A BOLD STAND—THE INDIANS ARE QUIETED.

Some two years before the return of Oglethorpe to England the province of Georgia had been divided by the trustees into two great counties: Savannah and Frederica. It was contemplated that for each of these there should be a president, with four assistants. But since Oglethorpe had established his residence on St. Simon's Island, no president was appointed for Frederica. To fill this office for Savannah, Col. William Stephens was appointed. Oglethorpe, however, still retained his general oversight of the province until his return to England, in 1743, when Col. William Stephens was designated to succeed him as president of Georgia, an office which he held as a sort of lieutenant-governorship under Oglethorpe, who, even after his return to England, continued for more than a decade to be Georgia's official head. Maj. William Horton was designated to act as military commander at Frederica. Here, on March 22, 1743, the powder magazine was blown up, it is supposed, by a vagabond Irishman; but its great mission had been accomplished. Capt. Richard Kent was chosen at this time to keep the peace at Augusta.

William Stephens was the son of an English baronet and was born on the Isle of Wight in 1671. After receiving his diploma from King's College, Oxford, he was admitted to the Middle Temple. In 1736 he came to South Carolina to survey a barony; and while in that province he chanced to meet General Oglethorpe, who was frequently a visitor in Charleston. At the latter's invitation he removed to Georgia in 1737 to become resident secretary of the trustees. Sixty-seven years of age at this time, he was quite an old man when made secretary; and on assuming official responsibilities as president of Georgia he was in his seventieth year. The journal which he kept during his residence in the province is the chief source from which most of our information concerning Georgia's early colonial life has been derived. This work, entitled a "Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia," was published in London in 1742, in three volumes.* It has recently been reproduced in the Colonial Records of Georgia.* The infirmities of age necessitated his relinquishment of the office of president in 1751; but he continued to live for two years longer, dying in 1753, at the age of eighty-two. Thomas Stephens, his son, published in 1742 a biographical work which he called "The Castle Builders, or the History of William Stephens," a second edition of which appeared in 1757.

Following the Spanish wars an impoverished condition of affairs was presented by the province. The Scotch settlement at Darien was almost completely extinguished. Most of the stalwart Highlanders had fallen in the protection of Georgia's exposed frontier, some of them under the walls of St. Augustine. Frederica had likewise received a blow from which it was destined never to recover. There was little recuperative energy in the province, due to some of the stringent laws under which Georgia was governed. Estates in tail had not proven a success. The ban against an importation of slaves had prevented Georgia from keeping apace with other colonies. The culture of silk-worms had proven a failure, nor had the growing of grapes been a source of profit. There had been no immigration of new settlers into the province for some time, due to various causes, among them (1) a waning interest in the colony on the part of the British public, shared in some measure even by the trustees; (2) a demoralized condition of affairs caused by Causton's irregularities; and (3) an ever-present dread of the Spaniards, who had sworn to extinguish Georgia; (4) malarial fevers; and (5) ill-advised rules of the trustees relative to land tenure, slavery, and rum. Consequently, the administration of President Stephens was couched upon troublous times. It was a period of great unrest, of widespread destitution, of deep-seated complaint, of demoralized social, industrial, and business conditions. Nor was it in any wise the fault of this high-minded and upright old man who, under circumstances of a most trying nature, was unflinchingly true to his trust. If he was to be criticized at all, it was for not acquainting the trustees, who relied upon him for information, as to the true facts concerning the province, especially with regard to the harmful effect of some of the laws passed by the corporation; but he was anxious to appear well in the eyes of the trustees, and he doubtless little thought that by putting a fair face upon

* Vol. IV, Colonial Records, Candler.

conditions he was doing the province any real harm. He ought to have told the trustees the exact truth, but instead of doing this, he preferred to urge a philosophic patience and a submissive spirit upon the colonists.

Georgia was the only one of the English provinces in which any restriction existed at this time as to the ownership of lands, as to the employment of slave labor, or as to the use of alcoholic liquors. As we have already seen, the trustees, while forbidding negro slaves, permitted white servants. These were brought into the colony under contracts called indentures, in which they bound themselves to hard labor for a term of years, usually from three to four; and at the expiration of this time they were to be given lands to occupy as settlers. Servants of this character were, as a rule, worthless. They were known as "indented" or "articled" servants; and if not an indolent lot, they were ill-adapted to agricultural employment in the Georgia swamps under a blistering sun. As a consequence, many of them fell victims to malarial fever. Besides, scores of these servants ran away, finding conditions of life much easier in the other colonies. We are not surprised to learn, therefore, that for the first six years after Colonel Stephens became president of the colony, Georgia, instead of flourishing, slowly declined until conditions finally reached an acute climax.

Prayers for relief had been made to the trustees as early as 1735, but without success. In 1738 a petition signed by more than a thousand colonists residing in the neighborhood of Savannah had been forwarded to the home authorities asking for modifications in the law as to slaves and ownership of lands; but the Scotch settlers at Darien and the Salzburgers at Ebenezer had opposed the introduction of slave labor in counter petitions. Consequently, the trustees had again refused to modify a set of rules to which they were committed by fixed principles. But there was no relinquishment of purpose on the part of the colonists. An incessant bombardment of the London office commenced to reach its dramatic culmination when Thomas Stephens, a son of Georgia's aged president, was sent to England as the mouthpiece of this discontented element to demand measures of relief, much to the embarrassment of an aggrieved father, who was not in sympathy with his errand.*

While these disappointments were being suffered by the trustees, further vexations were begun for them by Thomas Stephens, who had come to England claiming to represent the people of Georgia. As the agent of the inhabitants of the province, he had on March 30, 1742, presented a petition to the Privy Council complaining against the oppressions of the trustees and asking for relief. This petition was referred to the committee of the council for plantation affairs and a copy of it was sent by the committee to the trust with the desire that an answer might be returned as speedily as possible by the trustees. This answer was filed on May 3, 1742, but before a hearing could be held by the council the matter had been taken up by the House of Commons. On April 30 a petition was presented in the House for Thomas Stephens, but in the name of the inhabitants of Georgia, and it was moved that the petition be referred to a private committee. The friends of the trustees objected to this disposition of the matter, because they feared

* Thomas Stephens made to kneel before the House of Commons.

that a committee might be selected that would be hostile to the colony and so they pressed for a hearing before the whole House and this was finally secured by them. The petition and answer that had been filed with the Privy Council were laid before the House and it was agreed that both sides should be allowed to introduce evidence and might be heard by counsel.

Three solemn hearings at the bar of the whole House of Commons were held on the allegations of the petition and the defense of the trustees was then presented. After hearing the counsel for both sides and debating the subject among themselves, the members of the House as a committee adopted six resolutions to embody their findings in the case. They approved entirely the usefulness of Georgia; they asserted that it ought to be supported and preserved, and they condemned the petition of Stephens as containing false, scandalous and malicious charges, but they reported in favor of changing one or two of the regulations of the trustees. When these resolutions were presented as the report of the committee, the House adopted them without change on June 29; and Thomas Stephens on the next day was made to kneel in the House of Commons and was reprimanded by the speaker for his part in trying to asperse the characters of the trustees.

But sentiment in favor of radical changes in the government of the colony was gradually crystallized into a universal demand. The Salzburgers, who bitterly opposed at first an introduction of slaves, finally relented. The Scotch Highlanders no longer interposed an objection. Even the revered Whitefield, a moral leader of the most exalted type, originally a pronounced foe to slavery, became convinced of the fact that Georgia's existence as a colony was imperiled by the law forbidding its introduction. James Habersham was likewise of this opinion. Consequently, after turning a deaf ear to all appeals of this character for a period of fifteen years, the trustees were finally made to realize that resistance was no longer a virtue. Perhaps the most weighty argument of all for rescinding the law as to slaves was a single detached sentence from a letter written by the devout old minister, Mr. Bolzius. "Things being now in such a melancholy state," wrote he, "I most humbly beseech your honors not to regard any more our petitions against negroes."

It was, thereupon, resolved by the trustees to petition the king for a repeal of the law touching slavery in the province, under certain conditions, to wit: that the colonists should employ one white servant to every four male slaves; that slaves should be taught no trade likely to interfere with white citizens; that inhuman treatment was not to be allowed; and that moral and religious instruction was not to be neglected. Before any final action was taken, however, a letter was first addressed to President Stephens setting forth these conditions, in regard to which a ratification was asked. At a convention of the colonists over which Major Horton, of Frederica, presided, these conditions were accepted without demurrer. Moreover, additional conditions were proposed by the colonists to the following effect: That a penalty of ten pounds should be paid by every master who forced or permitted a slave to work on the Lord's day; and that if any master failed to compel his slaves to attend church at some time on Sunday he should

for each offense, be fined five pounds. Upon these conditions, formal acceptance of which was given, a petition signed by twenty-seven persons of the highest standing in the province was forwarded to the trustees asking that slavery be allowed at once; and in response thereto, on October 26, 1749, under the conditions above indicated slaves were admitted by law into the colony of Georgia.

Without multiplying details, it was only a few months before the regulations against a sale of rum and other distilled liquors was also repealed; while on March 25, 1750, the law governing land tenure was changed so that an owner of property might mortgage or sell his land at will. Thus fee simple estates were substituted for estates in tail male. One after another, therefore, the rules which, in the beginning, had been deemed by the trustees so essential to the welfare of the colony, had been abrogated. Even the silk-worm industry, of which the trustees had expected so much, was soon to die a natural death, despite every effort made by the British government to encourage its development. Handsome appropriations, liberal premiums, generous gifts, all proved unavailing. Mulberry trees began to die of neglect, cocoons decreased in number, filatures fell into ruin, and an industry from vast revenues were expected to accrue to the Crown of England, perished by slow degrees until at last its existence became only a dim recollection. The industrious Salzburgers alone persevered for any length of time in the spinning of silk; but even these patient Germans became discouraged at last. Thus every reform principle upon which the colony of Georgia was established by the trustees was in the end abrogated or annulled; but nothing can be said derogatory to the motives of the high-minded English gentlemen who were Georgia's earliest sponsors, and who, if somewhat visionary, were nevertheless noble and generous men.

Oglethorpe's tact in dealing with the Indians, whether we ascribe it to his far-sighted wisdom or to his strong benevolence of soul, secured for the province a long immunity from hostile attack. During the entire period of his residence in Georgia not a drop of English blood gleamed on an Indian's tomahawk or stained a white man's doorstep; and for years after his return to England so pervasive was his influence throughout the wilderness, so manifold the deeds of kindness which he had left behind him in Georgia, so just, humane and tender the recollections in which his good name was enshrined in the memory of these loyal friends of an alien race, so powerful the spell which he still continued to cast upon these savage men from whom he was separated by 3,000 miles of water, that no serious rupture with the Indians disturbed the smooth tenor of Georgia's colonial life, and even down to the close of the Revolution, both the Creeks and the Cherokees, still true to an old friendship, remained loyal to the flag of England.

But this friendship was at times sorely tested. As early as 1736 a German Jesuit named Christian Priber, in the employ of the French, had endeavored to alienate the affections of the Cherokee Indians. Priber was an accomplished linguist. He was also a man of intense religious zeal and with the courage of a Stoic. The ascendancy which he acquired over the Cherokees, among whom he made his residence, was marvelous, and for months all efforts to compass his arrest were futile. Finally, however, he was brought before Oglethorpe, who was

amazed to find a man of such attainments dressed in a coarse attire of deer skin. Nor was he less surprised when Priber frankly admitted that he belonged to the order of Jesuits; that, acting under instructions from his superior, he sought to organize not only the Cherokees but all the southern Indians into one confederacy, to instruct them in the useful arts, to teach them habits of industry, and, last but not least, by welding them into one compact and independent mass, to detach them from the British crown. Oglethorpe was moved to admiration for his prisoner, but since Georgia was a Protestant colony, from the privilege of which Catholics were excluded by charter, he deemed Priber a dangerous man in the province, not only for political but equally for religious reasons. He, therefore, caused him to be imprisoned at Frederica. Papers found on his person revealed somewhat more in detail the magnificent scheme of empire which he hoped to establish. Entries in his private journal told of a secret treasurer in Charleston from whom he was receiving funds. Had Priber not been arrested there is no telling what mischief he might have wrought. Dying suddenly while imprisoned at Frederica, his tragic death brought a sense of relief. Thus fell the curtain upon one of the strangest of dramas.

We now come to another singular episode. It transpired in 1749, six years after Oglethorpe's return to England. For a while an Indian outbreak of serious magnitude seemed to be threatened as its natural consequence, but happily bloodshed was averted. Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, an English minister, sent over by the trustees, had married Mary Musgrove, the Creek woman who had acted as interpreter for Oglethorpe during his first interview with the Indians. During the lifetime of her former husband, Mary had maintained friendly relations with the whites. It was not long after her second marriage, however, that she was persuaded by Bosomworth to present a claim of 5,000 pounds against the colony for her services as interpreter and for damages to the property of her first husband.

Under the influence of Bosomworth she was also induced to declare herself an Indian princess, the true Empress of the Creek Indians; and to support this contention Malatche, a chief of the Lower Creeks, was persuaded to recognize her as a sister. Nor was this all. Mary demanded three islands off the coast of Georgia, to wit, Ossabaw, Sapelo and St. Catharine, all of which had been reserved by the Indians for pleasure grounds. Her demand likewise included a tract of land near Savannah. Mary claimed that, in making this demand, she was not actuated by mercenary motives; that had she considered her own self-interest she could have made a fortune out of the colony; and that, had she desired to do so, it lay in her power to turn the whole Creek nation against the English, a result which would certainly have proved disastrous to Oglethorpe's humane project.

Strange to say, some of the most influential men in the colony espoused her cause, among them Maj. William Horton, commander of Oglethorpe's regiment at Frederica, lately deceased; Colonel Heron, who succeeded him, and who afterwards became commander of his majesty's forces in Georgia, besides many others. But President Stephens refused to recognize the validity of her claims, either to royal descent or for damages against the province; and he was, in fact, dis-

posed to impute sinister motives to some of the high officials who supported her contentions. Greatly incensed by the president's attitude, she collected a band of Creek Indians, at whose head she placed herself, and, marching to Savannah, renewed her demands. It was a most impressive spectacle, well planned and well executed. At Mary's side marched her husband, the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, dressed in his white flowing robes as a priest of the Church of England. In the rear followed kings and warriors of the Lower Creeks, belligerent with war paint and armed with hostile bows. The populace was alarmed and a battle seemed to be imminent.

But President Stephens was not to be intimidated by Mary's bold ultimatum. Despite his advanced years, he possessed a resolute spirit. He realized at once that a serious situation confronted him, and, calling out the military, under Capt. Noble Jones, to re-enforce his commands, he met the insurgent band on the outskirts of Savannah and ordered every man before entering the city to surrender his weapons. Constrained by the presence of the troops, the Indians agreed. But they also doubtless remembered Oglethorpe, and recalling his friendship, did not wish to shed blood. However, nothing could be done by the Indians while under the baleful influence of a pretended queen. Consequently, within a short while after entering Savannah, the Bosomworths were separated from the Indians and lodged in jail for safekeeping. President Stephens, in a friendly address, then endeavored to conciliate the Indians by reminding them in the first place that all the lands claimed by Mary belonged, in fact, not to her, but to the Creeks, having been reserved to them under an old treaty with Oglethorpe in 1733. As for Mary's claim to royal descent, he convinced the Indians that she was only an imposter and that she was using this title to accomplish her own selfish ends. The Indians gave no further trouble. Pledges of friendship were renewed, presents were distributed, and so far as the savages were concerned the affair was at an end.

But the Bosomworths left at once for England to prosecute this celebrated claim before the trustees. We cannot pause to consider further details. Years elapsed before a final decision was reached. The case became famous in the English courts. It was a source of great annoyance both to the corporation and to the Crown, but at length, in 1757, the matter was adjusted. Mary was awarded nearly two thousand pounds sterling in requittal of her claims. She was also given St. Catharine's Island, on which she was afterwards buried beside her second husband. Thus ended the Bosomworth claim. But long before its culminating stages were reached, President Stephens, having relinquished the helm of affairs, had closed his eyes in death at Beaulieu, his beautiful country seat, at the mouth of the Vernon River.

CHAPTER XIX

BEFORE PRESIDENT STEPHENS RETIRES FROM OFFICE A GREAT REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY IS WITNESSED—BUT THE SPINNING OF SILK CONTINUES TO LANGUISH—GEORGIA'S FIRST COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENT—HABERSHAM AND HARRIS—CENSUS OF 1750 GIVES GEORGIA 1,500 POPULATION—TO ASSIST THE AGED WILLIAM STEPHENS AT THE HELM OF AFFAIRS, HENRY PARKER IS COMMISSIONED VICE-PRESIDENT—EFFORTS TO REVIVE THE SILK INDUSTRY—PICKERING ROBINSON BUILDS A FILATURE IN SAVANNAH—MR. PARKER BECOMES PRESIDENT—GEORGIA'S FIRST PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY—IT EXERCISES NO LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS—DISTRICTS, HOW REPRESENTED—FRANCIS HARRIS IS MADE SPEAKER—NUMEROUS RECOMMENDATIONS—THE PROVINCIAL MILITIA—THE FIRST GENERAL MUSTER—CAPT. NOBLE JONES IN COMMAND—SOUTH CAROLINA, NO LONGER IN DREAD OF THE SPANIARDS, SEEKS TO ANNEX GEORGIA—THE MIDWAY SETTLEMENT—HISTORY OF THE DORCHESTER PURITANS—INFLUENCE OF THIS SETTLEMENT UPON THE FUTURE HISTORY OF GEORGIA—LARGE SLAVE OWNERS, ENTERING GEORGIA ONLY WHEN THE BAN ON SLAVERY IS REMOVED—THE TRUSTEES PREPARE TO SURRENDER GEORGIA TO THE CROWN—WEARY OF A RESPONSIBILITY IN MEETING WHICH THEY HAD EXPERIENCED A NUMBER OF FAILURES AND WERE NOT ON THE WHOLE SUCCESSFUL—GEORGIA BECOMES A ROYAL PROVINCE OF ENGLAND.

NOTES: HISTORIC OLD MIDWAY—SKETCH OF PRESIDENT PARKER.

Before retiring from office, President Stephens witnessed a great revival of industry in the Province of Georgia. Coincident with the radical changes made by the trustees, permitting the use of slave labor, removing the restrictions upon land tenure and allowing the importation of rum, an era of prosperity was inaugurated, the like of which had been unknown. Commerce also revived. Not only were importations from England increased, but an export trade with the mother country was developed. Some of the articles exported to England were deer-skins, rice, rosin, tar, indigo and staves. Efforts to encourage the planting of mulberry trees, however, yielded only indifferent results. The silk industry was doomed from the hour of its birth; but the trustees were slow to grasp this fact. [illegible] of the silk in the colony was produced by the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, who alone possessed the requisite patience for earning its small profits. New varieties of grapes obtained from Europe were cultivated with great success. Settlers began to come into Georgia from other colonies, causing a steady

increase in population. According to a census taken in 1750 there was a net gain of 1,500 souls.

Georgia's first commercial establishment—excepting, of course, the public store owned by the trust—was organized in 1749 by two enterprising residents of Savannah, Messrs. Francis Harris and James Habersham. The latter had accompanied Whitefield to Georgia and had been associated with him in organizing Bethesda, his celebrated home for orphans. Habersham and Harris were the colony's first merchants to engage in foreign commerce. They also chartered the first ship to carry the products of Georgia to England, and these enterprising business men were largely instrumental in laying the foundations of a trade destined to yield rich revenues.

To assist the aged William Stephens in the discharge of his executive duties, Henry Parker, on June 26, 1750, had been commissioned vice president of the colony, while to the office of secretary James Habersham had been elected. At the same time, an assembly of the people of Georgia was called to meet between Michaelmas and Lady Day, the purpose of which body was to recommend to the trustees what was deemed for the best interest not only of each particular settlement but of the province in general. Thus we here find the beginning of local self-government in Georgia; but this body, as we shall see later, was not a legislature. It proposed, but did not enact, laws.

The silk industry alone failed to share in the general improvement. To stimulate the production of silk, Pickering Robinson was placed by the trustees at the head of this industry, at a salary of 100 pounds per annum. He was also allowed 25 pounds for a clerk. To act with him James Habersham was appointed as a special commissioner without compensation. The year previous, Mr. Robinson had been sent to France, at the expense of the trust, to acquire new methods at first hands. On his arrival in Georgia a filature was built at Savannah as a sort of normal school for the benefit of the colonists. Liberal prices were offered for green cocoons and substantial outlays were made for bounties, but despite every effort to foster the industry it continued to languish. Up to the time when the charter of Georgia was surrendered by the trustees scarcely 1,000 pounds of raw silk had been raised in the province. Yet it was warmly asserted, if not actually believed, in the beginning, that the silk-worm industry of Georgia would, in various capacities, employ 40,000 individuals, and would net to the Crown a saving of 500,000 pounds per annum.

On April 8, 1751, Mr. Parker was commissioned president of Georgia to succeed William Stephens who, now having attained to the dignity of an octogenarian, was retired on a yearly pension of 80 pounds. Francis Harris and Pickering Robinson were named as assistants to the president, while Capt. Noble Jones was commissioned to serve the colony as registrar.

President Parker's administration was signalized by the meeting of Georgia's first provincial assembly, but its powers were somewhat limited. Since the authority to enact laws was vested by charter in the trustees, this assembly, therefore, could not legislate. It merely suggested to the trustees such measures as were deemed of vital importance to the welfare of the province or conducive to its best interests. The

assembly was to convene in Savannah once a year at such a time as the president might choose, with the advice of his assistants. Its deliberations were not to continue longer than one month. There was to be one deputy allowed each town, village or district in the province containing ten families, and for each settlement having thirty families two deputies were to be allowed. Savannah was given four deputies, Augusta and Ebenezer two each. Frederica was also to be allowed two, if thirty families were there resident.

In accordance with a provision to this effect made by the trustees, writs of election were issued, and on January 15, 1751, the assembly met and organized by electing Francis Harris its speaker. Pickering Robinson was appointed to prepare a report on the state of the province. The deputies—sixteen in number—who constituted Georgia's first provincial assembly, with the jurisdictions represented by each, were as follows:*

Savannah District—Francis Harris speaker; John Milledge, William Francis, William Russell.
Augusta District—George Catogan, David Douglass.
Ebenezer District—Christian Reidlesperger, Theobald Keiffer.
Abercorn and Goshen Districts—William Ewen.
Joseph Town District—Charles Watson.
Vegnonbourgh District—Patrick Hountoun.
Acton District—Peter Morell.
Little Ogeechee District—Joseph Summers.
Skidaway District—John Barnard.
Midway District—Audley Maxwell.
Darien District—John Mackintosh, B.

These deputies were required within three days after assembling to submit a written statement showing the number of inhabitants in the province, white and black, male and female, the quantity of land cultivated by each inhabitant, in what crop planted, the number of negroes owned and employed, the quantity of mulberry trees standing on each plantation, fenced and unfenced, the progress made by each family in the culture of silk, indigo, cotton, etc. This detailed report, together with such suggestions as the assembly might see fit to offer, was to be signed by the speaker and delivered to the president of the colony, to be forwarded to the trustees. There were no qualifications prescribed for delegates to the first assembly, but after June 24, 1751, no inhabitant of the colony could be elected a deputy who did not have 100 mulberry trees planted and fenced on every fifty-acre tract which he owned. Moreover, no one could be a deputy who did not adhere strictly to the prescribed number of negro slaves allowed by law in proportion to white servants employed, who did not have in his family at least one female skilled in the reeling of silk, and who did not annually produce fifteen pounds of silk for every fifty acres which he owned. If ever a colony was organized on Utopian principles it was Georgia. Most of her early legislation was monopolized by silk worms; and not only a man's wealth, but his value to society, his standing in the church and his hope of heaven were all gauged by mulberry trees.

* Charles C. Jones, Jr., in "History of Georgia," Vol. II.

After remaining in session some three weeks the assembly adjourned on February 8, 1751, having submitted a number of grievances which the president of the colony was thought competent to redress. One of the recommendations urged by this body was that a militia be organized, and to this overture, President Parker, on assuming office, addressed himself. Since the disbandment of Oglethorpe's regiment the colony had been at the mercy of the Indians, whose friendship, while warmly professed, was somewhat uncertain. Civilians were forced to rely upon themselves for police duty, and consequently there was no adequate protection for the colony's exposed borders. To form a militia, therefore, all adult white male inhabitants who possessed 300 acres of land or over were ordered to appear on horseback, well accoutered, while all white male proprietors who owned less than 300 acres were to be armed as infantrymen. There were four companies in the militia thus organized, one of horse and three of foot, numbering in all some 300 men. On Tuesday, June 13, 1751, the first general muster was held at Savannah, under the general command of Capt. Noble Jones. There were 220 men who responded to this call. Later Captain Jones was given a colonel's commission. His son, Noble Wymberly Jones, formerly a cadet in Oglethorpe's regiment, was given the command of a troop of horse.

Conservators were named at this time for some of the more populous districts in which there were no established courts. Capt. John McIntosh was appointed at Darien, James Frazer at Augusta, and Audley Maxwell for the district of Midway and Great Ogeechee. These conservators, to use the phraseology of a later day, were justices of the peace, empowered to try cases where the amount involved did not exceed £20 sterling.

Disturbed no longer by the dread of a Spanish invasion, South Carolina began to covet once more the rich lands which lay to the west of Savannah, out of which a colony had been formed for her protection. Consequently, a movement for the annexation of Georgia to South Carolina was projected. It met with vigorous opposition on the part of the colony's first assembly and a strong pamphlet entitled "Objections to Annexing Georgia to South Carolina" was published at this time, a copy of which is still in existence among the Shaftsbury papers, in the Public Record Office in London. But the proposed consolidation failed to materialize.*

In 1752 a colony of Puritans destined to make its profound impress upon the future history of the state, came to Georgia, settling in the famous Midway district, between Savannah and Darien. These new settlers came directly from South Carolina, where they had acquired an extensive property in slaves. For some time they had coveted these rich alluvial lands on the Georgia coast, but it was not until the trust permitted an introduction of negroes and modified its policy with respect to land tenure that they felt at liberty to settle in Georgia. Most of

* South Carolina made a similar attempt during the Revolution to incorporate Georgia within her boundaries; and to this end sent Wm. H. Drayton to Savannah to address the Legislature. But such was the hornet's nest of opposition aroused by his speech that he returned somewhat hastily to South Carolina, where he felt much safer.

these Puritans were rice planters. Having employed white labor with disastrous results, they found negro labor a source of profit, and they became in time the largest slaveholders in the state.

To find the historical genesis of this devout community on the Georgia coast, we must go back to the ancestral seats, beyond the water, in England. On March 30, 1630, there gathered upon the docks of Plymouth, to embark for the New World, a band of Puritans. They came together from the neighboring counties; and, after a day spent in worship, took passage on the Mary and John, a small vessel of 400 tons, commanded by Captain Squeb. Entering the harbor of Nantucket, on the coast of Massachusetts, they settled in the tide-water region near-by, calling the place Dorchester, in honor of the old home in England from which many of them came. There were 140 members in this pioneer flock. At the expiration of five years, becoming dissatisfied, they removed to the present site of Windsor, Connecticut. In 1695, some of these same Puritans, migrating southward, planted a settlement on the Ashley River, in South Carolina, which they likewise called Dorchester; and when, in 1751, the restrictions upon slave labor and land tenure in Georgia were removed by the trustees, these enterprising planters sent representatives into the adjoining province to reconnoiter. At last they decided to locate upon the fertile bottoms of the Midway district. According to the records, the first settlers were beset on the journey by the most violent storms ever known on the Georgia coast; but they were not to be deterred. They proceeded into the interior some ten miles, and selecting a locality which seemed to meet the requirements, they called it Dorchester, thus memorializing for the third time this prime favorite among the English towns.

On December 5, 1752, the advance guard arrived at the place of settlement, Benjamin Baker and Samuel Bacon, each accompanied by his family; but the death of Mrs. Baker, on the day following, cast a gloom of sadness over the little camp. In the spring of the next year, Parmenas Way, with his family, arrived; and during the year 1754 there came seventeen families, including the pastor's, Rev. John Osgood, and two single men, John Quarterman, Jr., and Moses Way. Those having families were: Rev. John Osgood, Richard Spencer, John Stevens, Richard Baker, Josiah Osgood, Samuel Way, John Quarterman, Sr., Sarah Mitchell, John Mitchell, Samuel Burnley, Edward Way, Edward Sumner, William Baker, John Shave, Nathaniel Way, and Benjamin Andrews. Three of these were from Pon Pon, a settlement on the lower Edisto River, viz.: Sarah Mitchell, John Mitchell, and Benjamin Andrew. In 1755 there arrived six families and two single men. The heads of families were: John Gorton, John Winn, John Lupton, Joseph Bacon, Andrew Way, Isaac Girardeau. The two single men were: Thomas Peacock, of Charleston, and Joseph Massey, of Pon Pon. Five families came in 1756, those of William Graves, John Stewart, Sr., John Stewart, Jr., John Graves, and Daniel Dunnom. The next year came the family of Richard Girardeau; and in 1758 Samuel Jeans and family, James Andrew and family, and Mrs. Lydia Saunders. Then came an interval of several years until 1771, when three families came, those of Jonathan Bacon, William Norman and Isham Andrews, making a total of thirty-eight families, in addition to five single persons.

OLD MIDWAY CHURCH

Besides the above named settlers, there were some from other localities; and the fact must not be overlooked that several families were established in the district before the Dorchester colonists arrived. The journal of the first General Assembly of the Province in Savannah, in 1751, shows that the community was represented by Audley Maxwell, whose family was probably the oldest one in this section of Georgia.

Vast changes have taken place since 1752; but the names of the old settlers are still preserved by descendants in the immediate neighborhood. The sturdy John Quarterman, from whose loins have come twenty-three ministers of the gospel, seven foreign missionaries, and eight distinguished educators, is not without witnesses in the old settlement to testify to his manifold virtues. The Ways have also replenished a large part of the earth, nor is the name likely to become extinct in Liberty for some time to come, for here it still flourishes amid the deserted fields in which other stalks have withered. Relationships have been greatly mixed by intermarriage between the various families. Says Doctor Stacy: "The case is very aptly put in the following couplet of names, formed, it is said, by Dr. W. P. McConnell, in 1843, a year generally known as one of exceeding scarcity and hardness, which I give both as a specimen of Liberty County wit and as an illustration of the point. Said he:

> "'We have Hams and Dun-hams, Bacons and Greens,
> Manns and Quartermans, a Plenty of Ways, but no
> Means.'"

But we have gone too far afield. Georgia's charter had been granted to the trustees for a period of twenty-one years. On June 9, 1753, this time limit was due to expire; nor was the corporation desirous of its extension. With only a few exceptions, the trustees of Georgia had been true to the trust imposed upon them by the Crown of England; but to a man they wished to be relieved of a burden which had grown too onerous. These trustees had served without recompense, some of them at great pecuniary sacrifice; nor will Georgia soon forget the English gentlemen who were her earliest sponsors and who, though wedded to ideas more visionary than real, were humanitarians all.

During the life of the trust Georgia's spiritual interests had not been neglected. To the rule of religious tolerance there was only one exception—the Roman Catholic Church. All other religious creeds were welcomed; and while the Church of England was regarded with special favor and nurtured with peculiar care, the colony's population embraced Presbyterians, Lutherans, Moravians, Methodists, Anabaptists and Hebrews. Rev. Henry Herbert was the colony's first spiritual shepherd. Then came Rev. Samuel Quincy, who for two years was the only clergyman in Savannah. Next we find the Wesleys preaching in Georgia; but John was the accredited missionary. To succeed him the trust sent over Rev. George Whitefield, who built the famous orphanage and made the continent of North America rock with his eloquence. Next came William Norris, who baptized 142 persons, seventy-one of whom were soldiers, but he left under a cloud. Following him we find Rev. Christopher Orton, whom death, however, soon removed. Rev. Thomas Bosomworth

was the next appointee. His marriage to an Indian woman, the widow of an English trader, by the name of Musgrove, aroused in him mercenary instincts, impairing his usefulness to the province and necessitating his recall. As we have already seen, he persuaded his wife to declare herself empress of the Creeks and to make exorbitant demands. Rev. Bartholomew Zouberbubler was the last minister to serve in Georgia, under appointment of the trustees and it was under him that a church edifice, begun in 1740, was brought to completion on the site where the colonists first worshipped.

On June 23, 1752, the last meeting of the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia was held in London, at which time the seal of the corporation was affixed to a deed of surrender. Not a bill remained unpaid. Not a claim was left unsettled. Not a grievance remained to be considered. All was in readiness for the last solemn act, after which the seal was defaced and the trustees ceased to exist as a body corporate. Having sent a memorial to the lords of the council, proposing to surrender the province to the Crown, King George II, who still occupied the English throne, had consented to accept as a crown jewel the colony which bore his name; and when the formal act of relinquishment took place Georgia ceased to be a proprietary holding and became in the fullest sense of the word a royal province of England.

Historic Old Midway: a Shrine of Patriotism.—On the old military road between Savannah and Darien, in an angle which it here makes with the road to Sunbury, stands an ancient land-mark, built of wood, two stories in height. To the outward eye it presents few attractions. The simple taste of the Puritans who built it is proclaimed by an absence of anything which even remotely suggests artistic design. Its austere appearance is sternly in keeping with the rigid Calvinistic principles of the devout believers who here worshipped and who took no little pride in the fact that they sprang from ancestors who belonged to the Ironsides of Cromwell. Except on commemorative occasions, the building is no longer used; and those of its members who are not sleeping underneath the live-oaks, in the little grave-yard across the road, are scattered far and wide. Before the war, there was not to be found in Georgia a community of thriftier planters than the one which stretched for miles in every direction around this sacred center; but today it stands amid the abandoned acres, like a grim sentinel keeping watch over a silent past, while upon it from one Lord's Day to another there broods the hush of an unbroken Sabbath. Once each year, the descendants of the early settlers gather in the little house of worship on the green plaza in front of it to revive the recollections of former days, some of them coming from the most distant parts of the continent. It may be questioned whether the North Star casts a more potent spell upon the needle of the mariner's compass than does this hallowed spot upon the descendants of the early Puritans of Georgia. Nor is it a matter of marvel. The loadstone which draws them is in some respects the most famous of America's patriotic shrines: historic old Midway Church.

From this parental stock have sprung hundreds of the most distinguished men in the public life of the nation. It has produced two Signers of the Declaration of Independence (Lyman Hall and Button Gwinnett), two Generals of the Revolution (James Screven and Daniel Stewart), besides numerous officers of lower rank, two Commodores, one President of the United States (Theodore Roosevelt, descendant of Daniel Stewart), the wife of another President (Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, granddaughter of Rev. I. S. K. Axson), three United States Senators, four members of Congress, four Governors of Georgia, and at least six judges of the Superior Court. In advance of the rest of the Province the first bold stand for independence was here taken and the Colonial flag on Fort Morris was the last to be lowered when Georgia was overrun by the British. Not less than six counties of the state bear

names whose origin can be traced to the Midway settlement. Two of the most eminent of modern scientists were natives of the Parish of St. John. The list also includes two university chancellors, three presidents of female seminaries, one president of the State Normal School, one United States Minister to China, six authors of note, two historians, six editors, six foreign missionaries, and scores of successful business men, together with a host of other notables including soldiers, statesmen, educators, inventors, doctors, lawyers, and ministers of the gospel.* Can any other religious organization in America exhibit such a record? The explanation is to be found in the substantial pabulum upon which the offspring of the settlement were nourished, the emphasis put upon moral and educational values, the sturdy examples which were set before them, and the fear of God which was an ever-present factor in the lives of these devout people. To what depths the vital truths of religion struck root in this fertile soil may be gleaned from the fact that eighty-two clergymen have sprung from the Midway settlement. Fifty of these have been Presbyterians, seventeen Baptists, three Episcopalians, and thirteen Methodists, one of whom attained to the high office of Bishop. Included among the early pastors of the church was the father of the famous New England poet: Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. —L. L. Knight, in Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends, Vol. I, pp. 135-138.

Midway: Derivation of the Term.—There is some difference of opinion among the historians concerning the origin of the name by which this famous settlement is known. The river which waters the district was originally written Medway, a spelling which can still be found upon some of the old maps and charts. William DeBrahm, the colonial engineer, in the original plan of the district drawn by him spelt it thus, but in his history he chose the other form. Capt. Hugh McCall calls it Medway, likewise William Bartram in his Travels. It is so designated in the letters of Sir James Wright; and even Colonel Jones, who holds to the opposite viewpoint, reproduces in his Dead Towns of Georgia, a map, on which the name is spelt Medway. But the latter is quite positive that such is not the correct form of the word. Says Colonel Jones: "The territory lying between the Great Ogeechee and the South Newport rivers was called the Midway district because of its central location, being about equidistant from the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, which then constituted respectively the northern and southern boundaries of Georgia. It has been suggested by some and the belief is to a limited extent current that the name both of the district and of the river which permeates it was at the earliest period, Medway and not Midway, an appellation which was borrowed from one of the well-known rivers of Merrie Old England. The records do not justify the intimation, and in the light of history it should be repudiated."

Doctor Stacy, on the other hand, is equally certain that in the beginning at least the river was called Medway and that from it the name of the settlement was derived. Says he:* "My own opinion is that the district or neighborhood was named after the river, which was not called Midway, because of any equidistance between any two points, but Medway, after the river of the same name in England. This form of the word, however, soon degenerated into the more common and familiar name of Midway; and, both the church and the community becoming known by the degenerated appellation, the idea of equidistance was purely as an afterthought. It is an easy matter to account for Midway coming out of Medway, but difficult to explain how to get Medway out of Midway. However, for several generations, the church has been familiarly known as the Midway church, and I have so written it both here and in the public records." Doctor Stacy is a native of the Midway District. Two of his family were clerks of the church session, John Stacy, from 1798 to 1818, and John W. Stacy, from 1824 to 1854, a period of fifty years having been covered between them. Doctor Stacy himself is the historian of the Midway Settlement; and though Colonel Jones was an offspring of the same historic settlement, the weight of authority in this particular instance is probably upon the side of the former.

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* History of Midway Congregational Church, by Rev. James Stacy, D. D., Newnan, 1899. Under the head of Liberty County, in Part 2 of this work, the contributions of Midway Church are discussed more in detail.

SKETCH OF PRESIDENT PARKER.—Henry Parker entered the service of the Trust as a constable on July 4, 1733. The next year he was promoted to be third bailiff, and the year following he became second bailiff. In 1738 when Causton was deposed, Parker was given the position of first bailiff of Savannah; and he continued to hold that office until the charter of the colony was surrendered to the king. When the province was divided into counties, Parker was made first assistant for the County of Savannah; and in 1743 he was made first assistant for the whole of Georgia. On March 27, 1750, he was advanced to the office of vice-president, which had been created to give relief to President Stephens on account of his great age and infirmities. On May 24 of the following year, Parker was made president of the colony and held the position when the government of England took charge of the province.

Parker's character is clearly delineated in all the accounts we have of him. He was strongly addicted to the habit of drunkenness, and it seems that he never overcame this handicap. He was a poor manager of his own affairs and was often reduced to want, his dress and appearance becoming despicable for service in his office. The neglect of his personal affairs was partly occasioned by his zeal for the colony, for he was ever ready to serve the public when he was not under the influence of strong drink. In consideration of his poverty and services, the Trustees in 1738 gave him the use of two Trust servants and a gift of money additional to his salary. In his public service, he was acknowledged by his enemies to be a man of good sense and of an impartial temperament, though he showed no special initiative or strength of will. That he was comparatively easy to lead was evident in 1739 when a number of malcontents in Savannah got him to join with them in petitioning for negroes and changes in tenures, though he himself was not interested in the changes and knew that the petitioners were mainly bent on embarrassing the Trustees. As a punishment for his weakness in this instance, as well as his other shortcomings, the Trustees removed him from the offices which he held under them; but before the removal took effect, he was restored to office. His restoration was due to his acknowledgement of his faults and his promise to make an effort to overcome them.—J. R. McCain: The Executive in Proprietary Georgia.

CHAPTER XX

RELATION OF OGLETHORPE TO GEORGIA—POWERS AND LIMITATIONS—FAILURES AND SUCCESSES—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OGLETHORPE AND THE TRUSTEES RELATIVE TO FINANCIAL MATTERS—THE WHOLE MATTER REVIVED BY AN IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATOR.

(This chapter contributed by James Ross McCain, A. M.)

One of the interesting problems of the colonial history of Georgia is the relation and importance of James Oglethorpe to the settling and developing of the province. Was he the father of the enterprise? Was he responsible for the plans and rules under which it was attempted? What motives prompted him to accompany the colonists to America? Was his presence of real benefit to the colony? What were his legal powers in Georgia? What led to the later friction between him and the trustees and to his withdrawal from participation in Georgia affairs? The answer to at least a portion of the questions may be found by examining the principal facts of his life and by following in order the various entries in the records of the trustees regarding his activities under their directions.

No detailed account of Oglethorpe's life is necessary, and indeed the facts are not sufficiently established to warrant a full summary of his life before he went to Georgia. He was born on June 1, 1689. He matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, though the date of his entrance is in doubt, but he soon left his college work for service in the army. In 1710 he was an ensign in the British Army and served till the war ended in 1713. It was in this war of the Spanish Succession that he got his first contract with the Spanish, a contract which was to be hostile when renewed in America. Soon after the Treaty of Utrecht, he entered the service of Prince Eugene of Savoy, with whom he continued until 1718, when he returned to England. There is no definite information available as to the amount or the quality of the service rendered by Oglethorpe during the time he was connected with the army. Many conjectures have been made as to his attainments in military science and experience; but they are inferences from his later career rather than actual facts.*

On the death of his brother Theophilus, he inherited a considerable estate at Westbrook, and he settled down to what gave promise of being the ordinary life of an English gentleman. His manor was situated near Godalming in Surrey County and was sufficient to enable him to live in independence and comfort. Like so many of the country gentle-

* Wright 5, 7.

men of the period, he was a Tory in politics, though his later career indicates that he was not an extremist in his political faith. In 1722 he was chosen as one of the representatives in Parliament of the Town of Haslemere, which was located in Surrey County not far from the Oglethorpe estate, and he continued in this relation until he was defeated in 1754.* His father and both his older brothers had formerly represented the same borough, and this was probably a help to him in gaining the position, but the fact that he held it so long indicates that he must have been satisfactory to his constituents.

Oglethorpe seems to have taken no active part in parliamentary affairs during the first six or seven years after his election. It was not until 1729 that he attracted any considerable attention. In that year he was made chairman of a committee of the House of Commons whose business it was to visit and report on the condition of the Fleet, Marshalsea, and King's Bench prisons. The committee was composed of fourteen members, and it seems to have been appointed on the motion of Oglethorpe, who had learned something of prison conditions through a visit to one of his friends who was incarcerated for debt. It is not entirely clear that he inaugurated the movement, but as chairman of the committee he was active in the work and he presented to Parliament the results of the investigations.† The first of these reports was submitted to the House on March 20, 1729, and the last was on May 11, 1730. With details of the reports we are not now concerned, but it is worth noting that the work seems to have been done with expedition and thoroughness. Bills were introduced by Oglethorpe to ameliorate the wretched conditions which the committee had found and to punish the worst offenders among the prison wardens.‡

In other respects Oglethorpe began to show himself interested in the unfortunate or the oppressed. On January 13, 1732, he made a speech in the House of Commons in which he showed sympathy for the persecuted Protestants of Europe and expressed the wish that something might be done for their relief.** He was also a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and in addition he was on a council of fifty who looked after the support and education of exposed and deserted children. In "The Sailor's Advocate," he defended seamen against the worst evils of impressment. He ably advocated the petition of the Moravians for assistance, and he sustained a motion to relieve the poor of certain of their most burdensome taxes.††

As to whether or not Oglethorpe first thought of or suggested the scheme of making the settlement of Georgia, the evidence is not sufficient for a definite decision. Original documentary evidence that he fathered the idea is lacking. In none of the lists of those interested in the matter is his name mentioned first. In the charter three men are mentioned ahead of him on the lists of both the general board and the Common Council. Neither was he made the first president of the corporation or the first chairman of the Common Council. In some of the

* Ibid., 12, 373.
† Cobbett VIII: 706 et seq.
‡ Ibid., 706-753, 803-826.
** Ibid., 875-876.
†† Stevens I: 82-83.

references to the petitioners for the charter as recorded in the "Acts of the Privy Council," his name does not appear at all, though it is quite likely that he was included under the general term "and others." After the petition for the charter had been referred to the board of trade for investigation, Oglethorpe wrote to the board a number of suggestions. Among other things he proposed for the new corporation the name, "Corporation for Establishing Charitable Colonies," which was for a while considered but was finally discarded. Just what were his other suggestions and whether they were adopted or not cannot be ascertained.* After the board of trade had made its report, Oglethorpe in company with others appeared before a committee of the privy council to ask for certain changes in the report in order that the trustees might have more power than was proposed in the matter of selecting the civil and military officers of Georgia.†

In no case above cited does Oglethorpe seem to have exercised more influence than any other of the active petitioners for the charter. That is no proof positive at all that he was not more influential, nor would it prove that he was not the originator of the project. There are a number of indications that such honor ought to be given him. By common consent the historians of Georgia and the biographers of Oglethorpe agree that he was the first to propose the settlement and that it was through his efforts that the other men who later became trustees became interested in the work. The literature of the time paid tribute to him as pre-eminently benevolent of soul, but the compliments paid him in nearly every case came after he had gone to Georgia, and they were seemingly called forth on that account rather than because he was the author of the scheme. The fact that he had shown already indications of interest in imprisoned debtors and in foreign Protestants, and the additional fact that he was prominently connected with several other charitable enterprises, are perhaps the best reasons for thinking that he would and did originate the plan for settling the new province. Whatever may be the facts about its origin, Oglethorpe was indisputably earnest in helping to carry forward the project.

It has been incidentally mentioned that he was a member both of the general corporation and of the common council which was to do so much of the actual work of government. He was faithful in attending the meetings of these bodies. Before he left England, there were nineteen meetings of the general board of trustees, and Oglethorpe was present seventeen times. Only one other member of the board equalled him in faithfulness. There were, in addition, seven meetings of the common council, and he was present at six of these, being surpassed by two members and equalled by four others in regard to the number of times in attendance. He was also active in the committee work of the early organization. For the common council he served in this capacity six times before leaving England, being equalled in this particular by only two others. For the general board he also served on six committees, having only one man to surpass him in activity. In this connection it is worthy of note that Oglethorpe served on the most important com-

* Abstract of B. T. Papers, S. C. Hist. Collec. II: 127.
† Acts of Privy Council, 1720-1745: 301-303.

mittees. He was the chairman of the one to draw up laws and regulations for the colony,* and we shall have occasion to discuss later whether or not the work of this committee was wisely done or not. He was appointed a committee of one to see that the project was given the proper publicity through the newspapers and also to prepare commissions and boxes for those who should be willing to solicit funds for the enterprise.† He seemed for the time being to have charge of the receipts and disbursements, for which he rendered a regular account.‡ Whether on account of his financial relation to the undertaking or because of his greater interest in it, he reported more names to the board of those who were willing to solicit money for the work than any other trustee. In addition to the activities already noted, he is thought to have written in behalf of the new colony the pamphlet entitled, "A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia."**

When preparations for the first embarkation of colonists to Georgia were being made, Oglethorpe decided to accompany the new settlers in person. This determination seems to have been entirely voluntary on his part; but, while the trustees had not urged him to the course, they were glad to avail themselves of his generous offer. The people who were going to Georgia were almost all of good character, but they had not hitherto been successful as a rule in managing their private affairs; and so it could not be reasonably expected that they would be capable of directing a whole settlement. Some guiding hand was needful. The normal thing to do was to appoint a governor who would be strong and experienced enough to put into operation the various plans of the trustees; but the latter were unwilling to appoint such a governor lest they should lose some of their authority, since the charter provided that a governor must be obedient to the Crown as well as the trustees. They seemed to feel that if Oglethorpe went over to get things well started the colony could get along without much government; and they certainly acted on this theory whether they consciously held it or not. Oglethorpe probably sympathized with his fellow trustees in desiring to keep independent of government control, for this was ever his later policy whenever it was possible. Another reason why he may have been induced to undertake the journey was his love of adventure. He had served as a gentleman volunteer on the continent before entering the English army, and he had later joined the Austrians against the Turks, as we have noticed; and the establishing of a buffer colony against his old opponents, the Spanish, would doubtless appeal to him on the military and adventurous side. There is no good reason for doubting, however, that he was greatly, and perhaps mainly, moved by compassion for the poor debtors and other unfortunates who were preparing to go to a new country, and who would need all the help and advice obtainable in order to succeed. His action was regarded in this light at the time; and he was highly eulogized for leaving his home and the comforts of society and the pursuits of ambition in order to do a work from which he could hope to receive no private advantage.††

* C. R. I: 70.
† C. R. II: 3.
‡ Ibid., 9.
** Ga. Hist. Collec. I: 42.
†† Polit. State XLV: 181, cited by Stevens I: 83.

It has frequently been stated on high authority that Oglethorpe was the first governor of Georgia. It was impossible that he should hold that office. He was forbidden by the terms of the charter, as were all the trustees, to hold "any office, place, or employment of profit under the corporation." Further, as a trustee, he was forbidden to receive or take, directly or indirectly, any salary, fee, perquisite, benefit or profit whatever by reason of service rendered the corporation in any manner or capacity.* It might be urged that these requirements forbade the holding of only those offices which were "of profit," and that he might well have occupied the office of governor because he went at his own expense.† It is difficult to dissociate the idea of a salary from that of a governor in any ordinary sense; but whatever the possibilities in the case might have been, the fact remains that Oglethorpe was not granted authority or powers that would entitle him to be called the governor of a province or even of a single settlement. It seems not to have been anticipated that he would remain longer in the colony than might be necessary to actually establish the colonists in their homes in peace; and so the powers given him were in a measure temporary and by no means extensive. For example, he was given power to set out and divide 5,000 acres of land that had been deeded in trust to three of the settlers, and he was to give directions to these holders of the land in trust how to proceed with their business of assigning it to the other settlers.‡ He was authorized to grant licenses to those desiring to leave the province of Georgia so that they might not forfeit their grants.‡ He was entrusted with the special authority to administer the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration to the various officers appointed in the new colony; but it was not a general power to administer oaths, since the individuals were specified by name.** He was also granted the power as attorney for the trustees to name officers for the militia of Georgia.†† The last appointment gives the keynote of the relation that Oglethorpe bore to the trustees. He was not a governor under them, but their attorney to act in their stead. Nor was he an attorney with general power to act, but he was limited to the special matters in which authority was assigned him.

It is beyond question that it would have been a wiser policy for the trustees to give to him or to some other man larger powers specifically or, better still, more general powers to act. In the nature of things, there would arise many circumstances demanding prompt action which could not be foreseen and specifically provided for by the trustees. Many such occasions did arise; and Oglethorpe usually acted as he thought best, though not authorized to do so. For instance, none of the records indicate that he was authorized to draw on the trustees for money; but he did so, and no protest was made in the beginning at least,‡‡ though we shall see that it led later to unfortunate misunderstandings.

Having noticed the part played by Oglethorpe in getting the project

* C. R. I: 16.
† C. R. III: 378.
‡ C. R. II: 9-10.
** Ibid., 11.
†† B. T., Ga., XII: 25.
‡‡ C. R. II: 7.

launched in England, and understanding the powers granted him and his relations to his fellow trustees, we must next estimate some of the services he rendered in actually planting the settlement in Georgia. This side of his career has been so fully developed in his biographies and in the histories of Georgia that we shall merely refer to the various incidents without giving details. It has already been noted that in going to Georgia Oglethorpe could hope for no financial remuneration on account of provisions in the charter; but it would be a strict interpretation of the provisions that would necessitate his paying his own expenses for the journey, and so his expenditures in this particular must be considered as a gift to the cause. Not only did he furnish his own cabin and provide for his servants, but he also relieved the burdens of the voyage by contributing to the comforts of his fellow passengers.*

When the colonists reached Port Royal, South Carolina, Oglethorpe proceeded with Col. William Bull to the Savannah River for the purpose of selecting a site for the proposed settlement. This was a matter of prime importance, affecting every person who might locate in the town to be established. This work was well done; the spot chosen was perhaps the best possible one for the Town of Savannah. It is very likely that credit is due both to Oglethorpe and Bull for the decision made; but, as the former had final authority in the matter, he is entitled perhaps to the greater commendation.†

In his personal contact with the early settlers, and in his handling the details of the settlement, Oglethorpe seems to have been very successful. He worked hard himself and spared no pains to get the town started properly. He was much beloved of the people, who gave him the title of "Father." He visited the sick and took care of them. If there were differences, he decided the matters at issue himself; and for the time at least there seemed to be little dissatisfaction with his judgments. He was strict in discipline, allowing neither drunkenness nor swearing. He laid out a great deal of work and was successful in getting much of it done, permitting no idlers around him. ‡

Oglethorpe showed as much tact in dealing with the Indians as he exhibited good judgment in the choice of a site and industry in getting the settlement started. There had been a former treaty between the Indians and South Carolina that no white settlements were to be made south of the Savannah without the consent of the natives; and they were at first inclined to object to the coming of the Georgians. On his first visit for the purpose of selecting the location for the town, Oglethorpe had held an interview with Tomo-chi-chi, the chief of the small Indian tribe living near the river; and with the aid of a half-breed interpreter, Mary Musgrove, had persuaded him that it would be advantageous to the Indians that the white men should come. This interview was the beginning of a firm friendship which lasted between the English and the Indians during almost all of the proprietary history of the colony. Through the influence of Tomo-chi-chi, the other Indian tribes within the limits of Georgia were gathered for a conference, at which Oglethorpe treated them with so much candor and tact that they readily ceded to the English the lands desired and entered into a treaty of friendship and commerce.* For the weak and struggling settlement, the friendship and assistance of the natives was worth more than fortifications or troops; and nobody could have been more successful than was Oglethorpe in bringing about the cordial relations.

* Wright 58.
† C. R. III: 380.
‡ Polit. State XLV: 543-544, cited by Wright 65.

These were the most valuable achievements of the leader of the Georgians, but there were a number of things besides which occupied his attention. He provided for the defense of the Town of Savannah by planting a battery and establishing a few outposts like Fort Argyle and Thunderbolt. He laid out the town into convenient wards and tithings. He explored the lower coasts of the province and made notes of the best methods of fortifying it. Just before leaving Georgia for England, he accompanied the newly arrived Salzburgers for the purpose of selecting a site for their town; in this he was not so fortunate as in his choice of a location of Savannah, but for the time being the Germans were well pleased with it. When he finally set sail on March 23, 1734, the people could hardly restrain their tears, because he had cared for them much like a father both by night and by day for more than a year.†

On the whole, Oglethorpe was most useful to the colony and very successful in managing its affairs during his first stay in Georgia. He showed industry, foresight, good judgment, tact, and sympathy for the people. To this point certainly, the province would have been no better off if it had had a regular governor of the best caliber. The principal error, it seems to us, that had been made hitherto was in failing to establish the magistrates in office at the very beginning. During the first five months, he kept to himself all authority of every sort. ‡ There is little doubt that he was a better judge and a wiser magistrate than any who had been appointed by the trustees; but he could not exercise all the authority satisfactorily, and he would not be in America continuously, so that it would have been better to allow the appointees of the trustees to enter at once upon their duties. One of the greatest handicaps the province had was lack of respect for its officials; and this was to a great extent due to the general impression that they were dependent for power on Oglethorpe and that he could veto or alter their actions. It could not be foreseen perhaps that bad results would follow the postponement of inducting the officials into office, and so it was due to an error rather than to a fault that it was not done immediately.

Before he left Georgia, Oglethorpe had been remonstrated with by the trustees for drawing bills on them without sending letters of advice to explain the necessity of the draft. Several such drafts were sent; and the matter became so troublesome that on February 6, 1734, a resolution was passed to the effect that no bill drawn by any person whatsoever be accepted or paid by the trustees unless it be accompanied by a proper letter of advice. This was not enforced with entire strictness against Oglethorpe, however, for they later paid some of his drafts which

* C. R. III: 381.
† Von Reck, Extract from "Journal" 18, cited by Wright 80.
‡ Wright 73.

had not been properly certified.* During these early days, he seemed to manage his accounts rather well. Out of a total of about £55,137 spent during the years 1732-1734 by him, he was able to produce vouchers for all but £1,874.†

The trustees were duly appreciative of the work that Oglethorpe did for the establishing of the settlement. On June 13, 1733, Secretary Martyn wrote to know how long he could remain in the colony and asking who could best superintend the work when he left. Under date of September 1, 1733, he wrote again, expressing appreciation of what had already been done and telling him that the trustees wished to send over as many settlers as possible before he left. Again on November 22, 1733, Martyn regretted that the people were misbehaving and feared that the troubles might revive when Oglethorpe left the province.‡ In addition to the appreciation expressed, all these communications indicate that Oglethorpe's stay in Georgia was expected to be only temporary and that his great work was that of smoothing over the difficulties encountered in the beginning. When he reached England in June, 1734, he was welcomed by an unusually full meeting of the trustees, and he was heartily thanked by them in a unanimous resolution for the "many and great services he has done the colony of Georgia."**

The general public received him with demonstrations of high regard and honor for the work he was doing. Whatever may have been the case in the beginning, he was at that time regarded as the decided leader in the founding of Georgia. Poems in his honor were published in The Gentleman's Magazine and medals were struck to commemorate his work, while the nobility and gentry poured congratulations upon him.†† His one year of labors in Georgia had gained for him more consideration and honor than he could have won from decades of service in Parliament or from a whole life of mingling in the society of the times. It is small wonder then that he determined to return to Georgia. He may have intended to do so anyway; but there is no indication of such an intention on his part or of expectation on the part of the trustees that he would return, until after his very flattering reception at home.

While in England, Oglethorpe was very active indeed in behalf of the colony, responding well to the encouragement he had received from the public. In attendance on the meetings of the trustees, he was prompt and regular. He was present at fifty-five of the sixty-four meetings of the regular corporation, and he attended thirty-four of the thirty-seven meetings of the common council, being surpassed in his record by only one or two of the members; and he was also frequently called on for service on committees.

He was largely instrumental in getting the trustees to pass three laws that were destined to have a large influence on the future history of Georgia. He was chairman of the committee which prepared the laws, and it was through representations that he made that they were thought

* C. R. II: 53, 56, 58.
† Ibid., 117.
‡ B. T., Ga., VIII: Letter book arranged by dates.
** C. R. I: 175.
†† Wright 86, 91.

necessary.* These laws were for the purpose of regulating the trade with the Indians in the interest of peace with them, of preventing the importation of rum into Georgia, and of prohibiting the use of negro slaves within the province. They were all productive of later troubles within the colony, and they were all in some respects ill advised because not suited to the people and to the circumstances in the case; but they seemed reasonable to the trustees, and doubtless Oglethorpe in urging them felt that they were for the best interests of the province.†

The powers granted him on his second trip to Georgia were very similar to those possessed by him the first time. He was given authority to divide and lay out the land given in trust for the new settlement of Frederica; he was authorized to grant licenses to persons wanting to leave Georgia; it was his business to administer oaths to the newly appointed officers of the town. In addition, he was granted the power to put the act for keeping peace with the Indians into execution.‡ On the first expedition, he was authorized to appoint officers for the militia, while now he was himself appointed to train and instruct them.** He was definitely given the right to draw bills on the trustees, and he was the only person in the province to have this right.†† All the notes or sola bills issued by the trustees had to be signed by him.‡‡ We have noted already that he exercised on his first trip the power to draw bills, though it had not been formally given him. In a few respects, therefore, the powers granted him were more definite and implied an expectation of a somewhat extended stay in Georgia to a greater extent than when he first went out; but they were still far from comparable to the powers exercised by any ordinary governor in any of the American colonies.

The company led by Oglethorpe to Georgia in 1735 was the largest number of mere colonists that went to the province during the proprietary period. There were more than 280 settlers in the party, occupying two ships and being accompanied by a sloop of war. Instead of going on the comparatively comfortable sloop, as he had the privilege of doing, Oglethorpe chose to go in one of the crowded ships, paying the passage of his servants, in order that he might better take care of the colonists. He had provided himself with live stock and other refreshments for the missionaries and other companions, but he rarely ate himself anything but the ship's stores. He visited the sick on board, giving them fowls and other dainties from his own stores; and he also visited the accompanying ship as often as possible to render assistance and comfort to the people on it. He lectured the freeholders on the nature of the country they were to settle and told them how best to conduct themselves in it. In all these affairs he showed a strong paternal interest in the people going with him.***

One of the first things Oglethorpe had to do upon his return to Geor-

* C. R. I: 70.
† C. R. I: 31 et seq.
‡ C. R. II: 120.
** C. R. I: 228.
†† B. T., Ga., VIII: Verelst to Causton, Dec. 2, 1735.
‡‡ C. R. II: 113.
*** Moore in Ga. Hist. Collec. I: 85-88.

gia was to consult with the Salzburgers about changing the location of their Town of Ebenezer. They objected to the poor quality of the land and requested to move. He objected to this; but he finally yielded the point, and they moved over to Savannah River. Later developments indicate that they rather than Oglethorpe were right in the wisdom of the movement.*

The large embarkation that had accompanied him to Georgia was for the purpose of establishing a new town to help defend the southern boundary of the province against the Spanish. It had been generally understood that it was to be located at St. Simons at the mouth of the Altamaha River. After Parliament granted only £10,000 instead of the £20,000 requested by the trustees, the latter decided unanimously that it would be best not to locate the new settlement so far to the south. They wished both the Highlanders and the English moved to the Ogeechee River, where provisions would be cheaper, they would be closer to Savannah for mutual support and defense, and there would be no necessity for further Indian presents, in order to secure more land.†

A month later Secretary Martyn wrote for the trustees again, urging the same policy of making the settlements nearer together. They urged that the depth of water in the Altamaha is not sufficient to make it a good harbor, and that was a main dependence in going there. In spite of the expense already met with, they preferred to drop the scheme. They yielded their judgment so far as to allow him to continue the settlement if it seemed necessary to keep the Spanish from thinking that the English were weakening in their claims to Georgia.‡ Oglethorpe evidently regarded it as best to hold to St. Simons as an outpost, and so he continued to settle and to fortify it. As a military leader, it was almost inevitable that he would make this choice, for the mouth of the Altamaha was undoubtedly a better strategic position than any point on the Ogeechee; but it is not certain that his military training was of great value to the colony in this particular decision.

There are several reasons for thinking that he made a mistake in thus going counter to the expressed will of the trustees. As they had written him, it was very expensive to establish the new town so far from Savannah; transportation of provisions was a constant drain; the interchange of messages meant an additional outlay of money; and at the same time the resources of the trustees were decreasing. Again, the distance from Savannah prevented Oglethorpe from keeping up with affairs in the northern part of the province; and, as the trustees trusted to him for letters of information, they were led into grave errors, as we shall see. The settlement of Frederica was of no material benefit to the colony; the town was prosperous for a little while, but it soon became practically dead. The settlements on the Altamaha were designed as defenses for Georgia; but it is by no means certain that they were not sources of more danger than aid. The Spanish made no overt attempts against Georgia and no very vigorous protests against the English settlements there until after the settlements on the Altamaha and on the

* Ga. Hist. Collec. III: 15.
† B. T., Ga., VIII: Martyn to Oglethorpe, May 10, 1736.
‡ Ibid., June 10, 1736.

islands even to mouth of the St. Mary's River. There is no reason for thinking that they would have disturbed the province at all if it had not been for the warlike aggressiveness of the English in establishing forts far below the charter limits of the colony. It is true that in 1742 the fortifications on St. Simons Island were of immense value in repelling the Spanish invasion; but if the settlement had been on the Ogeechee near Savannah, it is probable that no invasion would have been made. Granting, however, that an invasion would have taken place, we are confident that the same expenditure of money and labor in fortifications would have been sufficient to repel the enemy at the mouth of the Ogeechee or at Savannah itself. If all the efforts of 1735 had been concentrated in the northern part of Georgia, so great an impetus could have been given to it that it would have succeeded from that time instead of going down rapidly as it did after that time. Oglethorpe's aggressive measures toward the Spanish may have been partly due to his slight regard for their military ability and his hostility toward them which he unconsciously gained during his service in the War of the Spanish Succession.

The trustees did not approve of expenditures on his part for military or any other purposes outside the charter limits of the province; and they wrote to him that he must look to the British government and not to them for reimbursement for expenses thus incurred.* This is the first intimation we have of a difference of opinion between him and his fellow trustees that was ultimately to become serious. Oglethorpe was on the ground and he saw work that he thought necessary for the protection of Georgia; and so it seemed to him unreasonable that the home authorities should grudge to have the expenses encountered. On the other hand, the trustees found it much more difficult to raise funds to support the colony than Oglethorpe realized; and they thought it rash for him to make expenses of which they had had no notice and for which they had made no provision.

In addition to the settling of Frederica and the establishing of fortifications on the islands along the coast, Oglethorpe had other things to occupy him. He succeeded in making a treaty with the governor of St. Augustine and another with the council of war of the same place, whereby peace was to be maintained between Georgia and Florida,† but these never went into effect for they were vetoed by the Spanish authorities at Havana. He also attended a meeting with representatives of South Carolina in order to confer with them in regard to disputes over the enforcement of the rum act. The conference was held in Savannah, and the matter was thoroughly discussed, but no agreement was reached; and it was finally carried for decision to the board of trade.‡

The complaints filed by South Carolina against Georgia made the trustees fearful that they might not obtain a grant from Parliament during the next session. This anxiety was intensified by the fact that they had not heard any news at all about the province from June to November, and so they could not present any favorable [illegible]nent as to

* Ibid., July 7, 1736.
† C. R. I: 266.
‡ Jones, "History of Georgia." I: 253-25[illegible].

its condition. In order to answer the complaints and to get the necessary news, it was deemed needful that Oglethorpe return in person, as he alone was depended on to furnish information. Accordingly the trustees requested that he come at once to England,* and he embarked on his mission November 29, 1736, after being in Georgia on this visit a little less than ten months.

On January 12, 1737, he attended a meeting of the trustees and laid before them his proceedings in Georgia since going there the February preceding. A resolution was passed congratulating him on his safe return and thanking him for his many and important services to the Colony of Georgia.†

In England he attended the hearings before the board of trade relative to the disputes with South Carolina, the results of which are given later; and he was greatly interested in getting the British government to take over the defense of the province, relieving the trustees of this responsibility. This course was finally adopted; and it was determined to raise a regiment of 600 men for Georgia. Oglethorpe himself was appointed colonel of the regiment; and he was also nominated captain-general and commander-in-chief of the forces of South Carolina and Georgia.‡ Up to this time, he had drawn no salary for his services in the colony. He had been in the service of the trustees and not of the crown. Now he would draw the regular stipend of a colonel in the British service; and it seems that he drew in addition a £1,000 per annum hitherto allowed the governor of South Carolina as commander-in-chief of the forces of that province.**

As a natural consequence, from this time forth Oglethorpe was more and more occupied with the matter of defense, and he could give a proportionally smaller time to the business affairs of the trust. The tendency toward preoccupation with defense is reflected in his attendance on the meetings of the trustees while he was at home. He was present at only thirty-nine out of sixty-four meetings of the corporation, and at nineteen of twenty-eight meetings of the Common Council. Before he went to Georgia the first time, his attendance was 90 per cent; on his first return to England it was still about 88 per cent; while on the second stay at home it was only 63 per cent.

On this trip to England, Colonel Oglethorpe's accounts were audited; and it was found that he had kept careful accounts, for he had vouchers for all but £464 of the large sums that had passed through his hands.††

Since the notes or sola bills issued by the trustees had been so drawn that only Oglethorpe could issue them, and that he could do it only when in Georgia, the form was now changed to enable him to issue them anywhere. He was desired to issue quite a number of them in blank so that they could be sent to Georgia for use by Messrs. Stephens, Causton, and Parker as need should develop. Oglethorpe was to be indemnified against the sola bills he endorsed; and the three officials in

* B. T., Ga., IX, Oct. 22, 1736.
† C. R. I: 266-267.
‡ B. T., Ga., IX; Verelst to Causton, May 27, 1737.
** C. R. V: 66.
†† C. R. II: 244.

Savannah would have to account for them.* This was another step in the separating of Oglethorpe from the active management of the colony. Before this all expenses were to pass under his eye, while after this he would have little knowledge of the ordinary expenses.

This tendency, however, was not continuous. Oglethorpe gave as undivided attention to the civil affairs of the colony for awhile after his return to Georgia in September, 1738, as at any time during his connection with it. There had never been any adequate executive authority in Savannah; and, after the settlement in the southern part of the province was made, not even Oglethorpe's influence was felt to any degree. Thomas Causton had exercised almost despotic power and he had gotten the finances of the colony into a most deplorable condition. By order of the trustees, he was arrested by Oglethorpe, and held under bond until the matter could be investigated.† Affairs seemed in such desperate straits that Oglethorpe felt called on to pledge his personal credit to insure a feeling of confidence on the part of the people. He offered to advance to the trustees the income from his estates and his salary for the year.‡ They appreciated his work and expressed their feelings to him on several occasions. On February 3, 1739, Accountant Verelst wrote, "The Trustees are sensible of the difficulties you labor under and the dangers you are exposed to; * * * They much approve of your conduct under these hardships and are truly animated with a most commendable zeal for the preservation and welfare of that province which you have endured so many fatigues, and gone through so many eminent dangers in the establishing of."** Later they express appreciation also for the generous advances of money with which to finance the colony, and they promise to reimburse him as soon as the accounts could be presented to them, but they urge that he do not run beyond the computed rate of expenses.†† It is evident that they are fearful that one who is so generous with his own money may be too much inclined to spend too freely the money of others which he had in charge.

A service of quite a different sort was performed by him in his visit to Coweta in order to meet with the Creek Nation, obtain new land grants from them, and renew the treaty of peace and friendship. The long journey of 500 miles through the wilderness was successfully made, and the objects of the trip were fully realized.‡‡ Colonel Oglethorpe was a master hand in winning the confidence and support of the red men; and his services were especially important just at this time, as the war with Spain was imminent.

Toward the close of 1739 there developed a somewhat serious disagreement between Oglethorpe and the trustees as to the amount of authority he was to exert in Georgia. On July 4, 1739, the colonel wrote to the trustees that things were in bad shape in the province. He represented that magistrates generally were using their powers to get income for winking at those who disobeyed the laws or they expected large

* C. R. II: 237-238.
† Ibid., 247.
‡ B. T., Ga., XXI: Oglethorpe to Trustees, Oct. 19, 1738.
** Ibid., Verelst to Oglethorpe, Feb. 3, 1739.
†† Ibid., June 11, 1739.
‡‡ C. R. V: 226.

allowances for doing their duty. They were banding together to allow persons to escape who were indebted to the trust. There was a general need of a more steady way of doing things, but the people were denying that he had authority over them. He also strongly opposed any changes in the land laws, urging that those who complained in the matter were those who made the least improvement as things were.* He made it plain that he felt that he ought to be allowed to take affairs in hand and to straighten them out; and the trustees understood perfectly well his meaning, but they were not inclined to yield to him.

They agreed with him that a steady and regular manner of doing things ought to be observed, but they said that this would result best from a faithful performance of the commands of the trustees. First of all, the estimate of expenses ought to be carefully considered and ought not to be exceeded. All funds misapplied are at the peril of the official neglecting or disobeying in the matter. They seem to doubt somewhat the charges he makes against the officials in Georgia, asking him to make specific and personal charges. They regretted that the people denied authority in him. They declared that such must belong to the factious element of the settlers. The wiser part must understand that he neither could nor would exceed the power given him by the trustees who would uphold the powers flowing from themselves. They likewise did not agree with his advice concerning the changes in the land laws, admitting that the complainants made little improvements, but thinking that this was due to discouragement in regard to the laws.†

At the same time, Oglethorpe was sent a report of the Committee on Accounts to whom had been assigned the duty of checking up his accounts recently submitted. The report made a number of criticisms as to the colonel's policies and expenditures. For instance, it criticized him for hiring men to work when there were so many trust servants in the colony; it seemed unreasonable to the committee that he should purchase posts when the servants could so easily cut them; it appeared unnecessary to purchase cattle when there were more than 1,000 head in the province; and lastly that receipts for a number of expenditures did not appear, though the committee did not doubt that they had been properly expended.‡

The letter as first prepared by the trustees was harsher than the one sent as summed up above. It was softened by the Earl of Egmont, but still it was severe enough to much displease Colonel Oglethorpe. The trustees felt that he wanted to act in all things at his pleasure and to spend whatever money seemed to be needed, while they felt seriously the need of strict economy; they thought also that he wrongfully applied some of the trust money for defense that ought to have been looked after by the general government of Great Britain. They had been following almost absolutely his advice in regard to the regulations they would pass for the provinces; and now they felt that he had made mistakes in regard to several matters. He had always advocated maintaining strictly the original provisions as to land tenures, rum, negroes, and

* B. T., Ga., XXI: Oglethorpe to Trustees, July 4, 1739.
† C. R. V: 267-268.
‡ C. R. II: 310-311.

Indian trade; and he had advocated not yielding to South Carolina in the quarrel between the two colonies. They were ready to break away from his advice in regard to land and the South Carolina quarrel, as they were soon to do in other respects.*

The next month the trustees arranged that the sola bills which were used for money in the colony should be endorsed by three of the officials in Savannah. Up to this time, Oglethorpe alone had had this power. Now he was totally excluded from handling the money, though he could still make accounts subject to approval by the trustees. The Earl of Egmont in commenting on this exclusion of the colonel mentioned that it "was thought a prudent and necessary step."† They also requested him through their accomptant that he would be careful to distinguish in his expense accounts between items that pertained to defense, which would be paid from the British treasury, and those that belonged to the strictly civil affairs for which the trust was responsible.‡

One or two other incidents may be cited showing a slight irritation between Oglethorpe and the home board. In May, 1740, the latter learned that the general had employed a jailer and provost-marshal at Savannah and that he had disposed of certain trust servants. Both of these things had been done without leave of the trustees and without informing them of the matter; and they were displeased at the occurrences.**

Again in the same year, the trustees felt that Oglethorpe was acting without his authority and without reason in withholding from the people a deed poll that had been sent over in 1739. This related to certain indulgences granted by the trustees to the settlers in regard to the land tenures. Notice of the grants had been sent to Secretary Stephens at Savannah, and the people were expecting the deed; but Oglethorpe did not like the regulations, preferring to stand by the original rules, and so it was claimed by the trustees that he wilfully kept back the deed, to the discouragement both of the people and of the trustees.††

On December 17, 1740, through their accomptant they wrote to the magistrates at Savannah that they did not desire General Oglethorpe to interpose in their civil concerns while he was employed in his military ones, which were distinct services. They expected their orders to be obeyed by those to whom they might be sent without giving the general the trouble of being consulted and without waiting for his directions therein, which the trustees did not expect from him nor reasonably could.‡‡ This was not liked by General Oglethorpe, but it was judged most necessary by the board of trustees for the general was too far away and his mind was too much occupied with military concerns to attend to matters in the northern part of the province.***

The situation had not been formally discussed in the meetings of the trustees, so far as the records show, until December 19, 1740, two

* C. R. V: 247, 259, 266.
† Ibid., 287.
‡ B. T., Ga., IX: Verelst to Oglethorpe, June 11, 1740.
** C. R. V: 346.
†† Ibid., 211.
‡‡ B. T., Ga., X: Verelst to Oglethorpe.
*** C. R. V: 290-291.

days after the letter just mentioned had been sent. On that day Mr. Vernon, a personal friend of General Oglethorpe and one of the staunchest supporters of the province, took advantage of a full board to express his sentiments on the conditions in Georgia. He frankly said that some one ought to be given more power and authority than any one in the colony had under the existing constitution. The change was imperative in order to get the orders of the trust obeyed. He pointed out that Oglethorpe was neglecting certain things that he had been asked to look after. He was assuming too much authority, expecting that no compliance should be given the trustees' orders until confirmed by him. The trustees had already removed him from the financial affairs of Georgia, and it was now time to remove from the other civil concerns.*

At the next meeting of the trustees, Mr. Vernon again brought up the matter, saying that much disgrace and mischief had befallen both the trustees and the colony by reason of Oglethorpe's intervention in the execution of the commands sent to Georgia. He instanced the case of the light house which they had asked him to look after in vain, and which would probably cost £1,500 to repair when it ought not to have cost over £200. He declared that matters of the utmost importance were delayed in order that he might be consulted because there was a misconceived notion that he had the final control of matters ordered by the trust. On this ground, information in regard to the colony had been delayed; and yet it was of vital importance in order that the province might be set in the best light before Parliament. He proposed to invest some one in Georgia with powers superior to any possessed there at that time, and to make him entirely independent of General Oglethorpe. He did not wish a governor, proposing instead that the province be divided into two counties with a president over each. He suggested that Oglethorpe might be complimented by making him president in the southern division. All present seemed to approve his ideas, and he was asked to embody them in a definite plan.†

Turning now to Georgia, we may understand why General Oglethorpe was neglecting somewhat to look after the lighthouse and other affairs that had been committed to him on the civil side. As soon as he returned from the visit to the Creek Nation at Coweta, he heard that war had been declared between England and Spain; and he at once began to make active preparations for it. From that time till he left Georgia in 1743, he was occupied nearly all the time with military cares. In partial justification at least of the expenditures complained of by the Committee of Accounts, it may be noted that the English government was very grudging at times of the financial aid it lent General Oglethorpe for defending the province and for prosecuting the war: and so he felt constrained to get it elsewhere trusting that it would be later repaid. He advanced large sums for the purpose himself, and he used some of the trust money in the same way, violating his instructions no doubt and yet feeling that it was necessary. ‡

No detailed account can be given of his expedition into Florida.

* Ibid., 415.
† Ibid., 415 416.
‡ S. W. I. XXV: 175, 186.

It may well be doubted whether his service in this particular was of value to the province. He did not succeed in securing and holding the cordial assistance of South Carolina or of the British fleet; and so the expedition failed, in spite of his own earnestness and activity. It might be argued with some plausibility that his taking the offensive in this campaign prevented the Spanish from invading Georgia; but it seems more likely that this provocation and the fact that the English were not very successful led to the Spanish invasion in 1742.

The repelling of the Spanish in the latter attempt was the high water mark of his career, and it was of genuine service to Georgia. He drove off a superior force of the enemy by a stratagem that was well conceived and well executed. The strictly military features of the campaign reflect little credit on him, for they were insignificant; but the general results were very important, as much so as if a decisive battle had been won by the English, since the Spanish retired to trouble Georgia no more during the remainder of the proprietary period. In this campaign, as in the former one in Florida, General Oglethorpe was acting as an officer in the British regular army; and, while his services affected Georgia, he was not acting in any capacity as a Georgian or as an official of the province.

For his bravery and good service in repulsing the enemy, the king of his own accord promoted Oglethorpe to be a brigadier-general.* He was much troubled, however, about the state of his accounts with the treasury department; and so he sought leave to come to England for the purpose of settling the financial difficulties and of answering several charges that had been preferred against him. On July 23, 1743, he left the province never to return. He was easily cleared of the charges against him; and he held the command of his regiment in Georgia in name at least until it was disbanded in 1748.

Resuming our study of his relations to the trustees after 1740, we find that in spite of his exclusion from civil affairs he could not refrain entirely from interfering to some extent; and this was still resented by the trustees. Toward the close of 1741, the general wrote to President Stephens at Savannah signifying his pleasure that a certain lot in Savannah be granted to one Papott; but the president and assistants overruled the request, assigning to him their reasons therefor.† About four months later, he wrote them that notwithstanding the reasons given by them his request might and ought to be granted; but they again denied his authority to direct their action by refusing to accede to his proposal. ‡ At almost the same time that the above request was made by Oglethorpe, he wrote another letter to President Stephens signifying his pleasure that certain money sent to the colony by the trustees should be turned over to an agent he was sending to receive and apply it. The trustees had already given directions as to the application of the funds: and the president and assistants in this matter also denied the request of the general, directing that the president "do pursue his first orders received from the trust without variation therefrom." **

* C. R. V: 679.
† C. R. VI: 16.
‡ Ibid., 29.
** Ibid., 16.

On June 18, 1742, the Earl of Egmont received a letter from him, possibly written in consequence of the above incidents. In this letter he said that Colonel Stephens and every one in the magistracy in Georgia ought not to act without his directions since they plunged everything into a strange confusion.*

It is probable that he tried to exercise again some authority in the southern part of the province at least; for on May 10, 1743, the trustees wrote to Bailiff Hawkins, of Frederica, on the subject. They expressed astonishment that any one should think that General Oglethorpe, because a trustee, was vested with power superior to that of a magistrate. They asserted that no single trustee had any power at all, and they further said that no single person had any power at all except what had been given by the collective body of trustees. No single individual had power at all. The opposite doctrine would cause endless confusion. General Oglethorpe himself would set him straight in that matter.† The Earl of Egmont explained that this letter was sent because Oglethorpe was interposing without authority and was looked upon by some as having a power superior to that of a magistrate.‡

After General Oglethorpe reached England, though fresh from a victorious campaign that had saved Georgia from invasion, he was not received and thanked as on the former visits he had made to England. There was certainly less cordiality between him and the general body of the trustees, to whatever cause the lack of harmony may be attributed. He attended the meetings of the board and of the common council with much less regularity, going to thirty-four of the 103 meetings of the former, and to nine of the 26 council meetings, held after his return to England. His attendance before he left for Georgia the first time was, as we have seen, about 90 per cent of the possible meetings; and it was 63 per cent on his last trip; while now his attendance had fallen to 34 per cent. In the beginning, he had been on almost every important committee, while after his final return to England he was not appointed on any committee of the common council and on only two of the general board of trustees.**

His lack of harmony with his associates is shown even more strikingly perhaps in the dissent which he several times entered to matters passed in the meeting. It was one of the two general by-laws adopted by the trustees that any member who dissented from a resolution should have the privilege in the same meeting of entering the simple words, "I, A. B., do dissent from the foregoing resolution."†† With the exception of a single instance, Oglethorpe was the only trustee who availed himself of the privilege of thus putting his opposition on record; and it may be worth while to note the matters on which he thus differed from his colleagues. On January 19, 1745, steps were taken to abolish the town court of Frederica, the action being partly due to the fact that two of the three bailiffs had come to England on military business. At the same time, a motion was made to prohibit any one in military employment from being employed as a magistrate in Georgia. The matters were postponed for final settlement; but the general desired leave to dissent to all the resolutions.*

* C. R. V: 637.
† B. T., Ga., X: Martyn to Hawkins, May 10, 1743.
‡ C. R. V: 689.
** C. R. I: 501, 510.
†† Ibid., 31.

On January 30 following, the subjects were again discussed; and it was decided that if any of the magistrates of Georgia should accept military employment they would become incapable of holding or exercising their civil offices. It was further decided that dormant commissions be sent over for men to take the places of any magistrates who should thus change to the military service. As might have been expected from his former action, Oglethorpe dissented from the resolutions.†

Again on May 24, 1748, he dissented to the proceedings of the day. On this occasion, the principal point under discussion was the distribution of Indian presents by a joint commission from South Carolina and Georgia.‡ In expressing opposition to this plan, he may have been moved by his early hostility to making any concessions to South Carolina in regard to the Indian trade, for we have noted that he was persistent on that subject. On the same day, he presided at a meeting of the common council and dissented likewise from the proceedings of the day. It is very difficult to see any reason for his behavior on that occasion. Only routine matters were passed upon, and nothing involving any disputed principle was seemingly discussed or put through.** This was the next to the last meeting of the common council that he attended, and it was only a short while until he stopped attending the meetings of the general board. So far as the records show, his last meeting with the trustees was at the anniversary sermon on March 16, 1749.††

During the remaining years of the trust, Oglethorpe was in England and was taking an active part in Parliamentary affairs,‡‡ and of course it is interesting to ascertain why he did not keep up his connection with the affairs in Georgia. His regiment was disbanded in 1748, and that severed one connection that he had had with the province. We have noted also that he was not in accord with several of the measures being adopted at that time by the trustees. There was one other circumstance that may help to explain his absence from the councils of the trust. He was having a disagreement with the trustees in regard to financial matters. Late in 1744 he was asked to render an account of the various orders for money or other articles given by him to Thomas Causton,*** and there is no record of any settlement as to that.

On July 6, 1751, the accomptant was instructed to call on General Oglethorpe for the balance due from him to the trust of about £1,412, because the money was urgently needed for carrying on the colony.††† The general replied that the balance of accounts was in his favor, and that even if that were not true the claim of the trustees on him was not

* Ibid., 463.
† Ibid., 464-465.
‡ Ibid., 516.
** C. R. II: 489.
†† C. R. I: 529.
‡‡ Wright, 363-370.
*** C. R. II: 441.
††† C. R. I: 563.

payable until the account was allowed at the government treasury on the auditor's statement of it. To this the trustees replied that he was mistaken as to their claims not being payable; he had been allowed enough from the treasury department to repay the money of the trustees which he had used for the military service, and the trust is in great need of money to carry on the colony.*

Oglethorpe responded to this request with a letter dated August 17, 1751, in which he reiterates his claim that the balance of accounts as already submitted is in his favor. Besides, he says that there is an additional account of expenditures made by him for the trustees which he has not yet presented, owing to the fact that he had an account to pass with the government at the time it would ordinarily have been submitted to the trust. He abstains from presenting it until the government matter is settled when his claims and those of the trust may be set one against another. Under date of a week later, the trustees reply, expressing great surprise that he had any further demands to make upon them. They are the more surprised because he was present on the 17th of January, 1749, when his accounts were delivered, examined and determined, and at that time he had made no mention of anything further. They, therefore, request that he let them know what these demands are as soon as possible, the circumstances of the trust not admitting of any delay.†

This was the last communication that passed between the general and the trustees, so far as the records show. The accounts of the trust do not show that he ever paid any money to extinguish the claims against him, nor, on the other hand, do they indicate that he received anything in consequence of his claims. It seems most probable that the claims remained unsettled until the trust was dissolved.

Reviewing the whole connection of Oglethorpe with the Province of Georgia, we are led to a number of interesting conclusions. His personal character was worthy of admiration. Though it was bitterly assailed by many of his enemies, both on general and specific charges,‡ nothing unworthy or dishonorable was ever proved against him. In the beginning of the enterprise, he showed only the most disinterested and philanthropic motives, and at no time during his connection with it did he seem to act from purely selfish incentives. In his first visit to Georgia, he must have been actuated primarily by the desire to aid those who had been oppressed and to show them how to succeed in their undertaking. On his later journey the same desire to be of service was doubtless present also, though it was mixed with personal ambition. He was generous in his gifts of labor and sacrifice for the colony. His contributions in money, as shown in the receipts of the trustees, were small,** but his services were given freely to the trust,†† and at times he even paid his

* Ibid., 565-566.

† Ibid., 566-567.

‡ In a number of pamphlets like the "True and Historical Narrative" (Ga. Hist. Collec. IV: 163 et seq.), he was bitterly assailed. Also by Rev. William Norris and others at the Parliamentary inquiry. (C. R. V: 573, 619.)

** They amounted to about £16. (C. R. III: 7, 14, 164.)

†† He was paid nothing at all until he was made colonel of the regiment and commander-in-chief of the forces of South Carolina and Georgia, when he received abundant pay from the government, though nothing at any time from the trustees.

own expenses. He has been highly eulogized because he did not accept pay from the trustees and did not acquire any lands in Georgia, but we have already noted that the charter forbade him to do either.*

As to his official career in Georgia, in spite of his high aims, his pure motives, and his clean character, he did not meet with very great success. He started out on the friendliest terms with South Carolina, but it was not long until that province was completely alienated from him. Of course this was not entirely the fault of Oglethorpe, but in the matter of the Indian trade and in regard to the expedition to Florida, he did not seem to use the tact that was needful to get the best results. Whether another could have succeeded better is of course an open question, but there was no difficulty with the colony after President Stephens took charge of the Indian affairs for Georgia. On the whole, his relations to the civil affairs of the province were not entirely advantageous. Retaining all authority at first, he made the impression, whether intentionally or not, that the magistrates were to be subservient to his will, and that no important action was to be taken without his consent. This caused vexatious delays when he was out of the province or too far away to be readily reached; it was also a source of misunderstanding and hard feeling between him and the trustees later on. There was no settled way of doing things in Georgia until the trustees made it plain that their directions were to be fully carried out without consulting him unless so ordered.

As long as his advice was followed regarding the land tenures, the introduction of rum, and the prohibition of negro slaves, the colony was kept backward. In theory he seemed to be right on all those matters, but, as Burke observed, the regulations were not adapted to the country and to the people concerned, and they could not succeed. The trustees in England had to depend on the advice given by Oglethorpe on the field, and he erred, though in all honesty, as to what was the best course to pursue. The loose government and the unsatisfactory economic conditions were the principal hindrances in the development of the colony.

In the matter of defense he was most successful, maintaining peace with the Indians and keeping the Spanish out of Georgia; yet even in this matter it is not certain but that another policy might have been better. The plan of pushing fortifications and forts far to the south helped to arouse the hostility of the Spanish, and after they were established in 1735 and the following years, there was much disturbance from Spanish alarms. The people could not raise their crops and go quietly about their business. They might have been spared this anxiety if the Georgia settlements had been kept within the limits of the province, and especially if they had been kept in the northern part of it. However, in the actual fighting necessary to drive off the Spanish in 1742, General Oglethorpe was abundantly successful. His zeal for defense led him to make quite extensive expenditures of money which neither the trustees nor the British government were willing to sustain. He was of that generous and somewhat reckless disposition that does on the impulse what seems necessary at the moment without waiting to weigh the expense and determine whether it is absolutely required. With his

* C. R. I: 16, 21-22.

own money he was perfectly willing to make such expenditures, and so he was not likely to think it wrong to do so with that of the trust or of the government. Thus he had serious trouble himself because of his accounts, and he made trouble for the trustees.

If he was unsuccessful in Georgia, he was not more to blame than the trustees themselves, and perhaps he was not so much at fault as they. He was placed by them in a most embarrassing position, being sent to take charge of the colony and yet clothed with most insignificant powers. He could accomplish little if he stayed within his commission from them, and if he exceeded it he was open to censure, especially if his transgression proved troublesome in any way. They gave him very few instructions, but they were ready enough to expect that he act wisely without them. If he could have been appointed a regular governor of the province, with powers similar to those of the governor of South Carolina or of other provinces, and with sufficient assistants to help him, he would no doubt have made an excellent record in most respects, but the trustees were unwilling to surrender much power to anyone in the colony, and no member of the trust could fully occupy the position of governor on account of the charter provisions.

Therefore in our judgment it would have been better for the province if Oglethorpe had never gone to Georgia, or at least if he had gone there, only as the commander of the regiment and without any civil authority at all. Of course his help at the outset would have been greatly missed, and the first year might not have been so successful as it was. If Oglethorpe had not gone, however, it would have been necessary for the trustees to send some other person of experience and ability to manage the expedition, as it could not have been trusted to the raw colonists themselves. Such a person would have been responsible to the trustees, as Oglethorpe was not; from him they could have required frequent and regular reports, as they did not feel free to require of Oglethorpe and as they did not get from him. Such a person, whether actually bearing the title of governor or not, would have centralized authority to some extent, and he would have been steadily in the province, whereas Oglethorpe did not feel bound to remain there and did not actually reside in Savannah, the central place of government, more than one year out of the ten that he was connected with the province. The trustees would have felt it necessary to send full instructions to such an official, as they did later to President Stephens, while they expected Oglethorpe to know what to do from his general knowledge of their purposes, and greater definiteness and certainty were much needed in the colony.

If the trustees had been compelled thus to appoint a governor, they might have put themselves into more cordial relations with the board of trade and the ministry in England, and so might have been aided rather than injured by the suggestions from these sources, as they feared they would be.*

It is unlikely that any person could have been found who had the natural qualifications and the enthusiasm possessed by Oglethorpe, and therefore so fit to be a governor, but whatever he lacked in personal fitness and zeal might be atoned for by the other advantages mentioned

* C. R. V: 415-416.

above. If Oglethorpe could have remained in England he would have made a most useful member of the trust, punctual in attendance, ready to work, successful in getting outsiders interested. He might thus have served the colony as faithfully, if not so prominently, and during the closing years he might have been still cordial with his associates instead of absenting himself from their meetings, dissenting from their actions when present, and disputing with them as to the balance of money due on his accounts with them.

CHAPTER XXI

PERSONNEL OF THE TRUSTEES—HIGH CHARACTER OF THE MEN WHO GOVERNED THE COLONY OF GEORGIA—HOW THE AFFAIRS OF THE TRUST WERE ADMINISTERED—HOW THE MEETINGS WERE ATTENDED—JAMES VERNON—THE EARL OF EGMONT—THE EARL OF SHAFTSBURY.

(This chapter contributed by James Ross McCain, A. M.)

It will be recalled that the trustees for settling Georgia were organized into an open corporation whose membership could be indefinitely increased. It was a wise provision of the charter, since it allowed the trustees to associate with them as many good and influential men as they might be able to interest in their enterprise. From the nature of the undertaking, it was not to be expected that many men would seek membership in the trust; only those who were willing to do hard work without remuneration could be induced to join in carrying on the settling and support of the colony. In addition to the twenty-one trustees named in the charter, fifty others were elected to office during the twenty years of the corporation's existence. Twenty-six of these were chosen during the first two years of the trust, while the remaining twenty-four were scattered somewhat uniformly through the last eighteen years. This inequality of distribution in the adding of members is readily explained by the great amount of interest in the colony and enthusiasm for its development that we have previously noticed was especially manifest during the years 1733 and 1734.

The trustees named in the charter did not belong to any one profession or rank in society, though all were gentlemen. Interest in the charitable work proposed seems to have been the general basis of appointment. Five of the twenty-one members were ministers of the gospel, all of the Church of England. Ten were members of the House of Commons. Two held seats in the House of Lords. One was a commissioner of the excise, another was a philanthropist noted for his work in establishing and supporting hospitals, still another was a clerk in the South Sea House, while the last was a country gentleman. None of the men were distinguished nobles or noted political leaders at the time, nor were they of such wealth that they would be able to carry on the work by their own financial contributions, in fact the records for the whole twenty years of the trust show gifts from these twenty-one members of only about £225.*

In the choice of members at the annual meeting of 1733, it would seem that interest in the financial progress of the colony had weight.

* C. R. III: 1-208.

Of the seventeen trustees chosen on that occasion, twelve had shown their personal interest either by making contributions in money or by securing commissions to solicit funds from others for the purposes of the charter. Of the five who do not appear to have been thus interested, one was a member of the House of Lords, three of the House of Commons, and the last was a country gentleman.

The financial support was the basis of choice in 1733, it did not continue to be, for the next year nine trustees were chosen, none of whom had contributed to the colony or had tried to get others to do so, though six of them made contributions shortly after their election. Four of them were members of the House of Commons, one was of the House of Lords, another was a clergyman, still another was an eminent lawyer, while about the remaining two very little is known. The next trustee, who was chosen in 1737, was undoubtedly selected on account of his great financial assistance. He had given £1000 from a trust fund in his possession for the development of Georgia, this sum being much in excess of the combined contributions of all the other trustees during the proprietary period.*

Between the years 1738 and 1743 inclusive there were elected thirteen members of the corporation, and all of these were members of Parliament. There had been a strong tendency heretofore to choose members from those who could be useful in securing the support of Parliament, and as the support became more doubtful it is not surprising that members of the House of Commons would make the most acceptable trustees.

Of the ten members chosen during the last decade of the trust, six were members of Parliament, one a clergyman, another was lord mayor of London, still another was a merchant, while nothing is known of the remaining one.†

Of the seventy-one‡ trustees, eleven never qualified by attending a single meeting and seven others attended only three meetings or less, so that the active membership of the trust was only fifty-three, and it must not be supposed that all of these did much work either in attending meetings or in looking after the details of the colony. In view of the large number who were indifferent, we can understand why the average attendance was so small at both corporation and common council meetings. For the purpose of our study, the activity of a man in Georgia affairs and his general usefulness to the trust are of more importance than the facts of his personal or private life. Some of those elected members of the corporation were in many respects very noted and influential men, and yet their participation in the business of the trust was so slight that they do not merit individual attention in studying the personnel of the working members of the board. The following table will indicate those who were most diligent in attending to the duties which devolved on the members of the corporation:

* C. R. I: 273-275.

† Stevens. I: 474-475.

‡ Jones, Stevens, and others give lists of seventy-two members of the trust, but they overlook the fact that Robert Kendall, Esq., and Sir Robert Cater were two names for the same man. C. R. I: 28.

ATTENDANCE OF MEMBERS ON THE MEETINGS OF THE TRUSTEES FOR ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA IN AMERICA, 1732-1752.

Name	Chosen	Meetings attended	Meetings held during membership
John Lord Viscount Perceval (Later Earl of Egmont.)	1732	343	450
Hon. Edward Digby, Esq.	1732	97	512
George Carpenter, Esq. (Later Lord Carpenter.)	1732	70	463
James Oglethorpe, Esq.	1732	147	512
George Heathcote, Esq.	1732	84	512
Thomas Towers, Esq.	1732	193	512
Robert More, Esq.	1732	39	512
Robert Hucks, Esq.	1732	187	423
Rogers Holland, Esq.	1732	87	512
William Sloper, Esq.	1732	36	388
Francis Eyles, Esq.	1732	26	512
John Laroche, Esq.	1732	161	512
Hon. James Vernon, Esq.	1732	394	512
William Belitha, Esq.	1732	18	512
Rev. Stephen Hales, D. D.	1732	152	512
Rev. John Burton	1732	46	512
Rev. Richard Bundy, D. D.	1732	81	274
Rev. Arthur Bedford	1732	36	423
Rev. Samuel Smith	1732	352	512
Mr. Adam Anderson	1732	129	512
Mr. Thomas Coram	1732	129	494
James Earl of Derby	1733	None	476
Anthony Ashley Earl of Shaftesbury	1733	138	476
John Lord Viscount Tyrconnel	1733	102	476
James Lord Viscount Limerick	1733	27	476
James Lord D'Arcy	1733	None	64
Hon. Richard Chandler, Esq.	1733	61	476
Thomas Frederick, Esq.	1733	30	320
Henry L'Apostre, Esq.	1733	294	476
William Heathcote, Esq. (Later Sir Wm. Heathcote, Bart.)	1733	125	476
Robert Kendall, Esq. (Later Sir Robert Cater.)	1733	29	273
John Page, Esq.	1733	16	476
William Hanbury, Esq.	1733	1	476
Erasmus Phillips, Esq. (Later Sir E. Phillips, Bart.)	1733	1	476
Christopher Towers, Esq.	1733	23	476
Sir John Gonson, Knight	1733	6	476
George Tyrer, Esq.	1733	None	476
John White, Esq.	1733	38	476
Rev. Thomas Rundle, D. D. (Later Lord Bishop of Londonderry.)	1734	4	272
Hon. William Talbot, Esq. (Later Lord Talbot.)	1734	8	412

Name	Chosen	Meetings attended	Meetings held during membership
Richard Coope, Esq.	1734	None	412
William Wollaston, Esq.	1734	2	412
Hon. Robert Eyre, Esq.	1734	63	412
Thomas Archer, Esq. (Later Lord Archer.)	1734	39	412
Henry Archer, Esq.	1734	62	412
Robert Tracy, Esq.	1734	57	412
Francis Wollaston, Esq.	1734	None	412
Sir Jacob Des Bouverie, Bart. (Later Lord Viscount Folkstone.)	1737	4	283
Sir Harry Gough, Bart.	1738	10	238
Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart.	1738	1	238
Lord Sidney Beauclerk	1739	19	101
Hon. Henry Bathurst, Esq.	1741	8	165
Hon. Philip Perceval, Esq.	1741	33	116
John Frederick, Esq.	1741	10	165
Hon. Alexander Hume Campbell, Esq.	1742	None	146
Sir John Barrington, Bart.	1742	26	146
Samuel Tuffnell, Esq.	1742	46	146
Henry Calthrope, Esq. (Later Sir Henry Calthrope.)	1742	3	146
John Phillips, Esq. (Later Sir John Phillips, Bart.)	1743	22	130
Velters Cornewall, Esq.	1743	9	130
John Wright, Esq.	1743	None	130
Rev. Thomas Wilson, D. D.	1745	16	79
Francis Cokayne, Esq.	1747	2	59
Samuel Lloyd, Esq.	1747	37	59
Hon. John Earl of Egmont	1749	None	39
Anthony Ewer, Esq.	1749	20	39
Edward Hooper, Esq.	1749	23	39
Sir John Cust, Bart.	1749	None	39
Slingsby Bethel, Esq.	1749	None	39
Stephen Theodore Jansen, Esq.	1749	None	39
Richard Cavendish	?	3	?

In addition to the regular members listed above, there were chosen on March 19, 1747, two corresponding members of the trust for the service of Salzburgers and other Germans who might be inclined to go to Georgia. These were Mr. Chretien Von Munch and Rev. Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburgh. They never attended any meetings of the trust but they frequently gave information and advice through letters to the trustees.*

Since the common council of the trustees was a closed board and since it was necessary for it to have [illegible]t members present in order to do business, it was more important that its membership be selected from active and interested persons than that such should be chosen for the corporation only. There were in all forty-eight members of the common

* C. R. I: 499.

council appointed or selected. Of this number, two never accepted the office to which they were elected, so that only forty-six actually took the oath which inaugurated them into service. Six members served during the whole period of proprietary control, and two others served from the completion of the first council on March 15, 1733, to the end of the period. Since the duties of a common councilman were in many respects more arduous than those of an ordinary member of the corporation, it is worth while to tabulate the faithfulness of its members.

ATTENDANCE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMON COUNCIL ON ITS MEETINGS, 1732-1752

Name	Chosen	Meetings attended	Meetings held during membership	Remarks
Egmont	1732	161	201	Resigned July 7, 1742.
Digby	1732	50	210	Died 1745.
Carpenter	1732	42	127	Resigned March 8, 1738. Re-elected and resigned April 12, 1740.
*Oglethorpe	1732	70	215	
G. Heathcote	1732	65	215	Resigned March 8, 1738.
*Laroche	1732	110	215	
*Vernon	1732	176	215	
Belitha	1732	7	15	Resigned March 15, 1733.
*Hales	1732	95	215	
*T. Towers	1732	125	215	
Hucks	1732	82	111	Resigned March 17, 1737.
More	1732	28	98	Resigned April 16, 1736.
*Holland	1732	68	215	
Sloper	1732	29	193	Resigned February 20, 1742.
Eyles	1732	29	193	Resigned February 11, 1742.
*Shaftesbury	1733	80	186	Resigned 1739; re-elected 1740.
*Tyrconnel	1733	80	200	
Limerick	1733	14	128	Resigned 1739.
*Chandler	1733	34	200	
T. Frederick	1733	25	141	Died 1740.
L'Apostre	1733	138	189	Resigned 1747.
W. Heathcote	1733	42	141	Resigned July 30, 1739.
White	1733	28	96	Resigned April 26, 1736.
Cater	1733	25	112	Resigned March 8, 1738.
Bundy	1733	52	112	Resigned March 8, 1738.
Talbot	1736	2	16	Resigned March 8, 1738.
T. Archer	1736	11	72	Resigned March 18, 1742.
*Eyre	1736	39	104	
*Smith	1737	75	88	
*Tracy	1737	32	88	
*Page	1737	2	88	
H. Archer	1737	31	69	Resigned January 28, 1744.
C. Towers	1737	14	75	Resigned 1747.
Beauclerk	1738	15	46	Died November 23, 1744.
*J. Frederick	1740	13	45	
*Bathurst	1740	7	45	Resigned March 9, 1744.
*Barrington	1741	12	32	
*Tuffnel	1741	19	32	
*Phillips	1742	10	25	
P. Perceval	1743	None	8	Died 1747.
*Cornewall	1743	6	19	
Bouverie	1744	None	17	(Resigned ?)
*Wilson	1746	6	13	
*Lloyd	1749	9	9	
*Hooper	1749	6	9	
*Ewer	1749	8	9	
*Cavendish	?	1	?	

COMMITTEE SERVICE OF THE CORPORATION AND OF THE COMMON COUNCIL OF THE TRUSTEES FOR ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA IN AMERICA.

Name	Corporation	Common Council	Total
Vernon	47	95	142
Egmont	12	98	110
T. Towers	26	74	100
L'Apostre	6	88	94
Laroche	11	51	62
Hucks	14	46	60
Hales	7	46	53
Oglethorpe	19	31	50
Shaftesbury	12	36	48
Eyre	6	40	46
Smith	20	23	43
Holland	4	33	37
Tyrconnel	6	22	28
H. Archer	8	11	19
W. Heathcote	2	17	19
G. Heathcote	6	11	17
Digby	1	17	18

* Those whose names are thus marked above formed the Common Council when the charter was surrendered in 1752. The minutes of the Trustees are not quite complete as to the changes made during the last few years and it is not certain when Cavendish was chosen to the Council or whether Bouverie ever resigned from the body or not.

Besides attending the meetings of the corporation and the Common Council, the more active Trustees frequently had duties to perform on some of the permanent or special committees which were so frequently employed by both bodies. Although service on the committees was very often assigned to any three or more of the members, it usually devolved on a very few persons who were willing to sacrifice their time for the good of the colony. The various journals and minutes which describe the work of the committees frequently fail to indicate the individuals who composed the committees, but sufficient information may be gleaned from them to show with reasonable accuracy the members both of the corporation and of the Common Council who were most prominent in this work.

Chandler	6	12	18
Tracy	3	14	17
Hooper	6	8	14
J. Frederick	2	10	12
T. Frederick	3	7	10
Bundy	6	3	9
More	4	5	9
White	2	7	9
Bathurst	3	6	9
Lloyd	4	9	13
Ewer	3	8	11
Cavendish	2	5	7
J. Phillips	2	4	6
Coram	6	—	6
Wright	2	3	5
T. Archer	3	—	3
Wilson	1	1	2
Campbell	1	1	2
Page	1	1	2
Burton	1	—	1
Anderson	1	—	1
Bedford	2	—	2
Carpenter	—	3	3
Sloper	—	4	4
Eyles	—	8	8
Belitha	—	7	7
Cater	3	11	14
Talbot	—	1	1
Limerick	—	1	1
Beauclerk	—	3	3
C. Towers	—	3	3
Barrington	—	3	3
Tuffnel	—	1	1

This table furnishes the clearest evidence available that a very few men did the actual work of the trust. So far as information is available, there were in all 1,162 reports for committee duty, and more than half of these were made by seven men. These seven seem to have had more to do with the constructive policy of the trustees than all the other sixty-four members of the trust combined; for the minutes of the common council and the journal of the trustees make it evident that very much of their business consisted of hearing and approving the work of their committees. However, lest it give undue prominence to the committee work to select as the most prominent trustees those who led in it, it will be best to combine in one table the various activities of those who ranked highest in all departments of service for the colony. The results are collated in the summary following:

THE LEADING WORKERS AMONG THE TRUSTEES IN EVERY DEPARTMENT OF SERVICE, 1732-1752.

Name	Corporation Meetings	Council Meetings	Committees	Total
Vernon	394	176	142	712
Egmont	343	161	110	614
L'Apostre	294	138	94	526
Smith	352	75	43	470
T. Towers	193	125	100	418
Laroche	161	110	62	334
Hucks	187	82	60	329
Hales	152	95	53	300
Oglethorpe	147	70	50	267
Shaftesbury	138	80	48	266

Since these ten men by every test appear to have done the major part of the work in founding and supporting Georgia, it is highly important that they be studied in detail; while, on the other hand, it is not essential that those who contributed almost no service to Georgia should be discussed, however eminent and important they may have been in other fields.

It is remarkable that the name of James Vernon heads the list in every department of service connected with the trust. Not only was he first in attending the corporation, the common council, and committees, but he was the most consistent and regular worker among the trustees. Several of the ten listed above were faithful and prompt when the enterprise was begun; but, as the hardships increased and as the task appeared to attract less enthusiasm and approval among the people generally, some of them became less regular in their attendance. Vernon maintained the good record with which he began his labors for Georgia, and during the last nine years of proprietary government he was absent from only four of the 114 meetings held by the corporation. At the meetings when he was absent, only routine business of slight importance was transacted,* so that Vernon may be said to have participated in practically everything that was done after 1743. The attendance of other members of the corporation at these meetings varied greatly, and it was nearly always small, no other member being present at near all the meetings. One might infer from the situation that during much of the time Vernon was practically in charge of the work and that he called in others to confirm and make legal what he wished to do, though he was doubtless only leading and not entirely dominating corporation affairs. The part he played in the common council and in committees was similar to that he held in the corporation.

The general idea of his leadership during the second decade of the trust is reinforced by the fact that during this period the policy for which he stood came more and more into practice. More earnestly than any other trustee, so far as the records indicate, Vernon had advocated the plan of satisfying the colonists in Georgia and so inducing them

* C. R. I: 533, 538, 575, 576.

actively to work in the development of the province. When they complained of the poor quality of their land, he urged repeatedly that they be given good land in proportion to the bad that they held,* and he was willing that even the islands along the coast and in the rivers should be granted in order that the good land might be convenient for cultivation and development.† When the inhabitants showed discontent on account of the strict land tenures and a lack of negroes, Vernon was inclined to yield to them in both respects.‡ He also was the trustee who suggested and urged strongly the need of a firm and orderly government in the colony which would please both people and the home management of the province, and he outlined the form of government which was adopted to meet the needs of the occasion.** It is noticeable that in all records of debates and discussions among the trustees, Vernon's opinions and arguments are given space, and his suggestions were evidently regarded as weighty by his companions. As the liberal treatment of the colonists in Georgia in the matters of land tenure, good lands, trade in rum, and the use of negroes was gradually adopted by the trustees, it became evident that the policy thus advocated by him was the wisest and best for the province.

Some of Vernon's best work was done in making it possible for the Salzburgers and other German Protestants to settle in Georgia. It was a help to the immigrants, and it was a valuable addition to Georgia to have them come. He was the correspondent of the trustees in making the agreements under which they sailed; he interviewed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and arranged with it to furnish the means for transporting the foreigners to Georgia,†† and he labored to make the colony a success after it had been established. In token of the appreciation which the foreigners felt for his labors, his name was given to the Town of Vernonburgh, which was largely settled by those whom he had befriended. Another work in which he was regularly engaged for the trust was that of arranging with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the support of missionaries appointed by the trust to labor in Georgia. He was also one of the most active supporters of Georgia in visiting the various executive departments of the British Government in behalf of the province, and he was eloquent in his support of it.‡‡

Vernon was himself a commissioner of the excise. He had earlier been an envoy to the King of Denmark, and he had been spoken of before he was twenty-five years of age as "a young gentleman who hath had a fine education, is master of abundance of learning, is very modest and sober."*** All of these traits of character and attainments he exhibited in his labors for the Province of Georgia. He was a particular friend of General Oglethorpe, who said of him, "If there is a friend to be depended upon, he is one."* Vernon deserves to rank very near Oglethorpe in credit for the establishment and success of Georgia. The latter made more personal sacrifices for it; but Vernon worked with him in obtaining the charter, and he kept up his interest and efforts for the province after Oglethorpe and all the other founders had ceased to labor for it.

Next to Vernon in activity for Georgia, was John, Lord Viscount Perceval, better known by his later title, the Earl of Egmont. He was the first president of the corporation and as such administered the oath of office to his fellow members of the common council.† In almost all the lists of the trustees occurring either in the charter or in the records of the trust, his name stands at the top, for he was recognized as a leader among them. Had it not been for his resignation from the common council in 1742 and his death in 1748, he might have equalled or even surpassed Vernon in his attention to Georgia affairs, for they were almost equally prompt in service until 1742, Egmont being perhaps a somewhat more dominant figure than Vernon. In spite of his gout and other physical handicaps, he took the lead in the affairs of Georgia, and he seemed to occupy in England a position somewhat similar to that of Oglethorpe in America, being the person to whom others generally looked for suggestions and directions. To him were sent more letters and reports concerning the province than to any other trustee, and he was foremost in pressing the claims of the colony for help and support, knowing better than any other its circumstances and needs.‡

Like Vernon, the Earl of Egmont was inclined to be liberal toward the colonists; but he was more cautious in his policy. He opposed the giving of good lands for bad too hastily, urging that a more careful study of the facts should be made. His attitude was that the colonists ought to make a good showing with what they had before they should be allowed their full requests.** He was also opposed to the use of negroes, either free or slave, in Georgia; but his opposition was not harsh and overbearing like that of some of the other trustees.†† He strongly favored alterations in the land tenures so as to conform to the desires of the people of Georgia, giving as his reason for his position on the matter a desire to conciliate the settlers in every possible manner consistent with the purposes of the colony.‡‡

Though raised to the rank of an earl under the Walpole administration, he occupied an independent position in politics. He discloses a good deal of animus against Walpole himself at various times, accusing him of deliberately falsifying in order to get the support of the trustees.*** Egmont himself felt that it was best for him and for the other trustees to make no alliance with either party, putting the interests of Georgia ahead of the success of any faction.†††

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* C. R. V: 227-228.
† Ibid., 257.
‡ Ibid., 378.
** Ibid., 412-413.
†† C. R. I: 77, 137.
‡‡ C. R. V: 610.
*** Stevens. I: 465.

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* Wright. 143-144, 165.
† C. R. I: 66.
‡ C. R. V: 636, 639, 641, 271-273, for example.
** Ibid., 227-228.
†† Ibid., 378.
‡‡ Ibid., 379.
*** Ibid., 34, 88, as examples.
††† Ibid., 112.

Were his devotion to the colony not so manifest on many occasions, it might be questioned in view of the circumstances of his resignation. When Parliament refused a supply of money in the spring of 1742, he spoke of throwing up the whole trust because both the ministry and the minority in Parliament seemed to appreciate so little the labors of the trustees. He did not meet with encouragement in the idea and he dropped it for the time.* Later in the year, after Thomas Stephens had been reprimanded for attempting to asperse the characters of the trustees, and after another effort on the part of the supporters of Georgia had failed, the Earl of Egmont in hasty indignation resigned his place as a member of the common council on July 7, 1742.† If any means of resigning from the corporation had been provided, he would likely have given it up also, for he was thoroughly roused. His action was ill considered. His letter enclosing his resignation did not touch on what was the real seat of trouble, which was the hope of getting others also to resign and so forcing the government to either support Georgia or to give it up.‡ He failed in his purpose of getting others to follow his example; and it was well for the colony that he did so fail. If the charter had been surrendered at that time, it is most certain that Georgia would either have been surrendered to Spain or would have been joined to South Carolina, and in either case its independent character would have been lost. The reasons assigned in his letter of failing health and his physician's directions to rest would have been ample excuses for his resignation were it not that he himself gave a different interpretation of his own action.

The Earl of Egmont was disposed to judge harshly the motives and actions of his fellow trustees, and he would have been very severe toward another acting as he did in that matter.

Egmont had had a somewhat distinguished career before he became connected with Georgia. He had been privy councillor for Ireland. In 1715 he had been made Baron Perceval; and in 1722 he had been created Viscount. His advancement to the earldom was in 1733, his interest in Georgia possibly having some influence in his promotion. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society. Egmont was the author of several tracts or small books, most of which were concerned with the advantages of Georgia and the need of its support.‡

Henry L'Apostre, the trustee ranking third in faithful attendance on the duties of his office, seems to have been a man of much less force of character than either Vernon or Egmont. He was not a member of Parliament, and almost nothing is known of his private life. While he was regularly in his place at the meetings of corporation, common council, or committees, arguments or suggestions from him rarely appear in the proceedings, indicating that his influence was perhaps not very great among his fellow trustees. His committee service was to a large extent connected with financial or banking affairs,** and it might be inferred that he was experienced in such matters, but there is no corroborative evidence to support the inference. He did not share Vernon's

* Ibid., 612.
† Ibid., 643-644.
‡ Ibid., 273-275; Stevens I: 463-464.
** C. R. II: 248; C. R. V: 707, as examples.

view of conciliating the people of Georgia, but opposed humoring them as to either land tenures or negroes.*

Rev. Samuel Smith was a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, and he was the rector of All Hallows on the Wall. He was early impressed with possibilities for good in the Georgia enterprise, and he preached a sermon for the special purpose of recommending the charity. In consequence of this and other services, an application was made by the trustees to the right honorable the lord high chancellor for some preferment in or near London to be given to the Rev. Mr. Smith "for the great Service he has been of to the Trust."† Like Mr. L'Apostre, he seems to have been more faithful in attending meetings than prominent in his participation in them. He aided Vernon in securing the interest of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the removing of the Salzburgers from Germany to Georgia; and he was active in all religious enterprises of the trust.‡

Thomas Tower was one of Oglethorpe's closest friends among the trustees,** and they were in thorough accord as to many matters of importance in colonial affairs. Neither of them was willing to yield to the clamors of the Georgians for better land tenures, the exchange of bad lands for good, the traffic in rum, and the introduction of negroes. Tower had been on the committee which framed the regulations for the colonists,†† and he had satisfied himself that they were suitable and necessary; and he felt, as did Oglethorpe, that those complaining ought to be entirely disregarded unless they were improving their lots the best they could before making their complaints. Accordingly he opposed more than any other trustee the various concessions that were made to the people.‡‡

Tower was a good speaker in the House of Commons,*** and he was a lawyer of ability. His legal services were the most valuable that he rendered to the trustees. He was on nearly all committees that were appointed to prepare laws, draw up instructions for magistrates in Georgia, or to put papers into proper legal form.††† In this respect he was perhaps the most active and able trustee. He also served the trust at times by interviewing Sir Robert Walpole to get his approval of measures desired by the friends of Georgia; in this capacity he was effective, but he was unwilling to do much service of the sort. In fact his close allegiance to the Walpole party greatly hampered him in his usefulness to the Georgia trustees. In order to please Sir Robert Walpole, Tower was willing to surrender Georgia to the Spanish without a serious fight to retain it.‡‡‡ To further please him, he undertook with another trustee to defend the English title to Georgia, though the trustees as a whole very strongly disapproved of the measure, thinking that

* C. R. V: 378.
† C. R. II: 60.
‡ C. R. I: 114, 209, as examples.
** Wright 143-144, 165.
†† C. R. I: 70.
‡‡ C. R. V: 217, 467.
*** Ibid., 117.
††† Ibid., 390, 429, 599, as examples.
‡‡‡ Ibid., 100.

it was a matter to be settled by the law officers of the Crown and fearing that an unsuccessful defense would be used as an excuse for giving up the province.* Friendship for the Walpole party also led Tower to oppose any effort to make the corporation independent of politics; he did not wish the trustees to petition Parliament for the protection of Georgia, and he frequently insisted that the demands for money be cut low enough to please the lord chancellor. It is not certain but it is probable that his refusal to speak for the colony in the House of Commons and his indifference on other occasions may be explained also on the basis of his political alignment.†

Hucks and Laroche were two other strong supporters of Walpole among the trustees; and their general position on all matters of importance was that of Thomas Tower. Hucks was at first one of the most interested and faithful of the little group who were launching the enterprise of the new colony, but his political connections were a source of weakness to him as a trustee, and his father thought that the brewing business in which they were engaged suffered because of his son's occupation with Georgia affairs.‡ Accordingly he withdrew from the common council, and after a little time he seemed to lose all interest in the trust, failing to uphold it in its efforts to get support from the House of Commons.**

Though Laroche was a steady adherent of Walpole and on that account was not perhaps always as useful to the trust as he could have been, he was ever ready to defend in the House of Commons both the province of Georgia and the management of it by the trustees.†† His connection with Walpole was not an unmixed disadvantage, but he was a useful committeeman in securing the aid of Sir Robert in many affairs in which Georgia was concerned. In regard to the policy to be pursued in the province, he inclined to a conciliatory attitude toward the inhabitants, as did Vernon and Egmont.‡‡

One of the most eminent of the active trustees was Rev. Stephen Hales, D.D., who was a charter member of the corporation and who was the only minister who continued faithful all through the years of proprietary control. He was a graduate of Bennet College, Cambridge, and he also was given the degree of doctor of divinity by the rival University of Oxford. In 1717 he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1739 he won its gold medal for a scientific essay. At a later time he was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences in Paris. He was one of the foremost naturalists of his day and he was "pious, modest, indefatigable, and born for the discovery of truth."*** Being closely associated with the royal family, he was offered preferment as preacher, but he retained his position because he thought he could render more service in it than if he accepted advancement.

In his duties as trustee, he seems to have been interested chiefly in

* Ibid., 108.
† Ibid., 117, 274, 280.
‡ Ibid., 116.
** Ibid., 286, 302.
†† Ibid., 433, 444, 446, as examples.
‡‡ Ibid., 371.
*** Stevens II: 467-468.

the charitable side of the enterprise. During the early years of the undertaking he was instrumental in securing many gifts for carrying on the work. He does not seem to have taken much part in the discussions or debates as to policies to be pursued, and his opinions on them are not cited in the records. He was interested with Vernon in the religious welfare of the people in Georgia, consulting the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and aiding in the settlement of foreign Protestants in Georgia.

Concerning the work of James Oglethorpe as a trustee, Chapter II of this work gives ample information. Had he been as interested after 1743 as he was when the work was first begun, he would have ranked with Vernon and Egmont in his attendance, and his right to the first place among the trustees could hardly have been questioned. As it is, whatever place of honor is assigned him must be limited to his activities during the first decade of the trust.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, fourth Earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the mainstays of the trustees after the Earl of Egmont resigned from the common council. Shaftesbury seems to have acted always in perfect harmony with Vernon, and he was the latter's most frequent associate during the closing years of proprietary management. His service in the common council was not continuous. Elected in 1733, he served until the question of the convention with Spain was settled in Parliament in 1739. Being a member of the minority at that time, he was greatly exasperated that so many of the members of the common council supported Walpole in the vote on the convention and he resigned in disgust his place on the council. The resolution to resign was hastily reached, being brought about by the influence of Lord Limerick and other minority leaders; and, while it was much resented by his fellow members who felt that they had a right to vote in Parliament as they pleased, the trustees were disposed to overlook his rashness on account of his youth and the influence of older men.*

The next year through the influence of the Earl of Egmont, Shaftesbury was persuaded to return to the common council. He was warmly welcomed and his rejoining the body gave credit to the sinking fortunes of the trustees; for, as one of them described him, he was a "nobleman of all amiable qualities and not one vice."† His high rank and known character made him useful in all committee service affecting the various departments of the government, and he was the leader in the negotiations which resulted in the British government's assuming the support and control of the province in 1752.‡

Among the seventy-one trustees who were appointed or elected during the twenty years of the trust, there were many men who were influential, interested and active during certain portions of the time, but who withdrew from the common council so soon, or were elected to office so late, that they did not exercise sufficient influence on the whole course of executive management to be ranked with those whom we have been considering. A few of these ought to be mentioned. Among

* Ibid., 132-133.
† Ibid., 318, 525.
‡ C. R. I: 569 et seq.

them Henry Archer was one of the most energetic and useful. Holding office in the common council from 1734 to 1744, he was concerned in all the legal and political problems of that stormy period of the trust. He was allied with Thomas Tower in politics, but he was more independent than most of the Walpole group, frequently breaking from his chief in minor matters and nearly always defending the trustees in the House of Commons.* He served on nearly all the committees appointed to interview the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker, or other officials of either the Walpole or the Wilmington-Carteret ministries.† During his term of office he probably also served oftener than any one else on committees to draw up laws or to determine the legal responsibility of the trustees, being generally associated with Tower in this work.

George Heathcote, on account of failing health, was not so regular an attendant at the meetings as the others already mentioned, but he served apparently without pay as cashier or treasurer of the trust until March 22, 1740. The duties of the office were not taxing but they required time and attention. It was customary to deposit about five hundred pounds at a time with the cashier with which to pay the minor expenses of the trust. The largest amounts were paid by direct drafts on the Bank of England, signed by any five of the common council. Heathcote was dissatisfied with the policy of the trustees in support of the Church of England in Georgia,‡ but he was a good friend of the colony and of the trustees after he ceased to be actively associated with them, defending them ably in Parliament on several occasions.** He was an alderman of London, and in 1740, the year he resigned from the position of cashier of the trustees, he was elected Lord Mayor of London, but declined to serve.††

Sir William Heathcote was one of the few members of the trust who, having resigned from the common council, continued to attend the meetings of the corporation. He was a man of recognized worth and good sense and he also had a large fortune; it was with regret that his fellow members of the council gave him up. He resigned in 1739 and it was thought by Egmont that he was persuaded to this course by George Heathcote, Lord Limerick and other minority members of Parliament who had already persuaded the Earl of Shaftesbury to withdraw.‡‡ Heathcote in his letter of resignation professed great love for the colony, regretting that private affairs prevented his further service in the council, and he did afterwards as an ordinary trustee render service to the cause, being the only one to aid the members of the common council in transferring the responsibility of the trustees to the crown when the charter was surrendered.***

Very few of the trustees who were not also members of the common council were regular in attending the meetings of the corporation. To

* C. R. V: 120, 286.
† Ibid., 600, 607, as examples.
‡ C. R. V: 116.
** Ibid., 294, 444.
†† Stevens I: 464.
‡‡ C. R. V: 230.
*** C. R. II: 506.

this general rule, Adam Anderson was in a measure an exception. He was a clerk in the South Sea House, and he was afterwards an author of some note; but he seems to have been of comparatively little influence in the Georgia board, his faithful attendance being his principal merit.

Three members elected to the trust during its declining years deserve special mention. These were Samuel Lloyd, Edward Hooper, and Anthony Ewer, all of whom were of great assistance to Vernon and Shaftesbury in maintaining the work of the board at a time when some of its older friends were falling away.

On the whole, the trustees were an able set of men. They represented well the leading political and religious beliefs of England, and they included persons of varied experience and occupations in life. Since they were thus varied in their personnel, it is not strange that there were among them causes of misunderstanding and disputes. The most serious of the disagreements among the members of the trust grew out of politics centering about the support of Walpole or opposition to him. We have seen that feeling over this matter caused the withdrawal of some members from the common council. Perhaps next in importance to the political differences were those over religious matters. The large majority of the trustees were members of the Church of England, and they were anxious that it prevail in Georgia; but there were also many Presbyterians and other non-conformists on the board,* and these were disgusted with the resolution of the majority of the corporation to support a church establishment. Whether this difference caused the withdrawal of members or not, it produced a coolness among some of them.†

Less can be said of the self-sacrifice of the Georgia trustees than of their ability. Of the seventy-one who were chosen, thirty-six seem to have contributed no money to the enterprise, and the whole sum contributed, according to their own accounts, was only about £900 from their own resources.‡ The test of contributing money is not final as to the interest a man may have in an enterprise, but when the undertaking is charitable in its aims and dependent on charity for its support, the amount given by the trustees may be some measure of the regard in which the colony was held by its managers. The attendance percentage of the whole body of trustees on the meetings of the corporation was only 17 per cent of what it might have been, as shown on pages 101-104 herein. It was the case with many of the trustees that as soon as their vanity was satisfied by their election to so honorable a body as the Georgia board they lost much of their interest in the work; and when affairs in the colony went badly and when debts began to accumulate, such members ceased entirely to act with their colleagues. It was only a small handful that stuck to their duty through fair weather and foul until the end. And yet who can blame the trustees for quitting their task? No financial rewards awaited them, and little honor was attached to the office after the early years. The duties were arduous and the

* Wright 165.
† C. R. V: 116.
‡ Bouverie, one of the Trustees, gave £1000; but it was from a fund in his possession left for charity; it did not come out of his own resources.

performance of them was greeted with criticism from the government at home and complaints from the colonists in Georgia.

The criticisms just made apply only to the whole body of seventy-one members. The self-sacrifice of the working members of the trust—Oglethorpe, Vernon, Egmont, L'Apostre, Smith, Hales, Shaftesbury, and a few others like them—cannot be too highly praised. To these few may be applied the words used by a historian of Georgia in summing up the work of the whole body: "At every stage of progress and in every act, whether trivial or important, these trustees, capable and worthy, evinced a clear conception of duty, a patience of labor, a singleness of purpose, an unselfish dedication of time and energy, an integrity and a rigid adherence to all that was pure, elevated and humanizing, which become quite conspicuous when their proceedings are minutely and intelligently scanned."*

* Jones, "History of Georgia." I: 443.

CHAPTER XXII

HAVING PASSED UNDER THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE CROWN OF ENGLAND, A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS REQUIRED FOR GEORGIA—MEANWHILE THE RULES OF THE TRUSTEES CONTINUE IN EFFECT—PATRICK GRAHAM IS PLACED TEMPORARILY AT THE HELM, WITH FOUR ASSISTANTS—GEORGIA'S POPULATION IN 1753 ESTIMATED AT 2,380 WHITES AND 1,060 BLACKS—EFFORTS TO REVIVE THE SILK INDUSTRY—ON MAY 8, 1754, A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS PROPOSED—GEORGIA TO HAVE A ROYAL GOVERNOR LIKE THE OTHER PROVINCES—ALSO A KING'S COUNCIL, TO CONSIST OF TWELVE MEMBERS—CAPT. JOHN REYNOLDS, OF THE ROYAL NAVY, IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR, VICE-ADMIRAL AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL—OTHER APPOINTMENTS MADE BY THE CROWN—GEORGIA'S NEW PROVINCIAL SEAL—DUTIES OF THE GOVERNOR DEFINED—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO CONSIST OF A LOWER HOUSE, SITTING IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE KING'S COUNCIL—TO BE GIVEN FULL LEGISLATIVE POWERS—PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS—GOVERNOR REYNOLDS ARRIVES IN THE PROVINCE—GIVEN A JOYOUS RECEPTION—FINDS THE PROVINCE IN AN UNSETTLED CONDITION—CEREMONY OF INSTALLATION—WRITES A LETTER TO THE BOARD OF TRADE—WRITS OF ELECTION ISSUED—GEORGIA'S FIRST LEGISLATURE CONVENES IN SAVANNAH, JANUARY 7, 1755—EARLIEST LAWS RELATIVE TO SLAVERY IN THE PROVINCE—GOVERNOR REYNOLDS MAKES A TOUR OF INSPECTION—HARDWICKE, A NEW TOWNSITE, IS RECOMMENDED FOR A FUTURE CAPITAL—EDWARD GRAY, A DISSOLUTE CHARACTER, SETTLES A COLONY AT BRANDON, BUT LATER REMOVED TO SALTILLA RIVER—GOVERNOR REYNOLDS, WITH THE AID OF DE BRAHM, PLANS NEW FORTIFICATIONS—THE ACADIANS IN GEORGIA—ON ACCOUNT OF THE PROSCRIPTION OF CATHOLICS A PROBLEM IS PRESENTED—FATE OF THE POOR UNFORTUNATES—GOVERNOR REYNOLDS PROVES A DISAPPOINTMENT—INFLUENCED BY A CORRUPT SECRETARY, TO WHOM HE LARGELY COMMITS THE MANAGEMENT OF AFFAIRS—COMPLAINTS MADE BY THE COLONISTS—RECALLED TO ENGLAND—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS IS GIVEN A TEMPORARY COMMISSION—GOVERNOR REYNOLDS RESUMES HIS PLACE IN THE NAVY, WHERE HE ERASES THE STIGMA FROM HIS RECORD.

NOTE: OLD INDEPENDENT.

Georgia having passed under the direct control of the Crown of England, it was necessary to adopt a new form of government. On taking over his royal charge, the king announced that all laws enacted by the trustees would remain in effect for the present and that all appointees would continue in office until further notice. President

Parker, who died while the surrender to the Crown was taking place, was succeeded temporarily at the helm by Patrick Graham, whose four associates were: James Habersham, Noble Jones, Pickering Robinson and Francis Harris. The population of Georgia, as shown by a census taken at this time, was 2,381 whites and 1,066 blacks. But this enumeration did not include the Midway Puritans who were then settling in the province, some 280 in number, with 536 slaves. Joseph Ottolenghe, an Italian, succeeded Mr. Pickering in charge of the silk industry, to relinquish which the Crown was still reluctant, since nowhere in the British dominions was silk produced; and to England the success of this enterprise meant the saving of millions.

It was not until March 5, 1754, that a new form of government for Georgia was proposed by the Board of Trade, to whom the matter was referred. As finally agreed upon, this plan was as follows: that a governor be appointed by a commission, under the Great Seal, in like manner as the governors of his majesty's other provinces and plantations, with powers to call an assembly to pass laws, to erect courts, to grant lands, and to do all other necessary and proper things; that twelve persons be appointed by his majesty to serve as the king's council, in said province, with the same powers, authorities and privileges given to other councils of a like character; that the governor be appointed vice-admiral of said colony; that such other officers be appointed as registrar of grants and receiver of quit rents, a secretary of the province, to act as clerk of council and keeper of records, a surveyor of lands, an attorney-general, and a provost marshal. Besides a governor, there was also to be a lieutenant-governor.

Five months later, the foregoing plan having received royal sanction, appointments were approved by the king as follows: Capt. John Reynolds, of the Royal Navy, to be governor of the Province of Georgia; William Clifton, attorney-general; James Habersham, secretary and registrar of records; Alexander Killet, provost marshal, and William Russell, naval officer.

At a salary of £50 each, Messrs. Henry Yonge and William De Brahm were commissioned as joint surveyors of land in Georgia, while Sir Patrick Houstoun, with a like salary, was selected as registrar of grants and receiver of quit rents. To serve as members of the king's council the following were appointed: Patrick Graham, Sir Patrick Houstoun, baronet; James Habersham, Alexander Killet, William Clifton, Noble Jones, Pickering Robinson, Francis Harris, Jonathan Bryan and William Russell. Later the name of Clement Martin was added.

On June 21, 1754, his majesty approved a design submitted by the Board of Trade for a public seal to be used by the authorities of the province in attesting its solemn transactions. Accordingly an order was given for a seal to made of silver, to correspond in size with those sent to North and South Carolina. The design of the seal was as follows: On one face 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 Provinciae Nostrae Georgiae in America." On the other side appeared his majesty's arms, together with his crown, garter, and supporters, and this inscription: "Georgius II, Dei Gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hibernia Rex, Fidei Defensor, Brunswici et Luneburgi Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi Thesaurius et Princeps Elector."

The new governor was to hold appointment direct from the Crown. His official title—a somewhat elongated affair, was to be: Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of His Majesty's Province of Georgia and Vice-Admiral of the Same. The proper form to be used in addressing him was "Your Excellency," a form which has ever since been observed. As captain-general he was to command all land and naval forces belonging to the province and to appoint all officers of militia. As governor-in-chief he possessed the sole power both to convene and to dissolve legislative bodies. All laws to become valid required his sanction. It devolved upon him either to approve or to disapprove all measures passed by the legislature. All officers who were not directly appointed by the Crown were to be appointed by him, and he likewise filled all vacancies pending action by the home government. He was custodian of the Great Seal. He presided as chancellor in a court of errors, composed of himself and members of his council, sitting as judges. He served as ordinary in probating wills and granting letters of administration. He also issued writs of election; and in him was lodged the pardoning power for all crimes save treason and murder. As vice-admiral he exercised jurisdiction over Georgia waters. He did not sit in the court of vice-admiralty, but in time of war he issued warrants to its officers, empowering them to grant commissions to privateers.

The general assembly was to consist of two branches: an upper and a lower. The king's council, though a body somewhat in the nature of a cabinet, was to constitute the upper branch; while the house of assembly was to constitute the lower branch. Composed of the representatives of the people, it was the exclusive right of this body to propose bills, to levy taxes, and to appropriate money. The king's council, as we have already seen, was to be composed of members appointed by the king, of whom there were to be twelve in ordinary and two in extraordinary commission. The surveyor-general of customs and the superintendent-general of Indian affairs filled the two places last mentioned. The king's council sat in a legislative capacity only when the general assembly met; but as an advisory board it met from time to time at the call of the governor. On such occasions the governor presided; but when the council sat as a legislative body, either the lieutenant-governor or the senior member present was to occupy the chair. There was a property qualification for suffrage. To be an elector or voter the ownership of fifty acres in the district was a prerequisite; to hold office as a representative the ownership of 500 acres in some part of the province was required. However, these restrictions were modified somewhat in response to a memorial dated February 21, 1755. Provision was made for the establishment of a court of record to be known as the general court, in which civil business was to be transacted. Criminal jurisdiction was given to a court of oyer and terminer, for which letters patent were issued; but since the judges of the two courts were the same, the latter was eventually abolished. Court was to be convened four times a year at Savannah. Its presiding judge was to be appointed under the

king's sign manual, was to bear the high and solemn title of "Chief Justice of Georgia" and was to receive £2,500 per annum. There were to be three assistants appointed by the governor, but these were to serve without salary, except in certain cases. Inferior courts were also to be established.

Governor Reynolds did not reach Georgia until October 29, 1754. He was an officer in the king's navy and was qualified neither by previous experience nor by temperamental fitness for executive responsibilities. But he was given a cordial welcome by the colony which he had come to govern. When the British man-of-war, Port Mahon, on which he took passage, arrived at the docks in Savannah, there was a great delegation assembled upon the bluff to meet him, and his arrival upon Georgia's soil was hailed with signal honors. At night bon-fires were kindled in the public square. Patrick Graham, acting as president of the colony, made a formal speech of welcome, introducing him to the board of assistants. Governor Reynolds was then conducted to the chair, at which time he formally dissolved the old board and announced the new king's council. On the following day its members were duly sworn. The oath was likewise administered to the various officers appointed by the Crown. The commission given to Governor Reynolds was "next read and published at the head of the militia under arms," and was heard with profound respect. At its conclusion a salute of musketry was fired. Then followed, in honor of the new government, a public dinner, at which the members of council and the principal inhabitants of Savannah were present, and with this bountiful repast an eventful day was brought to an end.

Governor Reynolds found the province in a greatly reduced condition. Back of the joyful acclamations with which he was greeted upon his arrival in Savannah there were many anxious hearts. All looked to his coming as a harbinger of better times. It was a period of transition. Much depended upon the new form of government. There was great latent wealth within the colony, but it needed the vitalizing touch of Prospero's wand. Some idea of conditions in Savannah may be obtained from an early letter written by Governor Reynolds to the Board of Trade. Said he:

"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, where 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."

Writs of election were issued at this time for a general assembly to be held at Savannah, on January 7, 1755, only the lower house of which was to be elected. When the house of assembly met at this time in association with the king's council, sitting in a legislative capacity,

these two bodies constituted Georgia's first real legislature, for, as we have seen, the pioneer assembly which met in 1751 possessed no authority to enact laws. David Montaigut was the house of assembly's first speaker. Twelve acts were passed at this session. To enumerate some of the more important measures, there was first an act to provide for a currency. Paper bills aggregating in amount £7,000 were to be printed, issued and circulated, these bills to be considered as legal tender in the province and to be let out at interest, on good security, at 6 per cent interest per annum. There was also an act for raising revenue. This was to be accomplished by a tax levied upon negroes, lands, and moneys at interest or invested in trade. To keep the lighthouse on Tybee Island in repair, an impost was to be levied on all vessels engaged in trading with the province. It was made obligatory upon the planter to enclose his fields with a fence at least five and a half feet in height. The legal rate of interest was fixed at 10 per cent. Provisions were also made for laying out new roads, to prevent fraudulent deeds and conveyances, and to require all such transactions to be registered; and to establish a town market in Savannah. Finally an act was passed governing the ownership of slave property in the Province of Georgia. This act is of primary importance since it embodies the earliest legislation in Georgia upon this subject; but we can only outline its essential features.* Cruelty to slaves was prohibited by the following section:

"Whereas cruelty is not only highly unbecoming those who profess themselves Christians, but is odious in the Eyes of all Men who have any sense of Virtue or Humanity, therefore to restrain and prevent Barbarity being exercised towards Slaves, be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons whatsoever shall wilfully murder his own Slave or the Slave of any other person, every such person shall, upon conviction thereof by the oath of two witnesses, be adjudged guilty of Felony for the first offence and have the benefit of Clergy, making satisfaction to the Owner of such Slave: but the second offence shall be deemed Murther, and the offender shall suffer for the said Crime according to the Laws of England, except that he shall forfeit no more of his Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, than what may be sufficient to satisfy the owner of such Slave so killed as aforesaid. And in case any shall not be able to make the satisfaction hereby required, every such person shall be sent to any Frontier Garrison of this Province, or committed to the Goal at Savannah, and there to remain at the public expence for the space of seven years, and to serve or to be kept to hard labour; and the pay usually allow'd by the public to the Soldiers of such Garrison, or the profits of the Labour of the Offender, shall be paid to the owner of the Slave murdered.

"And if any person shall, on sudden heat or passion, or by undue correction, kill his own Slave, or the Slave or any other Person, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds sterling.

"And in case any person or persons shall wilfully cut the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any Slave of any limb or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment other than by whipping or beating with a horse-whip, cow-skin, switch, or

* Colonial Records. "History of Georgia," Jones, I, pp. 480-485.

small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning such Slave, every such person shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of ten pounds sterling."*

On visiting the southern confines of the province, Governor Reynolds found the Town of Frederica in ruins. The fort was dismantled. Most of the guns had been taken to Savannah, where they were lying in the sand; but some twenty cannon still remained. These—some of them eighteen-pounders—"were all spoiled for want of care." The houses in the town were in a greatly dilapidated condition; but, in the opinion of Governor Reynolds, Frederica was the best situation for a garrison to cover and protect the province from invasion by sea. On a bluff of the Ogeechee, fourteen miles from its mouth, Governor Reynolds found an ideal site for a seat of government. Here, on February 4, 1755, a town had been laid out to which, with the approval of the king's council, he had given the name of Hardwicke, in honor of a relative, the lord high chancellor of England. In a letter to the board of trade, dated May 1, 1755, he thus speaks of the new town:†

"Hardwicke has a charming situation, the winding of the river making it a peninsula; and it is the only fit place for the capital. There are many objections to this Town of Savannah being so, besides its being situated at the extremity of the province, the shoalness of the river, and the great height of the land, which is very inconvenient in the loading and unloading of ships. Many lots have already been granted in Hardwicke, but only one house is yet built there; and as the province is unable to be at the expence of erecting the necessary public buildings, and the annual sum of £500 allowed for erecting and repairing public works, entertaining Indians, and other incidental expenses being insufficient for all those purposes, I am in hopes your Lordships will think proper to get a sufficient sum allowed for erecting a Court-House, and Assembly-House, a Church, and a Prison at Hardwicke, which will be

* COLONIAL SLAVE LAWS.—The following regulations were in force during the whole or a part of the period in which slavery existed in Colonial Georgia. All negroes mulattoes, mestizoes, and other persons of color, except Indians in amity with the colony, were presumed to be slaves unless the contrary could be established. A slave must not be absent from the town or plantation where he belonged without a ticket from his master or overseer. When found violating this law a slave might be punished by any white person. In case the slave should strike the white person, he might lawfully be killed. Patrols were organized throughout the province, with the duty of riding at least one night in each fortnight to visit the several plantations in each district, and to whip every slave found abroad without a ticket. Slaves might not buy or sell provisions or similar articles without a ticket.

The following offenses were capital crimes when committed by a slave: Burning stacks of rice or stores of tar, or destroying similar valuable commodities; insurrection, or the attempt to excite it; rape, or the attempt on a white female; assault on a white person with a dangerous weapon; maiming a white person; burglary; arson; murder of a slave or free negro. A slave might be tried for a capital offense by two justices of the peace and three freeholders. Free negroes were included under most of the slave regulations.

The earliest law was positively barbarous in some of its provisions, such as the offer of rewards for the scalps of slaves escaped beyond the Florida boundary, and the fixing of the limit of the legal working day for slaves at sixteen hours. The harshest provisions of the first laws were not continued longer than 1765.—U. B. Phillips, in "Georgia and State Rights," pp. 152-153.

† "History of Georgia," Jones, I, p. 470.

such an encouragement to private people to build there as will soon make it fit for the seat of government to the universal benefit of the province."

Antedating the administration of Governor Reynolds a community had been established in upper Georgia known as Brandon. Its founder was a man by the name of Edmund Gray, a pretended Quaker. His colony occupied a site not far from where the famous old Town of Wrightsboro flourished in after years. But Gray was a dissolute character and he gave Governor Reynolds no end of trouble. His settlement was composed of men who were little better than himself. To quote an authoritative account: "Brandon may be recognized as still maintaining a feeble existence in the later village of Wrightsboro, although its original features and peculiarities have encountered essential modifications. The founder of Brandon was Edmund Gray, a pretending Quaker, who came from Virginia with a number of followers. A man of strong will and marked influence, he was nevertheless a pestilent fellow and, during the administration of Gov. Reynolds, was compelled to abandon his little town. He subsequently formed a settlement on the neutral lands lying between the Altamaha and the St. Johns. Thither flocked criminals and debtors anxious to escape the just demands of creditors." The Town of Brandon was settled not later than 1754 and the land was probably obtained by direct purchase from the Indians.

With the assistance of De Brahm, to whose pioneer work as an engineer, Georgia owes a lasting debt of gratitude, Governor Reynolds spent much time in a systematic effort to strengthen the defenses of the province. Cockspur Island, Savannah, Hardwicke, Frederica and Augusta, all needed to be more securely garrisoned. Besides, the land passages called for defensive safeguards. To this end, plans and specifications for strongholds at various places were submitted, with estimates as to the garrisons needed for each and the cost of constructing same with negro labor; but little was done toward putting this general scheme of defense into effect. The reasons for this will appear later. To conciliate the Indians, Governor Reynolds by appointment made a visit to Augusta, late in December, 1755, taking with him a number of presents to be distributed. Here he spent ten days waiting for the Indians to put in an appearance. Finally he returned to Savannah, leaving these presents with his secretary, Dr. William Little, who delivered them to the Indians, together also with an address from the governor and in return received from the Indians cordial expressions of friendship.

While in Augusta, awaiting an interview with these Indian chiefs, Governor Reynolds was hastily summoned to Savannah. On arriving, he found that two vessels had anchored in the stream, with 400 French Catholics on board, from Nova Scotia, then called Acadie. These gentle immigrants brought a letter to Governor Reynolds which explained matters after a fashion; but it did not solve an exceedingly difficult problem. The letter was from Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, stating that under a resolution of his council he had forwarded these people to Georgia believing that in Oglethorpe's colony—an asylum for unfortunates—such an outcast people would not be denied a shelter. All provisions on board having been exhausted, starvation confronted these refugees. Governor Reynolds was perplexed. The

prohibition of Catholics was still unrepealed. To send these immigrants adrift in the dead of winter would be an act of inhumanity; but Georgia was in no condition at this time to assume the care of destitute sufferers. However, Governor Reynolds determined to give them temporary quarters.

There is nothing sadder in the Colonial annals of America than the story of the unfortunate Acadians: the original French settlers of Nova Scotia, some of whom sought refuge in Georgia when driven out of Canada by the cruel edict of the English. These Acadians called the country in which they settled Acadie. It was a bleak region, in the cold latitudes of the far North, but to them it was home, and by industrious cultivation they gave to it many of the charms of beauty. But, in 1713, under the treaty of Utrecht, the Acadians were forced, after various wars and changes, to relinquish these lands to the Crown of England; and though speaking the French language and professing the Catholic faith, they were required at its cession to Great Britain to take the oath of allegiance to the English monarch. It was a harsh exaction. But the Acadians consented to take this oath, provided they were not required to sever relations with friendly Indian allies or to take up arms against France. The governor acquiescing in this proviso, the oath was registered in due form; but the action of the local authorities was overruled by the court, a decision of which required an unconditional oath or immediate expatriation. The Acadians refused to comply with these demands, but, as a body, maintained a neutral position; and, thus matters remained unsettled until 1755, when radical measures were adopted.

Bishop Stevens* has given us a graphic picture of these Acadians. Says he: "They were an agricultural and pastoral people—tilled the lands with great art and industry—reared large flocks and herds—dwelt in neat and convenient houses—subsisted upon the varied stores gathered from sea and land, and, with few wants and no money, lived in peace and harmony under the mild jurisdiction of elders and pastors. The Abbe Raynal has described them in terms too eulogistic for human nature, representing a state of social happiness more consonant with the license of poetry than with the fidelity of truth. It cannot be denied, however, that they presented a picture, full of charming scenes and lovely portraits, simple manners, guileless lives, scrupulous integrity and calm devotion. But the eye of English envy was upon them. The uprooting of this people was entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow, commanding the Massachusetts forces, a gentleman of great moral and military worth, whose strict ideas of obedience alone induced him to consent to undertake the task.

"By a proclamation, so artfully framed that its design could not be discovered, yet requiring compliance by penalties so severe as prevented any absence, the attendance of the male Acadians was required at a specified time and in a specified place. At Grand Pre, where Colonel Winslow commanded, over four hundred men met on the appointed day, September 5, 1755, at 3 p. m., in the village church, when, going into their midst, he revealed to their astonished ears, the startling

* Wm. Bacon Stevens, M. D., D. D., in "History of Georgia," Vol. I.

resolutions of the Governor and Council. The late happy, but now wretched, inhabitants, eighteen thousand in number, were appalled by the magnitude of the calamity which thus suddenly burst upon them. No language can describe their woes: turned out of their dwellings, bereft of their stock, stripped of their entire possessions, the bright hopes of the future blasted in a single hour, the labor of years wrested from them by a single effort, and torn from each and every association which binds the heart to its native fields, they were declared prisoners, though guiltless of any crime, and were destined to expatriation only because English blood flowed not in their veins and English speech did not dwell upon their lips. To make it impossible for them to remain, their houses were burnt down, their fields laid waste, their improvements destroyed—everything in one general conflagration.

"Forced to embark at the point of the bayonet, crowded into small vessels, provided with neither comfort nor necessaries, broken up as a community into many fragments—wives separated from husbands—children from parents—brothers from sisters—they were stored on board like a cargo of slaves, and guarded like the felons of a convict ship. Thus they were hurried away and scattered like leaves by the ruthless winds of autumn, from Massachusetts to Georgia, among those who hated their religion, detested their country, derided their manners, and mocked at their language. This was English policy, outraging English humanity. It was an act, blending fraud, robbery, arson, slavery and death, such as history can scarcely equal. English philanthropy planted Georgia; English inhumanity uprooted the Acadians. How can we reconcile the two? The one was prompted by the mild spirit of peace; the other by the stern councils of war. It was a detachment of this persecuted people whose arrival in Savannah recalled Governor Reynolds from Augusta to the seat of government.

"But what could the Governor do with such a body of strangers? It was one of the express conditions upon which Georgia was settled, that no Papist should be permitted in it; yet here were four hundred in one body, set down in its midst. It was also of the greatest importance to break up French influence on the frontier, but now nearly half a thousand French were consigned to the weakest and most exposed of all the thirteen colonies. On account of the lateness of the season and the destitute condition of the exiles, they were distributed in small parties through the province, and maintained at the public expense until spring, when, by leave of the Governor, they built themselves a number of rude boats, and in March most of them left for South Carolina, two hundred embarking at one time, in ten boats, indulging the hope that they might thus work their way back to their native and beloved Acadie."

But Governor Reynolds proved a disappointment. Though not a bad man, he possessed a positive genius for making trouble. His manner was abrupt, harsh, and dictatorial. It implied a condescension on his part in having taken the governorship. He complained of an inadequate salary, wholly out of keeping with his official position and disproportioned to his needs. This was the burden of more than one letter addressed to the board of trade.

But complaints received in England from aggrieved inhabitants told a different tale. He had not been in Georgia six months before frictional

difficulties arose. The joyful acclamations of the populace which had waited upon his arrival had, during this interval, changed into an equally sincere desire for his departure. He had delegated the duties of his office, in large measure, to his secretary, Dr. William Little, a surgeon in the navy, who was even less competent than Governor Reynolds, who was, in fact, not above crooked dealings, but who exercised a powerful influence over his chief. It was charged to the account of Governor Reynolds that for the purpose of frustrating an inquiry into the conduct of Doctor Little, he had dissolved the general assembly, with only half the taxes for the past year collected and with those for the current year unraised; that he paid little or no regard to the king's council, whose dignity he brought into contempt; that he inserted or omitted what he pleased in making up the journal of council; that he transcended his powers in filling offices which fell within the gift of the Crown; and that, to epitomize a multitude of complaints, his administration of the government was incompetent, partial and tyrannical.

These charges are all set forth in a letter addressed to the board of trade, under date of July 7, 1756, by Alexander Killet, provost marshal of the province and a member of the king's council. His majesty, King George II, having been memorialized by the board of trade, it was thereupon ordered that Governor Reynolds embark at once for England to answer these charges. At the same time, the "recommendation of Henry Ellis, Esq., to be appointed lieutenant-governor during the absence of Mr. Reynolds" was approved. The royal signature was in a few day's thereafter affixed to the latter's commission.

Governor Reynolds left for England on a merchant vessel, the Charming Martha, soon after the lieutenant-governor's arrival. En route home he was captured by a French privateer and carried to Bayonne, where his personal belongings were appropriated by his captors. Due to this somewhat unpleasant interruption he did not reach England until midsummer. Governor Reynolds made a straightforward defense before the board of trade, admitting his mistakes but denying that he had been guilty of any criminal misconduct. He called attention to the difficulties of his task in undertaking to organize a new government, without precedents to guide him, with savage tribes to conciliate and with only limited means at his disposal. On the whole, he made a good impression upon the board of trade, though his defense did not completely exonerate him; and it was deemed best to permit him to resign his office as governor and to resume his rank as a naval officer. Bishop Stevens finds much to extenuate in the conduct of Governor Reynolds. Says he:

"Unused to legislative bodies, unconversant with courts of law, unversed in the functions of his office, he was transferred from the quarter-deck of a man-of-war to the helm of a royal province, and was required to begin, arrange, digest, and carry out the many necessary steps and changes in the first establishing of a new, and to the people untried, form of government. This required a patience, energy, knowledge, and firmness which Governor Reynolds did not possess. He was not adequate to the duties which his station required, and yielding to the machinations of his private secretary he made himself obnoxious by devolving upon a parasite powers which he himself should have used with knowledge and discretion."

Colonel Jones, while reviewing the affair with a pen less sympathetic, adds this paragraph in praise of the gallant English sailor: "Once again afloat, however, he took his place among the trusted officers of the greatest naval power of the world and died an admiral of the blue." But let us go back.

OLD INDEPENDENT: A BRANCH OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.—In 1755, on the petition of forty-eight free-holders, a lot was granted on which to erect a building to be called the Independent Presbyterian Church, the land granted and the church built thereon to be for the use of such persons in the district of Savannah as supported the doctrines of the Church of Scotland. From its foundation, the Independent Presbyterian Church has been independent in name and fact. It has no connection either with the Presbytery of Savannah or with the Synod of Georgia and is governed solely by its own board of elders. The lot granted to the congregation was located on Market Square, between St. Julian and Bryan streets, and running east to Whitaker. It was specified in the grant that the meeting-house was to be erected within three years. Before the expiration of this period, a brick structure was completed and a call extended to the Rev. John J. Zubly, a native of Switzerland, who accepted the charge and remained pastor until 1778. At the time of the siege over a thousand shells poured into the town from the batteries of the allies, producing havoc and destruction; four houses were burned, several were demolished, and quite a number injured almost beyond repair. Shots from the galleys in the river reached Zubly's meeting house in Decker Ward. The church was turned into a hospital, and a chimney built in the center; but when the siege was over it was little more than a ruin. On April 15, 1784, there appeared in the Gazette a call from the trustees for a meeting to be held in the office of Olive Lewis, Esq., the purpose of which was to devise plans for rebuilding the structure. The call was signed by Jonathan Bryan, Robert Bolton, and William Gibbons, trustees. Several years later, the new building was destroyed by fire, and the congregation worshipped with the Baptists until another edifice was completed, in 1800, on St. James Square, between York and President streets.

On January 13, 1817, with impressive ceremonies, the cornerstone of the present beautiful edifice of the Independent Presbyterian Church was laid, and in the month of May, 1819, the building was dedicated. President James Munroe, then on a visit to Savannah, attended the exercises, together with other dignitaries. Dr. Henry Kollock, the pastor, preached the dedicatory sermon from the text: "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than the former." Haggai, 2:9.

CHAPTER XXIII

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS DELAYED IN EMBARKING FOR GEORGIA—IMPROVES HIS OPPORTUNITIES TO BECOME BETTER EQUIPPED—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE—EXPLORATIONS MADE BY HIM IN THE ARCTIC REGION—SOMETHING OF A SCHOLAR, HE MAKES IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH—ARRIVAL IN THE PROVINCE—GREETED WITH JOYFUL ACCLAMATIONS—PAYS HIS DUTIFUL RESPECTS TO GOVERNOR REYNOLDS, WHO LEAVES IMMEDIATELY FOR ENGLAND—FINDS THE PROVINCE IN A DEMORALIZED CONDITION, BUT WINS THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE COLONISTS—HOLDS A CONFERENCE WITH THE INDIANS—MAKES A TOUR OF INSPECTION—LIKE GOVERNOR REYNOLDS HE IS PARTIAL TO HARDWICKE—GEORGIA DIVIDED INTO PARISHES—EPISCOPACY IS ESTABLISHED—LETTER TO THE BOARD OF TRADE—INVESTED WITH FULL POWERS AS GOVERNOR—PROSPERITY BEGINS TO RETURN—EDMUND GRAY'S SETTLEMENT OF BRIGANDS ON THE SATILLA RIVER IS BROKEN UP—SUNBURY, A SEAPORT TOWN, IS FOUNDED AT THE MOUTH OF THE MIDWAY RIVER—ONCE A RIVAL OF SAVANNAH—THE BOSOMWORTH CLAIM IS FINALLY SETTLED—SOUTH CAROLINA BECOMES INVOLVED IN A WAR WITH THE CHEROKEES—GOVERNOR LITTLETON'S UNWISE POLICY IN DEALING WITH THE INDIANS CONTRASTED WITH THE FINE DIPLOMACY OF GOVERNOR ELLIS—BUT GEORGIA IS FATED TO LOSE HER POPULAR CHIEF MAGISTRATE—ILL HEALTH CAUSES GOVERNOR ELLIS TO ASK FOR HIS RECALL—LEAVES THE PROVINCE AMID UNIVERSAL REGRET—BECOMES GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA—HIS SUBSEQUENT CAREER—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WRIGHT IS COMMISSIONED.

NOTES: GALPHINTON—QUEENSBORO—GEORGE GALPHIN.

Delayed in leaving England, Lieutenant-Governor Ellis did not reach Georgia until February 16, 1757. Meanwhile he had made the most of opportunities for posting himself relative to the true condition of affairs. He had devoured every book, letter, document and paper pertaining to the province; he had familiarized himself with the location of every fort on the colony's exposed borders, the strength of its garrison, the nature of its construction; he had versed himself in the duties encumbent upon him as an officer of the Crown, resolved to profit by the mistakes of his predecessors. This indicated a wise head upon shoulders which were still young. His ambition was to restore tranquility to the province, to revive its commercial activities, to rebuild its waste places, and to give prosperity to its inhabitants.

Henry Ellis was a student. With predilections for travel, he had already contributed to the sum of geographical knowledge. At the age

of twenty-seven he had been entrusted by Parliament with the conduct of a most important expedition, in quest of a new passage to the Pacific Ocean. His courageous qualities were sternly tested in the prosecution of this bold enterprise and for more than a year he endured the rigors of an arctic winter. Nor did the results derived from this hazardous undertaking prove of an ephemeral character. In a publication which attracted wide notice not only in England but on the continent he set forth these results, eliciting the admiration of savants and winning a fellowship for himself in the Royal Society. It was through the influence of the Earl of Halifax that he is said to have obtained his appointment as lieutenant-governor of the province of Georgia.

On arriving in Savannah, Governor Ellis was greeted with every manifestation of joy. Guns were fired both from the shore and from vessels in port. Great hopes were kindled by his coming. Disappointed in Governor Reynolds the populace was prepared to embrace any change as a change for the better. But "pausing not to dally with the salutations of the citizens," he went at once to the home of Governor Reynolds, where he paid his formal respects to the chief executive. This obligation of courtesy having been discharged, he then responded to the public welcome in a decorous manner. At a subsequent meeting of the king's council, in the presence of Governor Reynolds, who had accompanied him to the chamber, he produced his commission at lieutenant-governor. This having been read, the great seal was then placed in his hands, thus ending the ceremony of his installment. In the evening there was an illumination of homes. Doctor Little was burnt in effigy; and, amid a blazing of bon-fires, the night was passed. On the day following there was a continuous stream of callers. Visiting out-of-town delegates brought him messages of congratulation; and he was also waited upon by a deputation of Masons. But an episode which touched him most of all was the part taken in his formal welcome by a band of school-boys, organized as a military company, not one of whom was more than half grown. Speaking through its captain, this company of youngsters saluted the newly arrived governor in a brief address which captivated him so completely that, throughout his whole after life, it is said to have been one of his most cherished recollections.

Lieutenant-Governor Ellis found the province in a greatly disturbed condition. There was a prevalent spirit of discontent growing out of the recent high-handed rule of Governor Reynolds and one of the first acts of the new administration was to reinstate two members of the council who for no good cause had been removed; but in reinstating them such tact was employed that no offense was given. Governor Ellis made it evident from the start that he was to be the tool of no faction; and, quick to perceive his intentions, the people were drawn to him in a friendship which further acquaintance only served to augment. In one of his earliest letters to the board of trade, he urged the appointment of a chief-justice for the province, in order that all causes of action might be heard promptly and all complaints growing out of a lack of uniformity in the law might be quieted. Provision had been made for such an officer, as we have already seen, but no appointment had as yet been made by the crown.

Early in the spring, Governor Ellis made a tour of the province for

the purpose of acquainting himself more fully with its needs. He, too, was impressed with the central location of Hardwicke, on the Great Ogeechee, with its importance as a strategic point, with its splendid commercial outlook; and he fully sympathized with the suggestion of Governor Reynolds that the seat of government be transferred to Hardwicke; but to accomplish this end he did not neglect the public buildings of Savannah, as his predecessor had done, to the detriment of the latter town. It was not until June 16, 1757, that Governor Ellis convened the general assembly; and at this time, in a most felicitous message, he deepened the good impression already made by him upon the colonists. Throughout the entire administration of Governor Ellis there was not the least legislative friction. At a conference with the Creek Indians held in Savannah, on October 25, 1757, Governor Ellis cemented the friendship of the nation in a treaty which was formally consummated some two weeks later, both lower and upper Creeks participating.

On March 17, 1758, an act was approved by Governor Ellis 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 church wardens and vestrymen in the respective parishes to assess rates for the repair of churches and for the relief of the poor. These parishes—eight in number—were as follows:

The Parish of Christ Church, which included the town and district of Savannah, together with adjacent islands.

The Parish of St. Matthew, embracing the district of Ebenezer, together with Abercorn and Goshen.

The Parish of St. George, which was created from the district of Halifax, embracing an area of which the site of the present town of Waynesboro was the center.

The Parish of St. Paul, which included the district of Augusta.

The Parish of St. Philip, embracing the town of Hardwicke and the district of Ogeechee, together with Ossabaw Island.

The Parish of St. John, which included the Sunbury and Midway settlements, together with St. Catharine and Bermuda Islands.

The Parish of St. Andrew, which embraced the town and district of Darien, south of the Altamaha, including Sapelo and adjacent islands.

The Parish of St. James, which embraced the town and district of Frederica, including Great and Little St. Simon and adjacent islands.

In accordance with the provisions of an act dated March 25, 1765, the newly acquired territory between the Altamaha and the St. Mary was divided into four parishes, to wit:

The Parish of St. David, embracing a tract of land between the Altamaha and the north branch of Turtle River.

The Parish of St. Patrick, embracing an area between the north branch of Turtle River and the south branch of the Little Satilla.

The Parish of St. Thomas, extending from the south branch of the Little Satilla to the south branch of the Great Satilla.

The Parish of St. Mary, which included an area between the south branch of the Great Satilla and the south branch of the St. Mary, together with the sea islands embraced within these limits.

In a letter addressed to the Board of Trade, bearing date of May 30, 1758, Governor Ellis thus tells of conditions in the Province of Georgia. Said he:*

"Immediately after our Assembly rose I took a Journey to the South in order to examine into the state of things in that Quarter. On my way I touch'd at the River Ogeeche and saw the Fort that had lately been raised there in consequence of the Resolutions of the Assembly last year. It is of a Quadrangular Figue, each side measuring 100 yards, constructed with thick logs set upright, fourteen feet long, five whereof are sunk in the Earth, and has four little Bastions, pierced for small and great guns that would render it very defenceable. From thence I proceeded to Medway where I found the Inhabitants had inclosed their Church in the same manner, and erected a Battery of eight guns at Sunbury in a very proper situation for defending the River.

"I reached Frederica two days afterward, the ruinous condition of which I could not view without concern. A dreadful Fire, that lately happened there, has destroyed the greatest part of the town. Time has done almost as much for the Fortifications. Never was there a spot better calculated for a place of arms or more capable of being fortified to advantage. It lies on the west side of the Island St. Simon's, and the chief and most southern branch of the great river Alatamaha. The military works were never very large, but compact and extremely defenceable.

"The Sound will conveniently admit of 40. Gun Ships, and those of 500 tons burthen may come abreast of the Town; but for three miles below it the River winds in such a manner that an Enemy must in that space be exposed to our Fire without being able to return it. In short it is of the last importance that that place should be kept in constant Repair and properly Garrisoned, as it is apparently and really the Key of this and the rest of the King's Provinces to the South, but the wretched condition in which it now is makes it easy to conjecture what would be its fate should Spanish War suddenly break out.

"From hence I went to the Island of Cumberland on the south point whereof stands Fort William, a Post of no less consequence, as is evident from the Defence it made against Twenty Eight Spanish Vessels and a considerable Land Force that attack'd it unsuccessfully in the year 1742.

"General Oglethorpe has, in my humble opinion displayed a great deal of Skill in his choice of such situations. This Fort commands a noble Inlet from the Sea,—the entrance of the River St. Mary,—which runs deep into the country,—and the Inland Passage thro' which the runaway Negroes and other Deserters are obliged to go on their way to St. Augustine. The works are of no great extent but admirably contrived to be maintained by a small Garrison, and might be replaced without any great expense, £10,000, and until these things are done I apprehend this Province, and I may add the next, will be very insecure."

On May 17, 1758, Governor Reynolds having been relieved of his commission by the home government, Lieutenant-Governor Ellis, in recognition of his efficient work in tranquilizing conditions in Georgia, was

* "History of Georgia," Jones, I, pp. 530-531.

made governor-in-chief of the province and placed at the helm of affairs. He had fully met all expectations, not only of the province but of the crown.

Returning prosperity was indicated at this time by the colony's increased exports to England. These included 25,000 pounds of indigo, 55 hogsheads of rice, large quantities of resin, etc.; but the relative weakness of the province was still such that Georgia, in response to a communication from the Earl of Chatham, could offer little assistance to the mother country in a war against the French in Canada. However, the militia of the province was most effectually employed in safeguarding the borders. It was at this time that a nest of outlaws congregated on lands between the Altamaha and the St. John was broken up. The principal settlement of these brigands was located on the Satilla River, thirty miles above its mouth, at a place called New Hanover. Here, the notorious Edmund Gray, somewhat after the fashion of Robin Hood, held sway over a band of outlaws, who, holding no title to land and professing no allegiance to Georgia, were deemed a menace to the peace of the province. Orders were, therefore, issued by the Crown to disperse these marauders, a result accomplished without bloodshed, chiefly through the determination of Governor Ellis to use the militia if necessary. All preliminaries were arranged by a conference with ample powers.

In a former chapter we traced at some length the growth of the Midway settlement. The desire for an outlet on the ocean front led the Dorchester Puritans, who were largely interested in exports such as rice, indigo and cotton, to establish a town at the mouth of the Midway River, on an eminence well wooded. Such was the beginning of Sunbury.

Once a rival of Savannah, there is not a vestige left of the ancient town which in colonial days arose on the gentle slopes of the Midway River, near the point where it widens into St. Catharine's Sound. The streets and squares and market places of the town have been completely obliterated. Weeds today choke the deserted docks where vessels used to land rich cargoes. Oyster shells in great white heaps mark the rugged shore lines; and on the hilltops, where formerly blazed the hearthstone fires, long rows of tasseled corn may be seen in summer, forming a coat of green wherewith to hide the tragedy which time has here wrought. The only link between past and present on these long-abandoned heights is the pathetic little graveyard; but even here the brambles riot among the crumbling tombstones.

Perhaps nowhere else in Georgia has the ruthless plowshare of Fate exemplified more strikingly the final estate to which things human and terrestrial are at last doomed. Yet this buried metropolis produced two signers of the Declaration of Independence, a distinction enjoyed by few cities in America. The commercial importance of Sunbury at the beginning of the Revolution is attested by the fact that seven square-rigged schooners have been known to enter the port in one day, and Capt. Hugh McCall,* Georgia's earliest historian—our authority for this statement—adds that Sunbury competed with Savannah for the

* "History of Georgia," Edition of 1909, Vol. I, p. 177.

coast trade during the late Colonial period. Colonel Jones estimates the population of Sunbury at something like 1,000 inhabitants, a number which was quite large, considering the times, and doubtless but little short of the figures for Savannah. It was also the seat of a pioneer school of learning—the famous Sunbury Academy, taught by Dr. McWhir. Only ten miles distant from the Midway Church, it became the abode of a number of the members of this flock. But the excellence of the harbor facilities attracted settlers from remote points. Some came from Savannah, some from Charleston, and some even from far-off Bermuda. As early as 1762 it was made a port of entry by Governor Wright, who considered it a place of great promise, but it lay in the path of the despoiler, and from the ravages of the Revolution it never rallied.

General Oglethorpe, during his reconnoisance of the southern frontier of the province, in 1734, is said to have been impressed by the bold and beautiful bluff near the mouth of the Midway River, but it was not until twenty years later that the foundations of the future town were laid. The members of the Dorchester settlement, who were located for the most part in the close neighborhood of the Midway Church, were thrifty as well as pious, and they realized the need of a town on the ocean front nearby, where they could market rich crops of rice and indigo, from which, if handled to commercial advantage, there were large profits to be realized. The result was that, on June 20, 1758, Capt. Mark Carr, who owned 500 acres of land on the heights overlooking the river, deeded 300 acres of this tract to a set of trustees, who were charged with the duty of laying out the proposed town.

It appears that the owner acquired the property only a short time before the date of this transfer by deed of conveyance from His Majesty, King George II. The trustees to whom he conveyed the land for the founding of Sunbury were: James Maxwell, Kenneth Baillie, John Elliott, Grey Elliott, and John Stevens, most of whom were either members or supporters of Midway Church. Captain McCall* suggests that the town was called Sunbury because the slopes on which it was built faced the sunrise, reasoning from the etymology of the word, the interpretation of which is—"the residence of the sun." Colonel Jones is inclined to think that it was named for the town of Sunbury, on the River Thames, in England. The trustees divided the area of the town into 400 lots and also planned for three squares. The lots were to be seventy feet in breadth by 130 feet in depth, and four of these were to constitute a block, bounded on three sides by streets, while a lane was to be the boundary of the fourth. The width of the streets was to be seventy-five feet and of the lanes twenty feet. King's Square, an area well to the front of the town, was to be twice the size of the other two, viz.: Church and Meeting, and these were to be in the opposite wings.

Such, in brief, were the specifications upon which the town was built. It commanded the rice crops from the adjacent swamps, together with large supplies of indigo from Bermuda Island. The principal trade was with the West Indies and with the Northern colonies. On being made a port of entry, Thomas Carr was appointed collector, John Mar-

* "History of Georgia," Edition of 1909, Vol. I, p. 177.

tin, naval officer, and Francis Lee, searcher. The growth of the town was rapid. Schemes for public improvement were projected on quite an impressive scale, and it was proposed, among other things, to construct a canal through the marshes to Colonel's Island. But the dream dissolved into thin air with the outbreak of hostilities; and, after the struggle for independence was over, Sunbury seems to have declined in commercial importance and to have become more of an educational center—in which respect it continued for years to enjoy an undisputed leadership.

According to tradition, the first Masonic lodge ever organized in Georgia was instituted under an old oak tree at Sunbury by Oglethorpe himself. It was more than twenty years before the town was located at this point, and when the founder of the colony was reconnoitering along the southern coast. The Society of St. George, now the Union Society, of Savannah, is said to have held a meeting under the same tree, by virtue of which its charter was saved, and the incident caused the old landmark to be designated in after years as the Charter Oak. It was during the troublous days of the Revolution; and, among the prisoners of war brought to Sunbury were Mordecai Sheftall, John Martin, John Stirk and Josiah Powell, all of whom were members. The charter of the organization provided for its own forfeiture, in the event meetings were not held annually; and here, under the walls of Fort Morris, in order to save the charter from extinction, these prisoners of war met and elected officers, and thus one of the noblest organizations of the state was spared for future usefulness. Today, the Union Society is the legatee and guardian of Whitefield's Orphan Home, at Bethesda. In the family of the Sheftalls a piece of the old oak is still preserved.

It was at Sunbury that some of the most noted men in the colony of Georgia resided. Here lived Dr. Lyman Hall, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Georgia, a governor of the state, and a patriot who, single and alone, represented the Parish of St. John in the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, before the province at large could be induced to join the federation. Here Button Gwinnett, another patriot whose name is on the immortal scroll of freedom, spent most of his time officially, while a justice of the peace for St. John's Parish, though he resided on St. Catharine's Island. Here George Walton, the last member of the illustrious trio who represented Georgia, was brought a prisoner of war, upon the fall of Savannah; and here he remained for months until the wound which he received in defence of the city was healed and his exchange was negotiated. Both Walton and Gwinnett were also chief magistrates of the commonwealth.

There also lived here Richard Howley and Nathan Brownson, both governors; John Elliott and Alfred Cuthbert, both United States senators, and John A. Cuthbert, a member of Congress. Here also was the home of Maj. John Jones, who was killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Savannah; and here John E. Ward, the first minister to China, was born. Commodore McIntosh, his sister, Maria J. McIntosh, the famous novelist, Judge William E. Law and many others of note, were also

natives of Sunbury. On February 1, 1797, the town having commenced to decline, the county seat was changed to Riceboro, a point which was nearer the center of population. Two hurricanes, one in 1804 and one in 1824, hastened the final hour of doom for the once populous seaport; malarial disorders multiplied amid the wreckage, and, in 1829, Sherwood gave the town a population of only 150 inhabitants. Twenty years later it was completely extinct.

During the administration of Governor Ellis, there was a final adjustment of the celebrated "Bosomworth claim." It will be remembered that in requittal of her services to the colony as interpreter and to cover certain damages sustained by her first husband, who was an Indian agent, she had made a claim upon the colony for £5,000, in addition to which she had claimed three islands off the coast, Ossabaw, Sapelo and St. Catharine. These islands had been reserved by the Creeks, under an old treaty, but had been ceded back to the English. However, the claim of Mrs. Bosomworth still put a cloud upon the titles. Finally, to make an end of matters, it was agreed to give her a deed in fee to the island of St. Catharine, on which she had established her residence, to pay her £450 for goods disbursed by her in his majesty's service during the years 1747 and 1748, and to pay her £1,600 in full of all demands both as interpreter and as government agent. In turn, Mrs. Bosomworth agreed to waive all claim to Ossabaw and Sapelo. These islands were subsequently sold, the former yielding £1,350, the latter £7,000; and from the proceeds thus obtained, Mrs. Bosomworth was paid the sum of £2,050.

Events were soon to demonstrate the foresight of Governor Ellis in renewing a covenant with the Creek Indians. Both the Carolinas in 1759 became involved in a war with the Cherokees, a powerful nation of red men, whose territory at this time reaching down into middle Georgia, embraced not only all the lands of North Carolina west of the Blue Ridge Mountains, but a large part of South Carolina; while on the north it reached to the Ohio River. The Cherokees had proven themselves effective allies in the English attack upon Fort Duquesne; but on returning home after the capture of the fort they had appropriated some horses found pasturing in Virginia. Pursued by a party of frontiersmen, twelve warriors were killed, besides a number wounded. Such treatment for stealing a few stray horses, after a great service had been rendered to the English, was well calculated to arouse the Cherokees, whose resentment, fanned into flames by French agents, led them to harrass the Carolina frontiers. Fort Loudoun, on the Little Tennessee River, was surrounded and its garrison cut off from all supplies, was faced by a critical situation. Calling out the militia, Governor Littleton, of South Carolina, prepared to march against the Cherokees, hearing of which thirty-two chiefs, with friendly sentiments toward the whites, went to Charleston prepared to make peace. But Governor Littleton refused to give them an audience. Moreover, he compelled them to march with his army to the town of Keowee, near which an English stronghold, Fort Prince George, was located. While on the march he kept them under guard and, after arriving at Keowee, he immured them within the fortress walls. Such an act of inhumanity lent no credit either to the soldiership or to the practical sagacity of

Governor Littleton, who, some days later, finding his army too weak for a successful attack upon the Cherokees, concluded to make peace with them and return to Charleston. He, therefore, sent for Attakulla-kulla, a chief whose friendship for the British was of long standing, and with his assistance a peace was concluded on the following terms, to wit: Twenty-two Indians were to be held in the fort as hostages for an equal number of redskins who had been murdering the whites, and all speed was to be employed in bringing these marauders to bay.

Governor Littleton then set out for home. But his harsh treatment of the chiefs still rankled in the breasts of the Cherokee warriors, who, taking advantage of his departure, besieged the fort and killed outright fourteen men. However, the fort itself was not taken. Chagrined at this failure, the Indians resorted to stratagem. Whereupon Captain Cotymore, with two lieutenants were decoyed beyond the barricade and murdered in cold blood. Incensed at this foul play, the soldiers within the fort retaliated by attempting to put the hostages in irons; but one of the Indians, in resisting this indignity, stabbed a soldier, to avenge which all the Indians were slaughtered.

The Cherokees needed no further goad. With a savage war cry they descended upon the South Carolina frontier, bearing both torch and tomahawk. Nor was any resistance offered for weeks, an epidemic of smallpox having broken out, in consequence of which the militia could not be called into action. But Colonel Montgomery was in this crisis dispatched from New York, with a force of regulars, supported by seven companies of rangers from North Carolina and Virginia. Attacking the Cherokees in South Carolina, he burned several towns, killed men, women and children, in an indiscriminate slaughter, and finally drove the remaining savages to the shelter of the mountains, where an effort to follow them drew him into an ambuscade, from which he was fortunate enough to escape. Returning to Charleston, he thence embarked for New York.

Meanwhile, on August 7, 1760, the garrison at Fort Loudoun, reduced to the point of starvation, was forced to capitulate. It was stipulated in the terms of surrender that the garrison was to be transferred to Fort George, but on the first night of the journey a party of Indians waylaid the soldiers and those who escaped death were taken back as prisoners to Fort Loudoun. The Cherokee war had assumed serious proportions.

We have gone thus fully into particulars because the whole of upper Georgia was at this time occupied by the Cherokees and the future course of events in the province was to some extent affected. Since this crimson holocaust was the result of Governor Littleton's folly in dealing with the Indians, it will only serve to bring into clear relief the superior tact, humanity and wisdom of Governor Ellis and to emphasize how fortunate it was for Georgia that at this time—in the hour of her weakness—she was served by such a man—one whose policy was to befriend, not to mistreat, the savage tribes of the forest. Throughout all this period of bloodshed not a settler in the province of Georgia was attacked. Oglethorpe was beyond the seas, but in his place was one who breathed his spirit—an Ellis.

But Georgia was fated soon to lose this wise protector. Governor Ellis had made a most excellent chief magistrate. He was deservedly popular with all classes of people. In fact, the welfare of the province had ever been his central thought, had ever engaged his most strenuous and resolute endeavors. There had been a general revival of industry throughout the province, all bickerings had ceased, and the tide of prosperity had commenced slowly to mount higher and higher. But the enervating effect of a warm climate had left its mark upon a constitution none too robust; and while loath to relinquish an office whose duties he enjoyed or to leave a people whom he had learned to regard with a genuine affection, he was nevertheless forced in deference to his health to ask for permission to return to England. This request having been granted by the Crown, Lieutenant-Governor James Wright was designated to relieve him; and, on the latter's arrival in the province, on November 2, 1760, embarked for home, leaving behind him a fragrant memory to enrich the colonial annals of Georgia. His departure was a source of regret to all, profound, unalloyed, and universal. Having arrived in England, he persuaded the Crown to relieve him permanently of his responsibilities; but so efficient had he proven as an administrator of the Crown interests of England that he was soon afterwards made governor of Nova Scotia, a domain recently acquired by England from the French. But here he found the climate entirely too rigorous; and, after giving two years and a half of his life to the service of the king in his far northern latitude, he sought to regain his health in the south of France. Attaining to a ripe old age, he spent his last days in a seaside villa, overlooking the Bay of Naples.

GALPHINTON OR "OLD TOWN."—Fifty miles southwest of Augusta, on the upper banks of the Ogeechee River, there once stood an old trading post, the origin of which probably antedates the coming of Oglethorpe to Georgia. At any rate, the traditions of the locality indicate that at an early period there were Indian traders from South Carolina in this immediate neighborhood, and, if not the first Europeans to establish themselves upon the soil of the future colony, they at least penetrated further into the interior. George Galphin was one of this adventurous band. He lived at Silver Bluff, on the east side of the Savannah River, where he owned an elegant mansion, conducted an extensive trade with the various Indian tribes, and became a sort of potentate upon whom the dusky natives of the forest looked with awe and respect. They usually brought to him for settlement the issues on which they disagreed; and whatever he advised them to do in the matter was ordinarily the final word on the subject, for they acquiesced in his ruling as though he were an oracle of wisdom. The trading-post which he established on the Ogeechee River was called Galphinton. It was also known as Ogeechee Town; and, after Louisville was settled, some ten miles to the northwest, it was commonly designated as Old Town to distinguish it from New Town, a name which the residents of the locality gave to the future capital of Georgia. In the course of time, there gathered about the old trading-post quite a settlement, due to the extensive barter with the Indians which here took place at certain seasons of the year; but time has spared only the barest remnants of the old fort. The following story is told of how George Galphin acquired the land on which the town of Louisville was afterwards built. Attracted by the red coat which he wore, an old Indian chief, whose wits had been somewhat sharpened by contact with the traders, thus approached him, in the hope of securing the coveted garment. Said he:

"Me had dream last night."

"You did?" said Galphin. "What did you dream about?"

"Me dream you give me dat coat."

"Then you shall have it," said Galphin, who immediately suited the action to the word by transferring to him the coat.

Quite a while elapsed before the old chief returned to the post, but when he again appeared in the settlement Galphin said:

"Chief, I dreamed about you last night."

"Ugh!" he grunted, "what did you dream?"

"I dreamed that you gave me all the land in the fork of this creek," pointing to one of the tributary streams of the Ogeechee.

"Well," said the old chief, "you take it, but we no more dream."

There is every reason to believe that the old trading-post at Galphinton was in existence when the state was first colonized. The settlement which gradually developed around it may have arisen much later, but the historians are not in accord upon this point. Says Doctor Smith:* "There may have been, and I think it likely there were, sundry settlers who were scattered among the Indians and who had squatted on lands belonging to them; and it is probable that Mr. Galphin had around his settlement at Galphinton, some of his countrymen before Oglethorpe came, but I find no positive proof of it, and Colonel Jones put the emigration of the Scotch-Irish to St. George's Parish as late as 1768. I find that certainly as early as the time of Governor Reynolds, in 1752, there were grants made to men whom I know were in Jefferson." Be this as it may, George Galphin himself was a early comer into this region and beyond any question Galphinton was the first locality in Georgia established by white men for purposes of commerce. The site of the old trading-post is now owned by heirs of the late H. M. Comer, Sr., of Savannah.

At Galphinton, in 1785, a treaty was made between the State of Georgia and the Creek Indians, whereby the latter agreed to surrender to the state the famous "Tallassee Strip," between the Altamaha and the St. Mary's; but the compact was repudiated by the Creeks under the artful Alexander McGillivray, under whose leadership was fought the long-protracted Oconee war. Hostilities were not concluded until 1796, when a treaty of friendship was negotiated at Coleraine, confirming the treaty of New York, in 1790, under which the "Tallassee Strip" was confirmed to the Indians. This much-coveted bone of contention remained in possession of the Creeks until 1814, when, as a penalty for siding with the British, in the War of 1812, they were forced to relinquish it to the whites.†

QUEENSBORO: A LOST TOWN.—Some eight miles to the north-west of Galphinton, a trading post was established about the year 1769 by a band of Scotch-Irish settlers, who called the place Queensboro in honor of Queen Anne. It was located in an angle made by the Ogeechee River with a large creek which enters the stream at this point. The locality was somewhat elevated and seemed to meet the two-fold requirement of a stronghold which was secure from Indian assaults and conducive to general good health. Colonel Jones estimates that in the immediate vicinity of the trading post there were at one time as many as two hundred families settled. It was sometimes called the Irish Settlement or the Irish Reserve because of the predominance of this racial element, most of the settlers having come either directly or indirectly from the North of Ireland. George Galphin and John Rae, were instrumental in obtaining for them a reservation of 50,000 acres of land on the branches of the Ogeechee River. They were Presbyterians in religious faith and were served for many years by Rev. David Bothwell, a man of unusual force of intellect and character who came to them from the home-land in response to earnest overtures. Queensboro survived for a number of years; but when the town of Louisville arose only two miles off, it gradually declined in population until finally it ceased to exist.‡

GEORGE GALPHIN: THE PIONEER INDIAN TRADER.—As the result of an extensive trade with the various Indian tribes, George Galphin became in time one of the wealthiest land-owners of the Province. Though he lived on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River, at a place called Silver Bluff, where his principal depot

* "Story of Georgia and the Georgia People," p. 31, Atlanta, 1930.

† "Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials, and Legends," L. L. Knight, Vol. I.

‡ Ibid., Vol. I.

of supplies was also located, it was mainly with the Creek and Cherokee Indians of Georgia that he engaged in traffic. The area of his operations extended from Mobile to Charleston, and he dealt with foreign countries not only through these ports of entry, but through Savannah, St. Augustine, and Pensacola. The Indians became indebted to him for large sums of money; but when Governor Wright, in 1773, negotiated with the Indians for an extensive tract of land wherewith to extinguish the debts due the traders he refused to pay the claim of Galphin because he sided with the colonies in the pending troubles with England. At the close of hostilities, the claim was transferred to the courts of the United States; but it was not until 1848 that the matter was finally settled. In the meantime, George Galphin had been dead for sixty-eight years, and it was finally among his grandchildren that the proceeds were divided.

The story is told by Doctor White.* Says he: "Prior to the year 1773 George Galphin was a licensed trader to the Creek and Cherokee tribes of Indians, then within the limits of the colony of Georgia, and to him these tribes were largely indebted. In the same year, Sir James Wright, Governor of Georgia, pursuing the instructions of the parent government, concluded at Augusta, for the sole purpose of discharging the indebtedness of the Indian traders, a treaty for land, by which was annexed to the British crown a large extent of territory, embracing the present counties of Wilkes, Lincoln, and Elbert, together with parts of Greene, Oglethorpe, and Franklin. In 1775 the treaty was ratified by the British crown, and commissioners were appointed to liquidate the various claims under it. Accordingly the claim of George Galphin for 9,791 pounds, 15 shillings, and 5 pence was approved by the Governor in Council, to be paid out of moneys arising from the sale of lands lately ceded to his Majesty by the Creek and Cherokee Indians. The menace of open war in the succeeding year entirely destroyed the prospect of payment from this source. In January, 1780, the Legislature of Georgia, under the exigencies of the times, appropriated these ceded lands, but made an important reservation in favor of such Indian traders as were friends to America. These, on submitting the requisite proofs, were to be given certificates payable within four years at 6 per cent interest. The relation of George Galphin to the Revolution became, therefore, the pertinent question to be decided. He was a native of Ireland, who emigrated to America soon after reaching manhood and died at Silver Bluff, on the Savannah River, in South Carolina, December 2, 1780, in the seventy-first year of his age. By his enterprise he extended his mercantile relations far into the country of the Indians, and by his fair dealing and uniform kindness he acquired an influence over the tribes, who were always predisposed to resentment and war. As a commissioner of Indian Affairs under the colonial government, his official duties were discharged with promptitude and fidelity; and his conduct during the war of the Revolution, to the period of his death, was consistent and patriotic."

Without quoting in detail the somewhat lengthy account, General Howe, in writing to his commander-in-chief, General Washington, spoke in the highest terms of the unwearied efforts of Mr. Galphin to conciliate the Creek Indians, and Governor Walton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, also testified without reserve to his patriotism, while Maj. Joseph Habersham, Hon. William Stephens, and Maj. Peter Deveaux made affidavits to the same effect. The Royal Assembly, which met in Savannah in 1780, attainted George Galphin of high treason against the British crown only four months before he was carried to his grave. In 1790 the British Parliament made an appropriation to meet the claims of the sufferers under the old treaty of 1773 but the heirs of George Galphin were not allowed to share in the benefits of this measure of relief which was intended strictly for British loyalists. His estate was sold to satisfy debts incurred in his trade with the Indians, for the payment of which he relied upon the proceeds of these ceded lands. In 1793, the heirs applied to the United States government, whereupon a measure was passed by the Senate to carry into execution the promise of the State of Georgia. But the matter remained in abeyance for years. At last the claim was reported to be one, the payment of which should be assumed by the United States government. Accordingly, the secretary of the treasury was directed to pay the claim, which amounted to $234,000.

* White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," pp. —, New York, 1856.

CHAPTER XXIV

Lieutenant-Governor Wright Arrives—Though Educated in England, a Native of South Carolina—Destined to Enjoy Great Popularity, to Restrain Georgia from Entering Too Hastily Into the Revolutionary Struggle, to Be Made a Baronet of England, and to Be the First American Honored with a Burial in Westminster Abbey—Prosperity Continues—Death of King George II, for Whom Georgia Was Named—Manifestations of Sorrow Followed by Joyful Recognition of King George III—Governor Wright Is Placed Officially at the Helm—Becomes Governor with Full Powers—Places the Colony in a State of Defense Against the Likelihood of an Indian Outbreak—Lieutenant-Colonel Grant Crushes the Indian Uprising—Georgia's Immunity from Trouble with the Indians—Important Changes in British Affairs—England, Flushed with Victory Over France, Becomes Involved in a Successful War with Spain—Acquires Florida—The Disputed Boundary Line Is at Last Settled—Georgia's Extreme Southern Limit Is Fixed at the St. Mary's River—King George, to Replenish His Wasted Exchequer, Taxes His American Colonies—The Nefarious Stamp Act—Hostile Demonstrations in Georgia—The Sons of Liberty—Taxation Without Representation—The Speedwell Arrives at Savannah with the Stamped Paper—Difficulties Encountered in Landing Its Cargo—No Stamps Sold in Georgia Except to Clear Vessels in the Harbor—Dramatic Events in Savannah—The Stamp Act Repealed—Legislative Troubles—The King's Council Is Loyal, but the House of Assembly Refuses to Pay for Georgia's Coercion—The Legislature Is Dissolved—Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones Elected Speaker of the New House—Jonathan Bryan Removed from the King's Council—More Trouble for Governor Wright, Who Leaves for England, Where He Is Knighted—James Habersham Is Left in Charge—Loyal to the Crown, He Stands Firm—Twice Vetoes the Election of Doctor Jones—Governor Wright's Return—Acquires a Body of Land from the Indians—England Renews Her Taxation of the Colonies, but Repeals Them Again, Retaining Only the Duty on Tea—Rebellion Breaks Out Afresh—The Boston Tea Party—The Charter of Massachusetts Revoked—Georgia's Sympathy Is Aroused—Jonathan Bryan Is Again Expelled—Patriots Hold a Meeting in Savannah on July 27, 1774—Due to Governor Wright's Influence, No Delegates Are Sent to Philadelphia—But Dr. Lyman Hall Goes to

Represent the Parish of St. John, Where Kinsmen of the Massachusetts Puritans Reside—The Battle of Lexington—Georgia's Conservatism Yields.

Notes: Bonaventure—Resolutions of Protest Adopted by Friends of the King—St. George's Parish: a Nest of Loyalists—Wrightsboro: the Quaker Settlement—Georgia's Quaker Colony Files a Protest.

Two weeks before Governor Ellis set sail for England there arrived in the province a gentleman of middle age, who was destined for a score of years to become the central figure around whom the fortunes of Georgia were to revolve. Though educated in England, he was born in the province of South Carolina, where for two full decades he had held the office of attorney-general. Under his administration as governor, until the passage of the nefarious Stamp Act by the English Parliament, there was fated to be no discord. He brought a benign countenance, a wise head and a firm hand to the administration of affairs. Prosperity smiled upon the province; and when troublous days came at last there was still felt for this faithful old servitor of the Crown an affection which even bayonets could not uproot. While still holding the governorship of Georgia, he was invested by his sovereign with the honors of knighthood. On the recapture of Savannah by the patriots in 1781 he returned to England, where at the close of an eventful life he was laid to rest in her ancient Valhalla—the first American to be buried in Westminster Abbey.

This was James Wright. He arrived in Georgia on October 11, 1760, having been commissioned as lieutenant-governor, to serve while his chief was on a leave of absence in England. But, as we have already seen, Governor Ellis had returned home in a state of health too precarious to admit of his continuance in office; and accordingly, on March 20, 1761, Governor Wright was placed officially at the helm and invested with the full title of captain-general, governor and commander-in-chief of the Province of Georgia. During the interval which elapsed between these dates a ship arrived in the harbor at Savannah bearing news of the death of King George II. This was the sovereign for whom Georgia was named and whose signature had been affixed to her royal charter. The announcement was received with profound sorrow in the province, for Georgia was bound to the old king by no ordinary tie of allegiance; but, on the day following, pursuant to an established custom, the new king, George III, was proclaimed with joyful manifestations. For more than sixty years this new sovereign was to fill the English throne; and, during this time, at the end of a mighty revolution, England was to lose all of her American possessions on the mainland, south of the Dominion of Canada.

But more of this later. Governor Wright's first care, on assuming office, was to place the province in a state of defense against the likelihood of an Indian attack. Fort Loudoun had just been taken and there existed a widespread uneasiness as to what might follow. He, therefore, addressed a message to the general assembly, urging the necessity for immediate action in strengthening outposts and in safeguarding the

province at exposed points. Special attention was given to Savannah. The town was enclosed with palisades, its fortifications repaired, and its garrison re-enforced. This was done not only to protect the seat of government, but to afford an asylum to the people of the neighborhood in the event of a savage outbreak. Forts Argyle, Frederica and Augusta were likewise put in readiness to withstand an attack.

During the spring of 1761, Lieut.-Col. James Grant, to aid South Carolina in subduing the Cherokees, arrived in Charleston with a body of Highlanders. Re-enforced by local companies, he marched at the head of a column, 2,600 strong, to Fort Prince George, where in May he met Atta-kulla-kulla, who urged him to delay his hostile expedition until he could use his offices to secure peace. Friendly alike both to the whites and to the Indians, he wished to avert bloodshed if possible, and to protect his nation against an armed foe whose superior numbers and munitions of war he was powerless to resist. But to the old chief's entreaties Colonel Grant turned a deaf ear, and pointing his sword toward the heart of the Cherokee Nation, he issued his stern command: "Forward march!" Four days later, at the foot of the mountains, where Colonel Montgomery had been drawn into ambuscade, a bloody fight ensued, in which the Indians, though offering a desperate resistance, were finally routed. Pressing on to the Indian Town of Etchoe, he reduced it to ashes, after which, penetrating into a region beyond the mountains, he sacked fourteen other towns; nor did he return to Fort Prince George until his avenging sword had brought the Cherokee nation to its knees. The campaign was most successful. The power of the Cherokees was crushed, and there followed a peace which remained unbroken until the time of the Revolution. Two years had been consumed in these various expeditions against the Cherokees, but not a cabin on the frontier of Georgia had been harmed. Oglethorpe's humane spirit still enveloped the province in a mantle of protection. His memory was a tower of defense. It guided a Reynolds. It counseled an Ellis. It inspired a Wright.

When the danger of an Indian uprising was no longer imminent, a crusade was launched by speculators for a removal of the seat of government to Hardwicke, but Governor Wright did not look with favor upon this proposal, and he soon put an end to the agitation by announcing his attitude upon the subject. To property owners in Savannah, many of whom had erected substantial structures of brick, this decision on the part of Governor Wright gave no little satisfaction. At the same time it delivered a death-blow to Hardwicke, a town which survives today only in the traditions of a remote past. For more than 150 years it has been numbered among the silent towns of Georgia.

Meanwhile important changes were taking place in the wider realm of British affairs. As the result of the French and Indian wars, an imperial territory north of the Great Lakes had been conquered. At the same time, Acadie had been christened Nova Scotia. Gains in India and on the Dark Continent had likewise augmented the dominions of Great Britain.

Moreover, having learned that between Spain and France, each of which was governed by a Bourbon, there existed a secret alliance growing out of what is known in history as the "Family Compact," to which

Sicily and Palma were also parties, England in 1762 declared war against Spain. Thus, taking advantage of her newly acquired strength, she sought to punish the Spanish power, for secretly defending France, in the recent European upheaval, to which the French and Indian war in America was only an adjunct. France, Austria and Russia were allied upon the one hand, against England and Prussia on the other; and it was to help the former coalition that Spain had interfered.

Consequently, it was her time next. In less than six months, England had destroyed the Spanish navy, captured Havana, and brought Madrid to terms. Realizing that her rich colonial possessions were at the mercy of England, there was no alternative except to yield. Under the treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, England acquired from Spain the Peninsula of Florida, while from France she acquired a vast belt of land between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. At this time the northern boundary of Florida, long a bone of contention, was finally settled. On October 10, 1763, King George III, by royal edict fixed this boundary line at the St. Mary's River, its beginning point, thence extending in a straight course westward, from the headwaters of this stream to the mouth of the Appalachacola River—all the territory south of this line and east of the Appalachacola River to be known as the Province of East Florida, all the territory west of the Appalachacola River to be known as the Province of West Florida, with its northern boundary line fixed at the 31st parallel of north latitude.

In this same royal proclamation, King George annexed to the Province of Georgia, all the lands included between the Altamaha River and the St. Mary's; and, out of these lands, in 1765, were created four new parishes: St. David, St. Patrick, St. Thomas and St. Mary. Besides gaining an increase of territory, the effect of which was to make her one of the largest provinces in America, she also gained an English neighbor to the south. Subsequently a new commission was issued to Governor Wright, giving the precise boundaries of the enlarged province over which he was to rule, a document which at the close of the war with England, in 1783, when Florida reverted back to Spain, was to play an important part in settling the lower boundaries of the United States.*

Likewise in this same proclamation King George set aside for the use of the Indians all lands lying between the Mississippi River and the headwaters of streams flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. It was made unlawful for the white settlers to occupy these lands until permitted to do so under future treaties of cession. Friendly relations with the Indians were enjoined, to which end the royal governors in each of the English provinces, within whose borders lay these Indian lands, were directed to hold a joint conference with the chiefs of the various tribes; and Augusta, having been selected as the most convenient site for the assemblage, it here met, on November 5, 1763, at the King's Fort, near the present site of St. Paul's Church. It is estimated that not less than 700 Indians were in attendance upon this congress, over which Governor Wright presided. Five days were consumed in negotiations, after which a solemn compact, pledging perpetual friendship, was signed by all par-

* L. B. Evans' "History of Georgia," p. 68.

ties to the agreement. Ten years later, in 1773, Governor Wright, at Augusta, negotiated from the Indians, in satisfaction of debts due to traders, a large body of land out of which in 1777 was erected the original County of Wilkes.

While the devastating Seven Years war had enlarged the dominions of England, it had also doubled her national debt, and to provide additional revenue for the Crown it was thought necessary to tax the colonies. English taxpayers at home were already struggling under a heavy burden, to increase which was deemed unjust, especially since a part of the nation's war debt had been contracted to defend the colonies. There seemed to be some basic element of fairness in this contention; but, on the other hand, it was claimed by the colonies that, in furnishing aid and equipping soldiers for the French and Indian war and in helping to achieve an English victory in Canada, they had already redeemed this obligation in full. Moreover, the right of Parliament to tax the colonies was traversed on the ground of its opposition to fundamental law. It was a cardinal principle of English freedom, securely founded upon the Bill of Rights, that taxation without representation was unjust; and since the colonies were denied a voice in the Parliament of England it was manifestly unfair to impose upon them a tax in the levying of which they were unrepresented. Even though living in America the colonists were not aliens but English subjects, entitled to all the rights conferred upon them by the Great Charter. Englishmen they were in allegiance, Englishmen in blood. Despite the manifest injustice, therefore, of denying to them a time-honored and well-established principle of right, despite the short-sightedness of a policy whose effect would be to excite resentment, to weaken allegiance, and to alienate affection, despite the earnestness with which the colonies themselves protested against such a monstrous wrong, despite the warnings of Chatham, of Burke, and of Fox, Parliament in the spring of 1765 proceeded to pass the iniquitous Stamp Act.

Patrick Henry's great speech in the Virginia Assembly voiced the protest not of Virginia alone but of all the North American colonies. Even Georgia arose in revolt—though England's youngest born. To a circular letter sent out by Massachusetts, calling for a congress of all the colonies to enter formal protest against the tax, Georgia was ready to respond, and, though Governor Wright's personal influence prevented an election of delegates, a letter was addressed to the congress pledging Georgia's co-operation. Her next step was even more belligerent. She dismissed her agent in London, William Knox, for the reason that he made himself obnoxious by advising her to accept the situation. This course was likewise recommended by most of the graybeards of the province; but the younger element of the population, in whose veins pulsed the riotous blood of youth, banded themselves together for resistance into an organization styled "the Sons of Liberty," a patriotic order destined to give a good account of itself in the approaching conflict of arms.

On October 26, 1765, an event occurred which served to test the temper of this patriotic uprising. Governor Wright, to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the new king's accession to the throne, ordered a general muster of the provincial militia, little reckoning as to its consequences. There assembled in Savannah at this time a large crowd ostensibly to witness the maneuvers but most of these visitors proved to be Sons of Liberty, who paraded the streets, with a great noise, denouncing the Stamp Act. Threats were even made of violence to Governor Wright. Some of the English statesmen were burned in effigy and most intense excitement prevailed.

To explain this iniquitous Stamp Act, it levied upon the colonies a tax to be collected by the sale of stamped paper, the use of which was made essential to the validity of certain transactions. Legal documents, such as deeds, contracts, notes, bonds, marriage licenses and other written agreements, were null and void unless written on stamped paper furnished by the English Government. Tracts and pamphlets could not be sold unless printed on stamped paper. It was an indirect form of taxation but it affected directly every interest in the colonies; and from Massachusetts to Georgia there was an undivided sentiment of opposition. Some of the most loyal friends of the crown resented the obnoxious tax as unwarranted, arbitrary and unjust.

November 1, 1765, was the time set for the Stamp Act to become effective but it was not until December 5 that his majesty's ship, the Speedwell, arrived at Savannah, with supplies of the stamped paper on board. It required a guard of forty men to protect the dock hands while engaged in transferring this paper from the vessel to the king's storehouse; such was the feeling of local resentment; and there were rumors afloat that a seizure of the stamped paper was contemplated by an organized band of patriots. The paper remained unmolested and unopened in the king's store until January 3, 1766, when Mr. Agnus, an Englishman, arrived at Savannah to begin its distribution. On arrival he was secretly landed in a scout boat, carrying an officer and a party of men to protect him and was hurried to the governor's house, where he took the oath of office; but here he remained a prisoner for two weeks, not daring to expose himself on the streets of Savannah. Until the situation should become less acute, he was then taken into the country, to escape violence at the hands of an infuriated mob. Excitement ran high. Threatening letters poured in upon Governor Wright and even so good a man as James Habersham, president of the king's council, was waylaid one night and forced to seek protection in the governor's house, around which a guard was posted.

Matters reached a climax toward the end of January, when Governor Wright, hearing that a band of 600 men had been organized to break into the king's store, caused the stamped paper to be conveyed to Fort George, on Cockspur Island, where its safety was less endangered. On February 2, the Speedwell having returned to Savannah, the stamped paper was put on board this vessel. At night, in Savannah, a riotous scene was enacted. Indignation at sight of the ship which had brought the stamped paper to Georgia caught fire and burst into flame. Governor Wright, pictured in effigy as holding one of the obnoxious sheets in his hand, was held up to derision, after which this caricature of the governor was burned.

Three weeks later the Stamp Act was repealed; but Parliament in rescinding this measure did not relinquish its right to tax the colonies. Consequently the evil day was only postponed.

Meanwhile an incident occurred in legislative circles which we must not overlook. It illustrated the temper of the times. For supplies issued to the British soldiers stationed in Georgia, the governor late in January issued a requisition upon the assembly, transmitting therewith a copy of the mutiny act, under which the supplies were authorized by Parliament. While the Upper House readily agreed, the Lower House stoutly demurred. The governor was indignant at this action but powerless to help matters. If he dissolved the assembly a new one would be elected, in which the Sons of Liberty might constitute an even larger majority of its members. Thus the wheels of legislation were locked. Moreover, in choosing an agent to represent the colony in England the Lower House refused to approve any nomination which the Upper House made. Georgia was without an agent therefore, until 1768 when Dr. Benjamin Franklin, at a salary of £100 sterling per annum, was chosen to fill this position, holding it until the outbreak of the Revolution.

Nothing of special interest occurred for the next two years. But in 1768 Parliament again asserted its right to tax the colonies by levying a duty upon certain articles of British manufacture including paint, paper, glass, etc. Massachusetts again took the initiative by calling for united action against these oppressive measures of Parliament. The Legislature of Georgia was not in session when the Massachusetts circular arrived but Speaker Wylly, who presided over the late House, sent a sympathetic response, stating the facts. The new House, on assembling, evinced its strong whig sentiments in the election of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones to the speakership. This gentleman, a son of Capt. Noble Jones, was an ardent patriot, though his father remained to the end of his days a pronounced royalist. The business of the session having neared its conclusion, Mr. Wylly brought the Massachusetts circular to the attention of the House, together with one from Virginia; and both were entered upon the journal. Moreover, the assembly passed resolutions endorsing the resistive measures taken by the other colonies. This action provoked an indignant message from Governor Wright who thereupon dissolved the Legislature in short order.

During the month of November, 1769, the merchants of Savannah passed resolutions agreeing not to export any of the articles subject to tax. Still later a mass-meeting of citizens was held at which similar action was taken. Over this meeting, Jonathan Bryan, a member of the king's council, presided, on hearing of which the king signified his displeasure by ordering Mr. Bryan's removal. But more will be said of this later. Governor Wright found the house of assembly a difficul problem with which to deal. The Upper House was usually ready to adopt his suggestion but the Lower House almost invariably crossed his purposes. In 1770, Doctor Jones, "a pestiferous Whig," was again elected speaker. But Governor Wright refused to sanction this action of the House and ordered another election. Incensed at this outrage upon its dignity, the House not only refused to recede but passed resolutions complimentary to Doctor Jones. Again the House was dissolved.

Thus matters stood in the midsummer of 1771 when Governor Wright, having obtained a leave of absence, set sail for England. To discharge the duties of governor until his return to Georgia, the king

appointed Hon. James Habersham, president of the council. Throughout a trying ordeal, Mr. Habersham remained true to his trust. He was one of the people. His sympathies were with the colonists. Three of his sons, James, John and Joseph, were zealous whigs. But he remained a faithful officer of the Crown of England. Though he filled the executive office, he retained the title of president.

Twice Mr. Habersham vetoed the election of Doctor Jones as speaker of the Lower House. Such were the king's orders. When elected for a third time, Doctor Jones declined the honor, whereupon Archibald Bulloch was elected; but this substitution of patriots was only exchanging a Roland for an Oliver. The House insisted upon putting into its minutes these various items showing its opposition to the king's wishes; and for this offense again incurred the penalty of dissolution.

Governor Wright returned to Savannah in the spring of 1773 having been created a baronet while in England. The difficulties surrounding him at this time were fully realized but his management of affairs in the province had excited the greatest respect for his abilities among the English people; nor was he without many sincere and loyal friends among the colonists. Even those who differed with him respected his fidelity to the Crown interests of the realm.

One of the first matters to engage Governor Wright's attention on his return to Georgia was a treaty with the Indians for which purpose he left at once for Augusta where, in satisfaction of certain debts due from the Indians to English and Scotch traders he obtained a large body of land—containing some 2,100,000, out of which in 1777 was carved the original County of Wilkes. The consideration involved in this transfer was $200,000.

Finding the colonies stubborn in refusing to submit to unjust measures, the British Parliament finally repealed the obnoxious tax on all articles except tea. Yet, in this single exception, lay the future undoing of England. It was chiefly to show that she still retained her right to tax the colonies that she permitted the duty on tea to remain. But the Americans were firmly resolved to outlaw tea. Ships bringing it to New York and Philadelphia were sent back to England unloaded. In Charleston it was taken ashore but permitted to rot in cellars. In Boston a company of men disguised as Indians went on board the tea ships and dumped the chests into the sea. Thereupon Parliament retaliated in 1774 by passing the famous Boston Port Bill, the effect of which was to close the harbor. But Massachusetts having offended in other counts, her charter as a royal colony was revoked. To make bad matters worse, a sweeping law was enacted which required all persons charged with crime in the English colonies to be sent to England for trial.

These multiplied outrages fast goaded the colonies to action. On August 10, 1774, at the call of four patriots, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, John Walton and Noble Wymberley Jones, a meeting was held in Savannah at which strong resolutions were passed, sympathizing with the people of Boston and condemning the arbitrary acts of Great Britain. Six hundred barrels of rice, besides a handsome subscription in cash, was forwarded to the Boston sufferers. This was done largely through the instrumentality of the Puritan settlers of the Midway District, who were kinsmen. Jonathan Bryan had been re-instated as a

member of the king's council; but, having been present at this meeting, he once more incurred the royal displeasure, and once more came an order for his dismissal. Georgia was not represented in the Continental Congress of 1774, due largely to her own conservatism and to the personal influence of Governor Wright. However, an effort was made to send delegates in 1775. At this time, three delegates were actually chosen, Noble W. Jones, Archibald Bulloch and John Houstoun; but, since only five parishes out of twelve had been represented in the provincial Congress at Savannah, these delegates did not repair to Philadelphia but addressed a letter to John Hancock, its president. The parish of St. John, resenting this failure of the province to send delegates to Philadelphia, held a separate meeting at which Dr. Lyman Hall was elected a delegate to represent the parish of St. John in the Continental Congress; and he repaired at once to the seat of government, where he sat until the close of the session. Since he only represented a parish he was not allowed to vote; but he was there nevertheless to represent the uncompromising stand for liberty taken by the Georgia Puritans. At the outbreak of the revolution, St. John's Parish was erected into a separate county and called Liberty in honor of the zealous support given by its inhabitants to the cause of American independence. These events will all be discussed more at length in a subsequent chapter. Here they are merely summarized. Georgia's conservatism was slow to yield. She was the only province of England unrepresented by a full delegation in the Continental Congress of 1775. But an event soon occurred which was destined to swing her into line. This was the battle of Lexington.

Bonaventure: The Ancient Seat of the Tattnalls.—Four miles from Savannah, on the road to Thunderbolt, lies Bonaventure, today one of the most beautiful burial places of the dead in America. Its majestic live oaks, more than a century old, interlock their rugged branches and trail their pendant mosses over an area of consecrated ground, beautifully kept by the care taker in charge, and the scene presented to the eye by these gnarled and twisted Druids is at once both weird and fascinating. Bonaventure is today thickly sown with the historic dust of Savannah; but, in former times, it was the abode of life; a place where hospitality expressed itself in the most delightful rounds of entertainment and where loyal subjects pledged the health of the king.

Originally it belonged to John Mullryne, who purchased the estate in 1762. His attractive daughter, Mary, an only child, having been wooed and won by Josiah Tattnall, it became the home of the successful suitor, with whose name its wealth of associations was afterwards to be entwined. Tradition has preserved a bit of romance in connection with the old estate, for there still abides an unwritten legend to the effect that the avenues of magnificent trees were planted in the form of a monogram combining the letters "M" and "T", the initials of the two aristocratic families. The Tattnalls came originally from Normandy, in France. They afterwards settled in Cheshire, England, where the name first appears among the gentry as far back as 1530. In the beginning, it was spelt De Taten, afterwards Taten hall, borrowing the added syllable, no doubt, from the ancestral manor; and finally it was contracted into Tattnall. The earliest bearer of the name came to South Carolina in 1700, where he married the grand-daughter of an Irish peer. It was his son, Josiah Tattnall, who, in the staid old city of Charleston, sued for the hand of John Mullryne's daughter; and soon after the nuptials were celebrated the family abode was established at Bonaventure.

On the approach of hostilities with England, both John Mullryne and Josiah Tattnall remained steadfast loyalists. The latter was a fighter, whose sword flashed in the Colonial wars. He could not antagonize the mother-country, however, even

though he declined a commission in the royal army, nor could he shed the blood of kinsman at home. He was poised between two painful extremes; but the situation was soon simplified by banishment. With John Mullryne, he suffered the penalty of expatriation; and, taking his two sons, John and Josiah, he embarked for England. The family estate was confiscated by the whigs; and thus were these

Bonaventure: The Old Home of the Tattnalls, Near Savannah, Now a Burial Place of the Dead

staunch partisans of the royal house rewarded for the conservatism which kept them loyal to the Crown.

The boys were put to school abroad; but young Josiah, making his escape, returned to America. He felt the lure of Bonaventure, the home of his birth. Joining the American army at Purysburg, he took an active part in the closing scenes of the Revolution in Georgia. He was honored in many ways by the state, was finally made governor, and before his death was reinvested with the titles to Bonaventure, within whose soil his ashes today sleep. He died in the West Indies,

an exile in search of health, and his last request was that he might repose in Bonaventure, under the guardian oaks of his boyhood.

His son, Commodore Josiah Tattnall, became an illustrious commander. He served the United States Government with eminent distinction upon the high seas. It is a coincidence, however, of the most singular character that eighty-four years after his grandfather's property was confiscated by the state government his own personal property was confiscated by the Federal Government because he refused to remain in the service after Georgia seceded; and among the effects thus appropriated were some of the identical belongings which his grandfather forfeited to the state and which were subsequently restored.* L. L. Knight in Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends, Vol. I.

Resolutions of Protest Adopted by Friends of the King.—At the instance of Governor Wright, there was held in Savannah soon after the famous meeting of the patriots, on August 10, 1774, a gathering of loyal citizens, whose purpose was to check the growing sentiment of hostility to the crown. Among those who attended the meeting were quite a number of conservatives, who were not prepared for radical action at this time but were later found on the side of the colonies. To counteract the influence of the patriots, resolutions were adopted protesting in very strong terms against the rash and impulsive action taken by the "Sons of Liberty" and seeking to discourage any future assemblages of like character. The need of protection, the weakness of the province, and the uniform kindness shown by the mother country to the youngest of her offspring, were among the various arguments set forth. The list of dissenters is herewith reproduced because it contains the names of some of the first families of Savannah at this time and throws an important side-light upon the history of the period: †

James Habersham
Josiah Tattnall
John Jamieson
John Simpson
Alexander Thompson
John Irvine
Edward Langworthy
James Mossman
Henry Youngs
Thomas Moodie
Joseph Ottolengie
John English
James Read
Henry Younge, Jr.
James Nicol
James Thompson
John B. Garardiau
John Patton
James E. Powell
Moses Nunes
Henry Preston
Noble Jones
James A. Stewart
John Mullryne
Alexander Wylly
William Moore
Francis Knowles
William Ross
John Graham
Thomas Reid
John Storr
John Lowery
Matthew Stewart
Lachlan McGillivary
James Hume
Thomas Johnston
James Robertson
Lewis Johnson
Alexander Stokes
Joseph Butler
William S. Kenner
Philip Younge
Philip Moore
George Fraser
David Montaigut
William Moss
James Farley
Thomas Ross
Richard Wright
Abraham Gray
John Hume
Leonard Cecil
Andrew Robertson
Robert Bolton
James Habersham, Jr.
Peter LaVein
Robert Walt
David Gray
Quinton Pooler
George Finch
John Parkerson
E. Jones
William Brown, Jr.
John Herriott
N. Wade
Charles Younge

* Consult: "Life of Commodore Josiah Tattnall," by Charles C. Jones, Jr., Savannah, 1878.

† Consult: White's "Historical Collections of Georgia," Savannah, 1854.

Robert Gray
Samuel Shepherd
William Thompson
Stephen Britton
James Low
Jonathan Holden
John Mills
James Dixie
William Strother
George Healy
John Spence
D. McInnes
Henry Forest

St. George's Parish: A Nest of Loyalists.—It was not until the battle of Lexington that the Scotch-Irish settlers at Queensboro in the Parish of St. George renounced allegiance to the Crown of England. The reasons for the strong royalist sentiment which prevailed in this part of the province were numerous. In the first place, the settlers lived on the frontier belt, where they were constantly exposed to attacks from the Indians. They needed the protection of England. Not a few of them were wealthy planters, who possessed large estates. Moreover, they resented a condition of affairs which they laid at the doors of the meddlesome Puritans of Boston and they did not see why Georgia should become a party to New England's quarrel. So following the famous meeting at Tondee's Tavern, there was entered, on September 28, 1774, a protest from the Parish of St. George, in which the resolutions adopted at Savannah, on August 10, 1774, were condemned as "reflecting improperly upon the King and Parliament of England." It was signed by the following freeholders, who were the earliest settlers of what afterwards became the County of Jefferson:

George Wells, afterwards lieutenant-governor.
Peter Shand
James Boyle
Shadrach Barrow
Joseph Gresham
James Roe
William Doyle
Joseph Tilley
Daniel Thomas
Giden Thomas
Robert Henderson
John Red
James Williams
Alexander Berryhill
Charles Williams
John Rogers
Drewry Roberts
James Red
John Kennedy
Paul McCormick
John Greenway
Hugh Irwin
James Brantley
John Catlett
John Pettigrew
John Frier
William Milner
Samuel Berryhill
John Bledsoe
Solomon Davis
Francis Hancock
Myrick Davis
Daniel Logan
John Forth
Edward Watlers
Frederick Francis
Arthur Walker
Robert Douglas, Sr.
Henry Mills
Amos Whitehead
Ezekiel Brumfield
Clement Yarbrough
Barnaby Lamb
Lewis Hobbs
John Howell
James Moore
John Sharpe
William Hobbs
Jacob Lamb
Joseph Allday
Landrum Ashbury
Jesse Scruggs
Joseph Moore
John Robinson
Jacob Sharp
James Hunt
John Tillman
Robert Cade
John Thomas
Francis Lewis Feyer
James Warren
Samuel Red
Edmond Hill
Thomas Pennington
Job Thomas
Joel Walker
William N. Norrell
Francis Stringer
Humphrey Williams
Robert Blaishard
Thomas Carter
John Anderson
David Greene
William Catlett
James Davis

William Moore
Richard Curton
Philip Helveston
Ephraim Odom
Thomas Gray
John Greene
Starling Jordan
Zachariah Wimberley
Benjamin Warren
John Gray
Pleasant Goodall
Wade Kitts
John Roberts
Nathan Williams
John Stephens
Moses Davis
Amos Davis
Allen Brown
James Douglas
Elijah Dix
Thomas Red
William Whethers
William Godbe
William Curton
Lucas Daniel
Benjamin Brantley
Jeremiah Brantley
John Burnsides
Patrick Dickey
Stephen Lamb
Seth Slockumb
Charles Golightly
Bud Cade
John Whitehead
Thomas Odom
John Thomas, Sr.
Caleb Whitehead

Despite the foregoing protest, delegates were sent to the Provincial Congress which met in Savannah on July 4, 1775, at which time the tie of allegiance to England was severed; and throughout the Revolution the Parish of St. George was the scene of the most intense loyalty to the patriotic cause and the theater of some of the most tragic engagements.

WRIGHTSBORO: THE QUAKER SETTLEMENT.—It was in the year 1770 that Joseph Mattock, a Quaker, having obtained from the royal governor a grant of 40,000 acres of land in this vicinity, undertook to revive the old settlement of Brandon. He called the new town Wrightsboro, in honor of Governor Wright. Here, in 1773, he entertained the celebrated naturalist, William Bartram, who afterwards wrote of him in most complimentary terms as "a public spirited chief magistrate." At the outbreak of the Revolution, the Quaker Colony at Wrightsboro embraced some 200 families. Joseph Mattock was elected a member of the famous Provincial Congress which was called to meet in Savannah, on July 4, 1775, but on account of his pronounced Tory sentiments he declined a seat in this body, the membership of which was hostile to England.

The little church in which the Quakers worshipped still stands in Wrightsboro, surrounded by tall dark cedars. Equipped with highback pews, with an old fashioned pulpit, and with long narrow windows, it represents a style of architecture severely simple, but characteristic of the pious sect whose weakness was not for outward show. Yellow with age, the tombstones here cluster thick in God's Acre. Fragments alone remain of some; while over most of them the weeds have grown, and into the deepest epitaphs have crept the green moss. It is worth a visit to Wrightsboro, if only to wander among the grim memorials of the little church yard, where—

"Each in his narrow cell forever laid
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

GEORGIA'S QUAKER COLONY FILES A PROTEST: SOME OF THE SIGNERS.—From a protest signed by most of the inhabitants of Wrightsboro, repudiating the resolutions passed on August 10, 1774, by the hot-headed patriots of the coast, almost a full list of the early settlers can be obtained. There was comparatively little hostility to England in this part of the province, at least until the battle of Lexington. The district had just been purchased from the Indians by Governor Wright, who had promised the settlers every protection against the savages, and they were less exercised over the Boston tea party and the revocation of the charter of Massachusetts than they were over the perils of the frontier. On the list appear the following names:

John Oliver, J. P.
John Stubbs
Isaac Vernon
Josias Pewgate
Edward Hill
John Hill
Joshua Hill
John Davis

John Jones
Thomas Watson, Sen.
David Baldwin
Henry Ashfield
Samuel Hart
Alexander Ottery
Jesse Morgan
Ellis Haines
Aaron McCarter
Stephen Bigshop
Abram Louders
James Oliver
John Greason
William Daniel
Silas Pace
Gereiom Woddell
Absalom Beddell
William Foster
John Clower
Abraham Parker
James Jenkins
Oliver Matthews
Edward Greene
Joseph Jackson
Joel Phillips
Matthew Hobbs
Joseph Haddock, J. P.
Thomas Ansley
John Lindsay
Abram Dennis
Richard Webb
Benjamin Ansley
John Watson
Robert Day
Drury Rogers
James Anglin
Jacob Watson
Robert Cowin
Lewis Powell
Jacob Collins
William Childre
Robert Harper
Jacob Dennis
Nicholas White
John Moor
Joshua Sanders
Robert Jenkins
Robert Nelson
Hillery Gray
James Bishop
John Fairchild
John James
Zachariah Phillips
Isaac Greene
Samuel Sinquefield
William Sinquefield
Reuben Sherrill
Morris Callingham
Joel Cloud
John Stewart, Jr.
John Lang
James Ryan
Henry Walker
Peter Perkins
Thomas Gilliland
Uriah Odom
Richard Hokitt
Edward Hagan
Joseph Kallensworth
Abram Hilton
William Mitchel
John Evans
John Evans, Jr.
Peter Williams
John Stewart
Jonathan Sell
William Welden
John Thompson
Joseph Millen
William Penton
Alexander Oliver
Ambrose Holiday
Abraham Johnston
Nathaniel Jackson
George Waggoner
Robert Walton
Walter Drummond
Charles Dunn
Ezekiel Millar
John West
John Hodgin
Peter Cox
Joseph Brown
Henry Jones
John Dennis
Francis Jones
Peter Weathers
Timothy Jourdan
Watkin Richards
Abraham Davis
John Davis
Isaac Davis
John Pirks
Jacob Davis
Jonathan Sell, J. P.
Thomas Pace

The foregoing list is most important. Among the early settlers of Wrightsboro were the progenitors of some of the oldest and best families of Georgia. Not a few of the names above mentioned are still prominent throughout the whole middle belt. These men were Quakers—most of them at least—inclined to the arts of peace rather than to the pursuit of war. But the subsequent history of Georgia proves that they could fight like lions at bay when the necessity for resistance arose; and from these gentle molds of ancestry has sprung the Ajax Telemon of modern state politics: Thomas E. Watson. L. L. Knight in Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends, Vol. I.