

A STANDARD HISTORY
OF
Georgia and Georgians

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NACOOCHEE: THE CRADLE OF THE CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER

Georgia and Georgians

CHAPTER XXIII

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I

THE LEGEND OF NACOOCHEE

Long before the Anglo-Saxon had made his first footprints on these western shores; long before even the Genoese visionary had dreamed of a new world beyond the columns of Hercules, there dwelt in this lovely valley a young maiden of wonderful and almost celestial beauty. She was the daughter of a chieftain—a princess. In doing homage to her, the people of her tribe almost forgot the Great Spirit who made her and endowed her with such strange beauty. Her name was Nacoochee—"The Evening Star." A son of the chieftain of a neighboring and hostile tribe saw the beautiful Nacoochee and loved her. He stole her young heart. She loved him with an intensity of passion such as only the noblest souls know. They met beneath the holy stars and sealed their simple vows with kisses. In the valley, where, from the interlocked branches overhead, hung with festoons, in which the white flowers of the climate and the purple blossoms of the magnificent wild passion flower, mingled with the dark foliage of the muscadine, they found a fitting place. The song of the mocking-bird and the murmur of the Chattahoochee's hurrying waters were marriage hymn and anthem to them. They vowed eternal love. They vowed to live and die with each other. Intelligence of these secret meetings reached the ear of the old chief, Nacoochee's father, and his anger was terrible. But love for Laceola was stronger in the heart of Nacoochee than even reverence for her father's commands. One night the maiden was missed from her tent. The old chieftain commanded his warriors to pursue the fugitive. They found her with Laceola, the son of a hated race.

In an instant, an arrow was aimed at his breast. Nacoochee sprang before him and received the barbed shaft in her own heart. Her lover was stupefied. He made no resistance, and his blood mingled with hers. The lovers were buried in the same grave and a lofty mound was raised to mark the spot. Deep grief seized the old chief and all his people, and the valley was ever after called Nacoochee. The mound which marks the trysting-place and the grave of the maiden and her betrothed, surmounted by a solitary pine, are still to be seen, and form some of the most interesting features of the landscape of this lovely vale.*

II

THE LEGEND OF THE HIAWASSEE

Over a century ago, a bitter warfare raged between the Catawba and Cherokee tribes of Indians. In one of those frequent and bold excursions common among the wild inhabitants of the forest, the son of the principal Cherokee chief surprised and captured a large town belonging to the Catawba tribe.

Among the captives was the daughter of the first chief of the Catawbas, named Hiawassee, or "the beautiful fawn." A young hero of the Cherokees, whose name was Notley, which means "the daring horseman," instantly became captivated with the majestic beauty and graceful manners of the royal captive; and was overwhelmed with delight upon finding his love reciprocated by the object of his heart's adoration. With two attendants, he presented himself before the Catawba warrior, who happened to be absent when his town was taken by the Cherokees. To this stern old chief he gave a brief statement of recent occurrences, and then besought his daughter in marriage. The proud Catawba, lifting high his war-club, knitting his brow, and curling his lips with scorn, declared that as the Catawbas drank the waters of the East, and the Cherokees the waters of the West, when this insolent and daring lad could find where these waters united, then and not till then might the hateful Cherokee mate with the daughter of the great Catawba. Discouraged but not despairing, Notley turned away from the presence of the proud and unfeeling father of the beautiful Hiawassee, and resolved to search for a union of the eastern with the western waters, which was then considered an impossibility. Ascending the pinnacle of the great chain of the Alleghanies, more commonly called the Blue Ridge, which is known to divide the waters of the Atlantic from those of the great West, and traversing its devious and winding courses, he could frequently find springs running each way, and having their source within a few paces of each other; but this was not what he desired.

Day after day were spent in the arduous search, and there appeared no hope that his energy and perseverance would be rewarded. But

on a certain day, when he was well nigh exhausted with hunger and other privations, he came to a lovely spot on the summit of the ridge, affording a delightful plain. Here he resolved to repose and refresh himself during the sultry portion of the day. Seating himself upon the ground, and thinking of Hiawassee, he saw three young fawns moving toward a small lake, the stream of which was rippling at his feet; and whilst they were sipping the pure drops from the transparent pool, our hero found himself unconsciously creeping toward them. Untaught in the wiles of danger, the little fawns gave no indication whatever of retiring. Notley had now approached so near, that he expected in a moment, by one leap, to seize and capture one, at least, of the spotted prey; when, to his surprise, he saw another stream running out of the beautiful lake down the western side of the mountain.

Springing forward with the bound of a forest deer, and screaming with frantic joy, he exclaimed, "Hiawassee! O Hiawassee! I have found it!"

The romantic spot is within a few miles of Clayton. Having accomplished his object, he set out for the residence of Hiawassee's father, accompanied by only one warrior, and fortunately for the success of the enterprise, he met the beautiful maiden with some confidential attendants half a mile from her father's house. She informed him that her father was indignant at his proposals, that he would not regard his promises.

"I will fly away with you to the mountains," said Hiawassee, "but my father will never consent to our marriage." Notley then pointed her to a mountain in the distance, and said if he found her there, he should drink of the waters that flowed from the beautiful lake. A few moments afterward, Notley met the Catawba chief near the town, and at once informed him of his wonderful discovery, and offered to conduct him to the place. The Catawba chief, half choked with rage, accused Notley of the intention to deceive him, in order to get him near the line of territory, where the army of the Cherokees was waiting to kill him. "But," said he, "since you have spared my daughter, so will I spare you, and permit you at once to depart; but I have sworn that you shall never marry my daughter, and I cannot be false to my oath." Notley's face brightened, for he remembered the old warrior's promise. "Then," exclaimed he, "by the Great Spirit, she is mine!" and the next moment he disappeared in the thick forest. That night brought no sleep to the Catawba chief, for Hiawassee did not return. Pursuit was made in vain. He saw his daughter no more.

Notley, bounding through the mountains, soon met his beloved Hiawassee. Solemnizing the marriage according to the customs of the wilderness, they led a retired life in those regions for three years, and upon hearing of the death of his father, Notley settled in the charming valley of the river on the western side of the mountain, and called it Hiawassee, after his beautiful spouse. In process of time, he was unanimously chosen first chief of the Cherokees, and was the instrument of making perpetual peace between his tribe and the Catawbas.*

* Reproduced from White's "Historical Collections of Georgia." Authorship unknown.

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III

THE LEGEND OF THE CHEROKEE ROSE

Once upon a time, a proud young chieftain of the Seminoles was taken prisoner by his enemies the Cherokees and doomed to death by torture; but he fell so seriously ill, that it became necessary to wait for his restoration to health before committing him to the flames.

As he was lying, prostrated by disease, in the cabin of a Cherokee warrior, the daughter of the latter, a dark-eyed maiden, became his nurse. She rivalled in grace the bounding fawn, and the young warriors of her tribe said of her that the smile of the Great Spirit was not more beautiful. Is it any wonder, then, though death stared the young Seminole in the face, he should be happy in her presence? Was it any wonder that each should love the other?

Stern hatred of the Seminoles had stifled every kindly feeling in the hearts of the Cherokees, and they grimly awaited the time when their enemy must die. As the color slowly returned to the cheeks of her lover and strength to his limbs, the dark-eyed maiden eagerly urged him to make his escape. How could she see him die? But he would not agree to seek safety in flight unless she went with him; he could better endure death by torture than life without her.

She yielded to his pleading. At the midnight hour, silently they slipped into the dim forest, guided by the pale light of the silvery stars. Yet before they had gone far, impelled by soft regret at leaving her home forever, she asked her lover's permission to return for an instant that she might bear away some memento. So, retracing her footsteps, she broke a sprig from the glossy-leaved vine which climbed upon her father's cabin, and preserving it at her breast during her flight through the wilderness, planted it at the door of her home in the land of the Seminoles.

Here, its milk-white blossoms, with golden centers, often recalled her childhood days in the far-away mountains of Georgia; and from that time this beautiful flower has always been known, throughout the Southern States, as the Cherokee Rose.

IV

THE LEGEND OF LOVER'S LEAP

In the early part of the nineteenth century the region watered by the Lower Chattahoochee was inhabited by two powerful tribes of Indians. They were bitter and relentless rivals, though both belonged to the Confederacy of Creeks, and besides being equally matched in numbers, they possessed alike proud names. There was not a tribe in the nation which dared to vaunt itself before a Cusseta or a Coweta.

It may have been a small matter from which the jealousy of these

tribes originally sprung, but the tiny thing had been cherished till, like a serpent, each hissed at the sound of the other's name. The proud chief of the Cussetas was now become an old man, and much was he venerated by all who rallied at his battle-cry. The boldest heart in all his tribe quailed before his angry eye, and the proudest did him reverence. The old man had outlived his own sons; one by one had the Great Spirit called them from their hunting grounds, and in the flush of their manhood had they gone to the Spirit Land. Yet he was not alone. The youngest of his children, the dark-eyed Mohina, was still sheltered in his bosom, and all his love for the beautiful in life was bestowed upon her—ah, and rightly, too, for the young maiden rivalled in grace the bounding fawn, and the young warriors said of her that the smile of the Great Spirit was not so beautiful. While yet a child she was betrothed to the young Eagle of the Cowetas, the proud seion of their warrior chief. But stern hatred had stifled kindly feelings in the hearts of all save these two young creatures, and the pledged word was broken when the smoke of the calumet was extinguished. Mohina no longer dared to meet the young chief openly, and death faced them when they sat in a lone, wild trysting-place 'neath the starry blazonry of midnight's dark robe. Still they were undaunted, for pure love dwelt in their hearts, and base fear-crouched low before it, and went afar from them to hide in grosser souls. Think not the boy-god changes his arrows when he seeks the heart of the Red Man; nay, rather with truer aim, and finer point, does the winged thing speed from his bow, and deeply the subtle poison sinks into the young heart, while the dark cheek glows with love's proper hue. The deer bounded gladly by when the lovers met, and felt he was free, while the bright-eyed maiden leaned upon the bosom of the young Eagle. Their youthful hearts hoped in the future, though all in vain, for the time served but to render more fierce that hostile rivalry, more rank than deadly hatred, which existed between the tribes. Skirmishes were frequent among the hunters, and open hostilities seemed inevitable. And now it was told by some one who had peered through the tangled underwood and the matted foliage of those dim woods, that the Coweta had pressed the maiden to his heart in those lone places, and that strange words and passionate were even now breathed by him to her ear. Then the hunters of the Cussetas sprang from their couches, and made earnest haste to the dark glen. With savage yell and impetuous rush they bounded before the lovers. They fled, and love and terror added wings to their flight. For a while they distanced their pursuers. But the strength of Mohina failed her in a perilous moment, and had not the young Eagle snatched her to his fast-beating heart, the raging enemy had made sure their fate. He rushed onward up the narrow defile before him. It led he forgot whither. In a few moments he stood on the verge of a fearful height. Wildly the maiden clung to him, and even then, in that strange moment of life, his heart throbbed proudly beneath his burden. The bold future alone was before him; there was no return. Already the breath of one of the pursuers, a hated rival, came quick upon his cheek, and the gleaming tomahawk shone before him. One moment he gazed on him, and triumph flashed in the eye of the young chief, then without a shudder he sprang into the seething waters below. Still the young maiden clung to him, nor did the death

* Mitchell: "Georgia Land and People," pp. 11-12.

struggle part them. The mad waves dashed fearfully over them, and their loud wail was a fitting requiem to their departing spirits.

The horror-stricken warriors gazed wildly into the foaming torrent, then dashed with reckless haste down the declivity to bear the sad tidings to the old chief. He heard their tale in silence, but sorrows were on his spirit, and it was broken. Henceforth his seat was unfilled by the council fire, and its red light gleamed fitfully upon his grave.*

V

THE LEGEND OF SWEETWATER BRANCH

*Three miles from the quaint old Town of St. Mary's, on the Georgia coast, the public road is crossed by a stream called Sweetwater Branch. It threads the landscape like a skein of liquid silver, winding in and out through the dense foliage, and in spite of the solemn mosses which bend over it on either side, the little stream dances merrily among the ancient live-oaks and sends its laughter rippling through the gloomy depths of the forest. The waters of this tiny streamlet are not only crystal-clear, but pleasant to the taste—whence the name. In the olden time, when the red men still roamed the wilderness in this vicinity it is told that old Withlacoochee, an aged chieftain, was one day seated beside the road vainly trying to extract a thorn from his foot. Pretty Mary Jones, a belle of the white settlement and a maiden whose bright eyes and quick sympathies were well matched, chanced to be coming along the road just at this moment, and seeing the old warrior's predicament, volunteered her assistance, with the result that the ugly thorn was soon extracted.

Full of gratitude, the old Indian told the girl that if she ever needed help she must be sure to let him know. Shortly after this pleasant interview, a United States recruiting vessel appeared in the harbor and began to solicit young men to enlist in the navy. She bore the somewhat jocular name of the Smashing Nancy, but the trim uniforms of the marines and the splendid appointments of the vessel constituted an appeal which the young men of the town could not resist. Among the number who felt the magic spell and who hastened to enlist in the crew of the vessel was Ben Johnson, a youth to whom Mary Jones was betrothed. When poor Mary learned the sad news her heart was broken. She dreaded the uncertainties of the long cruise and expected never to see her lover again.

Half-distracted she was walking along the same road, loudly weeping and bewailing her fate, when she was espied by Withlacoochee, who quickly approached her and, in kind tones, inquired the cause of her distress. Between violent sobs, the poor girl told her story. The old chief smiled, but there was no derision in the playful gleam of the warrior's eye. "You were good to Withlacoochee," said the old chief, "and now Withlacoochee will be good to you;" and so saying he gathered a

*John H. Martin's "History of Columbus," with slight alterations in the first paragraph to make it conform to the historical facts.

handful of red berries and green leaves and scattered them on the water of Sweetwater Branch. "Now see," he resumed, "Withlacoochee has cast a spell on these waters, and whoever shall drink of them shall surely return. Bring your lover here and make him drink." Inspired with new hope, Mary brought Ben to the stream and he drank. He went away on the cruise, but the spell brought him back; and he and faithful Mary were happily wedded.*

VI

YAHULA

Years ago, before the Revolution, Yahula was a prosperous stock trader among the Cherokees, and the tinkling of the bells, hung around the necks of his ponies, could be heard on every mountain trail. Once there was a great hunt, and all the warriors were out, but when it was over and they were ready to return to the settlement, Yahula was not with them. They waited and searched, but he could not be found, and at last they went back without him, and his friends grieved for him as for one dead.

Some time after, his people were surprised and delighted to have him walk in among them and sit down as they were at supper in the evening. To the questions which were asked him, Yahula replied that he had been lost in the mountains, and that the Nunnehi or Immortals, had taken him to the town in which they dwelt, and here he had been kept ever since, with the kindest care and treatment, until the longing to see his old friends had brought him back. Importuned to join them at supper, he said that it was now too late—he had tasted the fairy food and could never again eat with human kind, and for the same reason he could not stay with his family, but must go back to the Nunnehi. His wife and children and brother begged him to stay, but he said that he could not; it was either life with the Immortals or death with his own people, and he thereupon arose to go. They saw him as he sat talking to them and as he stood up, but the moment he stepped from the doorway he vanished as if he had never been.

After this strange occurrence, he came back often to visit his people. They would see him first as he entered the door, and as he sat and talked he was quite himself in every way, but the instant he stepped across the threshold he was gone, though a hundred eyes might be watching. He came often, but at last the entreaties for him to remain at home became so urgent that the Nunnehi must have been offended, for he came no more. On the mountain at the head of the creek, about ten miles above the present Town of Dahlonega, is a small square enclosure of uncut stone, without roof or entrance. Here it was said that he lived, so the Cherokees called it the Place of Yahula, and they also gave his name to the stream. Often at night a belated traveler, coming along the trail

*Mr. J. T. Vocele, of St. Mary's, Georgia, furnished the substance of this legend in a letter to the author.

by the creek, would hear the voice of Yahula, singing certain favorite old songs which he used to sing as he drove his pack of horses across the mountains, the sound of a voice urging them on, and the crack of a whip and the tinkling of bells went with the song, but neither driver nor horses could be seen, although the sounds passed close by. The songs and the bells were heard only at night.

There was one man, a friend of Yahula's, who sang the same songs for a time after Yahula had disappeared, but he died suddenly, and then the Cherokees were afraid to sing these songs any more until it was so long since any one heard the sounds on the mountain that they thought Yahula must have gone away, perhaps to the West, where others of the tribe had already gone. It is so long ago now that even the stone house may have been destroyed by this time, but more than one old man's father saw it and heard the songs and the bells a hundred years ago. When the Cherokees went from Georgia to Indian Territory in 1838 some of them said, "Maybe Yahula has gone there and we shall hear him," but they have never heard him again.*

VII

THE USTUTLI

There was once a great serpent called the Ustutli, that made its haunt upon Cohutta Mountain. It did not glide like other snakes but had feet at each end of its body, and moved by strides or jerks, like a great measuring worm; hence the name, which means "foot snake." The feet were three-cornered and flat and could hold on to the ground like suckers. It had no legs, but would raise itself up on its hind feet, with its snaky head waving high in the air until it found a good place to take a fresh hold; then it would bend down and grip its front feet to the ground while it drew its body up from behind. It could cross rivers and deep ravines by throwing its head across and getting a grip with its front feet and then swinging its body over. Wherever its footprints were found there was danger. It used to bleat like a young fawn, and when the hunter heard a fawn bleat in the woods he never looked for it, but hurried away in the other direction. Up the mountain or down, nothing could escape the Ustutli's pursuit, but along the side of the ridge it could not go, because the great weight of its swinging head broke its hold on the ground when it moved sideways.

Finally it came to pass that not a hunter about Cohutta would venture near the mountain for dread of Ustutli. At last a man from one of the northern settlements came down to visit some relatives in the neighborhood. When he arrived they made a feast for him, but had only corn and beans, and excused themselves for having no meat because the hunters were afraid to go into the mountains. He asked the reason, and when they told him he said he would go himself tomorrow and either

* Yahoola Creek, which flows by Dahlonega, in Lumpkin County, was called Yahulai, by the Cherokees, or "Place of Yahula." James Mooney in "Myths of the Cherokees," House Documents, Vol. 118.

bring home a deer or find the Ustutli. They tried to dissuade him from it, but as he insisted upon going they warned him that if he heard a fawn bleat in the thicket he must run at once, and if the snake ran after him he must not try to run down the mountain, but along the side of the ridge.

In the morning he started out and went directly toward the mountain. Working his way through the bushes at the base, he suddenly heard a fawn bleat in front. He guessed at once that it was the Ustutli, but he had made up his mind to see it, so he did not turn back, but went straight forward, and there, sure enough, was the monster, with its great head in the air, as high as the pine branches, looking in every direction to discover a deer, or maybe a man, for breakfast. It saw him and made for him at once, moving in jerky strides, every one the length of a tree trunk, holding its head high above the bushes and bleating as it came.

The hunter was so badly frightened that he lost his wits entirely and started to run directly up the mountain. The great snake came after him, gaining half its length on him every time it took a fresh grip with its fore feet, and would have caught the hunter before he reached the top of the ridge, but that he suddenly remembered the warning and changed his course to run along the side of the mountain. At once the snake began to lose ground, for every time it raised itself up the weight of its body threw it out of a straight line and made it fall a little lower down the side of the ridge. It tried to recover itself, but now the hunter gained and kept on until he turned the end of the ridge and left the snake out of sight. Then he cautiously climbed to the top and looked over and saw the Ustutli still slowly working its way toward the summit.

He went down to the base of the mountain, opened his fire pouch, and set fire to the grass and leaves. Soon the fire ran all around the mountain and began to climb upward. When the great snake smelled the smoke and saw the flames coming it forgot all about the hunter and turned in full speed toward a high cliff near the summit. It reached the rock and stood upon it, but the fire followed and caught the dead pines above the base of the cliff until the heat made the Ustutli's scales crack. Taking a close grip of the rock with its hind feet it raised its body and put forth all its strength in an effort to spring across the wall of fire that surrounded it, but the smoke choked it and its hold loosened and it fell among the blazing pine trunks and lay there until it was burned to ashes.*

VIII

AGAN-UNITSI'S SEARCH FOR THE UKTENA

Once upon a time, the Cherokees, in battle with the Shawano Indians, who were famous for magic, captured a great medicine man whose name was Agan-unitsi. On being tied ready for the torture, he begged for his life, and engaged, if spared, to find for them the famous wonder-

* James Mooney, in "Myths of the Cherokee," House Documents, Vol. 118.

worker, the Ulunsuti. Now this was an object greatly to be desired, but the quest was fraught with the most deadly peril. The prize in question was a blazing star set in the forehead of the great Uktena serpent, and the medicine man who could possess it might do marvelous things, but every one knew that it was almost certain death to meet the Uktena. They warned him of all this, but he only answered that he was not afraid, for his medicine was strong. So they gave him his life on condition that he find the coveted charm, and he began the search.

The Uktena used to lie in wait in lonely places to surprise its victims, and especially haunted the dark passes of the Great Smoky Mountains. Knowing this, the magician went first to a gap in the range on the far northern borders of the Cherokee country; and here he searched until he found a monster black snake, larger than any one had ever before seen, but it was not what he wanted, and he only laughed at it as something too small to be noticed. Coming southward to the next gap he found there a great moccasin snake, the largest ever seen, but when the people wondered he said it was nothing. In the next gap he found an immense green snake and called the people to see "the pretty salikawayi," but when they found an immense green snake coiled up in the path they ran away in fear. Coming to Bald Mountain, he found there a great lizard, basking in the sun; but although it was large and terrifying to look at, it was not what he wanted, and he passed on. Going still further south to Walasiyi, he found a great frog squatting in the gap, but when the people who came to see it were frightened like the others and ran away from the monster, he mocked at them for being afraid of a frog and went on to the Gap of the Forked Antler and to the enchanted lake of Atagahi. At each place he found monstrous reptiles, but he said they were nothing. He thought the Uktena might be in hiding in deep water at the Leech place, on Hiawassee, where other strange things had been seen before, and going there he dived far down under the surface. He saw turtles and water snakes, and two immense sun perches rushed at him and retreated again, but there was nothing more. Still going southward, he continued to try other places, and at last on Gahuti Mountain he found the Uktena asleep.

Turning without noise, he ran swiftly down the mountainside as far as he could go with one long breath, nearly to the bottom of the slope. There he stopped and piled up a great circle of pine cones, and inside of it he dug a deep trench. Then he set fire to the cones and came back again up the mountain. The Uktena was still asleep, and, putting an arrow to his bow, Agan-unitsi shot and sent the arrow through its heart, which was under the seventh spot from the serpent's head. The great snake arose and, with the diamond in front flashing fire, came straight at its enemy, but the magician, turning quickly, ran at full speed down the mountain, cleared the circle of fire and the trench at one bound, and lay down on the ground inside. The Uktena tried to follow, but the arrow was through its heart, and in another moment it rolled over in the death struggle, spitting poison over all the mountainside. But the poison drops could not cross the circle of fire, but only hissed and sputtered in the blaze, and the magician on the inside was untouched except by one small drop which struck upon his head as he lay close to the ground; but he did not know it. The blood, too, as

poisonous as the froth, poured from the Uktena's wound and down the slope in a dark stream, but it ran into the trench and left him unharmed. The dying monster rolled over and over down the mountain, breaking down large trees in its path, until it reached the bottom. Then Agan-unitsi called every bird in all the woods to come to the feast, and so many came that when they were done not even the bones were left.

After seven days he went by night to the spot. The body and the bones of the snake were gone, all eaten by the birds, but he saw a bright light shining in the darkness, and going over to it he found, resting on a low-hanging branch, where a raven had dropped it, the diamond from the head of the Uktena. He wrapped it up carefully and took it with him to the Cherokees, among whom he became the greatest medicine man in the whole tribe. Where the blood of the Uktena had filled the trench, there was afterwards formed a lake, the water of which was black, and here the women came to dye the cane splits which were used in making baskets.

IX

THE ENCHANTED MOUNTAIN

Ten miles north of the Blue Ridge chain, of which it forms a spur, is the Enchanted Mountain, so called from the great number of tracks or impressions of the feet and hands of various animals to be found in the rocks. The main chain of mountains is about fifteen miles broad, forming the great natural barrier between the eastern and western waters, and the average elevation is about 4,000 feet above the Atlantic level. The number of well-defined tracks is 136, some of them quite natural and perfect, others rather rude imitations, and all of them, from the effects of time, have become more or less obliterated. They include the outlines of human feet, ranging from those of the infant, some four inches in length, to those of the great warrior, the latter measuring $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $7\frac{3}{4}$ in breadth across the toes. And, rather strange to say, all the human feet are perfectly normal except this large one, on which there are six toes, proving the owner to have been a descendant of Titan. There are twenty-six of these human impressions, all bare save one, which presents the appearance of having been made by moccasins. A fine-turned hand, rather delicate, may be traced in the rocks near the foot of the great warrior. It was no doubt made by his faithful squaw, who accompanied him on all his excursions, sharing his toils and soothing his cares. Many horse tracks are also to be seen. One seems to have been shod. Some are quite small, yet one measures $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This, the Indians say, was the great war horse which was ridden by the chieftain. The tracks of numerous turkeys, turtles, and terrapins are likewise to be seen. And there is also a large bear's paw, a snake, and two deer.

The Indian traditions respecting these singular impressions are somewhat variant. One asserts that the world was once deluged by water, and all forms of life were destroyed, with the exception of one family, together with various animals necessary to replenish the earth; that the great canoe once rested upon this spot; and that here the whole troop of animals was disembarked, leaving the impressions as they passed over the rocks, which, being softened by long submersion, kindly received and retained them. Others believe that a very sanguinary conflict took place here at a very remote period, between the Creeks and Cherokees, and that these images or hieroglyphics were made to commemorate the fierce encounter. They say that it always rains when one visits the spot, as if sympathetic nature wept at the recollection of the sad catastrophe, which they were intended to commemorate. According to a later tradition, it is the sanctuary of the Great Spirit, who is so provoked by the presumption of man in attempting to approach the throne of Divine Majesty that he commands the elements to proclaim his power and indignation by awful thunderings and lightnings, accompanied by down-pours of rain, so that his subjects might be kept in awe of him and constrained to venerate his attributes.

On the morning of the 3d of September, 1834, our party left the Nacoochee Valley, for the purpose of verifying these traditions, which for the last half century have created so much curious interest in the minds of speculative philosophers.

At 6 o'clock we arrived at the summit of the mountain. As we approached it, the heavens, which, for several days and nights preceding had worn a brightened countenance, began to scowl and threaten; we advanced in haste to the foot of the rock and spread out our breakfast on the "table of stone," poured out a libation to appease the wrath of Jupiter, drank a few appropriate sentiments, and then, with chisel and hammer, commenced the resurrection of one of the tracks. Though I claim to possess as little superstition as any one, I could not suppress a strange sensation of wonder, in fact, almost a conviction that here a sanguinary and long-contested battle had at one time been fought, for around us were piled huge heaps of loose rock, seemingly in veneration for the heroic dead. The tradition being so completely fulfilled, rather astonished me; for no sooner did we arrive on consecrated ground than it began to threaten rain, and the first stroke of the hammer in the sacrilegious act of raising the track of a human being evoked a loud peal of thunder; the clouds continued to thicken and condense, attended by the most vivid flashes of lightning; and soon a deluge of rain was precipitated upon our offending heads. I continued, however, to labor incessantly, until I succeeded in disintegrating the impression of a youth's foot, which I carefully wrapped up and then sounded a retreat, still, however, looking back toward the sepulchres of the slain, in momentary expectation of seeing a legion of exasperated ghosts issuing forth to take vengeance on the infidel who would presume to disturb the sacred relics of the dead. As soon as we passed the confines of the mountain, the rain ceased, the sun broke out, and all nature resumed her cheerful aspect. At night we encamped upon the summit of the Blue Ridge, and after partaking of refreshments we retired to rest.

The rock upon which these impressions were found is an imperfect

sort of soapstone, which more than any other circumstance, induced us to believe that it was a production of art. After excessive fatigue and no little danger, we were now ready to return home, but before descending the long slope we paused to feast our enraptured eyes upon one of the most magnificent panoramas to be found on the North American continent. To the north and west, range after range of lofty mountains rise by regular graduations, one above another, until they are lost in the azure mists. On the east is Tray, peering above the clouds, and giving rise to several mighty rivers, while southward, in the distance, rising proudly pre-eminent above the surrounding battlements, is the majestic figure of Old Yonah.*

X

THE BURNT VILLAGE: A TALE OF THE INDIAN WARS

The Burnt Village lies six or eight miles west of LaGrange, in the County of Troup, on the west bank of the Chattahoochee River, where the great Wehadka Creek empties its limpid waters into the tawny stream. Previous to the year 1793, it was the great central point of the Muscogee Nation, the crossing-place of all the trading and marauding parties west of the Chattahoochee, where the untamed savages planned those nocturnal attacks upon the helpless and unprotected dwellers on the outskirts of the white settlements, by which consternation and dismay were spread throughout the land. On account of the sparse population of the country, at this time, the settlers, for mutual protection, were forced to concentrate in forts, hastily improvised upon the borders. It was the place where many a scalp, perchance of some bright-eyed youth or maiden, had been the cause of deep savage exultation, as the warrior in triumph would exhibit the blood-stained trophies and describe to the half-astonished women and children of the forest the dying shrieks and screams of the slaughtered victims.

It was after one of these predatory excursions of the Creek Indians into the settlements of the whites—and the ashes of many a building served to mark the path of desolation—that other plans of murder and plunder had been arranged, for the warriors of the nation had assembled at the little town of which we are speaking, to the number of several hundred, to celebrate the Green Corn Dance, which was a custom among them, and to take the Black Drink, an ablution deemed necessary to reconcile the Great Spirit to the enterprise in which they were about to engage.

But there was an irony of fate in these grim orgies. For, even while the conspirators were preparing themselves for the expected feast of crime, a few hundred men, under the command of Colonel M. and Major Adams, who had volunteered and resolved to strike a blow at the heart of the nation, arrived within a few miles of the river, and they were

* Doctor Stevenson, of Dahlonga. Reproduced, with slight variations, from an old scrap-book.
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only waiting for the sun to sink, before crossing the Chattahoochee. Night came, and they were still halted in silence on the bank of the river opposite the Indian town. All was hushed and still as death; not a sound was heard, save the savage yell and war-whoop of the Indian, with occasionally a monotonous war-song, bursting forth amid the revelry, in which all ages and sexes seemed to join. The moon had commenced to shed a dim light through the overhanging clouds, and the water, breaking over the rocks, had the appearance of the ghosts of the murdered whites, entreating their brethren upon the bank to take signal vengeance, or else admonishing them of great danger; and many were those who heard strange sounds in the air—deep mournings and screams of "Beware." But there was amongst them one who was unappalled. The night was far spent, and the noise from the other bank had ceased—the voice of the wearied Indian was hushed and still—all had sunk to rest, or the little army had been discovered. It was a solemn pause. But time was precious, and the blow must be struck, or all was lost.

Some one suggested to the officers that they cross the river and ascertain the situation of the Indians, so as to be able to lead the little band to certain triumph. Colonel M. declined the hazardous enterprise. Major Adams resolved to go. He sought a companion for the perilous passage across the stream; but he had nearly despaired of finding one who would volunteer to share his dangers, when a rather small and somewhat feeble man, whose name was Hill, advanced from the ranks and proposed to accompany him on the trip. The two men set out together; but the force of the current soon overpowered the brave Hill, and swept him down the stream. Major Adams sprang to his relief, and at the imminent hazard of his own life, rescued his friend from a watery grave; with his athletic arm he buffeted the rapid current, and bore the exhausted Hill to the bank which they had left. He then set out alone. The ford which he had to cross was narrow and difficult. Moreover, it lay over rocks and shoals, sometimes knee-deep, then up to the neck. Near the middle of the stream was an island, and the trunks and limbs of old trees which had drifted upon the island seemed, by the dim light of the moon shining through clouds, to be so many savages ready to pounce upon him; but with a firm step Major Adams proceeded, and soon reached the bank in safety.

The town was situated on the edge of the river swamp, about 300 yards from the water, and so numerous and intricate were the paths leading in every direction from the ford into the swamp, and the darkness produced by the thick underbrush was so great, that when he reached the hill or dry land, he discovered by the fire, around which the Indians had held their revels, shooting up occasionally a meteoric blaze, that he was far below the point at which he aimed. Bending his course cautiously along the margin of the swamp, he soon reached the border of the town; an Indian dog seemed to be the only sentinel; and after a few half growls and barkings, as though he had but dreamed, sunk away into perfect quiet. In a few moments he was in the center of the town. Besides those in the cabins, there lay stretched upon the ground in every direction, hundreds of warriors, with rifles and tomahawks in hand; the earth was literally covered with them.

Major Adams examined the fastenings of the cabin doors by running his hands through the cracks and feeling the log of wood or the peg by which they were secured. He was convinced that no alarm had been given, and that the Indians did not suspect an enemy to be so near. A huge savage, close to whom he was passing, raised himself upon his elbow, grasped his rifle, and looked around, as though he heard, or dreamed he heard, strange footsteps. Major Adams, perceiving him stir, threw himself down amidst a group of snoring Indians, and the warrior, observing nothing unusual, concluded he had dreamed, and again sunk into the arms of sleep. Our hero proceeded cautiously, examining with a military eye every point of attack and defense, arranged his plans, and prepared to return to the anxious army on the other side of the river. His exertion in crossing the stream had been great. He was fatigued and, perceiving an Indian pony tied to a sapling, he believed that the little animal would pursue the ford to which he was most accustomed—perhaps show him one less difficult to cross. So he resolved to ride it over the river. He did not observe the bell which hung about the animal's neck; and, frightened at his approach, it snapped the rope of bark by which it was fastened, and scampered off through the town, with a hundred dogs at its heels, whose bark, together with the tinkling of the bell, produced a frightful noise through the wilderness. Major Adams sprang into the river, but missed his path, and found himself surrounded by the briars and thick undergrowth of the river swamp. The Indians passed within a few paces of the place where he stood, half suspended by the briars, in mid-air, and returning from their fruitless search, he thought he heard them speak of strange sights and sounds, such as were told in Rome of the fall of Great Caesar. They returned, and again slept.

Major Adams proceeded in a direct line to the river, glided into the stream, and swam quietly and safely to the other bank. He told what he had seen, and stated his plan of attack. The little army listened, amazed and delighted at its gallant leader; each individual felt that the danger to which he exposed himself was incurred for them, and, with one voice, when orders were given to march, declared that they would be led by no other commander than the intrepid Adams. Comprehending the situation, Colonel M. was forced to yield. They were led across by Major Adams, and it is needless to say that he led them to victory, without the loss of a man.

Scarcely a warrior escaped. The town was burned; but as far as possible the women and children of the savages were saved. Posts may yet be seen standing in the midst of the saplings which have sprung up where the town was burned, but these are the only memorials which are left to tell the traveler where once stood the Burnt Village of the Muscogees.*

* Reproduced, with slight variations, from White's "Historical Collections of Georgia." The story originally appeared in an old newspaper.

XI

THE ENCHANTED ISLAND

Many moons ago there dwelt on an island in the great Okefinokee Swamp a race of Indians, whose women were incomparably beautiful. Neither among the daughters of the brave Creeks, who occupied the lowlands, nor among the dark-eyed maidens of the stalwart Cherokees, whose towns were scattered over the far mountains to the north, could there be found a damsel to match in loveliness of person these angelic beings, who were not formed of common clay, like other mortals, but were born of the great orb of day, from which circumstance, as well as because of the radiant beams of light which they seemed everywhere to diffuse, they were called Daughters of the Sun.

The island on which they dwelt in the deep recesses of the swamp was indeed a fragment of the Lost Paradise. It was embowered by the most delightful foliage, which, throughout the whole year, remained perennially green. This was because, on every side, it was well protected by the dense everglades. There were sparkling streams of the most transparent crystal, there were fruits the like of which grew nowhere else, and there were flowers of such an exquisite hue and fragrance that they seemed to have dropped from heaven. But words can give no hint or suggestion of the beauty which belonged to this rare bower. The task must be left to the imagination.

On one occasion some hunters, in pursuit of game, found themselves hopelessly entangled in the deep labyrinths of the great swamp. They wandered for hours through the bogs and marshes, finding no means of egress, when finally, on the verge of despair, they beheld through an open vista the most inviting of visions—an island, whose soft fringes of emerald, contrasting with the coarse underbrush about them, beckoned the hunters to approach. Revived by the prospect, they pressed eagerly forward. There was no longer any sense of fatigue. They were now invigorated in every limb, whereas a moment ago they were about to faint with exhaustion. Strange it is what a power the mind exercises over the body, thus to give it renewed strength in an instant, simply by an exchange of mental pictures!

As the Indians approached the island, its wealth of attractions became more and more apparent. They espied in the distance, through the green lace-work of foliage, a lake, whose surface glistened like polished steel in the clear sunlight, while bordering it were orange trees whose luscious globes gave it an exquisite fringe of gold. But, having so far penetrated with the eye into this strange fairyland, they were destined to approach no further. The very tortures of Tantalus now seized them, for while they continued to move with impulsive haste in the direction of the island, it came, visibly at least, no nearer. At last they were again overcome by fatigue. They also began to feel the sharp pangs of hunger, and once more the Indians were about to sink to the ground, when there arose before them, seemingly out of the very air itself, so ethereal was the dream-like appearance which they presented, a group of beautiful women, who proved to be none other than the Daughters of the Sun.

If the hunters were bewitched by the scenery of the island, they were transported by the loveliness of the fair inhabitants. But ere the rising raptures within them could be put into articulate expression, they were told to advance no further. The women were exceedingly gracious. They spoke in accents of music and with divine compassion they smiled upon the hunters; but they warned them of the danger in which they stood from irate husbands, who were fierce men, and exceedingly cruel to strangers. But the sense of fear produced no disturbance in the presence of such radiant apparitions. The hunters were like men transfixed. They refused to betake themselves to flight.

Finally the women, in tears, besought them to leave at once. The hunters were quite naturally touched by this display of emotion. They were ignorant of the way back to the settlement, but agreed to go, first craving a morsel of food to sustain them along the journey home. Without a moment's loss of time they were given abundant supplies, among other things, delicious fruits, marsh eggs, and corn pones, the most delightful they had ever eaten. The hunters were then shown a path by which they might return in safety to the settlements. With great reluctance the Indians proceeded to take it, but they mentally resolved to return with re-enforcements and to conquer this mysterious region, for they wished to make wives of these beautiful Daughters of the Sun. No sooner were they ready to depart than the women vanished as suddenly as they had come into sight; and the hunters, after encountering manifold difficulties, at last arrived in the settlements. When the adventurous story was told about the camp-fires, there was no lack of volunteers to undertake the hazardous expedition; but every effort to find the enchanted island resulted in utter failure. It was effectually concealed by some subtle power of magic in the bosom of the great swamp.*

XII

DE SOTO AND THE INDIAN WIDOW

Learning that the queen's mother, who resided some twelve leagues down the Savannah, was a widow, De Soto expressed a strong desire to see her. This wish was doubtless born of the fact that she was reported to be the owner of many precious pearls. Upon intimating his pleasure, the queen of Cutafa-chiqui dispatched twelve of her prominent subjects to entreat her mother to come and see the wonderful strangers and the extraordinary animals which they had brought with them. To these messengers the widow administered a severe rebuke, declining to accompany them, and returned to her daughter words condemnatory of her conduct.

Still intent upon his object, De Soto dispatched Juan de Anasco, with thirty companions, to secure the presence of the queen mother. They were accompanied by a youthful warrior, whom the queen selected as a guide. He was a near relative of the widow, and had been reared by

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her from an infant. It was supposed that he, of all others, could best bespeak for the expedition a considerate reception. In the blush of early manhood, he possessed handsome features. His head was decorated with lofty plumes. He wore a mantle of dressed deerskin. In his hand he bore a beautiful bow, so highly varnished as to appear, as if highly enameled; and at his shoulder hung a quiver full of arrows. Indeed, his whole appearance is said to have made him an ambassador worthy of the young and beautiful princess, whom he served.

What next befell the deputation, we relate in the language of Theodore Irving, who quotes from Garcilasso de la Vega:

"Juan de Anasco, with his comrades, having proceeded nearly three leagues, stopped to make their midday meal and take their repose beneath the shade of some wide-spreading trees, as the heat was oppressive. The Indian guide until now had proved a cheerful and joyous companion, entertaining them along the way with accounts of the surrounding country and the adjacent provinces. On a sudden, after they had halted, he became moody and thoughtful, and, leaning his head upon his hand, fell into a reverie, uttering repeated and deep-drawn sighs. The Spaniards noted his dejection, but fearing to increase it, forbode to demand the cause.

"After a time he quietly took off his quiver, and, placing it before him, drew out the arrows slowly, one by one. They were marvelous for the skill and excellence with which they were formed. Their shafts were reeds. Some were tipped with buck's horn, wrought with four corners like a diamond; some were pointed with the bones of fishes, curiously fashioned; others with barbs of the palm and other hard woods, and some were three-pronged. The Spaniards could not sufficiently admire their beauty, and they passed them from hand to hand, examining and praising their workmanship and extolling the skill of their owner. The youthful Indian continued thoughtfully emptying his quiver, until, almost at the last, he drew forth an arrow with a point of flint, long and sharp, and shaped like a dagger; then, casting around a glance, and seeing the Spaniards engaged in admiring his darts, he suddenly plunged the weapon in his throat and fell dead upon the spot.

"Shocked at the circumstance, and grieved at not having been able to prevent it, the Spaniards called to the Indian attendants and demanded the reason of this melancholy act in one who had just been so joyous. The Indians broke into loud lamentations over the corpse; for the youth was tenderly beloved by them, and they knew the grief his untimely death would cause both the queen and her mother. They could only account for his self-destruction by supposing him perplexed and afflicted by his embassy. He knew that his errand would be distasteful to the mother, and apprehended that the plan of the Spaniards was to carry her off. He alone knew the place of her concealment, and it appeared to his generous mind an unworthy return for her love and confidence thus to betray her to strangers. On the other hand, he was aware that should he disobey the mandates of his young mistress he would lose her favor and fall into disgrace. Either of these alternatives would be worse than death; he had therefore chosen death, as the lesser evil, and as leaving to his mistress a proof of his loyalty and devotion.

"Such was the conjecture of the Indians, to which the Spaniards

were inclined to give faith. Grieving over the death of the high-minded youth, they mournfully resumed the journey. They now, however, found themselves at a loss about the road. None of the Indians knew in what part of the country the widow was concealed, the young guide who had killed himself being alone master of the secret. For the rest of the day and till the following noon they made a fruitless search, taking prisoners some natives, all of whom professed utter ignorance on the subject. Juan de Anasco, being a fleshy man and somewhat choleric, was almost in a fever with the vexation of his spirit, the weight of his armor, and the heat of the day; he was obliged, however, to give up the quest after the widow, and to return to the camp much mortified at having for once failed in an enterprise.

"Three days afterwards, upon an offer of an Indian to guide him, by water, to the point where the widow secreted herself, Anasco, with twenty companions, departed in two canoes for the purpose of capturing her. At the end of six days he returned, vexed and chagrined at the failure of the expedition. Thus did the queen's mother avoid the Spaniards and preserve her pearls." •

XIII

THE MAN WHO MARRIED THE THUNDERER'S SISTER

In the old times people used to dance often and all night. Once there was a dance at the old Town of Sakwiyi, at the head of the Chatahoochee, and after it was well started two young women with beautiful long hair came in, but no one knew who they were, or whence they had come. They danced with first one partner and then another, and in the morning slipped away before any one knew that they were gone; but a young warrior, who had fallen in love with one of the sisters on account of her beautiful hair, and after the manner of the Cherokees, had asked her, through an old woman, if she would marry him and let him live with her. To which the young woman replied that her brother at home must first be consulted, and she promised to return for the next dance, seven days later, with an answer, but in the meantime, if the young man really loved her, he must prove his constancy by a rigid fast until then. The eager lover readily agreed and impatiently counted the days.

In seven nights there was another dance. The young warrior was on hand early, and later in the evening the two sisters appeared, as suddenly as before. The one with whom he was infatuated told him that her brother was willing, and after the dance she would conduct the young man to her home, but warned him if he told any one where he went or what he saw he would surely die.

He danced with her again, and about daylight he left with the two sisters, just before the dance closed, so as to avoid being followed, and

* Reproduced with minor variations, from the "History of Georgia," by Charles C. Jones, Jr.

they started off together. The women led the way along a trail through the woods, which the young man had never noticed before, until they came to a small creek, where, without hesitating, they stepped into the water. The young man paused in surprise on the bank, and thought to himself, "They are walking in the water; I do not wish to do that." The women understood his thoughts, just as though he had spoken, and turned and said to him, "This is not water; this is the road to our house." He still hesitated, but they urged him on until he stepped into the water and found it was only soft grass that made a fine level trail.

They went on until the path came to a large stream, which he knew to be Tallulah River. The women plunged boldly in, but again the warrior hesitated on the bank, thinking to himself, "That water is very deep and will drown me! I cannot go on." They knew his thoughts again, and turned and said, "This is not water, but the main trail that goes past our house, which is now close by." He stepped in, and instead of water, there was tall waving grass that closed above his head as he followed them.

They went only a short distance and came to a cave of rock close under Ugunyi, the Cherokee name for Tallulah Falls. The women entered, while the warrior stood at the mouth, but they said, "This is our house; come in, our brother will soon be at home; he is coming now." They heard low thunder in the distance. He went inside and stood up close to the entrance. Then the women took off their long hair and hung it up on a rock, and both their heads were as smooth as pumpkins. The man thought, "It is not hair at all," and he was more frightened than ever.

The younger woman, the one he was about to marry, then sat down and told him to take a seat beside her. He looked, and it was a large turtle on which she sat, and it raised itself up and stretched out its claws, as if angry at being disturbed. The youth refused to sit down, insisting that it was a turtle, but the woman again assured him that it was a seat. Then there was a louder roll of thunder, and the woman said, "Now our brother is nearly home." While he still refused to come nearer or sit down, suddenly there was a great thunder clap just behind him, and turning quickly he saw a man standing in the doorway of the cave.

"This is my brother," said the woman, and he came in and sat down upon the turtle, which again rose up and stretched out its claws. The young warrior still refused to come in. The brother then said that he was just about to start to a council, and invited the young man to go with him. The hunter said he was willing to go, if only he had a horse; so the young woman was told to bring one. She went out and soon came back, leading a great uktena snake, that curled and twisted along the whole length of the cave. Some people say that it was a white uktena and that the brother himself rode a red one. The hunter was terribly frightened and said, "That is a snake; I cannot ride that." The others insisted that it was not a snake, but their riding horse. The brother grew impatient and said to the woman, "He may like it better if you bring him a saddle and some bracelets for his wrists and arms." So they went out again and brought in a saddle and some arm bands, and the saddle was another

turtle, which they fastened on the uktena's back, and the bracelets were living slimy snakes, which they made ready to twist around the hunter's wrists.

He was almost dead with fear, and said, "What kind of horrible place is this? I can never stay here to live with snakes and creeping things." The brother became very angry and called him a coward, and then it was as if lightning flashed from his eyes and struck the young man, and a terrific crash of thunder stretched him senseless.

When at last he came to himself again, he was standing with his feet in the water and both hands grasping a laurel bush that grew out from the bank, and there was no trace of the cave or the Thunder People, but he was alone in the forest. He made his way out and finally reached his own settlement, but found that he had been gone so long that all the people thought him dead, although to him it seemed only the day after the dance. His friends questioned him closely, and, forgetting the warning, he told the story; but in seven days he died, for no one can come back from the underworld and tell it and live.*

XIV

A TRAGEDY OF THE SWAMP

Over in what is known as the "Fork"—in the angle which Brier Creek makes with the Savannah River—a number of curious relics have been discovered from time to time of the race who here lived and roamed the woods before the bold Genoese navigator found a new world in the West. On this particular spot there must have stood an important settlement or village, for numberless have been the weapons of war and the utensils for domestic use which have been here found. Indeed, it was the logical site for the red man's camp. The Savannah River, on one side, and Brier Creek, on the other, abounded in the finest fish, while the dense swamp which extends for miles over this region of country was full of game. It is well within the bounds of fair inference to assume that there was here an Indian village which was even more important than the one which overlooked the river from the high bluff at Yamacraw, where Savannah is today situated.

Deep in the labyrinth of this swamp there may be seen, among other things, what is said to be an old Indian well. As far back as the oldest inhabitant's grandsire can recollect, this hole has been here, and here it still remains. It was evidently dug to be used as a well—for what other purpose could it serve in this remote part of the swamp? But late researches have made it quite certain that this deep hole was not dug by the Indians. It was not the habit of the red man to dig wells, when springs and streams were near at hand.

In the immediate neighborhood of this well there formerly stood a large mound, some fifteen feet in length, supposed by those who observed it here for years to have been the last resting place of some In-

* James Mooney, in "Myths of the Cherokee," House Documents, Vol. 118.

dian warrior. This lonely part of the swamp is nearly two miles directly east of the old Saxon place—an unfrequented locality; but not long ago, three young men of Sylvania, interested in antiquities, made a trip into this quarter for purposes of investigation. They found that on top of the mound a pine tree had taken root and had grown to be a forest giant, perhaps a hundred years old, its roots spreading in all directions over the supposed tomb. Of course, there is no way of telling how much further back the mound itself dated, but the evidence furnished by the tree suffices to fix the minimum age limit.

Though somewhat disappointed in failing to find the bones of an Indian chief, they unearthed what was still more startling—the remains of a small cabin or structure of some kind, which had been burned; and it was the ruins of this structure which formed the mound. It was evidently an abode of primitive character, for what remained of the charred poles showed that they had simply been stuck in the ground; but they were probably brought together in wigwam fashion and covered with some kind of bark. The fact that it was once a human habitation was confirmed by the discovery of small pieces of timber which seemed to have been carefully cut and by numerous fragments of domestic pottery which were unearthed from the ruins.

Bringing the historic imagination constructively to bear upon these disclosures it became evident to the investigators that a tragedy of some kind had taken place here in the swamp—it may have been two centuries ago. The place was destroyed by fire; but whether it was due to accident or to murderous intent there was nothing to indicate. In the light cast upon the problem by the bits of pottery, the lone inhabitant of this primitive abode could not have been an Indian. This rude hut in the swamp was not the work of a red man. It evinced the skill of a hand accustomed to better structures than the savage home-maker knew how to build.

Who, then, was the mysterious occupant?

Let us go back. After the pious Salzburgers came and settled at old Ebenezer, on the Savannah River, some thirty miles below this place, in the year 1733, there was a story told by the Indians of a Lone Hunter—a pale face—who lived in a swamp higher up the river and who was seen only at intervals by the Indians. This man was a mighty hunter, skilled in the use of the rifle; and he sometimes came to the Indian village to exchange game for corn. He dressed in cloths made of the furs of animals which he had slain and he learned to speak a few words of the Indian tongue, so that he could communicate with the natives. But the Indians managed to make the Salzburgers understand that he was not of the same race with the new comers at Ebenezer, nor with the pale face settlers at Savanuah. From the accounts given by the red men it is clearly evident that he was a Spanish soldier—a member of the bold but cruel race which played so prominent a part in the early explorations and conquests of the new world and whose memorials on the continent of North America have not been obliterated by two centuries of Anglo-Saxon domination.

It was during this period that the Spaniards, who were then in pos-

session of Florida, made frequent incursions into Georgia and South Carolina; and perchance the Lone Hunter may have been a Cavalier, who, wearied and sick, had fallen by the wayside, where he was left to die. Or, he may voluntarily have deserted his comrades for this lonely life in the swamp. Here, in this secluded spot, not far from the Indian village, where supplies could be obtained when needed, he had doubtless, with the implements usually carried by the Spanish soldier, fashioned the small timbers for his house and built his wigwam cabin. Here, too, with the pick, which he was in the habit of carrying on his back, when on the march, he patiently dug the well that he might be constantly supplied with water.

How long he lived here is only a matter of vague speculation, but there is every reason to believe that he perished with his home, which some enemy must have fired—perhaps some skulking Indian from the village who had looked with envious eyes upon the Lone Hunter's sword and rifle. We can almost see him stealthily approaching the little cabin, stopping ever and anon behind some large tree to reconnoiter—thus creeping slowly onward again. From the top of the Hunter's hut rises a thin line of smoke, for he is cooking some beaten corn, which he has purchased from the Indians and on the coals he is broiling a steak, cut from the deer which fell before his rifle on yester eve. Reaching the door, with the noiseless tread of a panther, the savage springs upon his unprepared victim—then a fierce struggle ensues. But the Hunter, taken unawares, at last succumbs. His body is dragged away, his home is pilfered, and then an ember from the fire is applied to the dry bark on the sides, and soon the cabin is a smoldering ruin.

It may have been thus. This much is true. The Lone Hunter was never found by the Salzburgers, though they made a search for him where the Indians said he lived; and there was a minor Indian chief who long boasted of a Spanish rifle and sword which he claimed to have received from one of the invaders. The site of the old Indian village was near the Black plantation, some three miles distant from the Lone Hunter's cabin.*

XV

QUEEN ELANCYDYNE

Sixteen years before the beginning of our narrative a war broke out between the Cherokee and the Upper Creek Indians. The former claimed the territory as far south as the Tishmaugu and the latter as far north and east as the Iacoda Trail, which was nearly identical with the present Athens and Clarksville Road. Their first engagement was at Numerado, near the confluence of Hurricane Creek and Etoha River, above Hurricane Shoals. Amercides, apparently an Indian with a Greek name, was leader of the Cherokees, and as gallant a brave as ever drew

* We are indebted for the above story to an article which appeared in a Sylvania paper, signed "W. M. H."

the bow. He rode a white horse and dashed from place to place as if trained on the battlefield of Europe.

Talitch-leeche, commander of the Creeks, anxious for a personal encounter, placed himself at a favorable point and awaited the expected opportunity. It soon came and the Creek buried his tomahawk in the gallant leader's side. When the white horse was seen running riderless through the forest of Numerado, the Cherokees began to retreat. But soon the scene changed. Elanceydyne, the wife, or as she was generally called, the queen of Amercides, committing a small child which she was holding in her arms to the care of an attendant, mounted the riderless horse and at once took command. She was greeted by a yell from the Cherokees that echoed and re-echoed up and down the river and forward and backward across the valley. Soon the air was thick with flying arrows and whizzing tomahawks.

The conflict deepened and the battle waged on. The commander was more cautious than her fallen lord, but rode unflinchingly in the face of every danger. At last, the Creeks, finding their ranks so fatally thinned, retreated hastily. Another yell—this time the yell of victory, reverberated over the hills and the heroine of the day, forgetting all things else, hastened to see if her child was safe. She found it sleeping soundly in the arms of an attendant who, to shield the babe from harm, had received an arrow deeply in her own shoulder. Her name was Yetha; and though the wound was thought to be fatal, she lived to be very old.

Soon a band of young warriors gathered around the queen and, carrying her over the battlefield, in grim mockery introduced her to the fallen Creeks as their conqueror. Elated by their decisive victory, the Cherokees considered the country conquered territory as far as they claimed and began a march across it to take formal possession. In the meantime, however, the Creeks had received substantial recruits, and since Talitch-leeche was a wily old chief of long experience the enterprise was doubtful. His enemy, still lead by what her followers considered their invincible new queen, moved slowly and cautiously forward until they reached the verge of the plateau which dips toward Cold Spring, where they met Talitch-leeche in command of a larger force than at Numerado.

The Creeks gave the gage of battle and soon the engagement became general. Though Queen Elanceydyne showed that she was a skilful and fearless leader, she was finally overcome by numbers, but by a masterpiece of strategy, she made a flank movement, and, going still forward, camped that night at Arharra on the plain where Prospect Church now stands and within hearing of the waters of Tishmaugu, the object of her expedition. This singular movement on the part of an enemy who had shown such consummate skill so puzzled Talitch-leeche that he hesitated to offer battle. The next morning, however, an accident brought on a general engagement, with varying success. This continued at intervals until noon when the Creek chief sent Umausanga, one of his trusted braves, to conceal a number of expert bowmen in the branches of some spreading trees that grew in an adjacent forest. Late in the afternoon the conflict again became general.

Elanceydyne, on her white horse, led the van, and her example so inspired her followers that they gave another deafening yell and rushed

forward to engage at close quarters; but the Creeks retreated in the direction of the concealed bowmen. Again the Cherokee queen was in the thickest of the fray, and soon fell from her horse, pierced by many bristling arrows. The wail of lament "Oncowah, Oncowah!" rising from the field of carnage, disheartened the Cherokees and they in turn sullenly retreated to the north, tenderly carrying their fallen queen with them. If she had survived the battle it is difficult to say what would have been the result.*

* Extracts from "The Early History of Jackson County, Georgia," etc., by J. G. N. Wilson. Edited and published by W. E. White, 1914.

CHAPTER XXIV

FOUR GREAT INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING ESTABLISHED DURING THE MID-THIRTIES—JOSIAH PENFIELD, IN 1829, BEQUEATHES AN EDUCATIONAL FUND TO THE GEORGIA BAPTIST CONVENTION—STARTS MERCER UNIVERSITY—FIRST LOCATED AT PENFIELD, THEN REMOVED TO MACON—JESSE MERCER'S BENEFACCTIONS—OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY IS FOUNDED BY THE PRESBYTERIANS IN 1835 AT MIDWAY, NEAR MILLEDGEVILLE—SIDNEY LANIER'S ALMA MATER—DR. SAMUEL K. TALMAGE ITS FIRST PRESIDENT—ENFEEBLED BY THE WAR, OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY SUSPENDS IN 1872, BUT THE INSTITUTION IS REVIVED IN ATLANTA IN 1912—THE SPLENDID WORK OF DR. THORNWELL JACOBS—EMORY COLLEGE IS FOUNDED BY THE METHODISTS IN 1836 AT OXFORD—DR. IGNATIUS A. FEW ITS FIRST PRESIDENT—THE FRUITFUL CAREER OF THIS INSTITUTION, WHICH IN 1914 BECOMES EMORY UNIVERSITY—MR. ASA G. CANDLER'S MAGNIFICENT GIFT—WESLEYAN FEMALE COLLEGE IS CHARTERED IN 1836—THE FIRST INSTITUTION TO CONFER A DIPLOMA UPON A WOMAN—HISTORY OF THIS MOTHER SCHOOL OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

During the mid-thirties four great institutions of learning were established in Georgia. The first of these was Mercer University. Originally located at Penfield, a small village seven miles to the north of Greensboro, it was founded by the great Jesse Mercer, one of the pioneers of the Baptist Church in Georgia, and was chartered as Mercer Institute, a name by which it was known until 1837. But the genesis of this institution is of sufficient interest to admit of fuller particulars.

In 1829, when the Georgia Baptist Convention met at Milledgeville, it was announced to the body that Josiah Penfield, of Savannah, a deacon in the church, had bequeathed to the convention the sum of \$2,500 as a fund for education, provided an equal amount should be raised. The following committee was named to suggest a plan of action in regard to the matter: Thomas Stocks, Thomas Cooper, H. O. Wyr and J. H. T. Kilpatrick. They made a report at once, suggesting that the requisite sum be subscribed; and accordingly, within fifteen minutes, the amount of money necessary to secure the gift was pledged in bona fide notes, given to Dr. Adiel Sherwood, clerk and treasurer of the Georgia Baptist Convention. The loyal pioneer Baptists, whose generosity helped to lay the foundations of Mercer, are numerated below, together with the amounts subscribed:

Jesse Mercer.....	\$250	Armstead Richardson.....	\$ 75
Cullen Battle	200	James Davis.....	50
James Shannon	100	H. O. Wyr.....	150

I. L. Brooks.....	\$100	James Armstrong.....	\$ 50
James Boykin.....	125	J. H. T. Kilpatrick.....	100
Barnabas Strickland.....	36	Joshua Key.....	100
William Walker.....	100	Andrew Battle.....	50
B. M. Sanders.....	150	R. C. Shorter.....	50
Robert C. Brown.....	50	Jonathan Davis.....	150
Peter Walton.....	25	Thomas Stocks.....	50
Adiel Sherwood.....	125	Jabez P. Marshall.....	100
Thomas Cooper.....	110	Edmund Shackelford.....	150
William Flournoy.....	100	J. Whitefield, Cash.....	10

Due authority having been given, a committee purchased from James Rudd, a tract of land, seven miles to the north of Greensboro containing 450 acres. Dr. Billington M. Sanders, then a young man just entering upon the work of the ministry, but well educated and well equipped, was engaged to act as principal. Under him the wilderness was cleared, temporary quarters were provided, and, on the second Monday in January, 1833, a manual school at Penfield was formally opened. Associated with Dr. Sanders, the first corps of instructors were: Iro O. McDaniel, J. F. Hillyer, J. W. Aftaway, W. D. Cowdry, A. Williams and S. P. Sanford. John Lumpkin, the father of Governor Wilson Lumpkin, was a member of the executive committee under whose oversight the school was established.

Penfield was the name given to the locality in honor of Josiah Penfield, from whose estate came the original bequest; but the school itself was named for Jesse Mercer, then the most influential Baptist divine in Georgia. Mr. Mercer, throughout his long life, constantly befriended the institution and at his death it became the principal beneficiary under his will. At the start, it was quite an unpretentious affair. In the course of time there developed around it an important town; but with the building of the Georgia Railroad Penfield began to yield prestige to Greensboro, a town on the main line, settled by an enterprising community of well-to-do planters.

However, the institute prospered. The students were required to perform a definite amount of work each day, for which they were paid at the rate of six cents per hour. They were also put through a course of study which was somewhat exacting. Doctor Sanders remained at the head of the school for six years. He was most successful in organizing the work upon solid foundations, partly because of his experimental acquaintance with agriculture and partly because of his exceptional qualifications as a disciplinarian. But he was none too sanguine at first in regard to the educational outlook in Georgia. He was somewhat apprehensive of failure, due to certain adverse conditions which he feared could not be successfully overcome. To illustrate his attitude, it was found that before the school could be organized an additional sum of \$1,500 was needed. Doctor Sanders was asked, among others, to be one of thirty to raise this amount. He replied to the effect that he was willing to be the thirtieth man to contribute, a statement which either implied some doubt in regard to the ultimate outcome, or else an anxiety on the part of Doctor Sanders to make the Baptists of Georgia exert themselves.

But the sum was raised. Moreover, this wise and good man was placed at the head of the school. Under him, the command to halt was never once sounded. The institution moved steadily forward, but after six years, he relinquished the helm. Possibly for the reason that his successors were men of books, who knew comparatively little of practical agriculture, there followed a laxity in the management of affairs. Dissatisfaction arose, and in the course of time the manual school feature was abandoned.

In 1837, the name of the school was changed from Mercer Institute to Mercer University; a charter was obtained from the Legislature; and a fund of \$100,000 was raised among the Georgia Baptists with which to give it a permanent and substantial endowment. The first graduating exercises were held in the summer of 1841, when diplomas were awarded to three young men. Richard Malcolm Johnston, who became one of the foremost educators and authors of his day; Benjamin F. Thorpe, afterwards an eminent divine; and Dr. A. R. Wellborn, a successful practitioner of medicine, received degrees on this occasion. In 1840 the Theological Department was added; and Dr. Adiel Sherwood was put at the head of the newly organized school of the prophets. The name of this stalwart and sturdy old pioneer is still fragrant in the annals of Georgia.

At the outbreak of the Civil war, the senior classmen at Penfield entered the Confederate army almost to a man, and there were few better soldiers. Though the college did not formally suspend until 1865, it maintained an existence which was purely nominal. Most of the trustees were at the front. Widespread demoralization prevailed. So, after the invasion of the state by Sherman, the faculty with great reluctance closed the doors. Professors Sanford and Willet, the two senior members of the faculty, opened a school in the college building and held a quasi-commencement, but the lamp of learning could not be rescued from extinction. It flickered dimly, amid the ruins, enough to reveal the chaotic conditions; and then expired in darkness.

For seven years after the war there came a break in the academic life of Mercer. The work of rehabilitation was slow, due to the utter prostration of the state, during the period of Reconstruction. Finally, when the institution again arose, it was upon the heights of Macon, where it today stands. Prior to the war two separate efforts were made by Griffin to secure Mercer, but without success. The various presidents of Mercer University, in the order of service, have been as follows:

Rev. Billington M. Sanders, Principal and President.	Rev. H. H. Tucker, D.D.
Rev. Otis Smith.	Rev. Archibald J. Battle, D.D.
Rev. John L. Dagg, D.D.	Rev. G. A. Nunnally, D.D.
Rev. Nathaniel M. Crawford, D.D.	Pinekey D. Pollock, LL.D.
	Rev. S. Y. Jameson, D.D.

Some of these executive heads have been amongst the most eminent theologians and educators of the South.

Dr. Patrick H. Mell, afterwards Chancellor of the University of Georgia; Dr. Shaler G. Hillyer, Prof. William G. Woodfin, and others, also taught for a while at Mercer. Perhaps the most distinguished laymen who have occupied chairs in the institution were Prof. S. P. Sanford and Prof. J. E. Willet. The former headed the department of mathematics. The latter taught the natural sciences. Both were identified with the institution for something like fifty years and both were men of broad scholarship. The text-books on mathematics compiled by Professor Sanford are still extensively used.

Two and a half miles to the west of Milledgeville there flourished before the Civil war an institution of learning on whose alumni rolls the name of Sidney Lanier blazes like a star of the first magnitude, and from which a recent chief executive of Georgia, Joseph M. Brown, received his diploma—Oglethorpe University. This was one of the first of Georgia's schools to receive a charter. It was located at a place called Midway, after the famous settlement on the Georgia coast. During the brief quarter of a century in which it flourished it made a record, the influence of which will be felt to the end of time; but at the outbreak of the Civil war Oglethorpe went to the front. Professors, students, and alumni—all enlisted. No institution made greater contributions to the Confederate army in proportion to its numerical strength; and with the Conquered Banner at Appomattox it went down to rise no more—at least upon the hills of the Oconee.

The story of how the institution came into existence may be briefly told. For years there existed under the fostering care of the Educational Board of Georgia two manual labor schools: the Midway Seminary and the Gwinnett Institute; and when the dissolution of the board necessitated a division of interest, the trustees of Midway Seminary, in the spring of 1835, tendered the school to Hopewell Presbytery, believing that ecclesiastical supervision might yield better results. The offer was accepted, and a committee appointed to report on the expediency of elevating the school to college rank. As chairman of the committee, Hon. Eugenius A. Nisbet, afterwards judge of the Supreme Court of Georgia, submitted a report in which strong grounds were taken in favor of an institution of the proposed character to be under the exclusive government and control of the Presbyterian Church. The report met with unanimous adoption. Accordingly, a board of trustees consisting of twenty-four members, was appointed by Presbytery to take charge of Oglethorpe University, the name by which the new school was to be known. The first meeting of the board was held at Milledgeville, on October 21, 1835, and within two months thereafter a charter was procured from the General Assembly of Georgia.*

* Chartered, December 21, 1835, the original trustees of Oglethorpe University were: Thomas Goulding, S. Davis, S. J. Cassels, S. K. Talmadge, J. C. Patterson, H. S. Pratt, Robert Quarterman, Charles W. Howard, C. C. Jones, Joseph H. Lumpkin, Washington Poe, Eugenius A. Nisbet, William W. Holt, B. E. Hand, Richard K. Hines, Samuel Ross, John A. Culbert, Tomlinson Fort, J. Billups, Charles C. Mills, Charles P. Gordon, John H. Howard, Thomas B. King and Adam L. Alexander. (Prince's Digest, pp. 877-879.)

Under the terms of the charter it was made a penal offense, in the sum of \$500, for any one to sell merchandise of any character within a mile and a half of the university, and in addition the form of deeds granted in the sale of lots belonging to the university required the forfeiture of such lots to the institution in the event the law was violated.

On November 24, 1836, the university was organized by the election of the following faculty: Rev. Carlisle P. Beman, D. D., president, to hold the chair of chemistry and natural philosophy; Hon. Eugenius A. Nisbet, vice-president, to teach belles lettres and natural philosophy; Rev. Samuel K. Talmage, professor of ancient languages; Rev. Charles Wallace Howard, chaplain, to teach moral philosophy; and Rev. Nathaniel Macon Crawford, professor of astronomy and mathematics. The cornerstone of the main building was laid on March 31, 1837, at which time an address was delivered by Hon. Joseph Henry Lumpkin, afterwards Chief Justice of Georgia. Dr. Talmage, in writing of the school at a later period, thus describes the building: "It is a brick structure, painted white, two stories high, besides a basement. It is constructed after the Grecian Doric order, without and within. The central part contains the finest college chapel in the United States; its whole dimensions are fifty-two feet front by eighty-nine feet deep, including a colonnade fourteen feet deep, supported by four massive pillars, and the vestibule of the chapel is eleven feet deep. The dimensions of the chapel are forty-eight feet by sixty in the main story, and forty-eight by seventy-one in the gallery, the latter extending over the vestibule. The ceiling of the chapel is in the form of an elliptical arch, resting on a rich cornice and containing a chaste and original centre piece. Attached to the building are two wings, thirty feet front by thirty-four deep, and three stories high, making the entire front of the edifice one hundred and twelve feet in length. Each story in the wings is divided into a professor's office in front, and a recitation or lecture room in the rear. There are in the basement story and wings sixteen rooms, affording ample accommodations, museum, apparatus and all other conveniences for college purposes." On each side of the campus there was a row of dormitories, one story in height, for the use of the student. The other buildings were the president's house, on the south side, below the dormitories; the academy, a large two-story edifice opposite, on the north side; and an old chapel, the interior of which was converted into recitation rooms.

On the first Monday in January, 1838—before the main building was finished—the college commenced operations. The attendance by 1842 registered 125 students, of which number, fifty were in the collegiate and seventy-five in the preparatory department. The college year was divided into two sessions: the winter session from January to May and the summer session from June to November. Commencement was usually on the second Wednesday of the last-named month. In the fall of 1839, at the request of the board of trustees, Presbytery transferred the institution to the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, by which body it was eagerly accepted. President Beman resigned his position in 1841, and Rev. Samuel K. Talmage, a graduate of Princeton

and an uncle of the great Brooklyn divine, was elected to succeed him as president. He remained in office until his death, in 1865, a period of nearly twenty-five years. Toward the close of the war, the exercises of Oglethorpe University were suspended, due to the lack of necessary funds and to the impoverished condition of the state. Besides, a large percentage of the young men of Georgia were at the front. From 1867 to 1869 feeble efforts to reseatuate it were made. The office of president was repeatedly declined. Finally, Rev. W. M. Cunningham accepted the office, but, on the eve of the college opening, he died. In 1870, Dr. David Wills succeeded him. The school was then removed to Atlanta, where it opened in General Sherman's former headquarters, on Washington Street, diagonally across from the present State Capitol. But the change failed to produce the expected reinvigoration; and in 1872 the doors of Oglethorpe University were closed. In the opinion of many, no greater misfortune ever befall the state. The apparatus was afterward used by the Talmage High School, at Midway, to which school the other property holdings also reverted. Doctor Wills, the last president of the institution, is living today in Washington, D. C., an old man, verging upon the century mark.

During the spring of 1912 a movement to reorganize Oglethorpe University was launched in Atlanta under the vigorous initiative of Rev. Thornwell Jacobs, a most enthusiastic and wide-awake Presbyterian. The idea was pressed in such a way that it fired the imagination of the church, not only in Georgia, but throughout the South. In less than six months over one hundred men of means were found who were willing to lend financial aid to the enterprise; a temporary organization was effected; a beautiful tract of land at Silver Lake, on Peachtree Road, was secured as a donation to the school, and plans devised for laying the cornerstone of greater Oglethorpe University during the monster Presbyterian jubilee, in May, 1913, when four General Assemblies were scheduled to convene in Atlanta: an auspicious time for the Phoenix to rise once more from the ashes.

Two miles north of the Town of Covington is the little village of Oxford. It is reached by a trolley line which meets the Georgia Railroad at Covington, from which point it rapidly transports the visitor to the broad campus grounds of the great school of learning which is here maintained by Georgia Methodists. Called Emory College, in honor of Bishop John Emory, it enjoyed a distinct and independent existence for nearly eighty years, but in 1915 was merged into a far greater institution: Mercer University. The circumstances connected with the establishment of this famous school at Oxford possess an exceptional interest. Dr. George G. Smith, a patriarch of the church, tells the story thus. Says he: "Dr. Olin, who married a Georgia lady and whose property interests were in Georgia, was chosen president of Randolph Macon College, in Virginia, and was anxious to secure the support of the various Southern conferences. He accordingly asked the Methodists of Georgia to endow a chair in the college with \$10,000 and to patronize the institution, giving them some special privileges in return. The conference consented to accept this offer and

decided, in addition, to establish a high school in Georgia on the manual labor plan, so popular at the time. The latter was located at Covington. It was not productive of the best results, however, to conduct a high school and a farm at the same time, and the conference, under the influence of Dr. Ignatius A. Few, in 1836, decided to establish a college.* For this purpose a charter was granted and a site for the proposed institution was selected about two miles from the manual school. One thousand four hundred acres of land were bought, a village laid out, and, in 1837, the cornerstone of Emory College was laid."

Doctor Few was the first president. Under him, the college was opened, in 1839, and two years later were held the first exercises of graduation. Judge Augustus B. Longstreet, the famous author of "Georgia Scenes," succeeded Doctor Few. He was formerly an eminent jurist, but relinquished the law to enter the pulpit. He was also at one time an editor of note. On leaving Emory, he became the president of the University of Mississippi. Dr. George F. Pierce, the great orator of Methodism, came next. But he was soon elected bishop. Dr. Alexander Means, the distinguished professor of natural science, succeeded him. Fifty years in advance of his day, Doctor Means predicted the motor car and the electric light. He was succeeded after a year by Dr. James R. Thomas, who was president when the war commenced. The college was suspended during the greater part of this period and the buildings used for hospital purposes under the Confederate Government. The close of the war found the institution without endowment and the people of the South impoverished. But Bishop Pierce took the field, made an earnest plea on behalf of the college and succeeded in keeping the fires alive until prosperity began to return. With the aid of Bishop Pierce's Endowment Society, supplemented by the zeal of a devoted corps of professors, the college began to revive. New buildings were erected, new students were enrolled, and an era of splendid growth was inaugurated. Dr. Luther M. Smith was the president under whom the institution was firmly re-established. He was elected to succeed Doctor Thomas, who was called to a college in California.

Next came Dr. O. L. Smith, but he resigned to take a professorship, and Dr. Atticus G. Haygood succeeded him. It was during the administration of this great apostle of learning that Mr. George I. Seney, a wealthy banker of New York, attracted by some of the broad views of the new president, gave to the institution the munificent sum of \$150,000. With a part of this gift, Seney Hall was erected. The remainder was applied to the permanent endowment fund. Bishop Haygood resigned to administer the Slater educational legacy and was afterwards chosen bishop. He was succeeded by Dr. I. S. Hopkins, who resigned to become president of the Georgia School of Technology,

* Emory College was chartered December 10, 1836, with the following board of trustees: Ignatius A. Few, Lovick Pierce, Charles Hardy, William J. Parks, Elijah Sinclair, Samuel K. Hodges, Samuel J. Bryan, Alexander Speer, George F. Pierce, Charles H. Saunders, David P. Hillhouse, William P. Graham, Iverson L. Graves, Lucius Pittich, and John Park. (Prince's "Digest," pp. 879-881.)



THE CRADLE OF EMORY COLLEGE
Home of the Late Col. W. W. Clark, Covington, Including Part of the Old Normal School

an institution which was measurably the outgrowth of his own experiments at Oxford. Dr. Warren A. Candler was next called to the executive chair. Under him, the sum of \$100,000 was added to the permanent endowment fund. Of this amount, Mr. W. P. Patillo, of Atlanta, subscribed \$25,000. The handsome new library building, in honor of the president, was christened "Candler Hall." On being elevated to the episcopal bench, Dr. Candler was succeeded by Dr. C. E. Dowman, and he in turn by Dr. James E. Dickey, the present head of the institution. Since the incumbency of Doctor Dickey began, the endowment fund of the college has been greatly increased and the roll of attendance considerably lengthened.

There are few institutions in the country which surpass Emory in the standards of scholarships. The discipline is strict and the moral atmosphere pure and wholesome. The library of the college contains something over 25,000 volumes, including a number of rare folios. Three presidents of Emory have succeeded to the episcopal honors, Drs. George F. Pierce, Atticus G. Haygood, and Warren A. Candler. Without an exception the presidents have been preachers. Bishop Candler and Doctor Dickey are both kinsmen of the first president, Dr. Ignatius A. Few. Connected with the college, there is an excellent school of law, of which Judge Capers Dickson is the dean. Besides, there is also a department of pedagogics. The cabinet of minerals at Emory is one of the most unique collections of this character to be found in the South. It contains a number of rare specimens which cannot be duplicated. The college at Oxford is the joint property of the Georgia and Florida conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Dr. Ignatius A. Few, the first president of Emory College, is buried on the heights of the Oconee River, at Athens, Georgia, but in commemoration of his services to Christian culture there stands upon the campus at Oxford a substantial monument on which is chiseled the following inscription to the distinguished founder.

"I. A. Few, founder and first president of Emory College. Elected December 8, 1837. Entered upon his duties, September 10, 1838. Resigned July 17, 1839. *'Memoria prodenda liberis nostris.'*"

"In early life an infidel, he became a Christian from conviction and for many years of deep affliction walked by faith in the son of God." etc.

To the City of Macon, Georgia, belongs the oldest school in existence for the higher education of women. If there are institutions whose pioneer work date further back, an investigation will show that not one of them possessed authority to confer degrees. The first college in the world chartered for the express purpose of awarding diplomas to women was undoubtedly historic old Wesleyan Female College at Macon. It was only to a limited extent that public attention, during the early part of the last century, was directed to the educational needs of the fair sex. At first the various Legislatures of the country were averse to chartering even academies which were designed exclusively for women and Georgia was one of the very first states to abandon this policy of

discrimination. In 1827, the Legislature chartered the first female academy under state patronage at Harmony Grove, now Commerce, Georgia, in Jackson County, but it soon ceased to exist. The time was not ripe for such an innovation. Col. Duncan G. Campbell, of Wilkes, was the pioneer champion in Georgia of the new crusade. When a young man he taught a select school for girls in the town of Washington, and as early as 1825 he advocated in the State Legislature the wisdom of chartering a college, but he failed of success. In 1835, his son-in-law, Daniel Chandler, made an address at the University of Georgia, in which he made an eloquent plea for the admission of the fair sex to the same educational rights and privileges accorded to men and he called attention to the fact that at this time there was not a college in the world which conferred degrees upon women. The speech of Mr. Chandler created a deep impression.

It also brought results. His views were heartily endorsed in Macon, and when a movement was launched to establish a female academy in the young town, Rev. Elijah Sinclair suggested that the wide-awake people of Macon build a female college instead. There came an immediate response to this proposal. The Ocmulgee Bank agreed to subscribe \$25,000 to the fund, in the event the Legislature granted the charter, and other pledges of support were offered. The outcome was that a charter was finally granted by the Legislature, on December 10, 1836, giving legal existence to the Georgia Female College, the name by which the pioneer school was first known.* In due time, the buildings were completed, on a scale somewhat extensive. There followed a rush of patronage, but the great financial panic of 1837 involved some of the largest subscribers. The builder closed his lien. The college was put upon the market. At this stage of the proceedings, Dr. George F. Pierce, afterwards bishop, stepped upon the scene, bought the college for Georgia Methodists, and, under the banner of the church, reorganized it as the Wesleyan Female College. Without an endowment, it was not an easy matter to keep the institution afloat. But friends arose, and fortune smiled.

The first graduation exercises were held in 1840 and the first diploma was awarded to a member of the class who afterwards became Mrs. Katherine E. Benson. She was the first woman in the world to receive a college degree. Bishop Pierce resigned in 1841. But he continued to work for the college in the field. Dr. W. H. Ellison succeeded him. Then came Dr. Edward H. Myers. Two other presidents next took charge in succession, Dr. O. L. Smith and Dr. J. M. Bonnell. Finally, the noted Dr. W. C. Bass was called to the helm, and for twenty-five years shaped the destinies of Wesleyan. It was during his administra-

* Chartered as the Georgia Female College, at Macon. The original trustees of Wesleyan were James O. Andrew, Samuel K. Hodges, John W. Talley, Ignatius A. Few, William J. Parks, Lovick Pierce, William Arnold, Alexander Speer, Thomas Sanford, George F. Pierce, Elijah Sinclair, Henry G. Lamar, Jerry Cowles, Robert Collins, George Jewett, Ossian Gregory, Everard Hamilton, Henry Solomons, Augustus B. Longstreet, Walter T. Colquitt, and James A. Nisbet. (Prince's "Digest," pp. 881-882.)

tion that Mr. George I. Seney, the noted philanthropist of New York, befriended the institution. He first gave it \$50,000, then he afterwards increased this amount to \$125,000. It may be stated in this connection that one of the earliest benefactors of the college was a wealthy planter of Houston County, Mr. James A. Everett. He first bought a number of scholarships conditioned upon the adoption of the college by Georgia Methodists, and then, in 1845, he lifted a mortgage upon the institution of \$10,069. These benefactions, having been rendered at the start, though small in amounts, were far-reaching in ultimate results. The Seney gift was bestowed largely through the influence of Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, then president of Emory College at Oxford. In 1894 a well equipped chemical laboratory was installed, chiefly through the efforts of two members of the faculty, Prof. Charles O. Townsend and Prof. Joseph T. Derry. The present handsome four-story brick building was completed in 1900, and, in honor of Dr. J. W. Roberts, then president of Wesleyan, was christened Roberts Hall. Hon. Dupont Guerrey, a distinguished lawyer of Macon, was next called to the helm. He was the first layman to be vested with the duties of this high office, and, though the institution prospered under Mr. Guerrey, he returned after a few years to the practice of his profession. Dr. W. N. Ainsworth succeeded him; but resumed the pastorate in 1912. Dr. C. R. Jenkins is the present executive head; and, under him, old Wesleyan Female College is enjoying a degree of prosperity hitherto unknown.

CHAPTER XXV

AN ERA OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT—GEORGIA ACQUIRES AT THIS TIME THE SOBRIQUET BY WHICH SHE IS TODAY KNOWN: THE EMPIRE STATE OF THE SOUTH—IN 1831 A CONVENTION IS HELD AT EATONTON TO CONSIDER WORKS OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT—GEORGIA'S EARLIEST CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY BEHIND THIS PIONEER MOVEMENT—CANALS OR RAILROADS?—SOME OF THE DELEGATES WHO ATTENDED—ROUTES REPORTED, BUT NO DEFINITE ACTION TAKEN—THE IRON HORSE AS A MOTIVE POWER OF COMMERCE IS SOON RECOGNIZED—THE GEORGIA RAILROAD IS CHARTERED IN 1833—ITS INCEPTION AT ATHENS—ITS FIRST BOARD OF DIRECTORS—TO CONNECT AUGUSTA WITH EATONTON, MADISON AND ATHENS—TWO OTHER CHARTERS GRANTED IN 1833—ONE TO THE CENTRAL RAILROAD AND CANAL COMPANY FOR A LINE BETWEEN SAVANNAH AND MACON—ONE TO THE MONROE RAILROAD FOR A LINE BETWEEN MACON AND FORSYTH—ATLANTA, THE OFFSPRING OF RAILWAYS—HOW GEORGIA'S FUTURE CAPITAL STARTED—ORIGIN OF THE NAME ATLANTA—THOMAS BUTLER KING PREDICTS A TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY CONNECTING THE TWO OCEANS AND TRACES A ROUTE ON THE MAP—HIS FORECAST IS VERIFIED ALMOST TO THE LETTER.

It was in the year 1831 that Georgia first acquired the title by which she is today known: the Empire State of the South. At this time the steam locomotive was an experiment. Only one passenger train was then in operation on this side of the Atlantic, running between Baltimore and Washington. But Georgia, even at this early day, was an exponent of the new progress; and while still inclined to regard the Iron Horse as a novelty, was eager to extend her industrial and commercial activities and to inaugurate a system of internal improvements. Consequently, in the fall of 1831, we find an assemblage of Georgia's captains of industry meeting in the Town of Eatonton to discuss economic topics. Delegates were present from every part of Georgia; and to the organized impulse created by this initial movement much of the state's development in later years may be distinctly traced. The main question to be decided was whether canals or railroads should be recommended. Routes were reported for both, but no particular plan was recommended. However, public opinion soon began to crystallize strongly in favor of railroads. Steam-cars, even though of the crudest pattern, offered decided advantages over stage coaches as vehicles for travel; and these advantages became more and more apparent as time elapsed.

But to return to the Eatonton convention. One of the most zealous promoters of this project was Hon. Irby Hudson, but he declined its honors. Hon. Thomas Stocks, of Greene, was, on motion of Mr. Hud-

son, elected president of the convention. Three secretaries were chosen, to wit: William Turner, Sampson W. Harris, and William Wilkins. On account of the vital bearing of this pioneer convention upon the future development of the state, its membership is herewith given in full. The delegates in attendance were as follows:

Bibb—Oliver H. Prince and William B. Rogers.
 Butts—Irwin Case and James H. Starke.
 Campbell—Martin Cobb and E. B. Thompson.
 Chatham—William B. Bulloch, Mordecai Myers, John C. Nicoll and Thomas Young.
 Columbia—Nathaniel Bailey, Edmund Bowdre, James F. Hamilton, and George W. Hardwick.
 Effingham—John H. Hines and Clem Powers.
 Fayette—Finley G. Stewart and Nathaniel Blanchard.
 Greene—Thomas Dawson, Thomas G. Janes, and Thomas Stocks.
 Hancock—Joel Crawford, John Graybill, James B. Ransom, and William Terrell.
 Harris—Henry J. Harwell.
 Heard—William H. Houghton and John T. Leftwich.
 Henry—Abner Davis, Francis C. Manson, and Amassa Spencer.
 Jasper—William Burney, Eli Glover, Alexander McDonald and William Williamson.
 Jefferson—John H. Newton.
 Jones—James Gray, Thomas Hamilton, and Thomas Moughon.
 Liberty—John Dunwoody and Charles West.
 Meriwether—Alfred Wellborn.
 Monroe—Thomas N. Beall, George W. Gordon, and N. B. Williams.
 Morgan—Stewart Floyd, William Porter, John B. Walker, and John Wingfield.
 Muscogee—John Milton.
 Newton—William D. Conyers, Charles H. Sanders, Josiah Perry.
 Pike—John Neal and John B. Bird.
 Putnam—Henry Branham, Irby H. Hudson, L. W. Hudson, W. W. Mason, and James A. Meriwether.
 Richmond—William Cumming and John Moore.
 Talbot—Samuel W. Flournoy and Charles Pace.
 Taliaferro—Marcus Andrews, Absalom Janes and Simon Morris.
 Twiggs—Nimrod W. Long, Stephen F. Miller, and Matthew Robertson.
 Upson—James R. Cox and Moses Wheat.
 Warren—Gray A. Chandler.
 Washington—William Hurst.
 Wilkinson—Thomas Gilbert.

To note the stimulating effect of this convention at Eatonton, supplemented by the success of the Iron Horse as a motive power of commerce, there was a great demand for charters at the legislative session of 1833 creating railroads. On December 21, 1833, a charter was granted incorporating the Georgia Railroad Company and giving said corporation the power to construct either a rail or a turnpike road

from the city of Augusta to points westward.* It was planned to construct the main line to West Point and to run branch lines to Madison, Athens, and Eatonton. At the discretion of the incorporators, power was granted to extend these lines still further.

Simultaneously, two other charters were granted, one incorporating the Central Railroad and Canal Company of Georgia, a line to run between Savannah and Macon; the other incorporating the Monroe Railroad, a line between Macon and Forsyth.**

Work on the Georgia Railroad began at once.† By 1837 a portion of the road was finished and cars began to run carrying both freight and passengers. Two years later seventy-eight miles of track had been laid. In 1840 the road was completed to Madison and there was also a branch line to Athens. To quote a distinguished local historian: ‡

"The Georgia Railroad, one of the most important enterprises in the state, had its inception in Athens. The first meeting was held here in June, 1833, with Mr. Asbury Hull as chairman, and later, during the same year, he introduced in the Legislature a bill for its incorporation. Here for years the annual meetings of the road were held, and all its directors were Athens men until the line was completed. The board of directors in 1835 was composed as follows: James Camak, William Williams, John A. Cobb, Elizur L. Newton, Alexander B. Linton, James Shannon, W. M. Morton, and W. R. Cunningham. The road was originally intended to run between Augusta and Athens, while a branch line to Greensboro was contemplated. Subsequently the Greensboro branch became the main stem, extending to Atlanta, after which Athens was left on the branch road."

* Acts, 1833, pp. 256-268.

** Acts, 1833, pp. 246-255; pp. 238-245.

† According to the charter granted in 1833 to the Georgia Railroad Company, books for subscription to the stock of the company were to be opened in the following places, to wit:

In Athens, by William Williams, James Camak, Stevens Thomas and William Dearing, for 2,500 shares.

In Eaton, by Josiah Flournoy, Henry Branham, C. P. Gordon and Irby Hudson, for 2,500 shares.

In Madison, L. Johnson, E. A. Nisbet, A. G. Saffold and J. B. Walker, for 2,000 shares.

In Greensboro, by N. Lewis, Thomas Stocks, Thomas Cunningham and W. C. Dawson, for 1,500 shares.

In Sparta, by William Terrell, Joel Crawford, W. H. Sayre and Charles E. Haynes, for 1,000 shares.

In Warrenton, by Thomas Gibson, Henry H. Lockhart, Gray A. Chandler and Solomon Lockett, for 1,000 shares.

In Crawfordville, by Absalom Janes, John Mercer, Henry B. Thompson and Archibald Gresham, for 500 shares.

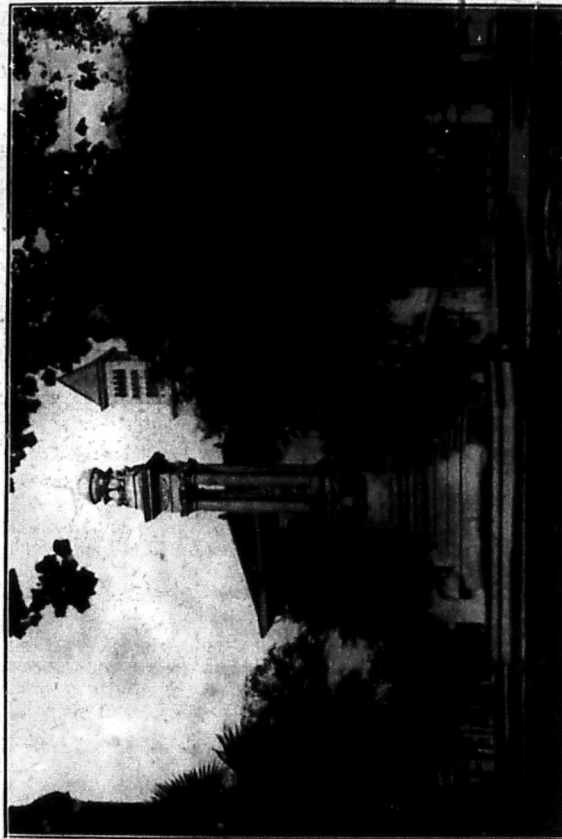
In Augusta, by Thomas Cumming, Wm. H. Turpin, Wm. C. Micou and John W. Wilde, for 1,500 shares.

In Washington, by D. P. Hillhouse, Samuel Barnett, Joseph W. Robinson and L. S. Brown, for 1,000 shares.

In Lexington, John Moore, John Banks, Joseph H. Lumpkin and Edward Cox, for 1,000 shares.

In Appling, by Thomas M. Hamilton, Archer Avery, Watt Collins and Wensley Hobby, for 1,000 shares.

‡ "Annals of Athens," p. 100.



W. W. GORDON MONUMENT IN SAVANNAH

William W. Gordon, of Savannah, was the first president of the Central of Georgia. To this far-sighted captain of industry, Georgia owes a debt of gratitude which time cannot diminish. This line, 190 miles in length, was completed to Macon in 1843, and was at this time the longest line in the world built and owned by one corporation.*

The Monroe road from Macon to Forsyth was completed in 1838.† Great enthusiasm marked the progress of railroad building in Georgia; and whenever a train for the first time entered a new depot the occasion was signalized by great speech-making. Madison, Macon and Forsyth all held mammoth receptions in honor of the Iron Horse. Homes were illuminated, bonfires were kindled, holiday decorations were displayed, and from all the countryside thousands of people flocked to witness the strange spectacle and to experience the acute thrill of a new sensation. Even in this age of scientific marvels, the locomotive engine, as a manifestation of power, has not ceased to be an object of compelling interest.

To connect these various lines of railway with the great interior of the continent, Georgia herself, in a largely attended convention at Macon, decided to construct a line running northward, through the newly acquired country of the Cherokees; and, accordingly, on December 21, 1836, an act of the Legislature was approved by Governor Schley, authorizing a line to be surveyed from the Tennessee River at Chattanooga, to the southwestern bank of the Chattahoochee River, at a point best suited for running branches to various towns within the state. A survey of the proposed route was made in 1837 by Stephen H. Long, the engineer-in-chief. Finding no point on either bank of the river suited to the purpose, Mr. Long located the terminus of the proposed line at a point seven miles to the east of the stream. But with respect to the possibilities of the site he was always a skeptic. Not a dollar of his own money went to purchase a lot; nor did he advise any of his friends to buy. However, there was a great political seer who, tarrying at the place one day, observed the topography of the landscape and predicted for the young village a future of wonderful growth. It was an instance of far-sightedness in keeping with the character of the illustrious statesman, who was none other than John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. The earliest name given to the pioneer settlement which arose in the virgin forest at this point was Terminus; and the first settler to brave the solitude of the wilderness was Hardy Ivy, who purchased a tract of land on which he built a shanty, in 1836, before the town was surveyed. To the memory of this pioneer citizen one of the principal streets of the village was afterwards named. An-

* "History of Georgia," Lawton B. Evans, p. 241.

† According to the charter granted in 1833 to the Monroe Railroad Company, books for subscription were to be opened at the following places, to wit:

At Forsyth, by Elias Beall, Angus M. D. King, Henry H. Lumpkin, Jesse Duhn and Cyrus Sharp, for \$100,000.

At Cullodenville, in Monroe County, by John H. Persons, Arthur Ginn and James Banks, for \$25,000.

At Stallings's Store, in Monroe County, by Wm. Stallings, John H. Greene and Mede Lesseure, for \$25,000.

At Macon, by Hugh Craft, Alfred Clopton and Robert A. Beall, for \$50,000.

other very early resident was John Thrasher, whose genial and open manner of address earned him the sobriquet of "Cousin John," but he was not cast in the molds of the old patriarch Job and losing patience he removed to Griffin. The only building of two stories in the place for quite a while was the wooden structure in which the chief engineer's office was located. Here in the capacity of a bookkeeper, then unknown to fame, was a young man of slender figure but of intellectual cast of features, destined to become the chief justice of Georgia, and to give his name to one of the great counties of the commonwealth: Judge Logan E. Bleckley.

At first the growth of the settlement was slow. But with the progress of work on the various lines which were then creeping slowly toward the foothills, to meet a line from Chattanooga, it became evident to many that some day a metropolis was destined to occupy this important strategic site. By 1842, the work of building the state road was completed to Marietta. At this stage it was necessary to test the track. Accordingly an engine, drawn by sixteen mules, was brought across the country from Madison, sixty miles distant, to Terminus, where it was placed upon the new iron rails. Hundreds of the hill people flocked to Atlanta to witness the novel experiment; and, with William F. Adair at the throttle, the initial trip was successfully made. The effect was pronounced. There seemed to be an impartation of electrical energy to the population. It was the first distinct sign of what in after years was called "the Atlanta spirit." Scores of people flocked to the village, stores multiplied, churches arose, and finally, in 1843, the old name was discarded for Marthasville. Hon. Wilson Lumpkin, an ex-governor of the state, was at this time one of the commissioners appointed to supervise the building of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. In co-operation with Charles F. M. Garnett, chief engineer, he made a resurvey of the land, and, after fixing a site for the depot, negotiated with the owner, Mr. Samuel Mitchell, for enough property to afford terminal facilities. The latter deeded to the state five acres of ground, for which he refused to accept compensation, an act of generosity today memorialized in the street which bears his name. Several land lots, at the same time, were laid off, and one of these, at the corner of Peachtree and Decatur, was purchased by George W. Collier, who held it until his death more than fifty years later. The prominent part taken by Governor Lumpkin in laying off the young town, created a sentiment in favor of naming the town for him; but he discouraged the movement. Nevertheless, it was named for his youngest daughter, Martha.

The year 1844 was signalized by the coming of Jonathan Norcross, a native of New England. He built the first planing mill, a crude affair in which the motive power was furnished by a blind mule, but it marked the beginning of the future metropolis. When a post office was established, the duty of handling the mail fell to George W. Collier, who lived on the outskirts of the town. Declining to sell any of the property which he subsequently acquired, Mr. Collier awaited developments. He built the Aragon Hotel to control the drift of population northward,

and died the owner of property worth millions. One of the original Collier land lots has since been converted into the beautiful residential area known as Ansley Park.

Some of the profits made in real estate by the far-sighted investors shrewd enough to read the leaves of the Sibyls at this early day sound like the yarns of Sinbad the Sailor, but they possess the literalism of truth. In the beginning tracts of land were purchased for old shot-guns which were soon afterwards worth a king's ransom. But prices were soon advanced. The arrival of the Georgia Railroad in 1845 contributed to this end. It was another energizing factor in the growth of the town. On board the train was Hon. J. P. King, of Augusta, a pioneer in railway building, afterwards United States senator from Georgia. The conductor on the train was George W. Adair, a man destined to become identified for half a century with the material development of the town. It is quite an amusing episode in the life of Colonel Adair, who exemplified the typical virtues of the Scotch-Irishman, that when the use of tickets was introduced on the Georgia Railroad, he considered it an imputation upon his integrity and refused to pull the bell cord any longer. In 1846, the line from Macon was completed and the young town became the converging center of three separate lines of railway, each in itself an important asset.

With metropolitan prospects looming ahead, another name was needed to meet the demands of the growing community; and, on December 29, 1847, an act was passed by the Legislature incorporating the "City of Atlanta." The next year, George W. Collier lost his official head as postmaster. He was an avowed democrat. Consequently, with the election of the Whig candidate for President, General Taylor, he was forced to retire. His successor was Jonas S. Smith, a merchant, who held the office for two years, resigning it in 1851 to Dr. George G. Smith, a physician, whose son of the same name, afterwards the distinguished historian and minister, became his clerk. The post office was then in the little angle made by the intersection of what is now Edgeworth Avenue with Decatur Street, and it paid a salary of \$600. The first charter of Atlanta was drawn by Judge John Collier. The first house of religious worship in the town stood at the corner of Houston and Peachtree streets, in the neighborhood of what is now the Candler Building, and was used as a day school during the week. Rev. John S. Wilson, D.D., afterwards pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, preached the earliest sermon to which the villagers listened, but the little building was not the property of any one particular denomination. The first mayor of Atlanta was Moses W. Formwalt.*

Concerning the origin of the name "Atlanta," there is quite a divergence of opinion. Some derive it from the middle name of Martha Lumpkin. Others trace it to the heathen goddess who was fleet of foot. In fact, there is quite a literature on the subject. But after carefully

* Wallace P. Reed, in "History of Atlanta"; E. Y. Clarke, in "Illustrated History of Atlanta," and Thomas H. Martin, in "Atlanta and Its Builders."

sifting the evidence, gathered from various sources, the facts seem to be these: In 1845, when the Georgia Railroad was first completed to Atlanta, Mr. Richard Peters, one of the earliest pioneers and one of the most substantial citizens of the town, approached Mr. J. Edgar Thompson, the chief engineer of the new road, requesting him to suggest a substitute for the name of Marthasville. His objection to the name was that it took too long to pronounce it; but the desire for a change was quite general, due to one reason or another, some contending that it was too suggestive of village ways. Mr. Thompson promised to give the matter thought. In the course of time several letters were exchanged upon the subject, but at last the problem was happily solved by the following paragraph:

"Eureka!" wrote Mr. Thompson. "I have found it! Atlantic, masculine; Atlanta, feminine—a coined word, but well adapted."

It caught the fancy of the whole town. At once the citizens began to use it, and, long before it was conferred by charter from the Legislature, it was applied to the depot. Mr. Peters, when still in vigorous health, was asked in 1887, to reduce to writing his recollection of the circumstances under which Atlanta was named, and he cited the foregoing particulars.

There is no doubt that the nickname of Martha Lumpkin was Atlanta. It is also quite likely that Mr. Thompson, who was an educated man, possessed some knowledge of Greek mythology; but the probabilities are that the process by which he arrived at the derivation of the word was wholly disconnected with either of these sources. He simply coined it from the word Atlantic. The railway enterprise of the time was to connect the uplands with the Atlantic seaboard; and, moreover, the young town was a terminal point of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. So the elements which entered into the naming of Atlanta are doubtless all here in solution. Martha Lumpkin, now Mrs. Compton, is still living, 1916. Her life has been wonderfully preserved; and, though verging upon the century mark, she is an active old lady, with eyes still bright. Long ago she expressed a desire to be buried in Atlanta, and when the end comes she will be laid to rest in Oakland cemetery, where a place has been reserved for her in the shadow of the Confederate monument.*

* Situated on the foot-hills of the Blue Ridge at a point seven miles to the east of the Chattahoochee River, a stream which at this point is not open to navigation, Atlanta is an inland city in the most restricted sense of the term. But the high elevation of the town—1,100 feet above the level of the sea—its fine natural drainage and its splendid climate, have supplied compensating assets. Such a thing as an epidemic has never been known in Atlanta, though her gates have always been opened to refugees from less favored latitudes. The gentle ridges on which the town is built form a watershed between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico; and there are not a few lots so located that when it rains the water falling in the front yard is destined to reach the Gulf, while the water falling in the rear is carried through a labyrinth of streams to an outlet on the Atlantic Ocean, in the harbor at Darien. However, the chief factors in Atlanta's phenomenal growth are the railway lines which converge at her civic center, there forming a web of steel, from the bi-focal points of which they radiate in every direction.

To one of the wealthy sea-island cotton planters of Georgia belongs the credit of having first conceived the idea of an immense trunk line to connect the two oceans. This far-sighted man was Thomas Butler King, a resident of St. Simon's Island. He was the advocate of a transcontinental railway to extend from Brunswick, Georgia, to San Diego, California. The suggestion doubtless originated in his own vast and lucrative operations as a planter and in his perfectly natural desire to market his crops to the best advantage. He realized far in advance of his time the importance to the South of cultivating trade relations with the Orient. So impressed was he with the wisdom of the proposed route that he delivered a number of speeches upon the subject both in and out of Congress and wrote a number of articles for the press. He was a man whose reputation was countrywide and whose influence was felt in national affairs. There is no doubt that he helped to mold public opinion and to pave the way for the final consummation of the stupendous project. But the iron horse as a factor in commerce was still new. The popular mind was almost dazed by the thought of such an undertaking.

As early as 1849 Mr. King sat for his portrait. It is still in existence and represents him with pencil in hand demonstrating on a globe the advantages of the proposed route and indicating the various points through which the line was to pass. He was willing for posterity to sit in judgment upon him, and for this reason he was not loath to be identified with his favorite scheme upon the enduring canvas. Today the continent is spanned by four magnificent highways of steel. With the building of the new line from Birmingham to Brunswick, his dream was literally fulfilled, save only in one particular. Los Angeles, instead of San Diego, was made the terminal point on the far Pacific slope. But when the idea of a transcontinental railway was first advanced, Los Angeles was only an obscure little pueblo where Indian trails crossed and was not dignified with a place on the map until fifty years later. Over the grave of Mr. King, on St. Simon's Island, the leaves have fallen for more than half a century; but his judgment has been triumphantly vindicated. It is an item of some interest to note in this connection that the district of which Brunswick is the chief commercial center was represented by Mr. King in Congress, first from 1839 to 1843, and afterwards from 1845 to 1849; and that during a part of this time two of his brothers, Andrew and Henry, were in Congress with him as representatives from other states. He resigned his seat in Congress in 1849 to become collector of the Port of San Francisco. Mr. King was a native of Massachusetts. He was at one time sent to Europe by the United States Government in the interest of direct trade between the two opposite shores of the North Atlantic.

CHAPTER XXVI

GEORGIA TO BE DISTURBED NO LONGER BY HER ANCIENT FOES OF THE FOREST—AT THE CLOSE OF GOVERNOR GILMER'S ADMINISTRATION, IN 1839, TWO CANDIDATES ENTER THE FIELD—CHARLES J. McDONALD, THE UNION PARTY CANDIDATE—CHARLES DOUGHERTY, THE STANDARD-BEARER OF THE STATE RIGHTERS—JUDGE McDONALD WINS—NEW COUNTIES CREATED—DADE AND CHATTOOGA—FINANCIAL DEPRESSION—GEORGIA BANKS SUSPEND SPECIE PAYMENT—WIDESPREAD SUFFERING FOLLOWS—LEGISLATIVE REMEDIES—THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY INCORPORATED—CHARTER MEMBERS—THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1840—ONE LONG TO BE REMEMBERED—IT MARKS THE RISE OF THE OLD WHIG PARTY OUT OF A COALITION OF ALL THE ELEMENTS ANTAGONISTIC TO ANDREW JACKSON—MOST OF THE ADVOCATES OF EXTREME STATE RIGHTS FALL INTO LINE UNDER THIS BANNER—GEN. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON IS NOMINATED BY THE WHIGS—PRESIDENT VAN BUREN IS RENAMED BY THE DEMOCRATS—HARD CIDER—"TIPPECANOE AND TYLER, TOO."—LOG CABIN BUTTONS AND BADGES—AN INCIDENT OF THE CAMPAIGN—THE WHIG PARTY SUCCESSFUL—GOVERNOR McDONALD, A JACKSONIAN DEMOCRAT, IS NOT COMFORTED BY THESE RETURNS, ESPECIALLY SINCE WILLIAM C. DAWSON IS HIS OPPONENT IN THE FALL OF 1841—BUT GOVERNOR McDONALD IS RE-ELECTED BY A HANDSOME MAJORITY, DESPITE THE RECENT TRIUMPH OF WHIG PRINCIPLES—BREAKERS AHEAD—GOVERNOR McDONALD'S CLASH WITH THE LEGISLATURE—THE STORY TOLD BY HIS GRANDSON, JUDGE ATKINSON—DR. STEPHEN ELLIOTT, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, BECOMES THE FIRST BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN GEORGIA—HIS EMINENT SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL GIFTS—BISHOP JAMES O. ANDREW'S OWNERSHIP OF SLAVE PROPERTY RENDS AMERICAN METHODISM IN 1844—THE STORY TOLD BY DOCTOR SMITH.

Georgia was to be disturbed no longer by her ancient foes of the forest. Both the Creeks and the Cherokees had now vanished into the Golden West; and at last the frontier settlements could taste the sweets of repose, a luxury to which they had long been strangers. George R. Gilmer, in the fall of 1837, was again called to the executive helm. He had served the state as chief magistrate from 1829 to 1831; but it was during his second administration as governor that the final deportation of the Indians had occurred. During this interval there were also two counties created. Dade was laid off from Walker in 1837 and named for Maj. Francis Langhorne Dade, of the United States army, who was killed by the Seminole Indians in Florida in December, 1835. Chattooga was formed out of Walker and Floyd in 1838 and named for the

Chattooga River. Toward the close of Governor Gilmer's tenure of office two candidates entered the field. Charles J. McDonald, of Bibb, formerly a judge of the Flint Circuit, was the standard-bearer of the union party, while Charles Dougherty, of Clarke, an eminent lawyer, was again supported in a vigorous but unsuccessful fight by the extreme advocates of state rights.

Governor McDonald entered upon his duties as chief magistrate in 1839. It was a season of great financial distress. Wildcat speculations had produced unsettled business conditions, impaired credit, entailed litigation, and resulted in a general scarcity of money. Cotton dropped to a price lower than its cost of production, while supplies which the farmer was in the habit of buying became correspondingly dear. Some of the best people of Georgia were burdened with heavy debts; and to add to the hardships of a situation already grievous enough the Georgia banks all suspended specie payments.

Widespread suffering followed. As a means of relief, the Legislature of 1839 passed a law forbidding these banks to sell exchange at a higher rate than 2 per cent and imposing upon them other restrictions. The Legislature of 1840 repealed this act, but passed a measure still more drastic, requiring all banks in suspension to resume specie payment; and if any bank failed to comply with this demand its charter was to be forfeited.*

On December 19, 1839, an act was approved incorporating the Georgia Historical Society, at Savannah, with the following charter members:† John MacPherson Berrien, James M. Wayne, M. H. McAllister, I. K. Tefft, William B. Stevens, George W. Hunter, Henry K. Preston, William Thorne Williams, Charles S. Henry, John C. Nicoll, William Law, Robert M. Charlton, Richard D. Arnold, A. A. Smets, John W. Anderson, William B. Bulloch, Joseph G. Binney, William H. Bulloch, Joseph B. Burroughs, John Balfour, William P. Bowen, T. B. Bartow, James Barnard, Morgan Brown, George B. Cumming, Solomon Cohen, Joseph Cumming, D. C. Campbell, James Hamilton Couper, William A. Carruthers, William H. Cuyler, Edward Coffee, William Crabtree, Jr., Archibald Clark, William Duncan, William C. Daniell, George M. Dudley, J. Delamotta, Jr., Joseph S. Fay, Samuel H. Fay, William B. Fleming, James F. Griffin, Robert Habersham, William N. Habersham, Joseph C. Habersham, Edward J. Harden, S. L. W. Harris, George Jones, Joseph W. Jackson, P. M. Kollock, George J. Kollock, Ralph King, Thomas Butler King, William McWhir, John B. Mallard, John Millen, William H. Miller, C. McArdeil, James S. Morel, M. Myers, John F. O'Neil, Edward Neufville, E. A. Nisbet, A. G. Oemler, A. Porter, Thomas Paine, John F. Posey, Willard Preston, Edward Padelford, Thomas Purse, R. W. Pooler, William Robertson, L. O. Reynolds, J. Bond Read, R. H. Randolph, F. M. Robertson, George Schley, James Smith, William H. Stiles, Benjamin E. Stiles, Joseph L. Shaffer, Charles Stephens, William P. White, John E. Ward, and George White.

The presidential campaign of 1840 was one long to be remembered.

* Acts, 1840, p. 27.

† Acts, 1839, p. 132.

It was at this time that the national republican party, in quest of a name, went back to Revolutionary days and chose one whose meaning was full of defiance to kingly oppression—that of whig. To this organization belonged such men as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Gen. Zachary Taylor, Gen. William Henry Harrison, John Tyler and others. It arose out of a coalition of the various elements antagonistic to Andrew Jackson. The old state rights party of Georgia fell into line and from this time on displayed a whig banner. Some of the leading men of the state adopted its tenets, among them, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, John MacPherson Berrien, William C. Dawson, and others. The adherents of Jackson styled themselves Jackson democrats, but traced political descent back to Thomas Jefferson.

In the campaign of 1840 the whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice President. The Jacksonian democrats nominated Martin Van Buren for re-election.

This was one of the most dramatic campaigns in the history of American politics. General Harrison was a successful Indian fighter, with the prestige of a brilliant military career. "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!" became a popular slogan. It was even set to music and inspired a host of campaign songs. General Harrison's home on the frontier was a log cabin, where, in hours of relaxation, his favorite pastime was making hard cider. Log cabin buttons and badges were used in this campaign with tremendous effect. Hence, too, the descriptive phrase, "hard cider," sometimes applied. But the log cabin device was a master stroke. It carried a powerful appeal to the average voter's heart and home.

During the summer of 1840 a great Harrison convention was held at Macon. It brought together an immense crowd, perhaps the largest up to this time ever assembled in Georgia. Says a writer: "There were not then many miles of railroad leading into Macon and people came long distances on horseback and in carriages and wagons. Some made log cabins, mounted them on wheels and drove fifty to eighty miles, living in them while on the way." Harrison and Tyler swept the state by 8,000 majority and were given Georgia's eleven electoral votes, to cast which the following electors were chosen: From the state at large, George R. Gilmer and Andrew J. Miller; district electors, D. L. Clinch, William Ezzard, J. W. Campbell, C. B. Strong, Joel Crawford, E. Wimberly, Charles Dougherty, J. Whitehead, and Seaton Grantland.¹

But General Harrison died within a month after taking the oath of office and was succeeded by Vice President John Tyler, of Virginia.

Governor McDonald was a Jacksonian democrat. This whig victory, therefore, was not an omen from which he derived much comfort as a candidate for re-election to the governorship, especially since his competitor was William C. Dawson, one of the leaders of the whig party in Georgia, then a member of Congress. But in the fall of 1841 Governor McDonald's vigorous administration was given a superb endorsement. He was re-elected to office by a handsome majority, in the face of what seemed to be a pronounced whig sentiment in the state.

But there were breakers ahead. In his message to the Legislature of 1841, Governor McDonald sounded an unequivocal note. But we will let a former Supreme Court judge tell the story of this episode. Says Judge Spencer R. Atkinson, a grandson of Governor McDonald, and himself a man of distinguished attainments in Georgia's public life:

"Governor McDonald came into office under trying circumstances. The State treasury was empty. The evil effects of the great panic of 1837 were still pressing upon the people, like a nightmare. The great work of building the Western and Atlantic Railroad was languishing. The public debt had been increased to one million dollars—an enormous sum in those days. Worst of all, the State credit was at a low ebb, because of the protest of an obligation of three hundred thousand dollars, which had been contracted by the Central Bank under authority of the General Assembly of Georgia. Commerce and business generally were paralyzed. In 1837 the Legislature had passed an act allowing the counties of the State to retain the general tax, the same to be applied by the inferior courts to county purposes. As might have been expected, the counties frittered away the money. The bank was nearly destroyed by putting upon it a burden which did not belong to it, and the State was left without resource or credit.

"Governor McDonald had inherited from his Scotch ancestors a hard head and a sound judgment. Never did he need his inherent qualities more than he did in the situation which then confronted him. He first recommended that the State resume the entire amount of the State tax which had been given to the counties, with but little benefit to them and greatly to the injury of the State. This recommendation prevailed, and a law was enacted ordering the State tax to be turned into the treasury. Almost immediately following this necessary action, the Legislature, in 1841, passed an Act reducing the taxes of the State twenty per cent. This Act Governor McDonald promptly vetoed, with an argument brief and pointed, and a statement which made his veto message unanswerable. He had been re-elected in 1841 and, on November 8, 1842, in his annual message urging upon the Legislature the only effective remedy for relieving the State from its difficulties, he used these words: 'The difficulty should be met at once. Had there been no Central Bank the expense of the government must have been met by taxation. These expenses have been paid by the Central Bank and have become a legitimate charge upon taxation. This must be the resort, or the government is inevitably dishonored. The public faith must be maintained, and to pause to discuss the question of preferences between taxation and dishonor would be to cast a reflection upon the character of the people, whose servants we are.'

"The issue was joined. The Legislature had rejected a measure calling for additional taxation to meet these just claims. The session was near its close. It was evident that unless some drastic action was taken the Legislature would adjourn, leaving an obligation of one hundred thousand dollars unmet. Governor McDonald acted with firmness and promptness. He shut the doors of the treasury in the face of the members of the General Assembly of Georgia. Great excitement followed.

¹ "History of Georgia," L. B. Evans, p. 244.

² Lanman's "Biographical Annals of the U. S. Govt.," pp. 526-528.

³ "Men of Mark in Georgia," Northen. Sketch of Governor McDonald.

The members of the Legislature denounced him as a tyrant worse than Andrew Jackson, who had gone beyond the limits of reason. Even his political friends, alarmed at the storm which had been raised, urged him to recede from his position and to rescind his order to the Treasurer. He absolutely refused. As a result, the necessary bill was finally passed, and at the next session he was able to report an improved condition of the finances and a revival of confidence in the Central Bank. It was without doubt a most fortunate thing for Georgia at this critical period in the history of the State that a man of Governor McDonald's firmness, prudence, and business sagacity was at the head of affairs."

In 1840 a new judicial circuit was created, called the Southwestern, of which William Taylor was the first judge elected.

Episcopacy was at a low ebb in Georgia at the close of the Revolution, due to the surviving animosities of a protracted war with England. Nor was it until sixty years had elapsed that the Episcopal Church in Georgia, though identified with the colony's infant struggles, became sufficiently strong to form a separate and independent jurisdiction. But in 1841 the Episcopal diocese of Georgia was organized with Dr. Stephen Elliott, a native of South Carolina, as its first bishop. This beloved prelate came of a family renowned for its contributions to scientific thought. Possessing rare gifts as an organizer, he grounded the activities of the church upon a firm basis and by his magnetic personality, eloquence and holiness of life made converts of thousands. He retained his oversight of the diocese for twenty-five years.

One of the tall landmarks of Georgia Methodism at this time was Bishop James O. Andrew, whose ownership of slave property was a bone of contention in the famous General Conference of 1844 at Baltimore. Here occurred the unfortunate schism which split the great Methodist Church in twain, sixteen years in advance of the Civil war. Dr. George G. Smith, in his excellent life of Bishop Andrew, narrates the story as follows:

"Before Bishop Andrew went to the West, he had made an engagement to marry Mrs. Leonora Greenwood, of Greensboro, Ga. The condition of his family, and his long absences from home, made this a necessary act; so, without undue haste, and, with great discretion, he had selected a second companion. She was very attractive in person, beautiful in manners, gentle in spirit, and deeply though undemonstratively pious. After the marriage, he conveyed to his wife, in due form of law, all the rights in her property which the fact of marriage had given him as her husband. When Mrs. Andrew died, in 1854, the law reinvested him with rights in this same property, but he promptly dispossessed himself the second time, and turned it all over to her children. Bishop Andrew did not expect trouble from this marriage, and there were good reasons why he did not; for he himself had been a slaveholder for several years prior to this, in the very same way that he was now—through his wife.

"Dr. Olin, who was highly esteemed at the North and even in New England, had owned slaves and, having sold them, had the proceeds of the sales still in his possession. The General Conference appointed slave-

holders, such men as Dr. Capers, to positions of distinction and trust; and only eight years before had strongly condemned the societies of Abolitionism; and many of the extreme men of New England had actually left the Church and formed another connection. Neither the spirit nor the letter of the law of the Church had been broken. On what ground, then, could he suppose that this marriage with an elegant and pious lady, who happened to own a few slaves, would call forth a tempest of such violence as to destroy the unity of the Church?

"The fact is, he did not dream of such a result. Nor was he aware of any excitement on the subject until he reached Baltimore in April, when on his way to the General Conference in New York in May. Here he learned of the intense excitement caused by the news that one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church owned slaves, and received the first intimation that it would be a matter for investigation. He possessed a woman's delicacy of feeling, and to have his private affairs discussed by the General Conference was abhorrent to his very soul. He resolved to resign, and so expressed himself, both in Baltimore and in New York. This resolution, however, he did not execute, for the reason that the Southern delegates demurred in formal resolutions and urged him not to do so, on the ground that it would inflict an incurable wound on the whole South, and inevitably lead to division.

"Resignation now became almost an impossibility; and when it was intimated that he had broken faith and must either resign or be deposed, then resignation was entirely out of the question. The issue had to come. The mass of the Northern preachers were opposed to slavery, but they were not abolitionists. They found themselves hard put to defend themselves; and when it was known that a Bishop was a slaveholder they felt that they were in a sad predicament. Accordingly, Alfred Griffith and John Davis, two members of the Baltimore Conference, were put forward to lead the attack. They introduced a resolution declaring, among other things, that Bishop Andrew was nominated by the slave-holding States in the Conference because he was not a slaveholder; and that, having become one,* 'Therefore be it Resolved, That James O. Andrew be affectionately requested to resign.'

"This precipitated the issue. The discussion was Christian in spirit and courteous in language, to which, however, there were some exceptions. To ask him to resign was so painful to many who did not wish a slaveholder in office that Mr. Finley, of Ohio, introduced his famous substitute, declaring that it was the sense of the General Conference that he desist from the exercise of the office of Bishop so long as the impediment remained. Mr. Finley was Bishop Andrew's personal friend and offered the substitute, believing it to be less offensive to the Southern delegates than the original resolution. But it was really more offensive, because, since it could not consistently remove the impediment, it amounted to permanent deposition. No man in the Conference was more strongly attached to Bishop Andrew, perhaps, than Dr. Olin. The night before he was to speak he visited the Bishop and told him the course

* Several years previous an old lady of Augusta bequeathed to Bishop Andrew a mulatto girl in trust until she was nineteen, when, with her consent, she was to be reported to Liberia. But the girl refused to go or to accept freedom.

be intended to take, and why he would take it. He would advocate the substitute; for if it were not passed New England would withdraw, and there would be division and disintegration everywhere in the North. But, if it were passed, the South would depart, and there would be union and peace throughout her borders.

"The debate continued for several days. Among the Southern delegates who participated in the discussion were Dr. Winans, of Mississippi, Dr. Pierce and Judge Longstreet, of Georgia, and Dr. William Capers, of South Carolina. Others took part, but these were the giants. On the opposite side were also arrayed men of strong intellect, including Dr. Olin. Strong efforts were made to stay the tide, but all in vain. On the first of June the vote was taken on the substitute of Mr. Finley, and 111 were for, while only 69 were against it. This was virtual deposition. Grieved, but not surprised, Bishop Andrew left for his home in Georgia. One man from the North, who was a tower of strength, stood by him shoulder to shoulder in all this conflict. It was Joshua Soule, the senior Bishop of the Church. Born and reared in Maine, living in Ohio, never a slave-holder, nor a pro-slavery man, with every interest to bind him to the section in which he lived, he yet came to the South, because he believed the South was right.

"Before the General Conference adjourned the question of division was virtually settled; and with great unanimity the Annual Conference at the South appointed delegates to meet in convention at Louisville the following May. The South did not really desire division, but after the course of the General Conference it was evident that separate organization was the only way of preserving Methodism in this section—the only way of holding the Master to the Church and of carrying the Gospel to the slave. It was division or death. At the appointed time the convention met. Bishops Andrew, Soule, and Morris were all there; action was unanimous; and a call was issued to elect delegates to a General Conference to meet in Petersburg, Va., the following May. No doctrine was changed, no policy altered, no usages, rites, or customs modified; and after this convention the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church resolved to withdraw from the South and leave the whole territory to the new organization. Thus the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, came into existence; and the General Conference at Petersburg did but little more than adjust itself to the changed condition of affairs, elect an agent for its publishing interests, editors for its papers, and two additional Bishops, Robert Paine and William Capers."*

Thus the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, arose in 1844, placing first on its long honor roll of dignitaries the name of its martyr-bishop, James Osgood Andrew.

Georgia was well represented in the Twenty-fifth Congress (1837-1839). Her delegation at this time was composed of the following strong men: Jesse F. Cleveland, Wm. C. Dawson, Thomas Glascock, Seaton Grantland, Charles E. Haynes, Hopkins Holsey, Jabez Jackson, George

* Condensed from Dr. George G. Smith's "Life of James Osgood Andrew."

W. Owens and George W. Towns.* All of these were democrats except William C. Dawson, who was a whig. Mr. Cleveland had served in the Twenty-fourth Congress. At the close of his second term he left Georgia to engage in mercantile pursuits at Charleston, South Carolina, where he died in 1841. He was a native of DeKalb County, Georgia. Messrs. Glascock, Grantland, Haynes, Holsey, Jackson, Owens and Towns were also members of the preceding Congress; but each of these representatives, at the close of his term, in 1839, withdrew from the national councils. General Glascock was thrown from his horse in 1841, sustaining injuries from which he died at his home in Decatur, Georgia. His remains were taken to Augusta for final interment. He was an officer of note in the state militia, a lawyer of distinguished attainments, and a son of Gen. Thomas Glascock, of the Revolution. Seaton Grantland continued to wield a powerful influence in his district, chiefly as an editor of one of the famous old Milledgeville papers, and in 1840 supporting the whig candidates became a presidential elector on the whig ticket; but he did not re-enter national politics. Mr. Haynes had first taken his seat as a member of Congress in 1825. Ill health led to his retirement in 1839; and he died at his home in Sparta, Georgia, two years later. Mr. Holsey was a native of Virginia. He practiced law for a number of years, at Hamilton, Georgia, where he was living when elected to Congress. He afterwards removed to Athens, where he engaged in journalistic work; then removed to Columbus, where he died in 1859. Jabez Jackson came of the well-known Savannah family of this name but was a resident of Clarksville when elected to Congress. He took no further part in public affairs, after 1839. Mr. Owens was educated in England and read law under an eminent London barrister, Mr. Chitty. On retiring from Congress, he resumed the practice of law in Savannah. Mr. Towns afterwards became governor of the state, and more will be told of him later.

Before the Twenty-sixth Congress met there were sweeping changes (1839-1841).** William C. Dawson, of Greensboro, a whig, was the only one of the old members returned to the national House of Representatives. The others were: Julius C. Alford, of Lagrange, a whig; Edward J. Black, of Jacksonboro, a whig; Walter T. Colquitt, of Columbus, a whig; Mark A. Cooper, of Eatonton, a democrat; Richard W. Habersham, of Clarksville, a democrat; Thomas Butler King, of Waynesville, a whig; and Lott Warren, of Palmyra, a whig.† The growing power of the whig party in Georgia is reflected in the foregoing list of congressmen, only two of whom were democrats. Judge Colquitt, though a whig, declined to support the whig candidates in the presidential contest of 1840; and resigning his seat in Congress was succeeded by Hon. Hines Holt, of Columbus.‡

* "Biog. Cong. Dir.," 1774-1911, p. 145.

** Ibid., p. 151.

† "Biog. C. Dir.," 1774-1911, p. 151.

‡ Speaking of Major Cooper, a writer says: "As a result of his convictions, he, with E. J. Black and Walter T. Colquitt, became involved in a controversy with the other six members from Georgia, and there was a very bitter split, as a result of which Messrs. Black, Colquitt and Cooper, who had previously been elected as State Right Whigs, were next time elected as State Right Democrats. Major Cooper was

The Legislature of 1840 elected John MacPherson Berrien, a whig, to succeed Wilson Lumpkin, a democrat. Judge Berrien had already worn the toga from 1825 to 1829 and had been a member of President Jackson's cabinet as attorney-general of the United States.

Under the census of 1840, Georgia was allotted only eight members, due to a slight change in the basis of representation; but the new apportionment did not become effective until 1843. To the Twenty-Seventh Congress (1841-1843), Messrs. Alford, Dawson, Habersham, King, and Warren were all re-elected. Thomas F. Foster, Roger L. Gamble, James A. Meriwether and Eugenius A. Nisbet were the new members.* Messrs. Foster and Gamble, however, had served in Congress before, the former from 1829 to 1835; the latter from 1833 to 1835. Only one of the new members was a democrat. Messrs. Gamble, Meriwether and Nisbet were all elected as whigs. On December 2, 1842, Richard W. Habersham died and was succeeded by George W. Crawford, a whig. Mr. Habersham was a democrat. This same year three members resigned, Messrs. Alford, Dawson and Nisbet; and to succeed them Walter T. Colquitt, Mark A. Cooper, and Edward J. Black were elected.

then nominated for governor against Hon. George W. Crawford, but was defeated and after that took no part in political affairs except as a private citizen."—Walter G. Cooper, in "Men of Mark in Georgia," Vol. II, p. 212. W. J. Northern.

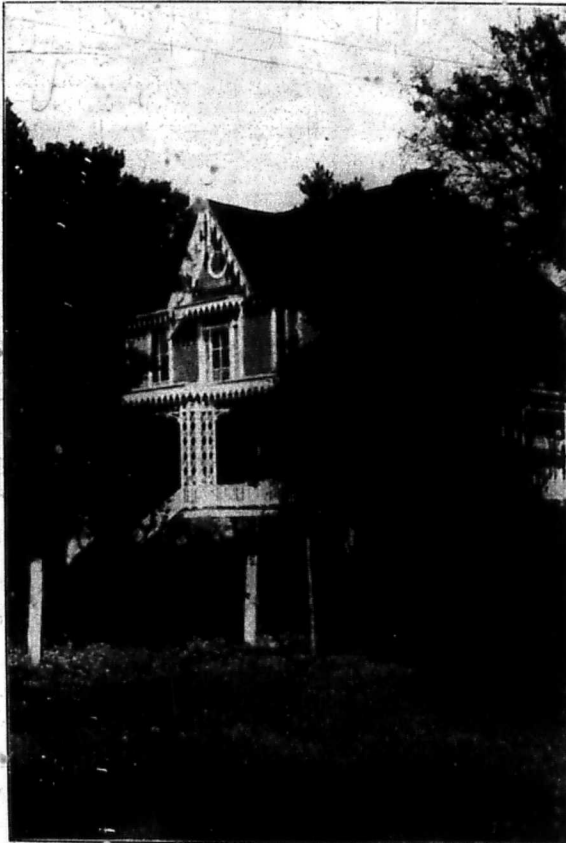
* *Ibid.*, p. 157.

CHAPTER XXVII

DR. CRAWFORD W. LONG'S DISCOVERY OF ANESTHESIA INAUGURATES A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE AND MARKS THE BIRTHDAY OF MODERN SURGERY—ON MARCH 30, 1842, DOCTOR LONG, AT JEFFERSON, EXTRACTS A TUMOR FROM THE NECK OF JAMES M. VENABLE—SULPHURIC ETHER IS EMPLOYED TO PRODUCE SLEEP—THE TUMOR EXTRACTED WITHOUT PAIN—AFFIDAVITS ESTABLISHING DATE AND CHARACTER OF THE OPERATION—HOW DOCTOR LONG CHANCED TO MAKE HIS WONDERFUL DISCOVERY OF THE ANESTHETIC POWER OF SULPHURIC ETHER—RIVAL CLAIMANTS—HORACE WELLS—WILLIAM T. G. MORTON—CHARLES T. JACKSON—BUT DOCTOR LONG EASILY FORESTALLS THEM ALL—RECOGNIZED TODAY ON BOTH SIDES OF THE WATER AND BY THE SCIENTIFIC WORLD AS THE DISCOVERER OF ANESTHESIA—SKETCH OF DOCTOR LONG'S PROFESSIONAL CAREER—DIES AT THE BEDSIDE OF A PATIENT IN 1878—DR. J. MARION SIMS, OF NEW YORK, MAKES A THOROUGH INQUIRY INTO ALL THE FACTS—PUBLISHES AN AUTHORITATIVE REVIEW—AN ADMIRER PRESENTS A LIFE-SIZE PORTRAIT OF DOCTOR LONG TO THE STATE OF GEORGIA—GEN. JOHN B. GORDON MAKES THE SPEECH OF PRESENTATION—THE DONOR IS AFTERWARDS BURIED BESIDE DOCTOR LONG IN ATHENS—A MONUMENT IN HONOR OF THE GREAT DISCOVERER IS UNVEILED AT JEFFERSON—A TABLET TO HIS MEMORY IS PLACED ON THE WALLS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA—ALL THE EVIDENCE CAREFULLY WEIGHED.

On March 30, 1842, in the Town of Jefferson, Georgia, Dr. Crawford W. Long, then an unknown country doctor, barely twenty-seven years of age, performed an operation which marked an epoch in the history of medicine. At this time Doctor Long successfully employed sulphuric ether in extracting a tumor from the neck of James M. Venable. The patient, while under the influence of the anesthetic, experienced no sensation of pain whatever, and was not aware that an operation had been performed until consciousness was regained. It was the work of only a few moments; but from this operation dates the discovery of anesthesia—perhaps the greatest boon ever bestowed upon mankind. It put an end to the terrors of the knife, proclaimed the rise of modern surgery and dispelled the nightmare of centuries.

Doctor Long's discovery antedated Morton's by four years—that of Wells by two years and six months. He did not commercialize his achievement by seeking to obtain patent rights, nor did he make any haste to announce it with a flourish of trumpets; but the whole scientific world has at length come to recognize the priority of the Georgian's



FORMER HOME OF DR. CRAWFORD W. LONG IN ATHENS

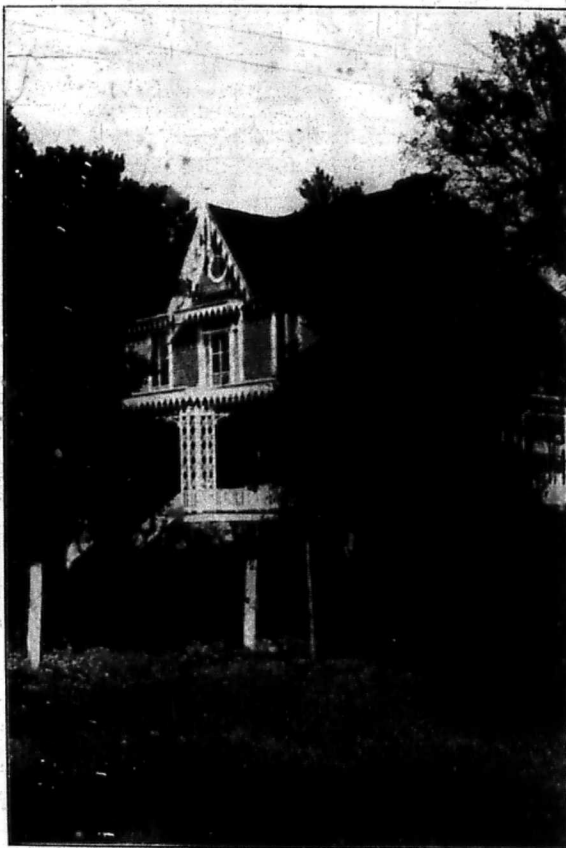
claim.* On March 30, 1912, there was unveiled at the University of Pennsylvania a handsome bronze medallion in honor of Dr. Crawford W. Long, on which occasion some of the most noted physicians of America were present. On May 21, 1910, near the scene of his great discovery, in the Town of Jefferson, a substantial monument to Doctor Long was unveiled by the State Medical Association. In 1879, Mr. Henry L. Stuart, of New York, presented to the Legislature of Georgia a handsome life-size portrait of Doctor Long, which today hangs on the walls of the state capitol. Gen. John B. Gordon, in an eloquent speech, formally tendered the portrait. On this occasion Mr. Stuart himself was present. After the ceremonies he left for Athens to visit the grave of Doctor Long, and while there was fatally stricken with paralysis. Being without family ties or connections at the North, he was buried in accordance with his wishes in Oconee Cemetery, at Athens, in the same lot with the great discoverer, whose services to mankind he was one of the first to recognize and honor. The Republic of France has likewise paid tribute to Doctor Long; and Georgia has voted to place his statue in the nation's capitol at Washington.

When King Edward VII awakened after his operation for appendicitis, his first question was, "Who discovered anesthesia?" to which the answer came back, "Dr. Crawford Long, Your Majesty." This spontaneous tribute from the king's physician may be taken as an expression of British sentiment.

The following account of the discovery of anesthesia has been condensed from a sketch written by Mr. T. W. Reed for Men of Mark in Georgia. There is doubtless no one in the state more conversant with the facts in the case than Mr. Reed, who has long been a distinguished resident of the town in which the last twenty-six years of Doctor Long's life were spent. It was the celebrated Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who coined the word anesthesia; but the credit which attaches to the great discovery itself belongs to the modest Georgia doctor, whose mission in life was to mingle the sleeping liquid of Lethe's fabled fountain with the healing waters of Bethesda's pool.

To the discovery of anesthesia the human race must forever stand indebted. Through the magic of this great discovery the sum of human pain has been vastly lessened, the horrors of war have been mitigated, the advance of surgery has been made possible, the average duration of human life has been lengthened, and every department of human activity has been given additional energy, through which magnificent achievements have come to bless the world. Despite all claims to the contrary, the honor of having made this transcendent discovery belongs to Crawford W. Long. * * * The passing years have brought forth abundant evidence on this subject; and the State of Georgia, backed by the endorsement of the highest authority, has set her official seal upon the achievement of her distinguished son by legislative resolution that his statue shall be placed in Statuary Hall in the nation's capitol as one

* See "New International Encyclopaedia," New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., Vol. I, p. 492, under Anesthetic; also Vol. XII, p. 433, under Long, Crawford W.



FORMER HOME OF DR. CRAWFORD W. LONG IN ATHENS

claim.* On March 30, 1912, there was unveiled at the University of Pennsylvania a handsome bronze medallion in honor of Dr. Crawford W. Long, on which occasion some of the most noted physicians of America were present. On May 21, 1910, near the scene of his great discovery, in the Town of Jefferson, a substantial monument to Doctor Long was unveiled by the State Medical Association. In 1879, Mr. Henry L. Stuart, of New York, presented to the Legislature of Georgia a handsome life-size portrait of Doctor Long, which today hangs on the walls of the state capitol. Gen. John B. Gordon, in an eloquent speech, formally tendered the portrait. On this occasion Mr. Stuart himself was present. After the ceremonies he left for Athens to visit the grave of Doctor Long, and while there was fatally stricken with paralysis. Being without family ties or connections at the North, he was buried in accordance with his wishes in Oconee Cemetery, at Athens, in the same lot with the great discoverer, whose services to mankind he was one of the first to recognize and honor. The Republic of France has likewise paid tribute to Doctor Long; and Georgia has voted to place his statue in the nation's capitol at Washington.

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of Georgia's two greatest citizens. Nor is Georgia alone in asserting the justice of his claim, for across the seas the French have erected a statue to his memory in the capital city of that republic.

Crawford W. Long, son of James and Elizabeth Ware Long and grandson of Samuel and Ellen Williamson Long, was born in Danielsville, Georgia, November 1, 1815. * * * After a few years of preparation in the local academy he entered Franklin College, now the University of Georgia, and received his Master of Arts degree in 1835, at the age of nineteen, ranking second in his class. During his college days he was a roommate of Alexander H. Stephens, whose statue Georgia is to place alongside that of the discoverer of anesthesia in the capitol at Washington. * * * In 1839 he was graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. The succeeding twelve months he spent in a hospital in New York, and on account of his success as a surgeon he was urged by his friends to apply for the position of a surgeon in the United States navy. This was, however, contrary to the wishes of his father, and he returned to his native state, locating in Jefferson, Jackson County, Georgia, in 1841. At that time Jefferson was a mere village, far removed from the large cities and the railroads.

The young country doctor quickly became a general favorite on account of his quiet, dignified bearing, his uniform courtesy, his tender heart, and his desire at all times to be of service to his people in their hours of trouble or suffering. In those days nitrous oxide parties were all the rage. The inhalation of this gas resulted in great exhilaration. Doctor Long did not boast a very extensive laboratory. In fact, it was practically impossible, with his meagre equipment, to prepare nitrous oxide. He, therefore, used sulphuric ether, and the same hilarious effect followed. Ether parties speedily became the fad among the young people of Jefferson.

During January, 1842, quite a number of ether frolics were held at Doctor Long's office, and some of the young men became thoroughly intoxicated through use of the gas. In the rough playing which followed severe bruises were received upon their bodies, but they seemed to take no notice of them. The thought dawned upon the mind of Doctor Long that ether must possess the power to deaden pain. One night, during an ether frolic, one of the young men slipped and fell, dislocating his ankle. Although the injury was quite severe, Doctor Long observed that the young man was practically unconscious of suffering. His belief in the power of ether to render one insensible to pain now deepened into a settled conviction, and he resolved to prove his discovery by using ether in the first surgical case he might chance to get.

Two miles from Jefferson lived James M. Venable, a young man who had frequently been in Doctor Long's office and who had several times spoken to the physician about cutting two tumors from the back of his neck. Convinced of the anesthetic powers of sulphuric ether, Doctor Long disclosed to Venable his plans for the operation. On March 30, 1842, sulphuric ether was administered to Venable until he became completely anesthetized. The small cystic tumor was then excised from the back of his neck and the patient was amazed when he regained conscious-

ness to find that the operation was over and the tumor removed, without causing him the slightest pain. In fact, he had not even known that the operation was being performed. It is beyond question that this date marks the discovery of anesthesia.

Dr. Horace Wells, ignorant of Doctor Long's discovery, tried laughing gas on himself in 1844. Dr. William T. G. Morton announced his discovery in 1846.* Dr. Charles T. Jackson accidentally inhaled chlorine gas in 1842 and used ether as an antidote, thus producing partial anesthetization, but he did not pursue the subject further at that time. Although Jefferson was a small village and Doctor Long a young physician, he operated on at least eight cases, each being thoroughly successful, before Morton claimed to have discovered anesthesia. It is claimed that Doctor Long kept his discovery secret, and therefore deserved no credit for it. The affidavits of Dr. Ange DeLaperriere and Dr. Joseph B. Carlton show that Doctor Long informed them and other physicians, and that they used ether successfully in their surgical practice before the date of Doctor Morton's announcement.

In 1849 Morton asked Congress to reward him for his discovery. Jackson at once opposed him. The friends of Wells, who was then dead, also protested against his claim. Long refused to enter this contest until 1854, at which time he was urged by his friends to assert vigorously his claim to the honor. He thereupon communicated the facts in the case to United States Senator William C. Dawson, who brought Doctor Long's claim to the attention of Congress, creating consternation among the rival claimants. Much wrangling followed, and the merits of the issue were never determined. The date of Jackson's claim more nearly approaches that of Long's claim than does that of either of the others, but Jackson before his death wrote to Senator Dawson, acknowledging the justice of Long's claim.

Congress having failed to settle the disputed question of priority in the discovery of anesthesia, Doctor Long failed to receive the credit due him until May, 1877, when Dr. J. Marion Sims, of New York, investigated his claims fully and presented them in an able paper published in the Virginia Medical Monthly. To the demand for recognition made by Doctor Sims there was a general response, which brought much cheer to the heart of the distinguished discoverer. Eminent physicians the world over hastened to give him full credit for the great boon conferred upon humanity, and since then his claims to distinction as the discoverer of anesthesia have not seriously been questioned.

* Morton called the anesthetic which he patented "Letheon." It is today known as ether. Wells committed suicide in the City of New York, where he became mentally unbalanced after fruitless efforts to establish his claim. Morton communicated his idea to Dr. J. C. Warren, of Boston, who is alleged to have performed the first public operation on a person anesthetized with ether, at the Massachusetts General Hospital, October 16, 1846. Jackson perfected a process of etherization for which the French Academy offered him a prize of 2,000 francs. Dr. James Y. Simpson, a Scotch physician of Edinburgh, who discovered chloroform anesthesia, in 1856, was created a baronet.

For ten years after his discovery of the anesthetic powers of sulphuric ether, Doctor Long continued the practice of his profession in Jefferson. He then removed to Athens, in which city he became a most distinguished physician, and where he lived until his death, twenty-six years later. . . . He was a splendid type of the Southern gentleman of ante-bellum days. At the bedside of the rich and the poor his ministrations soothed and comforted; through the blinding storm, often in the dead of night, he went without complaining to those who needed him; and to the last moment of his stay on earth his life was typical of the discovery with which his name will be forever associated, a life of blessing to those with whom he came in contact. He often remarked that his one great wish was to die in harness. On June 16, 1878, he was called to the bedside of a patient in whose case he was deeply interested. While performing the duties incident to the case, he suffered a stroke of apoplexy, from which death came in a few hours. The brain which had given to the world the blessings of anesthesia was at rest, but it left behind a gift to humanity the importance of which can never be estimated.

On April 21, 1910, there was unveiled at Jefferson, near the scene of Doctor Long's discovery, a monument of impressive dimensions. Thousands of visitors witnessed the dramatic spectacle, including a number of specially invited guests; and some of the most eminent surgeons and physicians of the land were present for the purpose of doing honor to the memory of the great philanthropist. Dr. Woods Hutchison, of New York, and Hon. Pleasant A. Stovall, of Savannah, were the orators of the occasion, but there were several other addresses made by distinguished speakers. It was a red-letter day in the history of Jefferson. The monument stands on one of the main thoroughfares of the town, a perpetual reminder of the great event with which the name of the little community is forever associated; and inscribed upon it are the following records:

(NORTH)

Sulphuric Ether Anaesthesia was discovered by Dr. Crawford W. Long, on March 30, 1842, at Jefferson, Ga., and administered to James M. Venable for the removal of a tumor.

(EAST)

In memory of Dr. Crawford W. Long, the first discoverer of anaesthesia, the great benefactor to the human race. Born, Danielsville, Madison County, Ga., Nov. 1, 1813. Died, Athens, Ga., June 16, 1878.

(SOUTH)

Given by Dr. Lamartine Griffin Hardman, of Commerce, Jackson Co., Ga., in the name of his father and mother, Dr. W. B. J. Hardman and Mrs. E. S. Hardman, life-long friends of Dr. Crawford W. Long—Dr. W. B. J. Hardman being a physician in Jackson County.

(WEST)

Erected by the Jackson County Medical Association, at Jefferson, Ga. Committee: W. B. Hardman, M. D.; S. J. Smith, M. D.; J. A. Bryan, M. D. City Committee: H. W. Bell, J. C. Bennett, M. D., F. M. Bailey. Unveiled by the Georgia Medical Association, April 21, 1910.

On March 30, 1912, a handsome bronze medallion in honor of Doctor Long was unveiled in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. The exercises occurred on the seventieth anniversary of the great achievement which this impressive ceremonial was intended to commemorate, and some of the most distinguished men of science in America were present. The following extract from "Old Penn," a weekly review published by the University, gives an account of the exercises:

"Dr. Crawford Williamson Long, who first made use of ether as an anesthetic for surgical purposes on March 30, 1842, was memorialized on Saturday afternoon, March 30, 1912, when a handsome gilt bronze medallion was unveiled in his honor. The exercises were held in the Medical Building of the University of Pennsylvania. Addresses were made by Dr. J. William White, of the University, and Dr. J. Chalmers Da Costa, of Jefferson Medical College. The medallion was modeled by Dr. R. T. McKenzie of the University, and represents Dr. Long as a young man administering ether for the first time to a patient about to be operated upon.

"Provost Edgar F. Smith presided and introduced the speakers. The tablet was unveiled by Mrs. Florence L. Bartow, a daughter of Dr. Long, after the address of Dr. J. William White, and the ceremonies closed with a brief reply by Hon. Samuel J. Tribble, who thanked the University on behalf of the family and the State of Georgia, for the honor the University had conferred upon an illustrious graduate. The presence of three distinguished Southern ladies, Mrs. Frances Long Taylor, Mrs. Alexander O. Harper, and Mrs. Florence L. Bartow, the daughters of Dr. Long, added great interest and dignity to the occasion. They came from Athens, Georgia, for the express purpose of attending the ceremonies, and during their stay in Philadelphia were the guests of the University."—"Old Penn," Weekly Review of the University of Pennsylvania.

Today there is not a physician of any recognized prominence in any part of the civilized world who is not familiar with the name of Crawford W. Long. The little office in which he performed his experiments has been torn away. Until two years ago, a gnarled and knotted old mulberry tree, on the north corner of the public square, marked the exact spot where his first operation was performed, an epoch-making event; but this, too, has now disappeared. Its sacrifice was demanded by a commercial age. Tell it not in Gath, but the tree was given by the town authorities to an old negro for fire-wood. Fate intervened, however; and it was bought from the old negro by Mr. W. H. Smith, of

Jefferson, who had a part of it made into gavel, pen staffs, and other articles of use, for souvenirs. On a marble slab, in the brick wall of a building adjacent to Doctor Long's little office, the date of his wonderful discovery has been inscribed. This slab was erected by Prof. S. P. Orr, of Athens, an intimate friend of the Long family. There is also a magnificent monument to his memory on the town square. Dr. Woods Hutchison, of New York, and Hon. Pleasant A. Stovall, of Savannah, made the principal addresses, as above stated, when the monument was unveiled by the Georgia Medical Society, on April 21, 1910.

CHAPTER XXVIII

UNDER THE OLD REGIME—KIND TREATMENT OF SLAVES A RULE TO WHICH THERE WERE FEW EXCEPTIONS—BISHOP JAMES O. ANDREW STANDS AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A LARGE CLASS OF SLAVE-HOLDERS—BEFORE THE ABOLITION CRUSADE BEGAN, HOWEVER, THE BULK OF OUR PEOPLE CONSIDERED SLAVERY AN EVIL—HOW TO ERADICATE IT A PROBLEM—EFFECT OF SLAVERY IN UPLIFTING AFRICAN SAVAGES—HISTORY CONTAINS NO PARALLEL TO THIS RECORD—THE CONTROLLING FACTOR AND THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE OF SOUTHERN LIFE IN ANTE-BELLUM DAYS IS THE PLANTATION—PLANTERS VERSUS SMALL FARMERS—SOME OF THE PLANTATIONS MAGNIFICENT IN EXTENT FORMED LITTLE EMPIRES—THE PLANTER DOMINATES BOTH SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE AT THE SOUTH—OPULENT STYLE OF LIVING MAINTAINED BY THE WEALTHY PLANTERS—NOT A FEW FINE OLD MANSIONS REMINISCENT OF THIS PERIOD STILL TO BE FOUND—LIFE ON A TYPICAL GEORGIA PLANTATION—THE NEGRO QUARTERS—THE OLD BLACK MAMMY—TENDER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MASTER AND SLAVE—DELIGHTFUL GLIMPSES OF SOUTHERN LIFE FURNISHED BY LAWTON B. EVANS—ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SLAVERY DISCUSSED—ON THE WHOLE AN EXPENSIVE SYSTEM—BEAUTIFUL PHASES OF AN INSTITUTION WHICH WAS DESTINED TO REND A CONTINENT IN TWAIN—UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

NOTE: WHO INVENTED THE SEWING MACHINE?

Bishop James O. Andrew, in refusing to manumit his slaves, at the dictate of a majority faction in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Baltimore, in 1844, was not governed by sinister or sordid motives. He represented a large class of humane and thoughtful slave-holders at the South. These, while considering slavery an evil, saw no way in which to abandon the system without complicating an already difficult problem. Free negroes had always been an element of discord and a menace to society; and to liberate all at once the entire body of negro slaves was not only to entail upon the South a train of disasters but incidentally to work a grievous hardship upon the negroes themselves. This reasoning was well grounded in the philosophy of Shakespeare, which constrains us rather to "endure the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." As we have already seen, it was by a second marriage to a lady of wealth that Bishop Andrew became the owner of property in slaves, and because of his refusal, in a most emphatic manner, to relinquish this property, he was asked to resign his office as bishop. He did so; but when he left the conference he carried with him the whole of Southern Methodism.

In answering the charges brought against him by his Northern brethren, Bishop Andrew made this statement. Said he: "Strange as it may seem to you, brethren, I am a slave-holder for conscience's sake. I have no doubt that my wife would without a moment's hesitation consent to the manumission of those slaves, if I thought proper to ask her to do so. But how am I to free them? Some are too old to work, are actually an expense to me, and some are little children. Where shall I send them? But perhaps I shall be permitted to keep these helpless ones. I believe the providence of God has placed these creatures in my hand."

Before the abolition crusade began, the bulk of our people considered slavery an evil; but how to eradicate this evil was a problem. It is needless to inquire by whom African slaves were first brought to America or from what ports the vessels sailed in which these unhappy savages were transported. Suffice it to say that for economic reasons, into which the cotton gin, a balmy climate, and a rich soil largely entered, the institution of slavery became riveted upon the South; that, in the last analysis, it wrought far greater injury to the South than it did to the negro race; that, while it retarded the growth of manufactures in this section, committing the South almost exclusively to agriculture, under a most pernicious one-crop system, it was in many respects a blessing and a boon to the negro himself.

Arguments to support this statement are numerous. The negro was brought to us a savage. When freed in 1863 by President Lincoln's edict of emancipation he was deemed sufficiently well advanced to be given the ballot at once. Without further tutelage, he was clothed with rights to secure which Anglo-Saxons had struggled for a thousand years. God's chosen people—redeemed from slavery to the Egyptians—were given no such privilege, though as slaves in Egypt they had come in contact with the greatest civilization of antiquity. Forty years of wandering in the wilderness was the road by which they entered Palestine. But what the culture of Egypt could not do for the Israelites, the training of the South did for the negro. It so tutored him that when his fetters were removed no special preparation, no peculiar discipline, no further probation was required. The negro was brought to us a pagan. Through slavery, he became a follower of the Nazarene, nor was he impressed like Simon into bearing the cross. He became a willing, an humble disciple, though like Peter he often stumbled. The negro came to us with hands unskilled. But in servitude he acquired a knowledge of mechanics, formed habits of industry and became, if not a master-craftsman, at least a useful laborer. History contains no parallel to this record. Since time began no people on earth has ever emerged in so short a time and at so light a cost from a state of barbarism into a heritage of fortune, finding themselves all at once by a sudden change of circumstances possessed of all the civilization for which men have labored and all the freedom for which martyrs have died.

But the controlling factor and the characteristic feature of Southern life, under the old regime of slavery, was the plantation. To be included

* "Life of Bishop Andrew," George G. Smith.

in the planter class, it was necessary for one to own at least twenty slaves. Those who owned less belonged to a class known as small farmers, but there were, of course, many families living in town whose ownership of slave property was limited to only one negro. As a rule, slaves could not be operated with any degree of success, in small numbers. This is one reason why the institution did not thrive in New England, where the farms were small and usually sterile. Another reason is that the rigorous climate of the far Northern latitudes was too severe for a race of people transplanted from the burning tropics. Only in large numbers and on wide tracts of land, where there was much labor required, of a simple character, could slaves be utilized with profit. Consequently, we are not surprised to find that a great bulk of the slaves were owned by a comparatively few men.* These gradually enlarged their domains by acquiring new lands from the small farmer; and at the same time they increased their holdings in slave property until the negro quarters around them became in time populous villages.

Most of the wealthy people of Georgia before the war owned plantations on which they lived in a semi-regal style; and some of these plantations were in fact little empires, large enough to require the services of a dozen overseers and to possess both foreign and domestic policies. Usually, the rich planter, in addition to his palatial country home, owned an elegant mansion in town, where he resided during a part of each year, to educate his children or to give his family social diversions. The predominant style of architecture found among the homes of these wealthy land-owners was classic. Both the town house and the country house conformed to this pattern, but usually the town house was the more artistic. These mansions were nearly all white, square, and massive, surrounded by majestic colonnades, approached by handsome walks and driveways, bordered with evergreens, and embowered in a grove of magnificent trees. The control of great bodies of men on vast landed estates developed a sense of responsibility and fostered a genius for leadership; and to this superb discipline furnished by the institution of slavery is due in large measure the South's commanding power in the nation for a period of more than sixty years.

To quote a well known writer who has made an exhaustive study of this subject, especially in its sociological aspects:† "Slavery was distinctly a patriarchal institution. Except in the sea-coast swamps and a few other malarial regions, the master lived throughout the year in the 'big house' on his plantation, with the negro cabins grouped in

* SLAVEHOLDING AND NON-SLAVEHOLDING FAMILIES.—The total white population of Georgia in 1860 was 591,550, or about 118,000 families; and of these families, 41,084 were slaveholders. At least 77,000 families, therefore, were in the non-slaveholding class. But all the slaveholders were not farmers: 6,713 families possessed only one slave each; 4,355, two each; 3,482, three each. These owners of a few slaves were usually residents of towns and kept their slaves as household servants. About twenty slaves was the number that could be most profitably managed by one overseer; and we may take the portion of that number as the minimum which would place the farmer in the planter class. Of such slaveholders there were in Georgia 6,363 in 1860. The mapping of the bulk of slaves in so few hands indicates the system of agriculture that dominated the state in ante-bellum times, namely, the plantation.—R. P. Brooks in "History of Georgia," p. 226.

† "Georgia and Slave Rights," U. B. Phillips, p. 154.

"quarters" only a few yards away. The field hands were usually under their owner's personal supervision, while the house servants were directed by their mistress. The slaves were governed by harsh overseers only in very rare cases. Great numbers of slaveholders owned a very small number of slaves, and labored with them in the fields. The cabins of the negroes were frequently as good as those of the poor whites. The fact that they were not always clean was due to the habits of the occupants. It was of course to the interest of the master that his slaves should remain in the best possible condition. The Southern gentleman was widely known for his generosity and his innate kindness. The children of the two races were brought up as playmates, the mother of the pickaninnies frequently being the "mammy" of the master's children; and friendships enduring through life were contracted in early youth between the master and his hereditary servants. The law did not recognize family relations among slaves, but public opinion condemned the separation of husband and wife, or parent and child. Where such separation occurred through the division of estates or otherwise it was not unusual for one of the owners to buy the members of the family which he did not already possess. Free persons of color were not generally held in high repute by the people of the South. In Georgia they usually numbered somewhat less than 1 per cent of the colored population. As a class, they were considered lazy, trifling, and thievish, and were suspected of corrupting the slaves. There were a few brilliant exceptions in the state, but by no means enough to affect the general sentiment.*

Delightful glimpses of southern life in ante-bellum days have been given us by Mr. Lawton B. Evans, in his splendid epitome of Georgia history; and we cannot do better than reproduce in this chapter a descriptive paragraph from the pen of this writer. Says Mr. Evans:† "Eighty years ago there were no large cities in Georgia. Most of the people lived on farms, or in small towns. The wealthier people lived on large plantations. Their houses, usually white, were spacious and elegant, with green window blinds, and, in the front, wide porticoes with handsome columns. They were generally surrounded by groves of oak and other trees and were so situated as to overlook the plantations. Not only in Georgia, but all over the South, the homes of the planters were abodes of culture and luxury. Their sons and daughters were educated in the best schools of the country, and music, painting, art, and literature made the home life refined. The men wore ruffled shirts of the finest linen, and coats of rich velvet. Their wives and daughters dressed in imported silks and satins. The family of the planter lived in profusion and comfort. They were attended by a number of servants, and driven to church or to town in the family carriage. Their hospitality was unbounded. Several neighboring families would often gather at one house and spend a week or more in a social party; and hospitality was shown not only to friends, but to strangers. No traveler in distress was ever refused a meal or a night's lodging, and the respectable traveler, poor or rich, was always welcome as a guest as long as he pleased to stay.

* Austin Deffeny, in Gilmer's "Georgians," p. 22; Wilkes Flagg, in "Federal Union," June 11 and July 23, 1861.

† "History of Georgia," L. B. Evans, pp. 187-196.

"But all the people of Georgia were not rich planters. A great many of our best men were plain people. Their houses were simple buildings, situated generally near the high roads or on the banks of rivers. These people did all their own work. Their clothes were made of cloth manufactured by themselves. The women carded the cotton or wool with hand-carders, into small rolls. These rolls they spun on spinning wheels into thread, which they dyed whatever colors they desired, and they wove the thread into cloth on home-made looms." We have already discussed in a former chapter, some of the customs, sports and pastimes of ante-bellum days.

But what of slavery as an economic system? This topic has been ably discussed by one who has made it a philosophic study, with unusual opportunities for exhaustive research. Says Mr. R. P. Brooks:• "It was a one crop system. There were some wise planters who produced nearly everything they used, but a majority did not; and all during the ante-bellum period Georgia was a heavy buyer of western corn, wheat, and forage. Another unfortunate result of the dominance of King Cotton was that the increased demand for slaves sent prices soaring. The African slave trade was abolished in 1808, so that the planters had to depend upon natural increase for slaves. Competition for laborers became very keen. In 1800 a prime field hand was worth \$300. By 1860 the price had advanced to \$1,800. At the same time the constant tendency was for the price of cotton to fall. In 1800 it brought 24c; in 1830, 17c; in 1850, 12.3c; in 1860 11c. Hence the planter who would keep up his accustomed standard of life had to be always increasing his acreage and his force of hands in order to obtain the same income. The result was that every available dollar went into cotton lands and negroes, and little was left for investment in manufacturing and other industries. It is not to be inferred that there were no manufacturing enterprises in the South. But in comparison with the industries of the northern states these establishments were insignificant in size and number. The South did not take a leading part in the great economic revolution which, during the first half of the nineteenth century, transformed England, France, Germany, and the Northern United States from agricultural to manufacturing communities.

"Of the slavery system in general, it may be said that slave labor cost the South more than free labor would have cost, had it been available. A noted traveler, Sir Charles Lyell, was interested in Louisiana to find that it took three negroes to cut and bind two cords of wood in a day, whereas in New York one white man prepared three cords daily. He was also told that where negro and white laborers were worked together the negro was required to do only two-thirds as much work as a white laborer. Another reason why slave labor was so expensive was that the negro was stubbornly opposed to new ideas. It was found impossible to introduce improved methods of tillage. At a time when Northern and Western farmers were using the drill, the horse-shoe, the reaper, and was threshing by machinery, the bulk of work on Southern plantations was done with an ordinary hoe. Planters tried to use labor saving machinery, but the negroes invariably broke the tools or were

• "History of Georgia," R. P. Brooks, pp. 227-234.

careful to waste time so that the net result would be in favor of the old method.

"Under slavery, it was not always possible to keep the laborers at work, but they had nevertheless to be maintained while idle. This point was stressed by a Northern preacher, Nehemiah Adams, who, during a visit to the South, observed that the kindness of owners prevented them from disposing of superfluous negroes. Another element of cost was in the expense attached to rearing the slave children to the age where they could be used, and the support of superannuated slaves. The one crop system and the absence of fertilizers were unfortunate for the land. Rotation of crops was not practiced and little effort was made to conserve the soil. When the areas under cultivation at any given moment became less productive, the planters pushed on westward with their slaves, bought the holdings of small farmers, cut down the trees, used the virgin soil, and presently abandoned the country to the mercy of the washing rains.

"As has already been said, the majority of Georgia's families owned no slaves. The large-scale planters were a small percentage of Georgia farmers. Below them in the social scale was a class of smaller slave owners who are said to have been unprosperous. The third element in society was the independent, non-slave holding farmer. Among this element of the population, constituting the great majority, there were striking variations in conditions. It is not true that all non-slaveholders were a destitute class. The negroes came at the bottom of the ladder. In many respects they received more benefit from slavery than did any other class. Coming to America as savages, members of a race which had never contributed anything to civilization, the enforced labor of two hundred years taught a great proportion of them habits of industry. No primitive people ever got their upward start under such happy auspices as did the American negroes."

Thus with the help of these able investigators, we have carefully analyzed the institution of slavery, in its ethical, in its sociological, and in its economic aspects. Briefly summing up its results, we cannot escape the conclusion that if it wrought an injustice to the black man, it wrought a much greater injustice to the white man; that, while it shackled the negro, it likewise forged fetters for the South; that it committed this section to agriculture while its absence gave New England an opportunity to develop her industrial interests under free labor, to establish great manufacturing plants, and to acquire a recognized ascendancy in the mechanic arts—all of which this section might have enjoyed had she not been shackled to a system which, in the end, overthrew her political power in the nation, brought on the Civil war, with its tragic aftermath of reconstruction, engulfed in colossal ruin the accumulations of half a century, liberated a body of slaves equal to half of the South's entire population, entailed upon her an enormous war debt, both State and Federal, deprived her of a property in human chattels worth \$2,000,000,000 and left her with homes in ashes, with cities in ruins, with fields laid waste, and with a population decimated by the ravages of war, to begin once more the struggle of life under the appalling incubus of defeat.

But while slavery took these things from the South it left her with

limbs unshackled by an institution which was a real foe to her progress; it left her with a courage undaunted, with a spirit unconquered, with a faith unshaken, with an honor unsullied; it left her, too, with a record of noble sacrifice, of patient endurance, of marvelous military achievement, of splendid heroism, and of lofty fidelity to principle, unparalleled in the annals of time. All her fine impulses of chivalry survived; all her high ideals of honor remained. Moreover, the institution of slavery bequeathed to her a legacy of tender memories, an inheritance of song, of romance, and of legend, to charm the ears of her children for generations unborn and to enrich the pages of her history forever.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" will doubtless never become a classic in the homes of Georgia. But the civilization which out of an African savage produced an Uncle Tom was the civilization of the Old South. Its virtues are extolled at least by implication in every lineament of strength and in every feature of nobility which Mrs. Stowe has given to her splendid character; and so long as Uncle Tom shall live in the literature of a vanished era—endowed with an immortality which he only too well deserves—so long will the institution which produced him be lifted to the admiration of the ages, an institution to the glories of which a writer, professedly one of its greatest foes is forced by the exigencies of her story to pay the reluctant tribute of an unwilling pen."

* **UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.**—Says a distinguished newspaper correspondent at the national capital, in speaking of Mrs. Stowe's book: "It was an extravagant fiction. Every Southern man knew it to be such. There were some short-haired women in the North, who ought to have been born men, and some long-haired men, who ought not to have been born at all, who believed the stuff, or affected to believe it; but it was not until the flag had been fired on that Mrs. Stowe's absurd yarn got to be a classic and a gospel. It was not until the flag was fired on that that ignoble old ruffian, John Brown, got to be a martyr."—"Essays by Savoyard," p. 63.

In another connection, this same writer observes: "The John Brown raid would have been the last nail in the coffin of the new Republican party, if the South had only had the patience to stand pat. As for slavery, it put dollars in Northern pockets where it put dimes in Southern. It made the cotton that regulated the balance of trade and fed Northern looms and bought Northern goods. There was not one single Northern State that would have furnished a single regiment to fight for the freedom of all the negroes in the world. There was not a single Northern community that did not regard an abolitionist of the Garrison stripe as little less than a nuisance. Had the South dealt with the problem as Buchanan and Black advised, there would have been no war, and if slavery had died, it would have been a natural death, not a violent one."—*Ibid.*, 61-62.

WHO INVENTED THE SEWING MACHINE?—As an author of stories for the young, Dr. Francis R. Goulding admittedly ranks with the great English dissenter: Daniel DeFoe. But did Doctor Goulding further increase the debt which humanity owes him by inventing the sewing machine? To this question, Joel Chandler Harris returns the following answer: Says he "The first sewing machine was invented by Rev. Frank R. Goulding, a Georgian, who has won fame among the children of the land as the author of 'The Young Marooners.' He invented the sewing machine for the purpose of lightening the labors of his wife; and she used it for some years before another genius invented it, or some traveler stole the idea and improved on it."

Walter A. Clark, of Augusta, has written a book in which he gives an account of some of the early settlements of Richmond. The old Village of Bath, where Doctor Goulding held a pastorate at one time, is included among this number; and

in regard to the matter in question, Mr. Clark says: "Dr. Goulding must have been a moderately busy man, for in addition to his ministerial and literary labors, he devoted a portion of his time to mechanics. In the early forties his hand and brain evolved a sewing-machine, which is claimed to have been the first invention of its kind operated on American soil. The practically universal use into which such machines have grown and the princely incomes secured by Howe and Wilson and Singer and others, from similar inventions, have led me to investigate the reasons why he failed to profit financially by his mechanical genius. Since I began this story the following variant accounts have been received:

"First, the inventor's trip to Washington, D. C., in the interest of his patent, was delayed by flooded streams, and a rival claiming the same mechanical principle, in this way, reached the patent office in advance of him.

"Second, on the aforesaid trip, the stage was overturned, and, in the confusion incident thereto, the model was stolen and never recovered.

"Third, the model dropped from the buggy into a deep stream as he crossed it and was never found.

"Fourth, he failed to locate the eye or opening of the needle used, near its point, and, for this reason, the machine was never a success.

"I have been told also that Howe, during a visit to Augusta, was allowed by his friend to inspect the working of the model; that he saw the defects, applied the remedy, appropriated the motive mechanism, and secured a patent, which bountifully filled his coffers.

"The needle theory named above was given to me by my old friend, Mr. John H. Jones, whose memory, although he has passed his four-score years, is as retentive as a tar-bucket. It is also confirmed by my friend, Mrs. C. A. Rowland; and since they were both personal friends of Mr. Goulding, from the lips of whom they received the story, it is evidently the correct version of his failure to utilize his invention. After leaving Bath in 1853, Dr. Goulding lived for a time at Darien, Ga., but spent his last years at Roswell, Ga., where he died in 1881." To the foregoing statement, Mr. Clark afterwards added this paragraph: "Since writing the above I have learned through a lady friend that Mrs. Mary Helmer, of Macon, Ga., daughter of Dr. Goulding, has in her possession beautiful samples of the handiwork of this machine, showing conclusively that there was no defect in construction, and it must have been at last his kind consideration for the interest of the gentler sex that held his genius in abeyance."

Miss Rutherford, of Athens, an educator of wide note, whose writings upon historical topics show thorough research, gives us the following piece of information: "In 1842, while in Eatonton, Ga., Dr. Goulding conceived the idea of the sewing machine, and to this Georgian is due the first practical sewing machine ever known. During 1845, the year before Howe's patent was issued, or Thimmonia had obtained his, Goulding's sewing machine was in use. He said in his journal: 'Having satisfied myself about this machine, I laid it aside that I might attend to other and weightier duties.' Thus it happened that no patent was applied for." Dr. James Stacy, the historian of the Midway settlement, from which parental source Doctor Goulding sprang, is another witness to the latter's invention. He says that while visiting at Bath in the summer of 1848 he saw the remains of an old machine in Doctor Goulding's home; and in the opinion of this commentator the great author is undoubtedly entitled to the honor which the world has accorded to Elias Howe.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WHIG PARTY BECOMES A POWER IN GEORGIA—SENATOR BERRIEN ITS RECOGNIZED LEADER—ON JANUARY 19, 1843, A STATE CONVENTION IS HELD AT MILLEDGEVILLE—GEORGE W. CRAWFORD IS NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR—OPPOSED BY MARK A. COOPER, THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE—BUT MR. CRAWFORD WINS—THE LEGISLATURE OF 1843 DIVIDES THE STATE INTO FORTY-SEVEN SENATORIAL DISTRICTS—REASONS FOR THIS RADICAL CHANGE—THE SENATE TOO LARGE A BODY—ITS CONSERVATISM IMPAIRED—MEMBERSHIP IN THE HOUSE IS ALSO REDUCED—TO DETERMINE A COUNTY REPRESENTATION, ALL FREE WHITES ARE COUNTED AND THREE-FIFTHS OF THE SLAVES—WALTER T. COLQUITT SUCCEEDS ALFRED CUTHBERT AS UNITED STATES SENATOR—THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1844—THE ADMISSION OF TEXAS A BURNING ISSUE—MR. CLAY, NOMINATED BY THE WHIGS ON A PLATFORM ANTAGONISTIC TO TEXAS, LOSES A STRONG SUPPORT IN THE SOUTH—POLK IS ELECTED—GOVERNOR CRAWFORD IS GIVEN A SECOND TERM—THE SUPREME COURT OF GEORGIA IS CREATED IN 1845—JOSEPH HENRY LUMPKIN—EUGENIUS A. NISBET—HIRAM WARNER—THE GREAT TRIUMVIRATE—WHY SUCH A COURT WAS NOT CREATED EARLIER—HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT LOOKING TOWARD ITS CREATION.

At this period of the state's history, the old whig party was its most powerful political organization. On January 19, 1843, at Milledgeville, this party held its first state convention. United States Senator John MacPherson Berrien, the recognized leader of the whig party in Georgia, was elected chairman. This body elected ten delegates to attend a national convention of the whig party in Baltimore in 1844, with instructions to support Henry Clay for President. At the same time, George W. Crawford, then a member of Congress, was nominated for governor on a whig ticket.

To oppose Mr. Crawford, the democrats nominated Mark A. Cooper, but in the fall election Mr. Crawford won. The Legislature of 1843 produced one of the most radical changes in the history of the state government. Since 1789 each county in Georgia had constituted a separate senatorial district and was entitled to one state senator; but as the result of this system of representation the Senate had become a second House. To restore the conservatism of this higher body, it was necessary to reduce its membership. Consequently an amendment to the state constitution, having passed two legislatures,* dividing the state into forty-seven

* December 27, 1842, and December 5, 1843, see House and Senate Journals for these years.

senatorial districts, was finally ratified, and became a part of the fundamental law of Georgia.

Each of these newly created districts, with the exception of the first, was to be composed of two contiguous counties; but the County of Chatham, on account of its population and importance, was to constitute a separate district within itself. In 1853, this constitutional amendment was repealed; but from 1845 to 1853, it remained in operation during which time the state was divided into forty-seven senatorial districts.

Under an act approved December 27, 1843, membership in the House was likewise reduced. Each county was to have at least one representative and no county was to be allowed more than two; and there were thirty-seven counties, each of which, under the provisions of this act, were entitled to two representatives.* All of the other counties were allotted one member each.

In fixing a county's status, all free white persons were counted and three-fifths of the slaves. Members of the General Assembly were to be elected biennially on the first Monday in October. Future sessions of the Legislature were also to be held biennially on the first Monday in November for each alternate year beginning on the first Monday in November, 1845.

Alfred Cuthbert's term as United States senator having expired on March 3, 1843, Judge Walter T. Colquitt, of Columbus, was elected to succeed him in this high forum.

Financial conditions began to improve somewhat during Governor Crawford's administration and taxes were raised sufficient to pay some of the state's outstanding indebtedness.

Georgia's electoral support was given in 1844 to James K. Polk, of Tennessee, for President. Under normal conditions, Georgia was a Whig state, but she favored the annexation of Texas to the United States; and, on a platform favoring annexation, Mr. Polk had been nominated by the democrats. Texas, having achieved her independence of Mexico, she desired to become a state in the American Union, since most of her pioneer settlers were from the states. Accordingly she applied for admission in 1837, soon after her independence was achieved.

But action was delayed. There was great opposition, especially at the North, to the admission of Texas. All of the territory of this proposed state lay south of Missouri, and its admission therefore meant the addition of a vast empire to the domain of slavery in the United States. Finally, however, in the campaign of 1844, the annexation of Texas became a dominant issue, the democrats espousing while the whigs opposed the creation of a new state out of this imperial area to the Southwest. Had Mr. Clay, the candidate of the whigs, not been nominated on a platform antagonistic to the annexation of Mexico, he would undoubtedly have received Georgia's support and might possibly have won the election. As it was, Mr. Polk carried Georgia by a decisive majority and became the next President.

Georgia cast only ten electoral votes in 1844, due to the reduction of which we have already spoken. Her electors at this time were: from the state at large, Charles J. McDonald and Alfred Iverson; district

electors, B. Graves, H. V. Johnson, R. M. Charlton, Charles Murphey, Wm. F. Sanford, George W. Towns, Wm. B. Wofford and Eli H. Baxter.

On March 1, 1845, three days before Mr. Polk's inauguration, Texas was admitted by a resolution of Congress. Troops were at once dispatched to the Rio Grande to protect the exposed frontier; and there followed a bloody sequel since known as the Mexican war.

Meanwhile, Governor Crawford, in the fall of 1845, was re-elected Georgia's chief executive, defeating the democratic candidate, Matthew H. McAllister, of Savannah. Mr. McAllister was one of the recognized leaders of the Georgia bar, but keenly feeling the disappointment of his defeat, he soon afterwards left Georgia for the Pacific coast, where he eventually became a judge of the Federal Court in the State of California.

Forty-seven years had elapsed since the adoption of Georgia's State Constitution of 1798, but the state still lacked a court of last resort for the correction of errors in its administration of justice. The Superior Court judges had met at stated times for the purpose of discussing controverted law points, especially those of a constitutional nature; but this method of review was ill-adapted to the state's growth in population and to its rapidly increasing number of judicatories. Litigation was constantly on the increase; issues calling for the most careful consideration were constantly multiplying; variations between judges existed, despite all efforts to prevent them, sometimes on questions of the most vital importance; and to insure respect for law it was essential that judicial decisions should not be at variance. Perhaps one reason why Georgia had moved slowly in creating a Supreme Court was due to the hostility which this name inspires in the popular mind, as the result of unpleasant dealings with the Supreme Court of the United States, beginning with the celebrated case of *Chisholm versus Georgia*.

But the need of a Supreme Court had become imperative. Governor Charles J. McDonald, in 1841, strongly recommended its creation, calling attention to the fact that the constitution had been amended for this purpose but that nothing had been done to put the amendment into effect. Said he: "The attention of the General Assembly has been frequently called to the amended Constitution, authorizing the establishment of a Supreme Court for the correction of errors. I again recommend it to your consideration. When it is considered that the principal object of government is the attainment of justice, it is a matter of surprise that we should rest quietly under the imperfection of our system of jurisprudence, in which there is neither security nor certainty. The decisions of the circuit judge are final and irreversible except at his will. His power, in cases involving the life, property and liberty of the citizen, is absolute and appalling; and but that we have been so long accustomed to its exercise by a single individual, it would not be tolerated for a day. It has been said, by those opposed to this reform in our judiciary, that if one judge errs, three may err. This is true; but it is also true that three are not so likely to err as one, especially when those three are surrounded by circumstances better adapted to full, calm, and thorough investigation. * * * The great utility of such a tribunal strongly

* Act 1843, p. 17.

* H-J, 1841, p. 18.

recommends its adoption. It will produce uniformity of judicial determinations; by the settlement of legal principles, it will diminish litigation; and from the published reports of its decisions, an opportunity will be afforded every man to understand the authoritative interpretation of the laws."

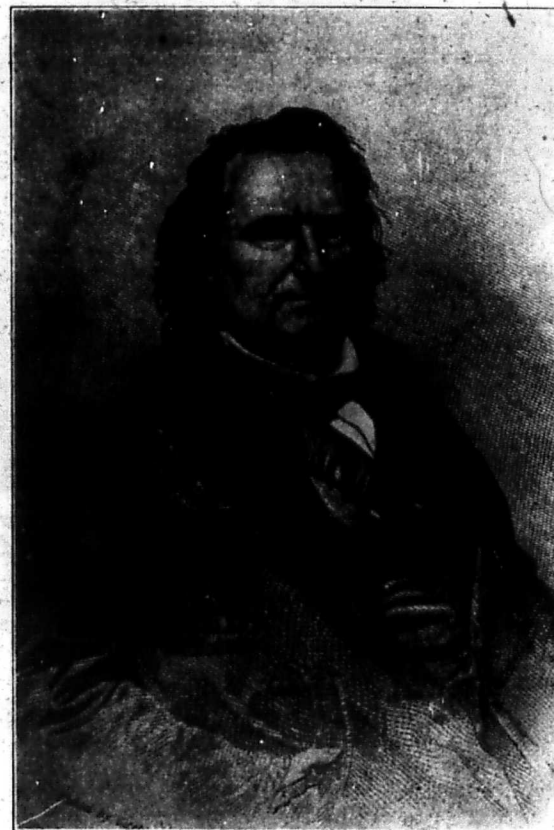
Further back still, John Forsyth in 1828 portrayed in the most emphatic language, some of the inherent defects of the system. Said he: "Under the present arrangement of eight Superior Court Judges, each confined to the circuit for which he was elected, supreme in his authority, not bound by the decisions of his predecessors or contemporaries and not always by his own, there can be neither uniformity nor certainty in the laws. The confusion producing contradictory decisions every day increases; property is held and recovered in one part of the state and lost in another under the same circumstances; rights are asserted and maintained in one circuit and denied in another, in analogous cases." But finally, on December 10, 1845, an act was approved putting the constitutional amendment into effect and creating the Supreme Court of Georgia.[†] Its membership was to consist of three judges one elected for six, one for four, and one for two years, all subsequent terms to be six years each. The Legislature of 1845 elected to preside over this tribunal: Joseph Henry Lumpkin, of Athens; Eugenius A. Nisbet, of Macon; and Hiram Warner, of Greenville. Nor, in the sphere of things judicial, has Georgia ever been served by three abler or purer public servants. So distinctly marked was the individuality of each that not one of the three could be put above the rest, while at the same time there were separate and peculiar aspects in which each was superior to the others.

Judge Lumpkin was the orator of the bench. In the magical modulations of his voice, the magnetic charm of his person and the vivid powers of his imagination, Judge Lumpkin has ever been surpassed in Georgia. At the present time there is little scope for the exercise of such gifts upon the bench, but during the migratory days of the court when it moved from circuit to circuit and people crowded the court-room to hear the decisions orally rendered there was abundant opportunity for judicial eloquence. Judge Lumpkin was on the bench longer than any of his associates and was for this reason the chief factor in developing the Supreme Court of Georgia.

Next to Judge Lumpkin in tenure of service upon the bench was Judge Warner. He resigned in 1853, after having served continuously for eight years; but on the death of Judge Lumpkin in 1867 he returned to the bench as chief justice. Two years later he was reduced to associate ranks by Governor Bulloch under the reconstruction regime; but in 1872 he again became chief justice, retaining his commission until his voluntary retirement in 1880. He was characterized in his decisions less by rhetorical and imaginative graces than by original force and vigor of intellect. He was tenacious of his convictions and absolutely fearless in his rulings. His knowledge of the law was not confined to precedents, but was securely grounded upon fundamental principles. He was perhaps too reserved in manner to enthuse the masses; but he pos-

^{*} Acts, 1828.

[†] Acts, 1845, Cobb, 448.



JOSEPH HENRY LUMPKIN
The Great Chief-Justice of Georgia

sessed the unbounded respect of all classes of people in Georgia, who esteemed him as the very embodiment of Roman justice itself.

Judge Nisbet remained on the supreme bench only eight years, retiring soon after Judge Warner in 1858, and never resumed the ermine. But during this comparatively brief period he rendered important decisions which made his name familiar throughout the world-wide literature of the profession. Unless exception is made of Judge Bleckley, who resigned the chief justiceship late in the '90s, Judge Nisbet is the most frequently quoted of all the oracles of the Supreme Court of Georgia; and with Judge Bleckley he has been accorded admission into that professional Valhalla, entitled "Great Decisions by Great Judges."

But Judge Nisbet has been quoted at times by eminent judicial authorities in other states without receiving due credit for services rendered. To be specific, it will be found that Judge Fowler, in the forty-first volume of New Hampshire Reports, has reproduced almost verbatim an important decision of Judge Nisbet found in the eleventh volume of Georgia Reports, giving him only foot-note credit as an authority cited. There is a difference as old as the Ten Commandments between citing authority and paraphrasing language, and Judge Fowler has winked at the Decalogue to the extent of falling into the latter grievous error. The deadly parallel columns would probably never have been drawn had not the case become celebrated and the credit for having adjudicated the principle been inadvertently assigned to Judge Fowler.

Judge Nisbet's strength lay not only in his thorough legal scholarship but in his discriminating powers of analysis and especially in his crystal transparency of statement. Without wasting time in elaboration he was spontaneously familiar with all the classics and fluently expressed himself in terms of the most liberal culture.

Judge Lumpkin cared nothing for political honors, and allowed no offers, however tempting, to shake his resolute determination to remain upon the bench. It is rather singular that gifts which in the legislative halls or on the hustings would have lifted him at once into the leadership or which before the jury would have earned him one of the largest professional incomes in the state, should nevertheless have been devoted to the laborious routine of the bench. But it filled the measure of Judge Lumpkin's ambition to wear the judicial ermine of the Supreme Court, and since it gave him an opportunity to mold the judiciary system of the state he could not have linked his name with a service better calculated to endear his memory to the people of Georgia.

But Judge Nisbet and Judge Warner were both fond of political life and both occupied seats in the halls of Congress before the war. They were also both active upon the stage of political events in Georgia immediately prior to the outbreak of the struggle, but they approached the great issue of secession from diametrically opposite standpoints. Judge Nisbet not only advocated secession, but was himself the author of the ordinance which swept Georgia from the Union in 1861. Judge Warner not only opposed secession, but even after the fight was over and the committee had been appointed to draft the formal syllables of dissolution, he still refused to join the majority ranks. He believed in the constitutional right of the state to secede, but he doubted the expediency of the proposed step, believing that the problems could all be adjusted

within the Union and that the act of separation meant war. He was opposed to disruption: At the Charleston convention he had refused to join the southern revolt led by Wm. L. Yancey, believing that the only hope of success lay in the consolidation of forces under the banner of the national democracy. Judge Nisbet felt that since the fundamental law of the land had been repudiated by the anti-slavery aggressors the cause of constitutional liberty was imperiled and the time had come for the state to resume her sovereign rights.

Twenty years before, Judge Nisbet and Judge Warner had differed even more widely, the former having been a whig and the latter a democrat. At the present time they were both democrats, separating only upon the great issue of secession. As soon as Georgia had spoken Judge Warner, with patriotic submission, accepted the result and gave to Georgia his undivided allegiance; but he performed this act of patriotic surrender without in the least modifying his conviction that the course which the state had taken was unwise. Without stopping to measure consequences, Judge Nisbet felt that grievances had become so multiplied that Georgia was left no choice in honor and in self-respect except to withdraw from the compact.

Both men could boast of ancestries whose principles had been put to the most rigid test. Judge Warner had come from Puritan New England, where his forefathers, between the Indians on one hand and the icebergs on the other, had mastered the difficult lessons of life in the bitterest school of hardships. Judge Nisbet had always lived in Georgia, but he had sprung from sturdy old Scotch Presbyterian Covenanters, one of whom, Capt. John Nisbet, had been executed on the streets of Edinburgh because he refused to surrender the supreme tribunal of his conscience even to the royal edict of his king.

Both brought to bear in serving Georgia, under circumstances of peculiar stress, the same rugged principles which had come down to them from ancestral molds; and tried though they were in the very fires and found to be pure gold, they both missed the gubernatorial chair which they had honorably coveted and which they would have richly adorned. What seem to be the ingratitude of politics are sometimes difficult to explain; but neither Judge Nisbet nor Judge Warner were politicians in the fiddle-dancing sense of the term. They were rugged old jurists, who understood better how to construe laws and hold principles than to make votes, and, besides, in fearlessly wielding the ax with honest strokes from the shoulder, they gave far more heed to the mark than to the chips.

One of the most striking of what may be called the judicial characteristics of Judge Lumpkin was his pronounced aversion to the mere technicalities of court procedure. Wherever vital principles were involved he refused to play the iconoclast; but no amount of antiquity could make him venerate forms and ceremonies which possessed no essential value; and toward the task of simplifying the routine of the court he bent all the reforming zeal of Martin Luther. "Where lies the justice of the case?" was the question uppermost in the mind of Judge Lumpkin, and he almost savagely tore aside the husks to lay bare the hidden grain of truth.

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One of the most striking of what may be called the judicial characteristics of Judge Lumpkin was his pronounced aversion to the mere technicalities of court procedure. Wherever vital principles were involved he refused to play the iconoclast; but no amount of antiquity could make him venerate forms and ceremonies which possessed no essential value; and toward the task of simplifying the routine of the court he bent all the reforming zeal of Martin Luther. "Where lies the justice of the case?" was the question uppermost in the mind of Judge Lumpkin, and he almost savagely tore aside the husks to lay bare the hidden grain of truth.

CHAPTER XXX

WAR WITH MEXICO OVER THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CALLS UPON GEORGIA FOR A REGIMENT—IN RESPONSE TO THIS CALL, TEN COMPANIES ARE ORGANIZED AT COLUMBUS, UNDER HENRY R. JACKSON AS COLONEL—GEORGIANS IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES—GEN. W. H. T. WALKER—GEN. W. S. WALKER—COL. JAMES MCINTOSH—OTHERS IN THE VOLUNTEER SERVICE ACHIEVE DISTINCTION—GEN. DAVID E. TWIGGS—COL. ROBERT M. ECHOLS—COMMODORE JOSIAH TATTNALL COMMANDS THE FAMOUS "MOSQUITO FLEET"—THE WILMOT PROVISIO PRECIPITATES A GREAT DEBATE IN THE NATIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—MEMBERS OF CONGRESS DURING THIS PERIOD—WALTER T. COLQUITT RESIGNS THE TOGA—HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON SUCCEEDS HIM UNTIL WILLIAM C. DAWSON IS ELECTED—GEORGE W. TOWNS, A DEMOCRAT, DEFEATS GEN. DUNCAN L. CLINCH, A WHIG, FOR GOVERNOR—THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1848—GEORGIA SUPPORTS THE WHIG CANDIDATE, GEN. ZACHARY TAYLOR—"ROUGH AND READY" IS ELECTED—EX-GOVERNOR CRAWFORD BECOMES SECRETARY OF WAR—JOSEPH E. BROWN MAKES HIS ADVENT IN GEORGIA POLITICS—HOWELL COBB BECOMES SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—PRESIDES OVER A STORMY SESSION—THE RESULTS OF THE MEXICAN WAR—THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN THE SIERRAS—CALIFORNIA SEEKS ADMISSION AS A FREE STATE—AN ERA OF VIOLENT PASSION—THE COMPROMISE OF 1850—MR. CLAY'S LAST GREAT ACHIEVEMENT—THE GEORGIA RESOLUTIONS—SECESSION FIRES EXTINGUISHED—GOVERNOR TOWNS RE-ELECTED—TWO NEW COUNTIES CREATED—CLINCH AND GORDON—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF GEORGIA ORGANIZED INTO A SEPARATE JURISDICTION—STATISTICS OF GEORGIA IN 1850.

In May, 1846, the United States War Department called upon Georgia for a regiment of infantry to serve in Mexico. Nor was the state long in responding to this call. Ten companies were selected; and these, meeting in June at Columbus, formed a regiment the numerical strength of which aggregated 898 officers and men. The field officers chosen at this time were: Henry R. Jackson, colonel; Thomas Y. Redd, lieutenant-colonel; Charles J. Williams, major, and John Forsyth, adjutant. The Georgia Regiment of Volunteers was composed of the following companies: The Columbus Guards, 87 members; the Georgia Light Infantry, 91 members, and the Crawford Guards, 83 members, all from Columbus; the Richmond Blues, of Augusta, 93 members; the Jasper Greens, of Savannah, 86 members; the Macon Guards, of Macon, 92 members; the Sumter County Volunteers, of Americus, 89 members; the Fannin Avengers, from Pike County, 93 members; the Kenesaw

Rangers, from Cobb County, 92 members; and the Canton Volunteers, from Cherokee, 90 members.

This regiment left at once for Mexico. But it was destined to see little fighting. Twelve months—the entire period of enlistment—passed without bringing them into hostile encounter with the foe; and except to furnish details of soldiers for guarding money trains and provision wagons, it took no part in the campaign. To men who were full of the ardor of conflict, such inaction was galling; but to make matters infinitely worse an unhealthy camp site, amid tropical surroundings, superinduced fever, from which many of these volunteers died.

However, there were other companies to enlist. Besides, there were many recruits from Georgia to join the regular army of the United States. Some of the Georgians who distinguished themselves in the Mexican war were: Gen. David E. Twiggs, Gen. W. H. T. Walker, Gen. William S. Walker, Col. James McIntosh, Col. Robert M. Echols, Lieut. James Longstreet, Lieut. William M. Gardiner, and others. Col. James McIntosh, a hero of the War of 1812, fell at the head of his regiment, when in sight of the walls of the City of Mexico. He belonged to the regular army and at Palo Alto had been severely wounded. Colonel Echols was thrown from his horse at the Natural Bridge, in Mexico, sustaining injuries from which he died; but he had already been breveted a brigadier-general. Lieut. James Longstreet, destined to be known in the history of the great Civil war as "Lee's Old War Horse," earned his spurs in the Mexican campaign and was wounded at Chapultepec.

Commodore Josiah Tattnall, of the American navy, also won distinction in command of his famous "Mosquito Fleet."

Two brilliant victories achieved in the fall of 1847 brought the Mexican war to a close. Gen. Zachary Taylor's defeat of Santa Anna gave him possession of the northern provinces, after which the City of Mexico capitulated to General Scott. On February 2, 1848, a treaty of peace was signed under which the United States acquired a vast area of territory, acquiring California, Utah, New Mexico, Nevada and Texas. Mexico, in return, was to receive \$15,000,000 from the United States.

It was while the Mexican war was in progress that the famous Wilmot Proviso was introduced in Congress by its author, precipitating a debate whose thunders rocked the continent and threatened to rend the Union in twain. On August 8, 1846, pending the consideration in Congress of a bill placing \$2,000,000 at the disposal of President Polk to negotiate a peace with Mexico, David Wilmot, a representative from Pennsylvania, offered the following amendment: "Provided, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of the territory acquired from Mexico, except for crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted." This was the famous Wilmot Proviso whose discussion fired the country from ocean to ocean. It was adopted in the House by a vote of 94 to 73, and was under debate in the Senate when the hour previously fixed for adjournment of the session arrived. At the next session, Mr. Wilmot again introduced it; and again the House remained firm in favor of the amendment, passing it once more by a decided majority; but no action was taken by the Senate. Eventu-

ally, however, an adjustment was reached under the compromise measures of 1850.

Georgia sent to the Twenty-eighth Congress (1843-1845) the following delegation: Edward J. Black, Absalom H. Chappell, Howell Cobb, Hugh A. Haralson, William H. Stiles, John H. Lumpkin, John Millen, and Mark A. Cooper. Only two of these were out and out whigs, Messrs. Black and Chappell. The latter was a brother-in-law of Gen. Mirabeau B. Lamar. John Millen died before taking his seat and to succeed him Gen. Duncan L. Clinch, a whig, was elected. Mark A. Cooper resigned to become the democratic candidate for governor in 1845 and was succeeded by Alexander H. Stephens, a whig. When Mr. Stephens entered Congress, the delegation was evenly divided between the two parties. Mr. Stiles, at the close of his term, was appointed charge d'affaires to Austria by President Polk, holding this important diplomatic office from 1845 to 1849.

Four members of the old delegation were re-elected to the Twenty-ninth Congress (1845-1847): Howell Cobb, Hugh A. Haralson, John Lumpkin and Alexander H. Stephens. The other members were: Seaborn Jones, a democrat; Thomas Butler King, a whig; Washington Poe, a democrat, and Robert Toombs, a whig. Mr. Poe declined a seat in Congress, and to succeed him, George W. Towns, a democrat, was elected. There were only three whigs in the Georgia delegation at this time, to wit, Messrs. King, Stephens and Toombs.

Most of these were re-elected to the Thirtieth Congress (1847-1849). There were only two new members in the state's delegation chosen at this time, viz., Alfred Iverson, a democrat, and John W. Jones, a whig. Dr. Jones was a physician and a resident of Griffin. Mr. Iverson afterwards succeeded to the toga. There were four whigs on the Georgia delegation in this Congress.

Hon. Walter T. Colquitt, having resigned the toga in 1848, Hon. Herschel V. Johnson was appointed to succeed him as United States senator for the unexpired term; but in the fall of 1847 Hon. William C. Dawson had already been elected by the Legislature to serve for a full term of six years, to begin March 4, 1849.

George W. Towns, formerly a member of Congress, received the democratic nomination for Congress in 1847 and defeated his whig antagonist, Gen. Duncan L. Clinch. General Clinch had spent most of his life since attaining manhood in the regular army of the United States. He had fought in the War of 1812 and in the war against the Seminoles, gaining a decisive victory over the great chief, Osceola, in the Battle of Withlacoochee, in 1835, at which time he was in full command of the American forces. But finally provoked by the inefficient tactics of the War Department, he relinquished the military service with the rank of brigadier-general and retired to his plantation near St. Mary's. In 1844, General Clinch was elected to Congress to fill a vacancy caused by the death of John Millen.

It was a spirited contest waged in 1847 between the whigs and the democrats for the office of governor. But General Clinch was a soldier, not a politician. On the other hand, his successful competitor was a trained public speaker, a shrewd organizer of men, and a man of rare gifts. Nevertheless, it was by a slender majority that Mr. Towns car-

ried the state and became Georgia's next governor. The vote stood: Towns, 43,220; Clinch, 41,931.*

The Legislature was largely concerned with matters of finance and there were few measures of general interest enacted into law. During the next year, as we have already noted in this chapter, the Mexican war was brought to a successful conclusion.

General Zachary Taylor became the idolized popular hero. "Old Rough and Ready," the sobriquet by which he was known to his men, received universal adoption. In the campaign of 1848, General Taylor was made the standard bearer of the national whig party for president. He received Georgia's support and won the presidency over General Lewis Cass and ex-President Martin Van Buren. Georgia's electors in 1848 were as follows: From the state at large, William Terrell and Seaton Grantland; district electors, H. W. Sharp, Warren Akin, William H. Crawford, Asbury Hull, A. W. Redding, Y. M. King, William Moseley and George Stapleton.**

But General Taylor was already well advanced in years when he entered the White House; and too feeble to sustain for a protracted season the weight of great official responsibilities he died in 1850 and was succeeded by Vice-President Millard Fillmore.

On organizing his cabinet, General Taylor appointed George W. Crawford, of Georgia, secretary of war, an office which he continued to hold under President Fillmore. Mr. Crawford had just relinquished the governorship of his native state when called to this high official responsibility at the national seat of government.

Joseph E. Brown first made his appearance on the stage of Georgia politics in the fall of 1849 as a member of the State Senate. He represented what was then the Forty-first District, under the old division. Slight of figure, in manner somewhat reserved, he took no declaratory or boisterous part in the debates, spoke seldom, was always calm, unemotional, and to the point. Except for an accent peculiar to the mountaineer, there was little about the new senator to attract a superficial observer. But Judge Andrew J. Miller, one of his colleagues, was not slow to discover in him one of the coming men of Georgia; nor did he hesitate to put himself on record with this prediction: "Joe Brown will yet stamp the impress of his genius upon the future history of the state."† Alfred H. Colquitt was at this same session an assistant secretary of the Senate. Here were two Georgians for whom the highest honors of the state were reserved, including both the governorship and the toga.†

* H-J, 1847, p. 29.

** "Lanman's Biographical Annals of the United States Government," p. 529-530.
: "History of Georgia, 1850-1881," I. W. Avery, p. 21.

† One of the notable battles in this Legislature was over a measure that became in those days known as the hobby of Andrew J. Miller, called his "Woman's bill." The object was to secure to married women their own property independent of the husband. Miller was sent to the Legislature time and again, and at every session he introduced this measure, only to be repeatedly defeated. It finally became the law, and its success was due to the persistent agitation of the persevering Miller. Joseph E. Brown had the old-fashioned notions of the marital relation and fought all of these new-fangled ideas. Miller's Woman's Bill was defeated by a vote of twenty-one yeas to twenty-three nays in the Senate, Brown voting no. A bill to limit

To the national Congress in 1848 Georgia elected a ticket on which there were several whigs, but a careful analysis of the election returns will show that the state was slowly drifting from the old whig moorings. Her representatives chosen to the Thirty-first Congress (1849-1851) were: Howell Cobb, Thomas C. Hackett, Hugh A. Haralson, Thomas Butler King, Allen F. Owen, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, and Marshal J. Wellborn. Four of these were whigs—Messrs. King, Owens, Toombs and Stephens. But Mr. King resigned his seat in 1849 to become collector of the Port of San Francisco, and was succeeded by Joseph W. Jackson, of Savannah, a democrat. This reduced the whig strength in the Georgia delegation to only three members.

As we have already seen, Mr. King was the first man of any prominence in the United States to conceive the idea of a transcontinental line, connecting the two oceans. He was a wealthy sea-island cotton planter and a man of extensive commercial operations. Mr. Hackett is scarcely remembered at the present day, due largely to his early death. He served only one term in Congress, dying at Marietta, Georgia, on October 8, 1851. Mr. Owen likewise served only one term in Congress, but afterwards became consul-general at Havana. He was a resident of Talbotton, Georgia. Judge Wellborn withdrew from public life at the close of his term and in 1864 became a Baptist minister. He lived for a number of years in Columbus.

Howell Cobb, a democrat, was elected speaker of the House, when Congress assembled in December. His whig colleagues did not support him, but connived at the result by supporting a member who was not a candidate for the speakership. Realizing that slavery was endangered, there had been an effort made at coalition between the Southern wings of both parties, and for days there had been a deadlock. Turbulent scenes were enacted; but finally, over a most violent protest from Mr. Toombs, a proposition prevailed to chose a speaker by a mere plurality vote; and when the decisive ballot was taken Mr. Cobb won. It was a stormy session over which Mr. Cobb presided, but his skill as a parliamentarian and his evident desire to be just in his rulings made him an ideal presiding officer and he gave great satisfaction to both sides.

To understand the prevailing unrest which characterized the public mind at this time and which reached an acute expression in the deliberations of Congress, we must note the results of the Mexican war. Growing out of this conflict, as we have already observed, the United States acquired a vast area of country, extending the national domain to the Pacific Ocean. The discovery of the yellow metal in 1848 gave a tremendous impulse to the drift of population westward and started a multitude of feverish fortune hunters toward the Golden Gate. So rapidly was the new territory settled that, in 1849, its inhabitants applied for admission into the Union. But there was a clause in the Constitution

the liability of husbands for debts of wives incurred before marriage, did pass the Senate, however, and Brown vindicated his consistency by voting against it. During the consideration of the Woman's Bill Judge Richard H. Clark offered an amendment submitting the Woman's Bill to a popular vote at the governor's election in 1851. Senator Woods proposed an amendment allowing females between sixteen and fifty years to vote. The amendments were both rejected by only a small majority. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

prohibiting slavery. Consequently the South made strenuous objection. Since half of the territory lay south of 36 degrees, 30 minutes, it was proposed to apply to it the principle of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, under which slavery was excluded only from the region of territory north of this line. Moreover, a fugitive slave law was demanded, as a means of safeguarding rights guaranteed by the Constitution. There were a number of bills before Congress, and amid the conflicting issues which arose at this time, the Union was greatly imperiled. Some of the Southern leaders made speeches the effect of which was to inflame the minds of people at home.

Acting upon advice from Washington, the Georgia Legislature called a convention to meet in Milledgeville on December 10, 1850. The people were stirred to a high pitch of excitement. Mass meetings had been held during the summer at which such spellbinders as Rhett, of South Carolina, Yancey, of Alabama, and ex-Governor Charles J. McDonald, of Georgia, and other advocates of extreme state rights, had spoken with powerful effect. Meanwhile, however, Mr. Clay had come forward with his famous Omnibus Bill. Its provisions were these: to admit California without slavery; to permit New Mexico and Utah to settle the question for themselves; to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; and to re-enact a law compelling the return of escaped slaves. This was the last of Mr. Clay's great achievements as a compromiser, and was known as the Compromise of 1850. It introduced for the first time what was afterwards known as the principle of "Squatter Sovereignty," a principle which left to the settlers themselves the right to settle the slavery question in the territories. Both sides accepted this compromise as the crystallized wisdom of the hour.

Georgia's entire delegation supported the compromise, whigs and democrats uniting. But the secessionist fires kindled in Georgia by the impassioned oratory of this turbulent hour, both in and out of Congress, were still crackling; and to extinguish the blaze before its incendiary flames could endanger the Union, Messrs. Toombs, Stephens and Cobb hastened home and plunged into the campaign which was then in progress for the election of delegates to the Milledgeville Convention. There was a widespread misconception in Georgia as to the exact status in which the Compromise of 1850 left matters, but these trusted leaders cleared the atmosphere. Hostility was disarmed; and to the convention which assembled at Milledgeville, on December 10, 1850, a majority of the delegates chosen were Union men. It fell to Hon. Charles J. Jenkins, of Richmond, as chairman of a committee appointed for this purpose, to draft the convention's report; and this report became justly famous as the Georgia Platform of 1850. Setting forth Georgia's strong attachment to the Union, it deplored the slavery agitation, asserted the right of the state to settle this question for themselves, avowed a willingness to accept the compromise measures of Mr. Clay, but declared it to be Georgia's duty and determination to resist any measure of Congress to disturb the peace or to invade the rights of the slaveholding states. This report was adopted. It quieted the situation. Georgia's action produced a tranquillizing effect upon other states, and historians are agreed

that this happy solution of a grave problem deferred the great Civil war for at least ten years.¹

In 1849, Governor Towns was renominated and re-elected by the democrats. His competitor, at this time, was Judge E. Y. Hill, a whig. Again it was by a small majority that the democratic candidate won. Judge Hill was a man of high character and of wide influence throughout the state, and he polled 43,322 votes in the popular election against 46,514 cast for Governor Towns. The power of the whig party in Georgia was beginning slowly to wane, due to a suspected lukewarmness on the part of its Northern members toward slavery. As a party, the whigs had not favored the annexation of Texas, which meant an additional slave state; nor had they favored the Mexican war.

Two new counties were created by the Legislature of 1850: Clinch and Gordon. The former of these was laid off from Wayne and was called Clinch in honor of Gen. Duncan L. Clinch, a former member of Congress and a successful Indian fighter. Gordon was detached from Floyd and Cass and was named for Hon. W. W. Gordon, the first president of the Central of Georgia and one of the state's industrial captains.²

On November 10, 1850, the Roman Catholic Church in Georgia was organized into a separate jurisdiction called the See of Savannah. Right Rev. Francis X. Garland became its first bishop. This distinguished ecclesiastic was beloved by all, regardless of creed. He died of yellow fever, a malady which he contracted during the famous epidemic of 1854 in Savannah, while caring for the sick.

Georgia's population, according to the Federal census of 1850, was little short of a round million. To give the exact figures, it disclosed a total of 906,185 inhabitants, of which number 384,613 were slaves. The state's annual yield of cotton at this time was 500,000 bales; of wheat, 1,000,000 bushels; of oats, 4,000,000 bushels; and of corn, 30,000,000 bushels. The value of its crops was \$47,000,000. Exports reached \$9,000,000. Imports totaled only \$700,000. As compared with 1840, these statistics indicated a rapid growth in material wealth.³

¹ "History of Georgia," R. P. Brooks, p. 244.

² WM. W. GORDON: MONUMENT TO THE RAILWAY PIONEER.—One of the most beautiful monuments in the City of Savannah is the handsome structure of marble, in Courthouse Square, commemorating the useful life of the great pioneer of railway development in Georgia: William Washington Gordon. He died at the early age of forty-six. The Gordon monument in Savannah is unique. Resting upon a solid pedestal of granite, it consists of four handsome columns of Scotch marble. These enclose at the base an urn of artistic workmanship and support at the top a globe of great weight. The symbolism is beautifully in keeping with the career of usefulness which it thus commemorates. On the east side of the monument is portrayed a trestle over which a locomotive is drawing a train of cars. On the south side, an inscription reads thus:

"William Washington Gordon. Born January 17, 1796. Died March 29, 1842. The Pioneer of Works of Internal Improvement in his native State and the first President of the Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia, to which he gave his time, his talents and finally his life."

On the west side is inscribed the following:

"Erected A. D. 1882 by the Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia in Honor of a Brave Man, a Faithful and Devoted Officer, and to Preserve his Name in the Grateful Remembrances of his Fellow Citizens."

³ "History of Georgia," L. B. Evans, p. 259.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 AN ISSUE IN THE NEXT STATE ELECTION—HOWELL COBB, WITH THE PRESTIGE OF THE SPEAKERSHIP, QUITS CONGRESS TO OFFER HIMSELF FOR GOVERNOR AS THE CANDIDATE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY OF GEORGIA—EX-GOVERNOR McDONALD, A FORMER UNION MAN, IS THE CANDIDATE OF THE EXTREME STATE SOVEREIGNTY ELEMENT, BUT MEETS DEFEAT AT THE POLLS—ACT DIVIDING THE STATE INTO FORTY-SEVEN DISTRICTS REPEALED—COUNTY REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE IS REVIVED—TWO NEW JUDICIAL CIRCUITS—BLUE RIDGE AND MACON—THREE NEW COUNTIES—POLK, SPALDING AND WHITEFIELD—THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1852—THE GEORGIA WHIGS VOTE FOR DANIEL WEBSTER, AFTER THE GREAT NEW ENGLANDER'S DEATH—FRANKLIN PIERCE IS ELECTED—THE POWER OF THE WHIG PARTY IS BROKEN—JUDGE BERRIEN RESIGNS THE TOGA—ROBERT M. CHARLTON SUCCEEDS HIM UNTIL ROBERT TOOMBS IS ELECTED—SEVERAL NEW COUNTIES—TAYLOR, CATOOSA, DOUGHERTY, FULTON, HART, DICKENS, PAULDING, WORTH, CALHOUN, CHATTAHOOCHEE, CHARLTON, CLAY, CLAYTON, COFFEE, AND FANNIN—HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON DEFEATS CHARLES J. JENKINS FOR GOVERNOR IN 1856—EBENEZER STARNES AND HENRY L. BENNING SUCCEED WARNER AND NISBET ON THE SUPREME BENCH—MEMBERS OF CONGRESS DURING THIS PERIOD—ALFRED IVERSON SUCCEEDS WILLIAM C. DAWSON AS UNITED STATES SENATOR—THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL—SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY—RUMBLINGS OF THE COMING STORM—THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1856—JAMES BUCHANAN IS ELECTED—BUT THE NEWLY ORGANIZED REPUBLICAN PARTY THREATENS TO BECOME AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN AMERICAN POLITICS—THE KNOW-NOTHINGS—BRUNSWICK AND TALLAPOOSA CIRCUITS CREATED—NEW COUNTIES—BERRIEN, COLQUITT, HARALSON, TERRELL, TOWNS, AND WEBSTER—DEATH OF GEORGE M. TROUP.

But the compromise measures of 1850 became an issue in the next state election. Despite the adoption of the Georgia platform, whose quieting effect we have just noted, the opponents of the compromise organized a party in the interest of extreme state rights, and, on a vigorous platform, nominated for governor, Hon. Charles J. McDonald, a former chief executive and a former Union man. To prevent a repetition of the trouble just averted, it was necessary for the Unionists to band themselves together in a new party organization and to put forth a candidate. Accordingly, the constitutional union party was organized.

Speaker Cobb, a Jacksonian democrat, with the prestige of a national reputation, relinquished his seat in Congress to become the standard-bearer of this new party, created to rescue Georgia from the impending

evils of disunion. Mr. Cobb was the strongest man in Georgia to make this race. His personal popularity, his great intellectual power, and his high official position, all combined to make him at this time Georgia's favorite son. In the campaign which followed, Toombs and Stephens both warmly supported Mr. Cobb, though formerly his opponents. Under the banner of Union, all whigs and democrats who wished to allay further strife united in this campaign, with the result that Mr. Cobb swept the state and won the governorship by a majority of 18,000 votes.

Since 1843 the state had been divided into forty-seven senatorial districts. But for some reason this grouping of counties had not given satisfaction; and in 1851 a constitutional amendment, having passed at the session of 1850, received final adoption, restoring the old system



HOWELL COBB

of country representation in the State Senate. This new law remained in effect until 1861, when the present division of the state in forty-four senatorial districts became operative; but from 1853 to 1861 each county in the state elected its senator, as it had previously done from 1789 to 1845.

At this session of the General Assembly two new judicial circuits were created—the Blue Ridge Circuit, of which David Irwin became the first judge; and the Macon Circuit, to preside over which the first judge elected by the Legislature was Abner P. Powers.

Three counties were also at this time added to the map of Georgia. Polk was laid off from Paulding and named for President James K. Polk, of Tennessee; Spalding was organized out of Pike and Henry and named for Hon. Thomas Spalding, of St. Simon's Island, a wealthy planter and a former member of Congress; while Whitefield was formed out of Murray and named for the great pulpit orator of the Church of England, who founded the famous Bethesda Orphan House, near Savannah, Rev. George Whitefield.

In the national campaign of 1852, both the whigs and the democrats planted themselves squarely on the compromise measures of 1850. The former nominated Gen. Winfield Scott, a hero of the Mexican campaign. The latter put forward Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire. The Georgia whigs could not consistently support General Scott. Not only were his laurels won in Mexico somewhat wilted by a court-martial but his position on the Fugitive Slave Law was not sufficiently orthodox. Consequently, in a state convention the Georgia whigs decided to support Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, for President, and Charles J. Jenkins, of Georgia, for Vice-President. Webster died before the election, but thousands of ballots were cast on which his name appeared.* This was done, of course, as an expression of principle and to preserve a party organization. Still another whig contingent, on a platform of extreme state rights, nominated George M. Troup, of Georgia, and John A. Quitman, of Mississippi, on a presidential ticket.

There was also division among the democrats. Some of the unionists nominated an independent ticket, with Pierce's name, however, at its head. The vote cast in Georgia was as follows: For Pierce, on the regular democratic ticket, 33,843 votes; for Pierce, on the union ticket, 5,773; for Scott, 15,779; for Webster, 5,289; for Troup, 119.†

The following presidential electors were chosen in 1852 to cast the state's ten electoral votes for Pierce and King (William R. King, of Alabama), to wit: From the state at large, Wilson Lumpkin and H. V. Johnson; district electors, Thomas M. Foreman, R. H. Clark, H. G. Lamar, Hugh A. Haralson, I. E. Brown, William L. Mitchell, R. W. Flournoy and William Schley.‡

This election completely overthrew the power of the whig party in Georgia. Its hostility to slavery alienated most of its former adherents, leaving few men of influence and power in the state to uphold the whig banner.

But the party's decline was foreshadowed in the congressional elections of 1850. The following strong delegation was chosen at this time to represent Georgia in the Thirty-second Congress (1851-1853): Joseph W. Jackson, James Johnson, David J. Bailey, Charles Murphy, Elijah W. Chastain, Junius Hillyer, Alexander H. Stephens, and Robert Toombs. Messrs. Toombs and Stephens were the only two members of the delegation who had been in active affiliation with the old whig party, nor did they continue long to remain in this political fold. Mr.

* Mr. Webster's popularity in Georgia was due largely to his celebrated 7th of March (1850) speech, in which he rebuked the New England abolitionists. Says a distinguished Washington correspondent: "Boston's reply was the closing of the doors of Faneuil Hall to her most illustrious citizen. One of the successors of Webster, in the present Senate (Mr. Lodge), would walk backward and cover him with a quilt, while the other (Mr. Hoar) has written a splendid chapter, in the perusal of which we may speculate that Webster on March 7 postponed secession ten years, during which the North waxed strong enough to successfully grapple with it when it could no longer be postponed. Mr. Hoar thinks that as Webster's vision was strongest and clearest he saw what men like (Thad) Stevens could not see and acted best for the country. At least, Mr. Hoar makes a suggestion of that import." — "Essays by Savoyard," pp. 59-60.

† "Georgia and State Rights," U. B. Phillips, p. 168.

‡ "Langdon's Biographical Annals of the United States Government," pp. 530-532.

Toombs was the first to transfer his allegiance to democracy; while Mr. Stephens, though prompt to renounce the whigs, was slow to join the democrats. To quote an expression used by Mr. Stephens at this time, afterwards a famous campaign slogan, "he was simply toting his own skillet."

United States Senator John M. Berrien, desiring to relinquish the toga, on account of physical infirmities, resigned his seat in 1852, and to succeed him Judge Robert M. Charlton, of Savannah, was appointed under a temporary commission, the Legislature of 1851 having already elected Robert Toombs to this office for a full term of six years, to begin March 4, 1853.

Several new counties were created in the next two years. On January 15, 1852, an act was approved creating the new County of Taylor, out of lands taken from three other counties, to wit: Talbot, Macon, and Marion. The new county was named for President Zachary Taylor. In 1853, the Legislature created seven additional new counties as follows: Catoosa, Dougherty, Fulton, Hart, Pickens, Paulding, and Worth; while in 1854 seven more were created, as follows: Calhoun, Chattahoochee, Charlton, Clay, Clayton, Coffee, and Fannin.*

Atlanta, the county-seat of Fulton, became, fifteen years later, the new capital of the state.

As Governor Cobb's term of office drew to a close, two candidates for governor entered the field: Herschel V. Johnson and Charles J. Jenkins. Strictly party lines were not drawn in this election. It was more of a fight between candidates, both of whom were firm believers in the sovereignty of the state. Mr. Jenkins was a whig, and while as a national organization the whig party in Georgia was dead, its former members rallied to the support of Mr. Jenkins, whose personal popularity also brought to him a large element of democratic strength. The contest was probably the closest on record in Georgia, considering the number of votes cast, Mr. Johnson receiving 47,638 against 47,128 cast for Mr. Jenkins.†

Two vacancies occurred this year on the Supreme Bench. Hon. Hiram Warner resigned to enter the race for Congress and Hon. Eugenius A. Nisbet, at the expiration of his term, was not a candidate for re-election. To fill Judge Warner's unexpired term of two years, Hon. Ebenezer Starnes was elected by the Legislature on November 15, 1853. At the same time, Hon. Henry L. Benning was elected for a full term of six years to succeed Judge Nisbet.

From 1853 to 1855, the following state delegates represented Georgia in Congress: James L. Seward, Alfred H. Colquitt, David J. Bailey, William B. W. Dent, Elijah W. Chastain, Junius Hillyer, David A. Reese, and Alexander H. Stephens. Dr. Reese was the only member of the delegation elected at this time as a whig. Mr. Stephens was returned as an independent. All the other members were democrats.

Only two of these were re-elected to the Thirty-fourth Congress (1855-1857): Messrs. Seward and Stephens. The newly elected mem-

*For any further particulars in regard to these counties see section on "Georgia Miscellanies."

†H. J., 1853, p. 34.

bers were: Martin J. Crawford, Robert P. Trippe, Hiram Warner, John H. Lumpkin, Howell Cobb, and Nathaniel G. Foster.* All of these were democrats except Mr. Foster, who was elected on the American, or know-nothing ticket. Judge Hiram Warner, in his successful race for Congress this year, defeated the afterwards illustrious Benjamin H. Hill, who was put forward by the know-nothings. Some account of the origin of this party will be found further on in this work.

To succeed Hon. William C. Dawson, whose term as United States senator was to expire on March 4, 1855, the Legislature, in the fall of 1853, elected Hon. Alfred Iverson, of Columbus, a southern rights democrat.

Georgia's delegation to the Thirty-fifth Congress (1857-1859) was as follows: James L. Seward, Martin J. Crawford, R. P. Trippe, L. J. Gartrell, Augustus R. Wright, James Jackson, Joshua Hill, and Alexander H. Stephens. All of these were state right democrats except Mr. Hill, who was a strong unionist.†

Brief was the respite from internal dissensions secured by the compromise measures of 1850. Calhoun had passed away in 1850; Webster and Clay in 1852. The great issue of slavery was again opened with volcanic results when Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, in the United States Senate, introduced a bill to organize Kansas and Nebraska as territories. This was in 1854. Meanwhile the Fugitive Slave Law had been virtually nullified in many of the Northern and Western states, thus wounding the breach. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill proposed to repeal the Missouri Compromise of 1820, excluding slavery from the territories north of a certain parallel, 36 degrees, 30 minutes, and to allow the people therein to settle the question for themselves. This became known as "Popular" or "Squatter Sovereignty." The principle was an altogether new one, unknown prior to the Compromise of 1850, when Utah and New Mexico were admitted on these terms. Mr. Douglas secured the adoption of his measure, the effect of which was to remove entirely out of the sphere of congressional legislation the question of establishing slavery in the territories. From this time on the question was to be settled by the people themselves. In other words, the principle of squatter sovereignty was substituted for the principle of congressional restriction. This measure was passed in the Senate by a vote of 37 to 14 and in the House by a vote of 113 to 100. The South was a unit for the bill, democrats and whigs voting together. It was also supported by Northern democrats. Opposition came solely from Northern whigs.

Great satisfaction was felt in Georgia over what seemed to be a generous concession to the South made by the democrats at the North, for the sake of the Union; and loud were the expressions of approval heard on every hand, commending the statesmanship of Mr. Douglas, the Little Giant. At first the whigs were inclined to be non-committal, but eventually joined in the demonstration, contending that the democrats had simply stolen whig thunder.‡

*"Biog. Dir. of Con., 1774-1911," p. 199.

†"Biog. Cong. Dir., 1774-1911," p. 205.

‡Federal Union, February 21 and 28, 1854.

But what appeared on the surface of things to be a great victory for slavery was only the precursor of a tragic drama enacted on the plains of Kansas, the effect of which was to write the doom of slavery in human blood. Westward the caravans began to move. In a mad rush, settlers from both the free states and the slave states started for Kansas, there to engage in a feudal fight which was destined to leave its crimson record upon every door-post and to find its sequel in one of the colossal conflicts of history.

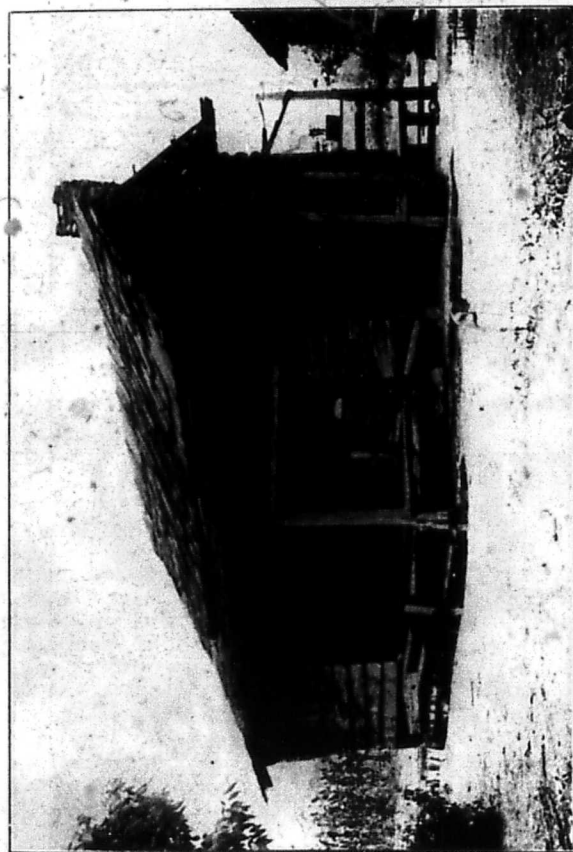
It was the cry of bleeding Kansas to which the newly organized republican party responded in 1856 when John C. Fremont, of Missouri, was nominated on a free soil platform. Thousands of Northern whigs joined the New England abolitionists in supporting the free soil candidate; and while the new party polled a minority vote it mustered sufficient strength to excite the gravest fears as to what another four years might accomplish.

James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for Vice-President, was the ticket nominated by the national democratic party in the famous Cincinnati convention of 1856. The principle of non-interference on the part of Congress was at this time reaffirmed.

During the campaign of 1856 another new party banner was foisted. Most of the northern whigs had gone into the anti-slavery camp; but there was quite a large contingent drawn into the American or know-nothing party, a political organization unfriendly both to foreign immigrants and to Catholics and designed with the object professedly of securing a dominance of the native element. Its slogan was "America for Americans." As early as 1854 the know-nothing party had become an important factor in Georgia politics. Most of its adherents were old-line whigs. But Mr. Stephens, as we have seen, refused to join the new party, preferring to take an independent course; and it was at this time that he made the famous remark, when asked where he stood: "I'm just toting my own skillet." Mr. Toombs on most of the public issues of the day voted with the democrats. The leader of the know-nothings in Georgia was Senator Berrien. But, dying in 1854, his mantle fell upon the broad shoulders of a young intellectual giant destined to become one of the commanding figures of an approaching era of division: Benjamin H. Hill.

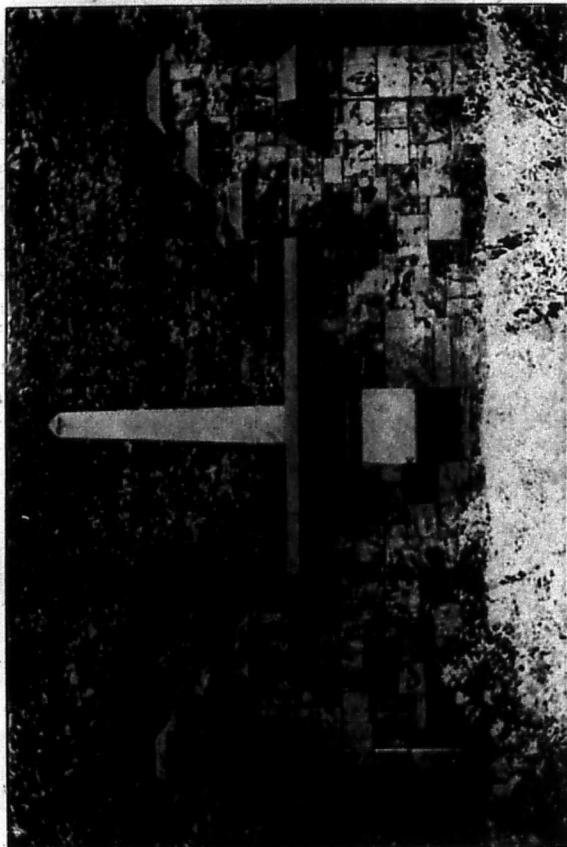
Georgia's support was given in the campaign of 1856 to Buchanan and Breckinridge, and her ten electoral votes were cast by the following delegation: W. H. Stiles and J. N. Ramsay, from the state at large; and district electors, Iverson L. Harris, L. J. Gartrell, Thomas M. Foreman, John W. Lewis, Samuel Hall, James P. Simmons, J. P. Saffold, and T. W. Thomas.*

Governor Johnson was renominated for governor by the democracy of Georgia in 1855, but there were two other candidates for this office nominated by opposition parties. Judge Garnett Andrews, one of the ablest lawyers of the state, for years a judge of the Northern Circuit, was put forward by the know-nothings; while Hon. B. H. Overby, a Methodist preacher and a strong prohibitionist, once a fire-eating whig,



THE MITCHELL HOUSE: WHERE GOVERNOR TROUP DIED IN 1856, WHILE VISITING HIS OVERSEER

* "Latham's Biographical Annals of the United States Government," pp. 532-533.



BURIAL PLACE OF GOVERNOR GEORGE M. TROUP, NEAR SOPERTON

was nominated by the temperance forces. Governor Johnson, however, was elected, receiving 53,478 votes against 43,228 cast for Judge Andrews, and 6,284 cast for Colonel Overby. The last-named gentleman is today revered as one of the great pioneer leaders in crusade of reform which has since swept over the state and is destined in the near future to sweep the nation.*

Two new judicial circuits were created by the State Legislature in 1854: the Brunswick and the Tallapoosa. To preside over the courts of the Brunswick Circuit, Hon. A. E. Cochran was the first judge elected, while the first presiding officer of the Tallapoosa Circuit was Hon. Denis F. Hammond.

In 1855, the Legislature created six new counties, to wit: Berrien, Colquitt, Haralson, Terrell, Towns and Webster. All of these, except the county last mentioned, were named for distinguished Georgians who had recently passed away: John MacPherson Berrien, Walter T. Colquitt, Hugh A. Haralson, William Terrell, and George W. Towns. Webster was named for the illustrious orator of New England, though the original name proposed for the county was Kinchafoonee, for a creek constituting one of its water courses.†

On May 3, 1856, ex-Governor George M. Troup, while visiting one of his plantations in what was then Montgomery County, now Wheeler, died in an overseer's cabin (on the Mitchell place). For more than twenty years, Governor Troup had lived in modest retirement on his favorite plantation, called by him, Valdosta, in Laurens County, some few miles to the south of the present city of Dublin. Governor Troup owned something like ten plantations in this section of Georgia, most of them on the banks of the Oconee River; and for the times he was a man of princely means, though he cared nothing for ostentatious display. He was buried on the Rosemont plantation, in Montgomery County, beside a beloved brother, whom he survived. His grave in the midst of a dense thicket is approached by a path leading through a field of corn. It is marked by a substantial monument occupying the center of a walled enclosure; but this shrine of patriotism, sacred to all Georgians, is seldom visited because of its remoteness from any traveled highway. It is reached by a drive of seven miles from Soperton, a town on the Macon and Dublin Road, between Dublin and Vidalia. Governor Troup was a man of eccentric habits, but fearless, upright, and uncompromising in his allegiance to principle. Altogether, he was one of the most unique, one of the most courageous, and one of the most patriotic of all the public men of Georgia; and his own rugged character is the only quarry which can furnish the memorial granite worthy to bear the name of Georgia's stout apostle of state rights: George M. Troup.

* H-J, 1855.

† Supplementary data relative to these counties may be obtained from the section entitled "Georgia Miscellanies."