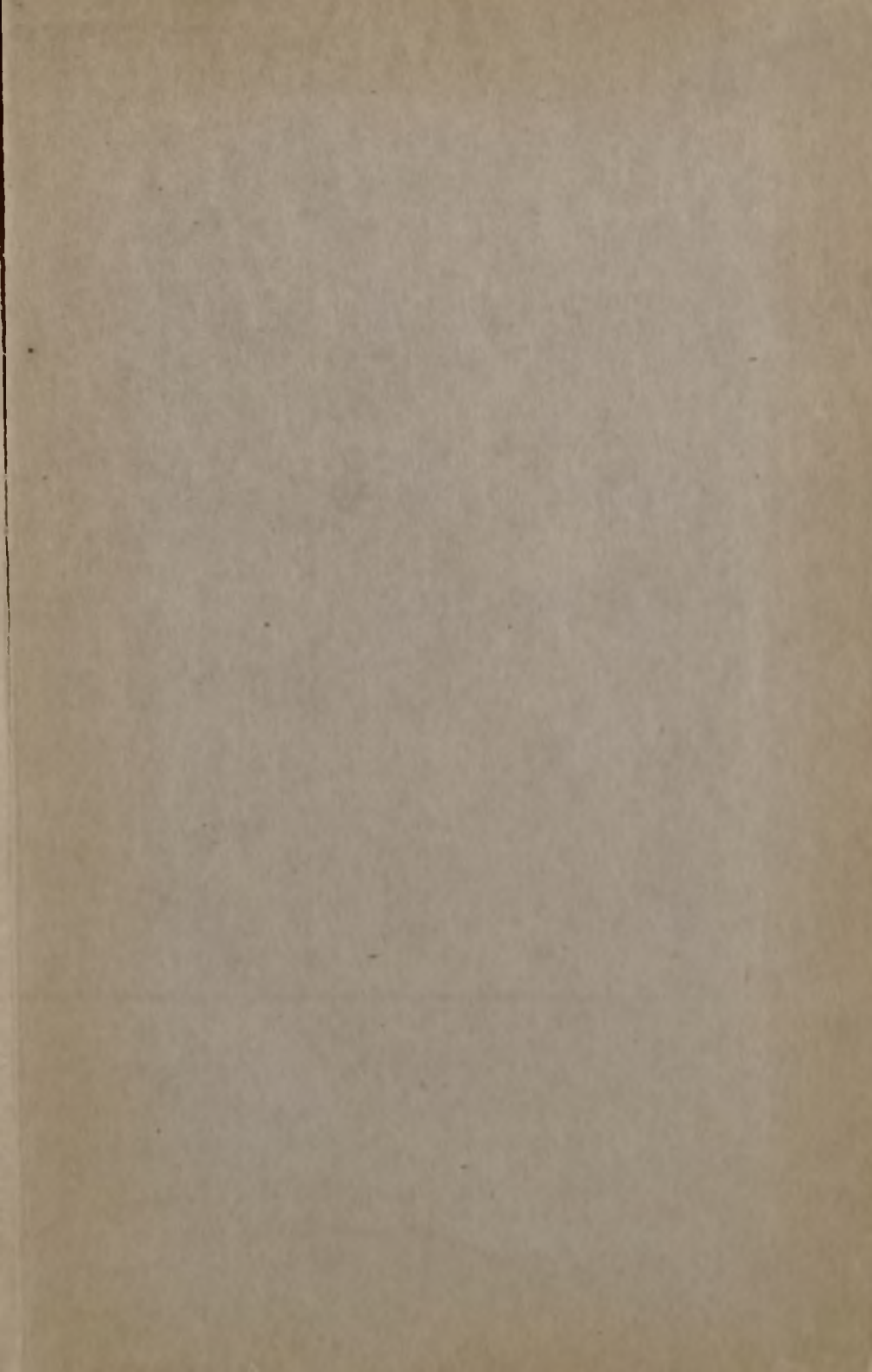




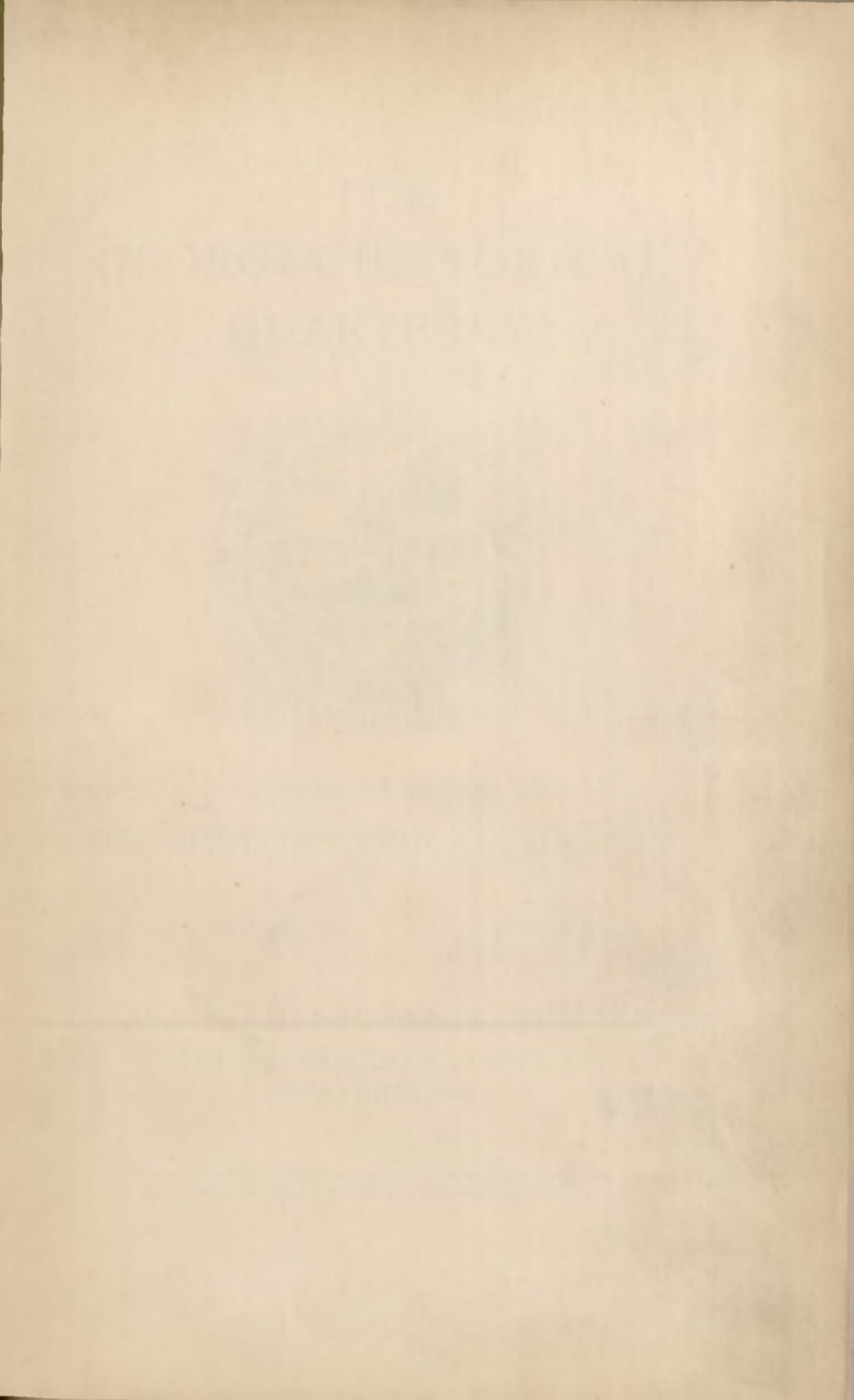


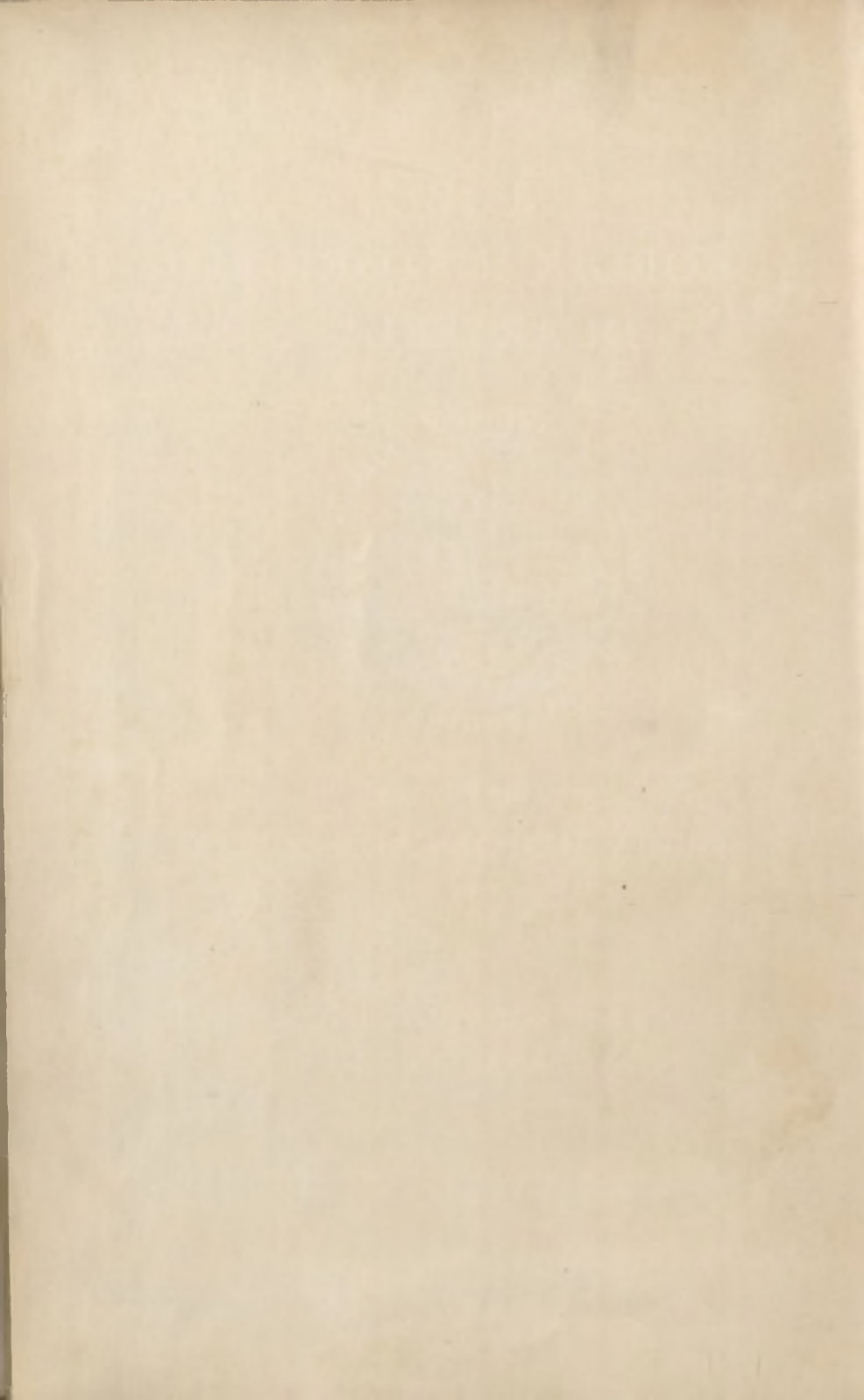
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# THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY



PUBLISHED BY THE  
GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

\$1.25 A NUMBER

\$5.00 A YEAR

SAVANNAH SOUVENIR NUMBER  
PULASKI SESQUI-CENTENNIAL  
CELEBRATION

63714

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Entered as second-class matter, April 19, 1923, at the post office at  
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COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI

by

COMPONETA, 1788

Authentic oil painting owned by the Georgia Historical Society. Gift of Mrs. Charles Bruen to the Georgia Historical Society in 1873, her husband having received it from Mr. Peter Wiltberger, owner of the Pulaski Hotel.



# COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI

BY

WILLIAM W. GORDON





# The Georgia Historical Quarterly

Volume XLII

OCTOBER 1929

Number 3

## COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI

BY WILLIAM W. GORDON

Count Casimir Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, began his military career at the age of 20 at the siege of Mitau, Courland; and, at the early age of 31, gave his life to the American cause at the siege of Savannah.

Admired by Benjamin Franklin, commended by George Washington, the friend of "Light Horse Harry" Lee, Count Casimir Pulaski can rest his fame upon a solid foundation.

Dr. Franklin, in one of his letters, said:

"Count Pulaski is esteemed one of the greatest officers of Europe."<sup>1</sup>

Again, Dr. Franklin wrote as follows to General Washington, in a letter dated at Paris, May 29th, 1777:

"Count Pulaski of Poland, an officer famous throughout Europe for his bravery and conduct in defence of the liberties of his country against the three great invading powers of Russia, Austria and Prussia, will have the honor of delivering this into your Excellency's hands. The Court here have encouraged and promoted his voyage, from an opinion that he may be highly useful to our service. Mr. Deane has written so fully concerning him, that I need not enlarge; and I only add my wishes, that he may find in our armies under your Excellency, occasions of distinguishing himself."<sup>2</sup>

Washington writes to the President of Congress on the 28th day of August, 1777, as follows:

1. Paul Bentallou, *Pulaski Vindicated*, (Baltimore, 1824), p. 23, note.

2. Worthington Chauncey Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol 6, p. 57, note.

"Having endeavored, at the solicitation of the Count de Pulaski, to think of some mode for employing him in our service, there is none occurs to me liable to so few inconveniences and exceptions, as the giving him the command of the horse. . . . a man of real capacity, experience and knowledge in that service, might be extremely useful. The Count appears by his recommendations, to have sustained no inconsiderable military character in his own country; and as the principal attention in Poland has been for some time past paid to the Cavalry, it is to be presumed this gentleman is not unacquainted with it. I submit it to Congress how far it may be eligible to confer the appointment I have mentioned upon him."<sup>3</sup>

"Light Horse Harry" Lee says:

"Pulaski, a name dear to the writer, from a belief in his worth and a knowledge of the difficulties he always had to encounter . . . this gallant soldier was a native of Poland, whose disastrous history is well known. . . . He was sober, diligent and intrepid, gentlemanly in his manners, and amiable in heart."<sup>4</sup>

The question immediately arises in our mind, "What caused Pulaski to leave his own country and seek service with the American forces?" The answer involves a short review of the history of Poland and of Pulaski, himself, before he sailed for this country.

Poland emerges from obscurity in the Tenth Century as the Duchy of Poland, tributary to Germany. Later, she freed herself from Germany and rose to the dignity of a Kingdom.

With able rulers, Poland expanded her territory so that in the middle of the Sixteenth Century she extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from the heart of Germany to the heart of Russia. She was said to be the

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3. Ford, *Writings of George Washington*. Vol. VI, pp. 56, 57, notes. Pulaski Monument ceremonies (pamphlet, 1855); Bentalou, p. 20. It will be noted that Washington, Franklin, Bentalou and General Prevost, refer to the subject of this article as "*Count Pulaski*."

4. Henry Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 47, 59, notes.

greatest power of Central Europe at that time but in less than a century and a half, her influence was gone. In less than another one hundred years, Poland had disappeared entirely from the map of Europe.

What is the explanation?

The downfall of Poland is universally ascribed to the nature of its constitution, vicious in its terms and unworkable in practice.<sup>5</sup>

Count Pulaski himself, gives a contemporary reason when he speaks of the constitution of Poland as "ill contrived, without central vigor and wholly unsuited to the present crisis."

The writer prefers to lay the blame upon the nobles, and in this class he includes the princes, the nobles of inferior rank and the landed gentry or *Szchlacta*. The nobles comprised only one-twentieth of the population. Nineteen-twentieths were without influence.

In England, the barons at Runnymede demanded redress of grievances from their sovereign for the benefit of the whole nation.

In Poland, the nobles were favored by the early constitutions, and at every crisis used their influence to increase their own power, to enhance their own privileges and to curtail those of the burghers and the peasants.

As a consequence, England exists today while Poland disappeared.

The nobles used two weapons: first, they elected the Kings and as they had to look to them for subsidies, the Kings could make no progress without the sanction of the nobles, and their consent was never given without exacting additional privileges and exemptions; another weapon used by the nobles was what is known as the "Liberum Veto."

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5. James Harvey Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, p. 153, map; R. Nisbet Bain, *The Last King of Poland*, pp. 1, 19, 20; Nevin O. Winter, *Poland Today and Yesterday*, pp. 6, 16, 17, 25, 43, 65, 79, 80; George P. Fisher, *Universal History*, pp. 347, 348, 479.

It may be observed that most governments embrace executive, legislative and judicial functions, sometimes separated and sometimes combined, but all working with a certain degree of harmony.

In Poland, the Kings were held in check by the nobles which paralyzed executive action. Under the constitution, the extraordinary provision prevailed until the bitter end when Poland was no more, that all legislation had to be unanimous and that a single voice in opposition, or what is termed the "Liberum Veto," could not merely defeat any particular measure, but it was potent to wipe out all previous measures that had been passed. But the supreme objection was that one hostile vote could dissolve, or as it was called "explode" the diet and cause the dissolution of the legislative assembly.

Any enactment which did not meet the favor of any one representative could thus be defeated. If a noble was haled before the diet for an offense, however atrocious, he need but resort to the simple expedient of having a friend exercise the "Liberum Veto" and dissolve the diet and set him free.<sup>6</sup>

The judiciary, with few exceptions, was venal and corrupt.

And so it was that with the executive and legislative functions paralyzed and with justice favoring the rich, vigorous action in Poland was impossible, anarchy ensued, and the nobles fell with Poland under the weight of their own privileges.

Meanwhile, Poland reached a stage in her history where she was surrounded by powerful sovereigns unhampered by such restrictions and determined to take advantage of her weakness.

Foremost of her hostile neighbors was Russia, which always looked with envious eyes upon Poland.

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6. Fisher, *Universal History*, pp. 471, 479; Bain, *The Last King of Poland*, pp. 11, 15, 22, 40, 41, 46; Winter, *Poland of Today and Yesterday*, Preface, pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14.



Russia was one of the great Slav nations and adhered to the Greek Catholic Church.

Poland was a great Slav nation and adhered to the Roman Catholic Church.

Russia was determined to be the leading Slav nation of Europe and was determined to advance the interests of her national religion at the expense of Poland.<sup>7</sup>

Russia found its opportunity upon the death of Augustus III,<sup>8</sup> October 5, 1763, when it became necessary to elect a new king. The family of Czartoryski was one of the most ancient and important families in Poland and several members, including Prince Adam Czartoryski and Count Stanislas Poniatowski, his cousin, were candidates for the throne. The Prince Chancellor, their uncle, and Prince Adam were earnestly seeking reforms in the Constitution; but every diet favorable to their measures had been exploded by their opponents and they felt the need of foreign intervention to bring about their reforms.

On February 7, 1764, the Prince Chancellor of this family begged Catherine the Great of Russia to bring in a Russian army to support him.<sup>9</sup> This move proved fatal. Catherine instructed her Ambassador at Warsaw to favor Stanislas, her former favorite.

A convocation diet, whose duty it was to summon the election diet, met in May, 1764, and with the aid of Russian troops, all opposition was suppressed and the opponents driven from the country.

In June, a Confederation was formed in which a majority only was necessary and all desirable measures were passed without opposition.

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7. Winter, *Poland of Today and Yesterday*, pp. 4, 91, 99, 100; Fisher, *Universal History*, p. 349.

8. Jared Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, p. 370, "Count Pulaski."

9. Bain, *The Last King of Poland*, pp. 41, 65.

On August 16th, the election diet met, and on August 26th, 1764, with 8,000 Russian troops within three miles of the field of election, Stanislas Poniatowski was elected King of Poland.<sup>10</sup>

The election of Poniatowski was a signal for civil war and brought the Pulaskis into prominence.

Count Joseph Pulaski<sup>11</sup> was the father of Count Casimir Pulaski. He was the Staroste or Chief Magistrate of Warech. He was a jurist of ability and a member of the nobility, being connected with the princely house of Czartoryski.

He was an exception to the corrupt and venal judges which were administering the law in Poland. He was an exception to the nobles who were looking solely to their own aggrandizement and not to the welfare of the country. He had led a quiet, retired life and hoped for the best under the new King, but the presence of Russian troops in his native land and the weakness of Poniatowski caused him to awake to the danger menacing the country.

From 1764 to 1768, Confederations had been formed throughout Poland to oppose Russian intrigue and Russian troops, and there was intermittent warfare.<sup>12</sup>

But the Russian troops were so persistent in putting down these meetings and Russian spies were so numerous that open opposition to the Russians, wherever it appeared, was promptly put down. It became necessary therefore, to work secretly.

Count Pulaski determined to organize a new movement.

A new diet was to be formed and he considered this an opportune time to launch the affair.

He went to Warsaw, the capital, and consulted his intimate friends and together it was agreed that a meet-

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10. Bain, *The Last King of Poland*, p. 70.

11. The original spelling was "Pulawski"—James F. Fletcher, *History of Poland*, p. 186.

12. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 371, 373, 375.

ing should take place at some point distant from the capital. Pulaski went to one of his estates near the capital and discussed the matter with his three sons and a nephew and aroused in them such a pitch of patriotism that all of them agreed to join the enterprise.

Francis, the oldest, was delegated to visit nobles throughout the country and induce them to act.

Casimir, the second son, was directed to get together 150 Cossacks from the family estates and bring them to the meeting place.

The city of Leopold in the southern part of the Kingdom had been selected and a number met there but as the Russians appeared to know what was going on, it was arranged that the meeting should take place at the small town of Bar, in Podolia, a few miles from the Turkish frontier.

On the 29th of February, 1768, Count Joseph Pulaski, his three sons, his nephew, Krazinski, a nobleman of military reputation, and two others, met at the town of Bar and signed a secret compact which has come down to us as the celebrated Confederation of Bar, the purpose of which was to drive the Russians from Polish soil and to save Poland. This Confederation of Bar, although small in numbers, became the model for a number of other confederations which were organized throughout the country.

Krazinski was made the Marshal of the Confederation and Joseph Pulaski Marshal of the troops. These collected together a small band of three hundred followers, one-half of which had been furnished by Pulaski.<sup>13</sup> This small number was increased in a short time to eight thousand men<sup>14</sup> by enlisting the banditti, from lawless forces on the edge of Poland which were ever ready to fight for or against the Poles according as their interest lay.

13. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 374, 376, 377, 378.

14. Fletcher, *History of Poland*. p. 186.

Russian troops were scattered through Podolia and fighting broke out.

Count Joseph Pulaski thereupon issued a manifesto reciting all the wrongs of Poland at the hands of the Russians and urging resistance to the Russians even to the sacrifice of their lives.<sup>15</sup>

Young Casimir Pulaski was given command of a detachment and immediately began to distinguish himself by his brilliant actions. On three different occasions he repulsed the Russians, although only twenty-one years of age.<sup>16</sup>

It may be well, therefore, to consider his training for such important work.

The life of Casimir Pulaski is shrouded in mystery, unsettled by controversy as to many of the details, but always tinged with romance.

The date of his birth is variously stated as 1747 by Sparks and March 4, 1748, by later writers. Pulaski himself fixes it as 1747 when he states that at the age of 21 he was repelling the enemies of his country (in 1768). The action of his father in voting against the election of Poniatowski is ascribed to him, although at the time he was a youth of only sixteen years.

The manifesto of Bar is attributed to the son, although in all probability it was the address of the father, who was the chief of the Confederates.<sup>17</sup> But in a life filled with stirring incidents, these differences are of small import.

The Province of Podolia where Pulaski was born was in the extreme Southwest of Poland. This section was the most exposed part of Poland and was open to continuous incursions of bands of Turkish, Austrian and Tatar marauders.

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15. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 374-381.

16. Fletcher, *Poland*, p. 188.

17. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 380-441.



His father had been obliged to maintain a large band of armed retainers on his estates, and from the frequent collisions with the robbers and marauders, Count Casimir gained a knowledge of partisan warfare.

At the age of twenty, he first served under Prince Charles of Courland and assisted at the defense of Mitau, which was being besieged by the Russians. He thus had a chance to observe more regular military operations, especially the tactics of the Russian army, which knowledge later was to prove of great value to him. This service lasted six months and the defense was successful.

From these surroundings he had acquired somewhat of the art of war and that expert horsemanship notable throughout his career.<sup>18</sup>

It seems that soon after the Confederation of Bar was formed in February, 1768, the Confederates made endeavor to enlist Turkey, Saxony and Tartary against the Russians, who thereupon undertook to exterminate the Confederates of Bar.<sup>19</sup>

The Confederates were declared rebels and the Russians marched seven regular regiments and 5,000 Cossacks towards Bar and as they advanced, they devastated the country, murdered the inhabitants and attacked small bands of Confederates.<sup>20</sup>

Count Polocki with a small army of patriots was badly defeated and had to take refuge in Turkey. The older Pulaski went to his rescue whereupon the Russians in his absence attacked the town of Bar, which made a stiff defense under a Monk named Mark but was finally captured and 1200 prisoners carried in chains to Russia.<sup>21</sup>

We first hear of Casimir, when with 1200 men, he defended a post entrusted to him for seven days, against

18. The Century Cyclopedia of Names "Pulaski Pol. Pulawski, born in Podolia, March 4, 1748." The village of Kostry-Pulazie and various other places are named as his birthplace. Verily Homer had no more. He may have attended also the military school at Warsaw where his compatriot, the illustrious Thaddeus Kosciuszko, received his early training. W. Irving, *Washington*, Vol. III, p. 45.

19. Fletcher, *History of Poland*, p. 186.

20. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, p. 382.

21. Fletcher, *History of Poland*, p. 189.

originally 1,200 opponents and then 6,000 of the enemy and gained a number of advantages and finally repulsed the attackers.

With only 300 men, he defends the monastery of Berdichef and holds out for three weeks but for lack of provisions and expected reinforcements, he is compelled to surrender. Later, he was liberated and joined his father, who had fled to Moldavia. Next he put himself at the head of a few troops and attacked a detachment of the Russians, capturing a number of prisoners and arms. This foray was again repeated with even more success.

With his father he seized a strategic point in Poland, where they controlled a large area and established depots to furnish provisions for the Confederates. Presently, however, he sustained a great personal loss by the capture through treachery of his father and the Confederates sustained a permanent loss when their leader, Count Joseph Pulaski, died in captivity. Casimir Pulaski then took chief command of the Confederates.

Meanwhile, the Turks had taken up arms against Russia and to facilitate the Turks crossing into Poland, Francis Pulaski undertook to defend Zwaniek and Casimir established himself at the Fortress of Okopé and with 800 men they attempted to maintain these two posts on the banks of the Niester.

The Russians sent a great force against these two places and the youngest of the three brothers was captured and sent a prisoner to Russia.<sup>22</sup>

In a short time Russia took possession of Zwaniek and attacked the fortress of Okopé.

This place was completely surrounded by steep precipices on one side, by the river with impassable marshes on the other and by Russian forces blocking the only other exit and it looked as if surrender was inevitable.

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22. Sparks, *American Biography*. Vol. XIV, pp. 378, 382, 386, 387.

But on a dark night, Pulaski led his 200 horsemen in silence down the precipices and thus effected their escape.

Meanwhile, the activity of the Russians and their revolting cruelties had almost driven out the Confederates from Southern Poland.

But Casimir Pulaski, summoning the remnants of the army, with his brother Francis, performed one of the most brilliant feats of his career by leading 600 men through a hostile country, covered with Russian troops and Russian spies, a distance of 300 leagues to Lithuania.

He was successful in increasing his adherents who were inflamed over the atrocious acts of the Russians in the South, in particular the cutting off of the hands of nine Polish gentlemen who had displayed their mutilated arms at the capital.

In Lithuania alone, he travelled a distance of 500 leagues and fought a number of engagements. One thousand Russians attacked him but they were defeated with a loss of 200 men and many of them were forced to lay down their arms and return to Russia. This victory enabled him to increase his small army to 4,000 men. In another engagement, he decoyed the Russians into a marsh and defeated them with heavy losses.<sup>23</sup>

But here he made a fatal error in trying to march to Hungary with only 600 men, through the open country. He was attacked by overwhelming Russian forces, his brother Francis was killed and he was compelled to take refuge in Hungary with only 10 survivors.<sup>24</sup>

In August, 1770, he was operating again in Poland and approached Crakow, one of the capitals, and captured an entire regiment of Royal Guards. He was pur-

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23. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 388, 389, 391, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397.

24. Fletcher, *History of Poland*, p. 190. Sparks, p. 398.

sued by the Russians and took refuge in the monastery of Czenstokow, which was a natural fortress of great strength.<sup>25</sup>

He was besieged for many days but he defended it with such valor that the Russians were forced to retire and his success was looked upon as little short of miraculous.

About this time, the Confederates determined that King Poniatowski was an enemy to his country and the throne was declared to be vacant.

Thereupon, Pulaski at the solicitation of two of the Confederates, determined to capture him. Under his plan, about a dozen officers disguised as peasants, made their way to the capital and actually captured the King. They started to take him to Pulaski, but, awed by their act of temerity, one by one they fell away and the King was left free to return to his followers.

Pulaski's purpose was to take the King alive but Frederick the Great, assuming the lead, denounced this act as attempted regicide on the part of Pulaski which should receive the utmost condemnation, and which should unite all the powers of Europe to take prompt vengeance for so enormous a crime. The Empress of Austria joined in this condemnation.

In January, 1772, Pulaski issued a reply denying that he had any such purpose, using in part this language: "I have endeavored to mark my course by an invincible fortitude. Neither the blood of one of my brothers which was shed by the enemy before my eyes, nor the cruel servitude of another, nor the sad fate of so many of my relations and compatriots, has shaken my patriotism."

His friends called attention to the fact that the King was in the possession of the conspirators several hours when he could have been made away with if murder was

25. Sparks, Vol. XIV, pp. 398, 422.



their purpose. But no defense availed Pulaski. In his absence, he was sentenced to be condemned and executed, his property was confiscated and he was declared to be an outlaw. Under these circumstances, he was compelled to abandon the struggle and leave the country.<sup>26</sup>

Then ensued in the summer of 1772, the first partition of Poland, the most indefensible act of plunder in the history of nations. It was initiated by Frederick the Great of Prussia who drew into the scheme, Austria and Russia. He was bound by treaty to pay Russia subsidies on account of the Turkish wars and he made up his mind to get compensation from Poland. Austria had taken from Poland a district in North Hungary, mortgaged to Poland in 1412 and never redeemed. She was promised aid in the event of a Turkish attack. Besides this motive, Russia, in a war with Turkey had advanced to the Black Sea and threatened to establish herself South of the Danube. This was a menace to Austria which had made peace with Turkey in 1771 in order to oppose Russia. Austria tried to induce Frederick the Great to remain neutral in such a struggle, but he was scheming with Russia to partition Poland. Hence Austria found she could only stay the Russian advance on the Danube by joining Russia and Prussia in the division of Poland.<sup>27</sup>

Russia had enormous territory and was indifferent at first, but finally under pressure from Frederick, consented to take part in the division of the spoils.

On August 5, 1772, the treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg. By this first partition, Poland lost 82,000 square miles—over one-third of her territory—and nearly five millions of her population.<sup>28</sup>

Upon leaving the country, Count Pulaski first went to Turkey where he spent several years trying to incite

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26. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 407, 409, 410, 414; Winter, *Poland Today and Yesterday*, p. 110.

27. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. III, p. 10, "Austria."

28. Winter, *Poland Today and Yesterday*, p. 98.

Turkey to attack Russia. But in spite of numerous promises, Turkey was irresolute, and after five years of hostilities, made peace with Russia in 1774, and he therefore had to conclude that aid from Turkey could no longer be expected. So he made his way to Paris where he arrived about the year 1775.

His arrival in Paris is described graphically by his schoolmate and intimate friend, Dr. N. Belleville,<sup>29</sup> an interne of one of the military hospitals in Paris, of which his father was prefect and resident physician.

On a rainy evening, just as he was about to retire to his chamber, a handful of sand was thrown against the window and he said, "Who's there?" Someone called him by name and he went down to see who wanted him. There he found Count Pulaski sick, worn out with fatigue and exposure and destitute, for he had not made known his presence in Paris to the authorities, not knowing how he might be received. Dr. Belleville took him into his apartment, provided for him and opened a correspondence with the Count's friends.

At the same time, Pulaski, sympathizing with the American Colonies in their struggle for liberty against enormous odds, applied to Dr. Franklin to aid him in securing a commission in the American Army.

Dr. Franklin was overwhelmed with similar requests but impressed with Pulaski's splendid military record and with the sincerity of his motives, furnished Pulaski with letters to General Washington, which proved invaluable.

After some weeks, through Dr. Belleville, money was procured and arrangements were made for Count Pulaski and Dr. Belleville to leave France together.

A passport having been obtained, they went to London and thence to Liverpool where they found a vessel

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29. This may be Captain Le Brun de Bellecour, Americanized. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, p. 224.

bound for the United States. They landed in Salem, Massachusetts, and soon after joined the army.<sup>30</sup>

Pulaski arrived in Philadelphia in August, 1777, and immediately presented his credentials to General Washington, who was so impressed with him that he forthwith wrote to Congress suggesting that Pulaski be given the command of the horse.

In the interim, General Washington invited Count Pulaski to serve on his staff as a volunteer officer.

On September 11, 1777, the battle of Brandywine occurred and Pulaski was able to demonstrate his worth. Learning that the British forces were approaching, General Washington moved his army to meet the advance.

General Wayne was stationed at Chadd's Ford to oppose any crossing there. General Sullivan was on the right of the line. General Greene was in reserve.

The plan of the British was admirable, and was based upon time-worn battle tactics which had proved successful and which consisted of making a feint with part of the forces in front, whilst a strong force made a turning movement and attacked the enemy in flank.

General Knyphausen attacked Chadd's Ford as a feint and thus occupied the full attention of the American forces. General Cornwallis, meanwhile, who had been able to secure a competent guide, made a circuitous march in secret of 18 miles to the left, attacked the American right and threw them into the utmost confusion. General Greene came to the rescue, having marched his force, it is said, five miles in less than fifty minutes and thus succeeded in staying the complete rout of the army.

General Wayne, seeing that the right had been broken, was forced to retreat in disorder. But through the efforts of Lafayette, another volunteer officer on Wash-

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30. Lynah letters, in Georgia Historical Society Collections. Rev. Dr. W. L. Johnson to James Lynah, February 28, 1854, quoting his neighbor, Dr. N. Belleville, for seven years at Trenton, N. J.

ington's staff, the fugitives were finally checked at a deep stream by the American troops, stationed there by Lafayette.

Pulaski here saw his first service and exposed himself to great danger by riding close to the British lines and reconnoitering their position. At a critical moment, with Washington's permission, he gathered together Washington's body guard and made an unexpected charge on the British which stayed their advance.<sup>31</sup>

Later, he was the first to detect the approach of the British in such force as to menace Washington himself, and part of his command near Warren Tavern.

Washington was engaged when Pulaski rode up and he was told that Washington could not be disturbed. Pulaski insisted, however, on seeing him and reporting the near presence of the British forces. Colonel Alexander Hamilton, who understood French, suggested that Pulaski may have mistaken British troops for American troops but Pulaski, with great heat, insisted that his report was accurate, and this afterwards proved to be true and it was through his intelligence and activity that further disaster was prevented.<sup>32</sup>

As a result of Pulaski's splendid conduct at the battle of Brandywine, which justified Franklin and Washington's opinion of him, on September 15, 1777, Congress awarded to Count Pulaski a commission as Brigadier-General in command of all the cavalry of the American forces.

October 3, 1777, the battle of Germantown occurred in which General Pulaski participated but of which we have no details except a suggestion that he was not as alert as he might have been, an imputation which is mentioned by only one writer and which is completely refuted

31. Paul Bentalou, *Pulaski Vindicated*, p. 24; Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, p. 418.

32. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV. p. 419.



by Washington's silence as to the same and his subsequent praise of Pulaski and also refuted by Pulaski's comrade, Captain Bentalou.<sup>33</sup>

A victory for the Americans was turned into a defeat by their sudden panic and precipitate retreat where it is alleged that they literally fled from their own victory.

General Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

The British had captured Philadelphia and from time to time were sending out forays to collect food and forage to the injury and alarm of the inhabitants of the surrounding country and the loss of their property.

In February, 1778, Washington ordered General Wayne to cover a section along side of the Delaware River and extending into New Jersey. Wayne's movements, from his letters, appear to have occurred between March 5th and March 14th.

Pulaski, who was stationed at Trenton, was ordered to co-operate with Wayne and he therefore joined Wayne's forces as the latter crossed the Delaware River. The British, getting news of Wayne's whereabouts, attacked his force at Haddonfield, New Jersey. Wayne, suspecting trouble, eluded the attack and escaped with the aid of Pulaski's forces.

Pulaski behaved with great bravery and his horse under him was shot.

The British were followed and as they attempted to debark at the Ferry, Wayne and Pulaski attacked them and they were severely handled.<sup>34</sup>

It is somewhat significant that directly after this affair in March, 1778, Pulaski became discouraged and as there was friction amongst the American officers who did

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33. Paul Bentalou, *Pulaski Vindicated*; W. Irving, *Washington*, Vol. III, pp. 196-210.

34. Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. VI, pp. 368, 369.

not relish serving under a foreign officer, he communicated with General Washington that he intended to resign.

Pulaski could recognize a reason for friction with the American officers as the Polish officers had been similarly irritated when asked to serve in Poland under the French representative Dumouriez.<sup>35</sup>

Washington assured Pulaski of his complete faith in him, whereupon Pulaski modified his request by asking for a separate command, retaining, however, his rank of Brigadier-General.

Washington's high opinion of Pulaski may be gathered from two letters which follow.

On March 14, 1778, Washington writes Congress requesting that Pulaski be authorized to raise an independent corps of 68 horse, armed with lances and 200 foot equipped as light infantry.

"I have only to add that the Count's valor and active zeal on all occasions have done him great honor."

And on the same date, Washington writes to Govern. or Livingston:

"I am pleased with the favorable account which you give to Count Pulaski's conduct while at Trenton. He is a gentleman of great activity and unquestionable bravery and only wants a fuller knowledge of our language and customs to make him a valuable officer."<sup>36</sup>

On March 28, 1778, Congress passed a resolution that Count Pulaski retain his rank as Brigadier and have the command of an independent corps of horse and foot, the corps to be raised in such a way and composed of such men as General Washington shall think expedient and proper.

On April 13, 1778, a recruiting station was opened at Mrs. Ross' house in Baltimore and recruiting continued through the months of April, May, June and July,

35. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, p. 406; Fletcher, *Poland*, p. 200.

36. Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. VI, pp. 422, 423, 424, 426.

1778, resulting in the forming of an independent corps of three companies of horse, armed with lances, and three companies of infantry, a total of 330, all recruited in Baltimore but of which 28 were from Pennsylvania. The character of the recruits and the size of the legion was approved by General Washington, who accepted it for service.

We now come to one of the most interesting personal episodes in Pulaski's career. We refer to the Pulaski



PULASKI BANNER

(Obverse)

Courtesy the Maryland Historical Society.

banner made by the Moravian Sisters at Bethlehem,<sup>37</sup> carried as the battle flag of the Legion, which was with him up to his last engagement at Savannah and which was celebrated by Longfellow in his beautiful poem entitled "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns."

The original banner is now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore.

The banner may be described as follows:



PULASKI BANNER

(Reverse)

Courtesy the Maryland Historical Society.

37. The banner was made under the supervision of Rebecca Langley, by Erdmuth Langley, Julia Bader, Anna Blum, Anna Hussey, Maria Rosina Shultz and Anna Maria Weiss. *Moravian Records*.



On one side are the letters "U. S." and in a circle around them the words "Unitas Virtus Forcior" (fortior) "Union makes valor stronger."

On the other side in the center is the all-seeing eye, with the words "Non Alius Regit." "No Other Governs."

The banner is twenty inches square and is attached to a lance. The ground is crimson. The exploding hand grenades in the four corners of the banner are bright yellow silk relieved with white, to show distinction in the flames. The ball of the eye is light brown; the pupil is dark brown. The rays around the eye are bright yellow and shaded with green. The letters are yellow and shaded with green, that is the letters are two-thirds of bright yellow silk and one-third of green silk, the "U. S." the same. The bordering near the edge of the banner is bright yellow and green exactly like the letters. The fringe was of silver, or some white bullion. The stars are bright yellow.<sup>38</sup>

It is a curious coincidence that these Pennsylvania Moravians who made the banner which Pulaski carried to Savannah, were once settled in Georgia, near Savannah. The Moravians were more or less aligned with the Lutheran Church and being opposed in principle to military service demanded of settlers in Georgia, were moved in 1740 by the celebrated preacher and philanthropist, Rev. George Whitefield, from Georgia to Pennsylvania, where he founded the Moravian settlements at Nazareth and Bethlehem.<sup>39</sup>

Count Pulaski visited the Moravians April 16, 1778, and again May 17, 1778. A detachment of his legion was on duty at Minnisink, near Bethlehem. The Moravians and the Poles were neighbors in Europe from the time when the "Mark of Moravia" adjoined the "Duchy of Poland," and Pulaski doubtless expected to meet friends at Bethlehem.

38. *Pennsylvania Archives, second series*, Vol. II, p. 154.

39. B. J. Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 336, note; Vol. II, p. 391.

His first visit to the Moravians is described as follows:

"On Maundy Thursday, (April 16, 1778), they assembled in the Old Chapel for the reading of the tragedy of Gethsemane, and were astonished to see two distinguished officers enter the chapel. The bearing of the officers at once denoted they were men of high position. They reverently seated themselves and followed the service with close attention. After the service it was found they were Count Casimir Pulaski and Colonel Kobatsch. This was the first visit of Pulaski to Bethlehem but not the last."<sup>40</sup>

On May 17th, the records read:

"Sunday, 17th. Mr. Samuel Adams, a delegate to Congress, Dr. Foster and several other gentlemen, spent this day at Bethlehem, and attended religious service as did Gen. Pulaski, who ordered a dress parade of some men of his corps that were with him and in this fashion came to church."<sup>41</sup>

There has been much controversy over the origin of the Pulaski banner.

Some contend that Pulaski on one of his visits to Bethlehem admired the work of the Moravian sisters, ordered the banner and paid for it himself.

Another version is that the sisters presented it to General Pulaski as a gift, for the reason that Pulaski in his European home was a neighbor of the Moravians and that he found a friend in the Countess Von Gersdorf, Deaconess of the Sisters' House at Bethlehem and that he placed a guard around the house to protect the inmates from the enemy.

Others say that the ladies at Baltimore ordered the banner and presented it to Pulaski.

As to the first contention, it may be dismissed when we recall that the legion must have been furnished with

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40. *Moravian Records.*

41. Bishop De Schweinitz, *Story of the Pulaski Banner*, Moravian Pamphlet, July, 1880.

official flags and guidons and Pulaski was not possessed at this time with extra funds to buy an additional flag.

The reply to the second contention may be that the Sisters had previously presented a pocketbook to General Gates of which due notice is taken in the Moravian records but there is no record of the gift to General Pulaski.<sup>42</sup>

We are inclined, therefore, to the opinion that the gift originated with the Baltimore ladies, first, because at this very time Pulaski was visiting Bethlehem and Pulaski's Legion was being recruited in Baltimore and the Baltimore ladies doubtless had in mind as a precedent, the gift of a flag by Mrs. Susanna Elliott, a Charleston lady, to the heroic Sergeant William Jasper.<sup>43</sup> Secondly, because of the direct testimony of Captain Paul Bentalou, an officer in the Pulaski Legion, who brought the banner back to Baltimore after the war and who a few months before his death in 1826, referring to this battle-flag, states:

"It was deposited in the Baltimore Museum as a relic of the early days, interesting to Baltimore at least, which, when a village, had been the cradle of the legion, and whose women, with a touch of patriotism, had caused this standard to be made and presented to the young corps."<sup>44</sup>

Each banner was present at the siege of Savannah with Jasper and Pulaski, when they were mortally wounded at about the same hour within a few hundred feet of each other.

The poem about the banner was written by Longfellow in 1825 before he was nineteen years of age. It was inspired by the statement contained in an article on Pulaski in the *North American Review* for 1825, as follows:

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42. Bishop De Schweinitz, *Story of the Pulaski Banner*, Moravian Pamphlet, July, 1880.

43. B. J. Lossing, *Field Book*, Vol. II, p. 438, note.

44. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, p. 219.

"The standard of his legion was formed of a piece of crimson silk embroidered by the Moravian Nuns of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania."

The poem is historically incorrect such as the use of the word "Nuns" for "Sisters," but it is singularly beautiful.

In spite of it being so well known, it is appropriate to insert it here in full.<sup>45</sup>

### HYMN OF THE MORAVIAN NUNS OF BETHLEHEM.<sup>46</sup>

At the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner.

When the dying flame of day  
Through the chancel shot its ray,  
Far the glimmering tapers shed  
Faint light on the cowled head;  
And the censer burning swung,  
Where, before the altar, hung  
The crimson banner, that with prayer  
Had been consecrated there.  
And the nuns' sweet hymn was heard the while,  
Sung low, in the dim, mysterious aisle.

"Take thy banner! May it wave  
Proudly o'er the good and brave;  
When the battle's distant wail  
Breaks the sabbath of our vale,  
When the clarion's music thrills  
To the hearts of these lone hills,  
When the spear in conflict shakes,  
And the strong lance shivering breaks.

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45. "Pulaski's Banner", *Patriotic Marylander*, June, 1916, p. 16.

46. Kind permission of Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass.



“Take thy banner! and, beneath  
The battle-cloud’s encircling wreath,  
Guard it, till our homes are free!  
Guard it! God will prosper thee!  
In the dark and trying hour,  
In the breaking forth of power,  
In the rush of steeds and men,  
His right hand will shield thee then.

“Take thy banner! But when night  
Closes round the ghastly fight,  
If the vanquished warrior bow,  
Spare him! By our holy vow,  
By our prayers and many tears,  
By the mercy that endears,  
Spare him! he our love hath shared!  
Spare him! as thou wouldst be spared!

“Take thy banner! and if e’er  
Thou shouldst press the soldier’s bier,  
And the muffled drum should beat  
To the tread of mournful feet,  
Then this crimson flag shall be  
Martial cloak and shroud for thee.”

The warrior took that banner proud,  
And it was his martial cloak and shroud!

Count Pulaski was now engaged in building up his legion but on July 5, 1778, he found time to write a letter probably to a member of General Washington’s staff giving his opinion as to future operations. The letter contained no address and the bottom part of the first page is torn off but it is most interesting as an original document signed by Count Pulaski and is most important in displaying his grasp of the military situation. Draft of the letter which is in old French and almost illegible is submitted herewith:<sup>47</sup>

47. Original letter in possession of the Georgia Historical Society. Translation by A. Thesmar, Esq., and Rev. Father J. D. Mitchell, of Savannah, Georgia.



On grace je vous prie fait moi savoir  
 pour vous préparer au combat sacré  
 en poche et peut être qu'un peu  
 de Mordor je ne serais pas inutile.  
 à Dieu Votre véritable ami et serviteur

Res. Compliment. J. P. Lockie.

Le 1<sup>er</sup> Jan. 1848  
 A. de Luben et a Locke Paris  
 au Com. d'arr. de Paris. Pour servir au Maire de la 1<sup>re</sup> arr.  
 Lesdits Com. d'arr. de Paris pour servir au Maire de la 1<sup>re</sup> arr.

Count Pulaski arrived in Charleston from the North with his  
Command on the 11<sup>th</sup> May 1779 at the very time when Cornwallis  
from the South crossed Ashley River to attack that City.

Count Pilaski

no date

Flav. 5 July 1778

ORIGINAL LETTER OF COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI

In possession of Georgia Historical Society.



"I hasten to thank you for the remembrance with which you have honored me. I received your letter through an officer. I am sorry that I am so delayed at present in the military operations; I would so like to go ahead and let everybody know my devoted zeal for the service of the States.

"I believe this campaign will be most instructive. The enemy can execute various manœuvres, by which he will try to make us engage in a general combat. It is to our interest to avoid this, rather than to expose to the fortunes of war our chance of success,—which, already well founded, can change the operations. You know success is variable, and if the battle should be lost the conquest of all Jersey would follow; Philadelphia would be recaptured, and the junction with New York would surely occur.

"It may be that General Clinton will not be so active, but it is certain that at present the English must risk all against all, or give up America. I therefore consider it expedient that our Main Army should not be exposed to a general action; that several detached bodies of troops should constantly observe the movements of the enemy, confuse them as much as possible, and carefully await a very favorable opportunity to make a deliberate attack on the enemy with the support of the whole Army.

"My plan would be to send at once all the good engineers to strengthen again the fort which is now razed; to dispose further the chevaux-de-frise and in such numbers that they will further hinder the approach of the British Marine,—otherwise it might happen that the enemy, after being successful in Jersey, will retake Philadelphia and be content to entrench himself in an outpost so well fortified that it will be strong enough to repel the most vigorous attacks.

"I shall not finish my reasonings, as I wish to explain verbally my various observations. I counsel prudence.

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"I ask of you the favor to let me know if you are making ready for battle. I will hasten to arrive, and possibly, although with few troops, I shall be of some use. A Dieu.

Your faithful friend and servant.

C. PULASKI.

P. S.—

"My compliments to the General Marquis de LaFayette, Baran De Steuben and to the whole Family at (Headquarters).

"Please inform the Marquis de LaFayette that I have written him two letters without as yet receiving a reply."

At the end of July, 1778, we find Pulaski at Baltimore with the Legion ready for service as will appear from the following:<sup>48</sup>

"On Wednesday last (July 29th), the Hon. General Count Pulaski, reviewed his Independent Legion in this Town. They made a martial appearance and performed many Manoeuvres in a Manner that reflected the highest Honour on both officers and privates."

On September 30, 1778, Pulaski with his legion was ordered to Princeton to await further orders of General Washington or the commanding officer in New Jersey.

For some time it seemed that the British shipping was much harassed by American vessels, preying on them from the coast of New Jersey using Little Egg Harbor as the base. Learning that a British force had been landed in an effort to break up this practice, General Pulaski was dispatched to Egg Harbor to drive off the British. When he arrived, however, the British had retired to their ships.

Pulaski went into camp about eight miles from the ocean with his cavalry on the right and his infantry on the left. The latter force was commanded by a captain who had been very harsh with a soldier under him named

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48. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, p. 217.

Julien. As a result, he had deserted to the British and informed them of the exact location of Pulaski's force.

On October 15, 1778, before day a strong British detachment attacked the camp. The infantry was first attacked and taken by surprise. The deserter pointed out the commander of the infantry who was immediately bayoneted and some 40 Americans killed before the force could be withdrawn.<sup>49</sup>

It may be noted here that this instance of a deserter giving valuable information to the enemy was duplicated later at Savannah where a deserter from the American forces to the British led to the defeat with great carnage of the French and American forces.

Meanwhile, General Pulaski was bending every effort to improve his cavalry detachment and at the same time pass on his superior knowledge of cavalry tactics to the American cavalry leaders.

He spent part of the Winter with General Washington at Morristown and exercised his cavalry in a meadow near Washington's headquarters.

He introduced Cossack riding and his personal exploits were extraordinarily difficult and daring.

It is said of him that he could ride at full speed, throw his pistol up in the air, grasp it as it came down, hurl it ahead of him and then leaning over his horse, recover it from the ground without checking his speed. American officers undertook to emulate his feats, with the result that no inconsiderable number were injured in the attempt.<sup>50</sup>

On February 2, 1779, Pulaski was ordered South with his legion to join General Lincoln who had been given command of the Southern troops following the disastrous campaign of General Robert Howe, ending December 29, 1778, with the loss of Savannah to the British. We find

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49. Lossing, *Field Book*, Vol. II, p. 735, note; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, p. 218. W. Irving, *Washington*, Vol. III, p. 473.

50. Lossing, *Field Book*, Vol. I, p. 310, note.

Pulaski, however, as late as April 10, 1779, at Annapolis, Maryland,<sup>51</sup> evidently recruiting up his force.

He proceeded South in two columns, one near the coast and the other some distance from the coast and he must have reported to General Lincoln soon after this date.

As the Georgia Legislature was about to meet at Augusta, Georgia, General Lincoln felt it was incumbent on him to retain most of his forces near Augusta to ward off a possible attack by General Prevost who was in command at Savannah.

Meanwhile, General Lincoln stationed General Moultrie at Black Swamp, South Carolina, to keep him posted as to the enemy's movements.

General Prevost crossed the Savannah River and made a movement towards Charleston, hoping to draw General Lincoln from Augusta. This was merely a feint; but finding small forces only opposed to them, he halted two days and debated whether he should change the feint into a real attack on Charleston. He decided to attack Charleston.

The delay of General Prevost in reaching and attacking Charleston was fatal. It will be seen presently that the delay of the forces attacking General Prevost at the siege of Savannah was fatal. General Prevost as a besieging force lost out through delay. His adversaries attacking him in a beleaguered city lost out through delay.<sup>52</sup>

General Moultrie stubbornly opposed the advance of General Prevost and promptly informed General Lincoln that General Prevost was moving towards Charleston.

General Lincoln abandoned the defense of Augusta and by forced marches reached Dorchester on the isthmus leading to Charleston, but not in time to oppose General Prevost.

51. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, p. 220.

52. Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 47.

General Pulaski, who had joined the Southern Army some time later than April 10, 1779, pushed forward rapidly in the van of the American forces and crossed the Cooper River and reached Charleston on May 11, 1779, the very day that General Prevost crossed the Ashley River.

In response to General Prevost's demands, the City Fathers were about to surrender Charleston, but upon appeal made to them by General Pulaski, General Moultrie and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, they decided to refuse to surrender.

General Pulaski, in spite of the jaded condition of his troops, made an immediate attack upon the British and threw the head of the column back in great disorder. He himself, displayed the greatest bravery and had a number of personal combats with members of the enemy's cavalry.

Colonel Kobatsch, second in command of the Legion, who was with Count Pulaski at Bethlehem, was killed.

The effect of this sudden onslaught was to make General Prevost realize that reinforcements had arrived and caused him to retire.<sup>53</sup>

General Prevost, with Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, both of whom take part later in the siege of Savannah, first entered James Island and then John's Island, which the Stono Inlet separates from the mainland.<sup>54</sup>

General Lincoln followed him slowly and some days later made a fierce attack. For lack of boats, his plan of a diversion failed and he was compelled to order a retreat. Maitland advanced upon the Americans in full force. The American cavalry made a charge (Pulaski not being present) but were compelled to retire. The battle of Stono resulted in General Lincoln's retreat and the movement of General Prevost proceeded by way of

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53. C. C. Jones, "Casimir Pulaski", in *Georgia Historical Collection*, Vol. III, p. 401-428.

54. Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 48.



the sea islands to Savannah. Lieutenant Colonel Maitland was left with 800 men at Beaufort.<sup>55</sup>

An account and a drawing appeared in a Paris newspaper, May, 1779, of a battle near Charleston between General Prevost and General Lincoln, which is supposed to be the battle of Stono.<sup>56</sup> The account was probably issued much later than the actual battle.

The battle of Stono is the only engagement about this time between General Lincoln and General Prevost, both of whose names are mentioned in the newspaper account. But this Paris newspaper differs in most details from other accounts of the Stono battle and therefore the newspaper account must be set down as propaganda in favor of the American cause for the benefit of the French people.<sup>57</sup> We submit herewith copy of the drawing and of the newspaper account.<sup>58</sup>

“ACCOUNT OF BATTLE BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE  
ENGLISH IN FAVOR OF THE FORMER:

The concern felt for some time in London in regard to the fate of the British troops under General Prevost in America was not without cause—The most recent despatches received from Paris and New-York, as also from London and Rivington, inform us, that some time in May, 1779, there has been fought a battle between the Americans and the English, in which these latter have been defeated. The Americans under the orders of General Lincoln were within their lines at Charles-Town, when the English arrived to attack them. At first General Prevost advanced only part of his troops; but these were received with such vigour, and the artillery of the Americans played on them with such effect, that

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55. H. McCall, *History of Georgia*, pp. 418, 419, 420.

56. Kindness of Elfrida DeRenne Barrow, Savannah, Georgia, in whose possession is the original newspaper with the account and drawing of the battle. Translated by A. Thesmar, Esq., Savannah, Georgia.

57. Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 48-62.

58. Translated by A. Thesmar, Esq., Savannah, Georgia.

# Action entre les Américains & les Anglois, en Mai 1779.



1. Le Général Lincoln. 2. L'armée Américaine. 3. Un Corps de troupes, qui vient au secours des Américains. A. Le Général Anglois Prevost. B. L'ennemi Anglois. C. Les morts & blessés. D. Retraite des Anglois.

Paris newspaper, map of engagement between Americans and English, May 9, 1779.  
Original in possession Elfrida DeRenne (Mrs. Craig) Barrow.



*Action entre les Américains & les Anglois, à l'avantage des premiers.*

**L**es inquiétudes que l'on avoit depuis quelque tems à Londres, sur la situation des troupes Angloises, que commandoit le Général Prévost en Amérique, n'étoient pas sans fondement. Les dernières nouvelles de Paris & de New-York, aussi-bien que celles de Londres & de Rivington, nous annoncent, qu'au mois de Mai 1779, il y avoit une action entre les Américains & les Anglois, où ces derniers ont eu du dessous. Les Américains commandés par le Général Lincoln, étoient dans leurs lignes à Charles-Town, lorsque les Anglois vinrent les attaquer. Le Général Prévost, n'ayant d'abord fait avancer qu'une petite de ses troupes; mais elles furent reçues si chaudement; & l'artillerie des Américains joua avec tant de bonheur, que les Anglois furent obligés de se retirer avec beaucoup de précipitation & en désordre. Cependant, le Général Prévost ne tarda pas à revenir à la charge, avec toutes ses forces. Le combat fut extrêmement opiniâtre. L'avantage des deux partis étoit égal. Les Anglois, animés à la vue de leur brave général, qui marchoit à leur

tête, faisoient des prodiges de valeur; la résistance opiniâtre des Américains n'étoit pas moindre. Enfin, après s'être long tems disputé le terrain, pas à pas, les Américains commencent à plier, leur aile gauche avoit déjà pris la fuite, lorsqu'on vit arriver de loin, du côté de Savannah & de Purisbourg, un nouveau corps de troupes Américaines, qui, sur la nouvelle qu'on en étoit aux mains, étoit accouru au secours du Général Lincoln. Alors les choses changeant de face; cet incident arracha la victoire aux Anglois; l'artillerie imprenant de ce renfort, ramena le courage des Américains: ceux qui avoient tourné le dos, revinrent fondre avec impétuosité sur les Royalistes, qui étant attaqués de deux côtés à la fois, se trouverent surpris & accablés par le nombre. Voyant qu'il n'y avoit plus de salut que dans la fuite, ils prirent le sage parti de la retraite. Les Américains cherchèrent à leur opposer le passage. Un corps considérable de leurs troupes, s'étoit placé pour cela derrière une haie, d'où ils faisoient un très-grand feu. Mais le Général Prévost les fit enfoncer la bayonnette au bout du fusil, & les mit en déroute. Il continua à se retirer tranquillement, emmenant avec lui deux pièces de ca-

non. Il en imposa tellement par sa bonne contenance, que les Américains n'osèrent jamais le poursuivre plus loin. L'artillerie gardoit Angloise à la mort souffrir. On a trouvé, morts ou blessés, sur le champ de bataille, environ mille quatre cents Anglois; la plupart étoient des nouvelles levées; les bagages, les munitions, & la plus grande partie de l'artillerie, sont tombés au pouvoir des Insurgens. Ils ont fait en outre, sept cents prisonniers. Les Américains ont eu de leur côté, quatre cents quatre-vingt hommes tués ou blessés.

On ne sauroit trop rendre justice aux deux armées qui ont combattu dans cette rencontre: la présence d'esprit des chefs, & la valeur des soldats, ont paru avec distinction; mais ce qui est sur-tout au-dessus de tous les éloges, c'est la manière brillante dont le Général Prévost, malgré son échec, s'est comporté pendant tout le tems qu'a duré l'action. Ses ennemis même ne peuvent lui refuser leur admiration & leur estime; il a fait tout ce qu'on pouvoit faire en pareille circonstance, encourageant continuellement par sa voix, & surtout par son exemple, les Officiers & les soldats, à faire les derniers efforts.

Après que les Anglois se furent retirés, les Généraux Américains visitèrent le champ de bataille, & ne purent résister des larmes de douleur & d'attendrissement, à la vue d'un triste spectacle qui s'offroit à leurs yeux: des cris affreux se faisoient entendre de toutes parts, des ruisseaux de sang, couloient à droite & à gauche; on ne voyoit que morts & mourants, hommes & bêtes les uns sur les autres, membres épars, corps nus & défigurés, gémissements des blessés: ce n'étoit par tout qu'objets d'horreur & d'effroi, que ceux-là même de l'armée victorieuse, qui avoient eu le plus de part à la défection & au carnage, ne pouvoient s'empêcher de sang froid. Mais ce qui mit le comble à cette affligeante scène, ce fut lorsque quelques soldats Américains reconnurent parmi les cadavres Anglois plusieurs de leurs connaissances, de leurs amis, de leurs parents, qui étoient restés, fidèles à leur patrie, avoient été tués en combattant pour leur Roi. Ces pauvres Américains s'arrachèrent les cheveux en se voyant rachoient les meurtriers de leurs propres frères. Le désespoir se mêloit à la douleur, chacun pleuroit les soldats d'un côté, les Officiers de l'autre, tout le monde fondoit en larmes.

Paris newspaper, May 9, 1779, account of engagement between Americans and English.  
Original in possession Elfrida DeRenne (Mrs. Craig) Barrow.

the English were compelled to withdraw in considerable haste and disorder. However, General Prevost did not delay long before returning to the attack with all his Forces. The fighting became stubborn in the extreme. Both sides displayed equal fury. The English inspired by watching their brave general leading the advance, were performing prodigies of valour; the stubborn resistance on the part of the Americans was not inferior. In the end, after contesting the ground for a long time, foot by foot, the Americans began to give way, their left wing was already in flight, when from the direction of Savannah and Purysburg there was seen approaching a fresh body of American Troops, which on hearing that fighting was in progress had hastened to the assistance of General Lincoln. The tide turned immediately; through this fortuitous happening victory was snatched away from the British; the unexpected arrival of these reinforcements revived the courage of the Americans; those, who had turned their backs, rushed anew with impetuosity against the Royalists, who being attacked on two sides at the same time, were taken unawares and overwhelmed by numbers. Realizing that their only chance of salvation lay in flight they wisely decided to retreat. The Americans attempted to oppose their passage. A considerable body of their troops to that end had taken position back of a hedge, wherefrom they were delivering a very voluminous fire. But General Prevost forced his way through with the bayonet at the muzzle of the muskets and put them to rout. He proceeded to retreat quietly taking with him two pieces of ordnance. He made show of such impressive assurance that the Americans did not dare to continue the pursuit. The English rearguard suffered most. In killed or wounded there were picked up on the field of battle about 1,400 English casualties; most of them new levies; the baggage, the munitions of war and the largest portion of the artillery were captured by the Insurgents. They took



besides 700 prisoners. On their side the Americans lost 480 men in killed or wounded.

It would be difficult to do sufficient justice to both Armies, which fought in this battle; the presence of mind of the leaders, as well as the bravery of the soldiers, have been quite extraordinary; but especially beyond all praise is the outstanding bearing, with which General Prevost has distinguished himself all through the period of fighting, notwithstanding his defeat. His enemies themselves cannot deny him their admiration and their esteem; he has done everything that can be done in similar eventualities, continuously giving encouragement by word, and principally by his example, to officers and soldiers to put forth their utmost efforts.

After the retreat of the English the American Generals inspected the field of battle, and were unable to restrain tears of sorrow and of pity when contemplating the sad sights before their vision; from all sides there were heard frightful screams, rivulets of blood were running right and left; but dead or dying could be perceived, men and animals on top of each other, scattered parts of human bodies, naked and mutilated corpses, moans from the wounded; everywhere one met but such appalling sights of horror, which even those belonging to the victorious Army, who had in the largest measure contributed to the scene of desolation and of carnage, were unable to look upon with indifference. But the finishing touch to this grievous scene occurred, when some of the American soldiers recognized among the English dead several of their acquaintances of their friends, of their relatives, who had remained loyal to the Mother-Country and had been killed fighting for their King. These unhappy Americans were tearing their hair in discovering themselves as the killers of their own brothers. Despair joined sorrow, everybody began to weep, the soldiers on one side, the officers on the other, everyone gave way to tears."

France having made a Treaty of Alliance offensive and defensive with America against Great Britain on February 6, 1778, the final success of the Colonies became assured, but not without many set backs.

The first fruits of this treaty was the despatch of Count d'Estaing in command of a great fleet for the American shores.

On April 13, 1778, Count d'Estaing sailed from Toulon with twelve ships of line, six frigates and a land force of 4,000 men. The expedition started out with great hopes of success, but with the exception of some West Indian successes, misfortune after misfortune pursued the enterprise until the fleet returned, some to the West Indies and some to France in November, 1779.

Instead of a few weeks only, the voyage across the ocean due to rough weather, took over 12 weeks.

d'Estaing arrived at the mouth of the Delaware River and reported to General Washington but the voyage was so long that they failed to capture Lord Howe's squadron in the river, as was contemplated.

For lack of water on the bar, the British ships inside of Sandy Hook could not be reached by the largest French ships.

The next plan was for the fleet to capture Rhode Island with the aid of the American land forces. There was much delay, then a premature attack by General Sullivan without waiting for Count d'Estaing, which created friction between the French and American forces. The British fleet hove in sight but a great storm scattered both fleets and an engagement was impossible. Count d'Estaing announced that he was going to Boston to refit. General Sullivan, the American commander, begged him to remain. Count d'Estaing wanted to remain but his naval officers disliked serving under Count d'Estaing, a land commander, and were disposed to thwart him at every turn. At their solicitation therefore, he took the fleet to Boston for refitting.





These incidents will presently be repeated at Savannah.

In the opinion of Washington, the capture of this British garrison of 6,000 men would have ended the war.

The French fleet then made for the West Indies where Count d'Estaing captured Grenada and St. Vincent's from the British in most brilliant style.<sup>59</sup>

General Washington confidently expected Count d'Estaing to join him at New York, but while in the West Indies, he received letters from M. Jarard, the French Minister, General Charles Lee and M. Plombard, the French Consul at Charleston, suggesting that General Prevost had divided his forces and that Savannah could easily be captured by the joint forces of General Lincoln and Count d'Estaing. Count d'Estaing agreed to this proposal and set sail for America, August 20, 1779. His fleet was sighted by the British off Tybee September 3rd, composed of 21 ships of line, two of 50 guns, 8 frigates, 5,000 men including land troops, marines and seamen.

He sent word to General Lincoln that he was ready to co-operate in the capture of Savannah and urged haste as his vessels could not remain long on the coast.

Arrangements were made for a junction of the forces before Savannah on September 17, 1779.

At sight of the French fleet, General Prevost recalled all his detachments and prepared to defend Savannah. Lieutenant Colonel Maitland at Beaufort was ordered to be ready to march for Savannah at short notice.

On September 4th, the French fleet disappeared and the orders to Maitland were countermanded.

On September 6th, part of the French fleet reappeared and on September 9th, the full fleet appeared off Tybee Island and landed some troops, and some of the British vessels were captured by the French fleet.

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59. W. Irving, *Washington*, Vol. III, pp. 449-455; W. B. Stevens, *History of Georgia*, Vol. II, p. 260.



Whereupon Major Moncrief, the British officer, spiked his guns, embarked his troops and retreated towards Savannah.

The British ships Foway, Rose, Keppel and Germain, the Comet Galley and some other small vessels sailed up the river and after the guns and ammunition had been removed, the ship Rose and several vessels were sunk at five fathom hole, three miles below Savannah.<sup>60</sup>

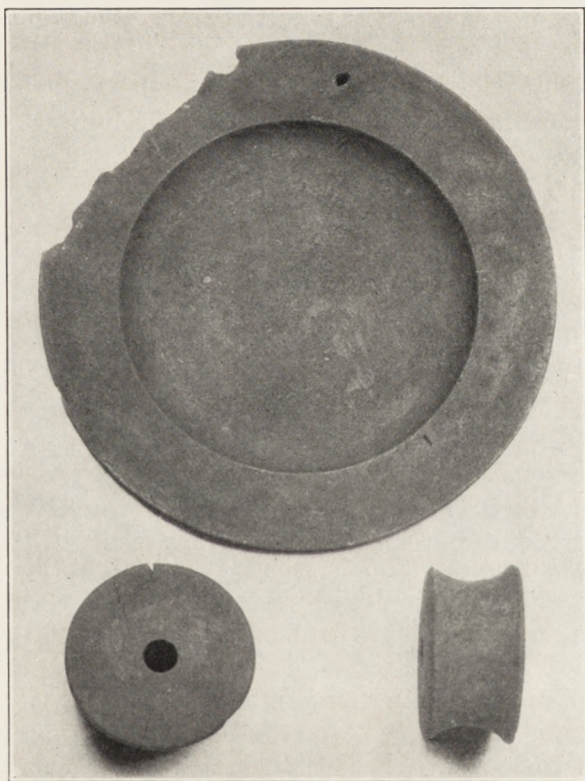


Plate and pulley from the British warship Rose or Keppel, sunk at Five Fathom Hole. In possession of the Georgia Historical Society.

60. W. Irving, *Washington*, Vol. III, p. 521; McCall, *History of Georgia*, (1909 Ed.), pp. 427, 430 Stevens, *Georgia*, Vol. II, p. 201; W. Harden, *History of Savannah*, Vol. I, p. 209; Jones, *History of Georgia*, Vol. II, p. 383; Elfrida DeRenne Barrow and Laura Palmer Bell, *Anchored Yesterdays*, pp. 72, 73; White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*, pp. 343, 344.

After the British evacuation of Tybee, the French fleet proceeded to Ossabaw where Col. Joseph Habersham of the Continental forces awaited Count d'Estaing with information as to the best way of disembarking his troops.

It is interesting to note that on the 11th of September, the frigate *Amazon*, in command of Captain la Perouse, the famous voyager, captured the British ship *Ariel*, and on the same date the fleet rendezvoused at Ossabaw Sound.<sup>61</sup>

On September 12th, the landing of the French forces commenced at Beaulieu, about 11 miles Southeast of Savannah and, owing to rough weather, lasted the 13th, 14th and 15th of September.<sup>62</sup>

General Lincoln now began to move his forces towards Savannah, General Lachlan McIntosh commanding the leading troops. General Pulaski, who had wintered on the ridge 50 miles northeast of Augusta, was ordered to take the extreme advance, attack the British outposts and open communication with the French troops on the coast.

Under these orders, he pushed on to Savannah, sending Captain Bentalou ahead with a detachment and he had only gotten as far as Cherokee Hill about nine miles West of Savannah when at midnight he heard voices which proved to be General Pulaski with other members of the Legion who had closely followed them.

General Pulaski, after capturing several outposts, joined Count d'Estaing on September 15, 1779, at Beaulieu and by him he was requested to take the van of the French forces and conduct them to the rendezvous at Greenwich on the Wilmington River, some three miles directly East of Savannah. This service he performed successfully, and later rejoined the American forces.

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61. Jones, *History of Georgia*, Vol. II, p. 377.

62. Harden, *Savannah*, Vol. I, p. 209.

Count d'Estaing, on September 16, 1779, without waiting for the arrival of General Lincoln, duplicated General Sullivan's precipitancy at Newport by immediately demanding of General Prevost the surrender of the city. General Prevost asked time to consider a message of such importance and an armistice was granted of 24 hours. General Prevost made good use of his time and sent word to Lieutenant Colonel Maitland to join him with the utmost dispatch.

Lieutenant Colonel Maitland moved at once by the inland route between Beaufort and Savannah but getting as far as Daufuski Island, he was blocked by the French fleet.

With the aid of some negro fishermen as guides, he made his way through "Wall's Cut" and "Skull Creek" and with a favoring tide and concealed by a heavy fog, he was able to land all his troops in Savannah, unobserved and unharmed.<sup>63</sup>

General Prevost with his forces, augmented to 2,500 men by the arrival of Colonel Maitland with his 800 men, notified Count d'Estaing that he declined to surrender and "therefore, the evening gun fired this evening at an hour before sundown, shall be the signal for commencing hostilities."<sup>64</sup>

On the same day, to wit: September 16, 1779, General Lincoln arrived and joined Count d'Estaing with his forces in the siege of Savannah.

The idea of taking the town by assault was now abandoned and the combined forces undertook to reach the town by regular approaches. Guns from the French fleet were landed at Thunderbolt, three miles southeast of Savannah and were rapidly assembled in the French batteries.

The British were indefatigable in completing their defenses. Fifteen batteries, thirteen redoubts communi-

63. McCall, *Georgia*, pp. 435, 436.

64. McCall, *Georgia*, p. 436.

cating with each other and protected by an abatis in front and by a ditch, were constructed around the East, the South and West of the city.<sup>65</sup> The ships *Rose*, *Savannah* and *Four Galleys* were sunk in the channel three miles below the town, a boom was stretched above the town and the sloop of war, *Germain*, and the galleys *Thunder* and *Comet*, were anchored above the town to rake the flank of the allied forces and cover the boom.

On September 22, the French made the first advance with 50 men in an effort to take an advance post of the British but they were repulsed.

On the 23rd, a trench was opened at 300 yards from the British line in the midst of a heavy fog, and the British attacked this post but were repulsed.

On September 25, the French batteries began to fire upon the town.

On the 27th, the British made a sortie but without success.<sup>66</sup>

On October 2, 1779, the French frigate *La Truite*, moved up and anchored in the north channel and began to shell the town. On October 4, 1779, the French and American land batteries began the real bombardment.<sup>67</sup>

Many inhabitants were killed and the town was damaged by shot and shell. The people were compelled to take refuge in the cellars and hide themselves under the bluff. No real damage was done to the British defenses.

On October 7th, 1779, the wooden houses in the town were set on fire for the third time.

Count d'Estaing, however, became restless. He was informed by his engineers that it would take about ten days to complete his approaches so as to force the surrender of the town. Suffering from poor and inadequate food, disease had broken out amongst his troops and his vessels were in an exposed position on the coast at a

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65. Stevens, *History of Georgia*, Vol. II, p. 294.

66. Harden, *Savannah*, Vol. I, p. 215.

67. French Officers. *Siege of Savannah*, (Albany, 1874), p. 63.



time when storms were prevalent. His officers, as at Newport, urged him to hasten his departure from the coast. He determined, therefore, to take the town by assault and orders were issued on October 8th for the assault to take place on the morning of October 9th, 1779.

When Count d'Estaing appeared before Savannah, it is said there were only ten cannon mounted on the works but at the time of the assault, there were said to be over 118 cannon confronting the attacking forces.

"Light Horse Harry" Lee states that before the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Maitland with his forces in Savannah, Count d'Estaing at any time could have taken Savannah within four hours. British officers said only 10 minutes would have been required.

We now come to view the disastrous effects of the truce of 24 hours and the further failure to assault before the British could complete their defenses.<sup>68</sup>

The plan of battle was for General Huger's forces to make a feigned attack on the British left, and the French troops in the trenches were to make a sortie as a false attack on the center of the British lines whilst the real attack was to be on the right of the British lines. The vanguard of the French was to precede Count d'Estaing and capture a redoubt on the British right which the General's column was obliged to pass in attacking the British right.

The French had three columns, two for assaults and one for reserve, the first commanded by M. Dillon, under Count d'Estaing; the second by M. de Steding, Colonel of the Infantry and the third intended as a reserve corps under Viscount Noailles.

The Americans constituted the third attacking party.

The infantry were divided into two bodies. Lieutenant Colonel Laurens commanded the first, consisting of light troops and the Charleston grenadiers; the second

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68. Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 57, note; Stevens, *History of Georgia*, Vol. II, p. 215.

commanded by General McIntosh, consisting of the Continental Battalion and the First Battalion of Charleston militia. The whole were directed to parade at one o'clock at the left of the line and march by the right of platoons.

Additional orders to the American forces follow:

"The cavalry under the command of Count Pulaski will parade at the same time with the infantry and follow the left column of the French troops and precede the column of the American light troops. They will endeavor to penetrate the enemy's lines between the battery on the left of the Spring Hill redoubt and the next toward the river. Having effected this, they will pass to the left toward Yamacraw and secure such parties of the enemy as may be lodged in that quarter.

"The Light troops, who are to follow the cavalry, will attempt to enter the redoubt on the left of the Spring Hill by escalade if possible; if not, by entrance into it. They are to be supported, if necessary, by the First South Carolina Regiment. In the meantime the column will proceed with the lines to the left of the Spring Hill battery."<sup>69</sup>

To make clear the situation at the time of the siege we submit copy of the British map which is published with the Journal of the French officers.<sup>70</sup>

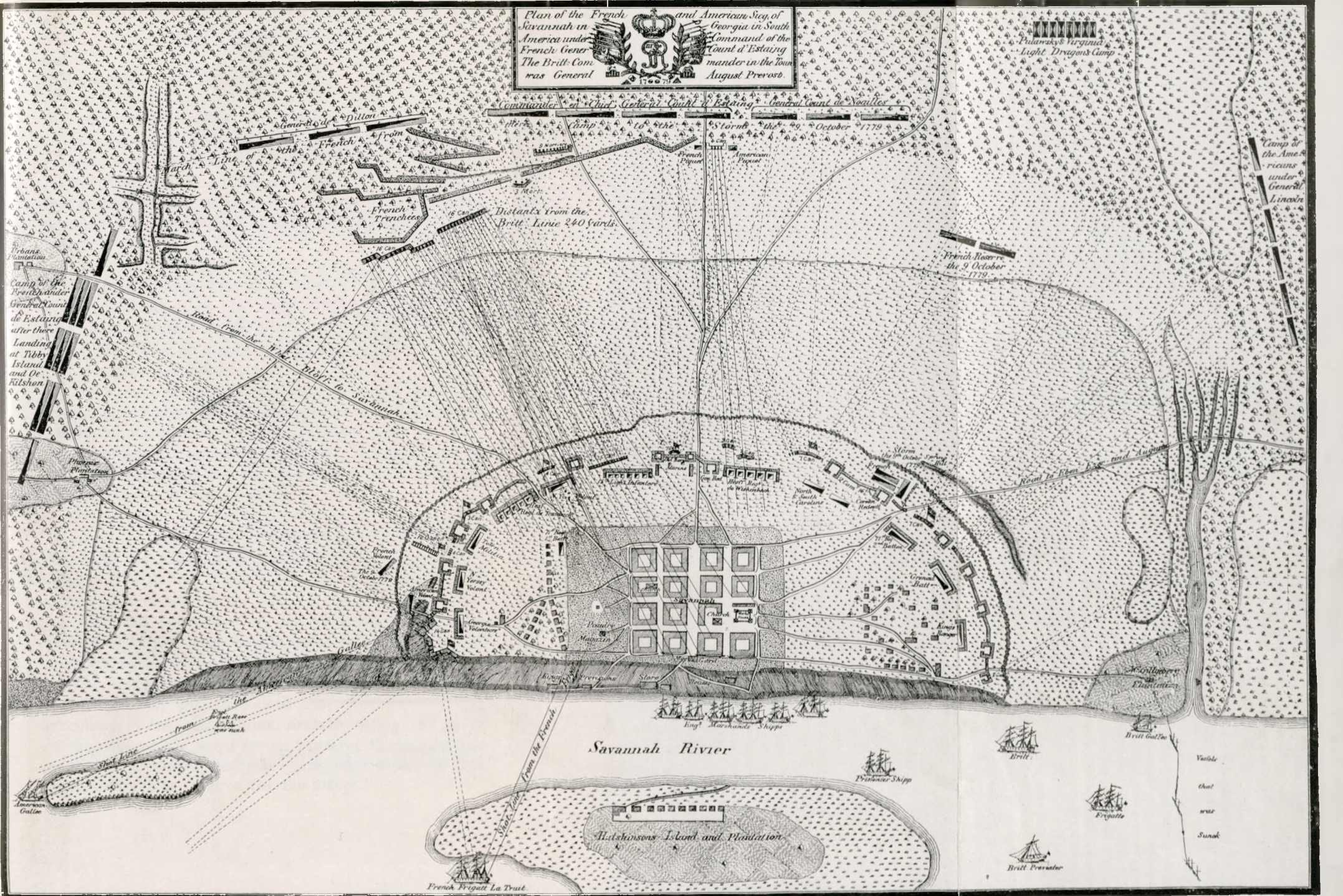
Savannah at this time consisted of from three to four hundred wooden houses and was bounded North by Bay Street, East by Lincoln Street, South by South Broad Street (now Oglethorpe Avenue) and West by Jefferson Street. "It was approached by three principal roads. The Causten Bluff and Thunderbolt Roads (not the "What Bloff Road" as the map states) leading southeast; a road leading directly south (Bull Street extended) forming a union of the White Bluff and the Ogeechee Ferry Road; third a road leading westwardly, the Au-

69. McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 442; Harden, *Savannah*, Vol. I, p. 220.

70. *Journals of French Officers*, (Albany, 1874), p. 6.



Plan of the French and American Sieges of Savannah in South America under the Command of the French General Count d'Estaing and the British Commander in Chief General Oglethorpe August 1779.









gusta Road, (now Louisville Road) across the deep swamp and Musgrove Creek, a rice field to the north and an extensive morass to the south."

In a general way, it may be said that there was high ground extending Southward between Randolph Street on the East and West Broad Street on the West and that a heavy thicket of pine trees encircled the city from Brewton Hill on the East to the Ogeechee Canal on the West.

The British defenses on the South of the city extended in a convex line from Liberty Street and the Thunderbolt Road on the East to Liberty Street and West Broad Streets on the West. Outside the batteries was a ditch, then an abatis, then open space to the woods of two or three hundred yards.

The French batteries were South of the city forming a semi-circle and had approached the British line to within 240 yards, that is to say, 720 feet.

At midnight, October 9, 1779, the movement of the Allies for attack of the city commenced but there was this difference in the opposing forces.

On the night of October 8th, James Curry, Sergeant Major of the Charleston Grenadiers, deserted to the enemy with the Allied plan of attack which he communicated to the British. The battle, therefore, was fought more or less blindly by the Allied forces and by the British with full knowledge of the American plans. The British therefore, were able to make such disposition of their forces as to forestall every move of the Allies.

The Allied forces were to be at their posts at 4 o'clock but it was not until 5 o'clock that "the whole army, marching in one long column, arrived within 160 yards of the edge of the wood which bordered Savannah, and as they approached the open space, they broke off into three columns as ordered for the attack."

At half past five, musketry fire is heard to the East which is recognized to be the troops in the trenches attacking the center of the British lines and General Huger attacking the British defenses on the West. The British easily threw back the troops from the trenches and General Huger with 500 men who had made his way across the rice fields, was repulsed with a loss of 28 men and took no further part in the action.

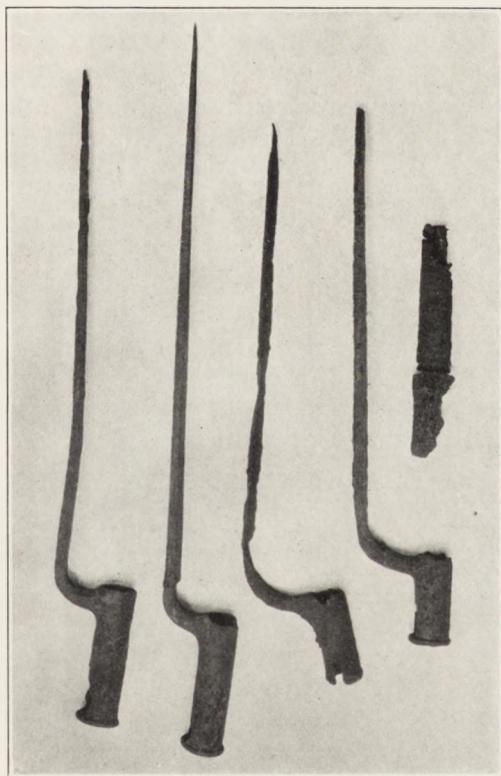
"The British sentinels now perceive the attacking forces. Count d'Estaing sends forward a vanguard under M. de Betizi with orders to capture a battery on the southwest of the British defenses which menaced the Allied advance. Count d'Estaing, without waiting for the other columns places himself at the head of the first column and rushes forward to the attack. This was met with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry but in spite of this, the vanguard continues its advance upon the redoubt and Count d'Estaing's column advances upon the entrenchments."

"The head of the d'Estaing column penetrates within the entrenchments but is not supported by the rest of the column which on the contrary, is thrown into confusion by the difficulties of the ground and is cut to pieces by the fire from the redoubts and batteries.

"Count Dillon, who had orders to lead his column under cover of the night round the swamp and gain the rear of the Ebenezer Road redoubt, mistook his way through the darkness, and did not reach his position till day discovered him to the besieged, who drove him back with a galling fire. The near approach of d'Estaing also drew upon his troops a most destructive cannonade—the guns loaded with grape, chain, and cannister shot; and the muskets of the Hessians, Grenadiers, and Loyalists, made awful havoc amidst those well-drilled troops. They fell like grass before the mower. But animated by their officers, they still rallied to the front, pressed onward to the attack, and still hoped for a victory. Amidst

all this slaughter they gained the abatis, while the other columns of French troops having mostly lost their way by the darkness of the night, were crowded together in a morass to the west of the city, and exposed to the deliberate and galling fire of the redoubt and a cross fire from the Germain and its associate gallies."

The column of M. de Steding moved forward to the left of Count d'Estaing's column but their guide, who claimed knowledge of the British defenses, proved to be utterly ignorant of his task of guiding M. de Steding's column, with the result that the men floundered in the

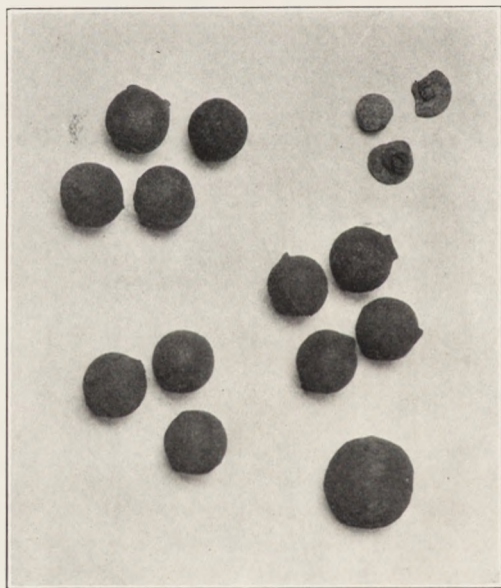


BAYONETS DUG UP AT THE SPRING HILL REDOUBT.  
In possession of Georgia Historical Society.

swamp and lost formation on the slope which formed the glacis in front of the Spring Hill redoubt. The British fired on them furiously but the column was able to make its way to the Augusta Road. Here M. de Steding was wounded. Here also the vanguard and the column of Count d'Estaing which has been thrown violently to the left, attempted to get on the Augusta Road and met with M. de Steding's column and great confusion ensued.

"The British with the two 18 pound guns at the head of the road caused great slaughter, but to these are added the musketry fire from the entrenchments which is concentrated upon the roads and the swamps.

"The two English galleys and the frigate trained their guns on this crowded point. Three times the General orders the charge and three times the British throw back the Allied forces with great loss. An effort is made to



BULLETS DUG UP AT THE SPRING HILL REDOUBT.  
In possession of Georgia Historical Society.



cross the road and penetrate the right of the British line but the troops are caught by the swampy ground and practically all were annihilated."

A retreat is ordered and the troops begin to stream across the swamp to the South of the Augusta Road but they are exposed to terrific fire, many of the enemy standing on the parapets and firing with their muskets almost touching the fleeing troops.

M. de Steding, with more judgment, retreats to the West along the Augusta Road and consequently suffers less casualties.

The left column of the army; that is to say, the second American column, led by General McIntosh, crossed the Augusta Road and seeing the fearful confusion as well as loss of life, sent word to Count d'Estaing and inquired if there was anything that could be done with his fresh troops. He was simply directed to keep to the left so as to avoid further confusion on the Augusta Road. Acting according to the original orders, he attacked the British defenses to the North of the Maitland redoubt. He succeeded in passing the abatis and the ditch but he became involved in the swampy ground and being exposed to the fire from the entrenchments and from the ships, he was forced to fall back. As he was falling back, the British made a sortie and struck his column in flank and inflicted considerable damage.

Finding that a retreat was in progress, he followed the army which for the most part was marching back to the camp.<sup>71</sup>

General Lincoln was with the reserve, and took no active part in the engagement. Count Noailles with the reserve made a gesture towards relieving the troops on the Augusta Road, which possibly held the British to

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<sup>71</sup> Jones, *History of Savannah*, pp. 252, 294; Stevens, *History of Georgia*, Vol. II, p. 216.

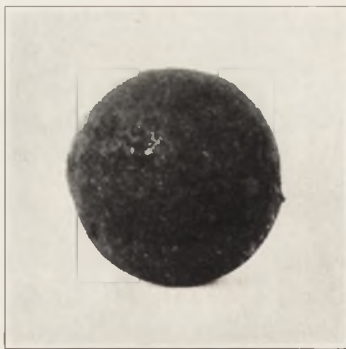
their lines, but took no further action for fear of adding to the confusion and losing men without corresponding benefit.

But what of the cavalry?

General Pulaski left his camp to the Southwest of the city on the morning of October 9th and at the head of Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens' column advanced to a point on Bull Street extended South of the city. At the edge of the woods, he halted and took a position for observation.

From this time onward, the accounts of his movements and especially of the kind of shot which killed him, materially differ according as the different narrators viewed them. It must also always be borne in mind that in making the charges of cavalry across open ground in the face of armed entrenchments, General Pulaski was acting under the express orders of General Lincoln.

Captain Bentalou says: "Pulaski, impatient to know when he was to act, determined, after securing his cavalry under cover as well as the ground would permit, to go forward himself, called to accompany him, one of the Captains of his Legion. . . . They had proceeded only a



GRAPE SHOT (Actual size)

That mortally wounded Count Pulaski; extracted by Dr. James Lynah; loaned the Georgia Historical Society by James Lynah, Esq., great-great-great grandson of Dr. Lynah.

small distance when they heard of the havoc produced in the swamp by the hostile batteries. d'Estaing himself was grievously wounded. . . . Pulaski rushed on to the scene of disorder and bloodshed. In his attempt to penetrate to the murderous spot, he received a SWIVEL SHOT in the upper part of his right thigh; and the officer who had accompanied him was, while on his way back, wounded by a musket ball."<sup>72</sup>

McCall says: "Count Pulaski attempted to pass the works into the town and received a small CANNON SHOT in the groin from which he fell near the abbatis."<sup>73</sup>

Major Thomas Pinckney says: "Count Pulaski, who with the cavalry preceded the right column of the Americans, proceeded gallantly until stopped by the abattis and before he could force through it, received his mortal wound."<sup>74</sup>

One of the French officers, present at the battle, says: "Our troops, without exception, extolled the bravery of the American Regulars commanded by Pulaski. With astonishing gallantry they returned twice to the assault, planted their flags upon the parapet of the entrenchments, and rallied in good order after having lost their chief, wounded to the death."<sup>75</sup>

Major Rogowski, one of Pulaski's officers, gives the most succinct account:

"For half an hour the guns roared and blood flowed abundantly. Seeing an opening between the enemy's works, Pulaski resolved, with his Legion and a small detachment of Georgia cavalry, to charge through, enter the city, confuse the enemy, and cheer the inhabitants with good tidings. General Lincoln approved the daring plan. Imploring the help of the Almighty, Pulaski shouted to his men 'Forward,' and we, two hundred strong, rode at full speed after him, the earth resound-

72. Bentalou, *Pulaski Vindicated*, p. 29.

73. McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 444.

74. *French Officers Journals*, p. 33, note.

75. *French Officers Journals*, p. 66.

ing under the hoofs of our chargers. For the first two minutes all went well. We sped like Knights into the peril. Just, however, as we passed the gap between the two batteries, a cross fire, like a pouring shower, confused our ranks. I looked around. Oh! sad moment, ever to be remembered! Pulaski lies prostrate on the ground. I leaped towards him, thinking possibly his wound was not dangerous, but a CANISTER SHOT had pierced his thigh, and the blood was also flowing from his breast, probably from a second wound. Falling on my knees, I tried to raise him. He said in a faint voice. Jesus! Maria! Joseph! Further, I knew not, for at that moment a musket ball, grazing my scalp, blinded me with blood, and I fell to the ground in a state of insensibility."<sup>76</sup>

It is now clear that the shot which gave him his mortal wound was a GRAPE SHOT.<sup>77</sup>

Some of his command, noting his absence, with the greatest bravery went back and rescued him from the foot of the abatis where he lay wounded.

When about to be removed from the field, in response to a question from Colonel D. Horry, upon whom the command devolved, asking for directions, he answered: "Follow my lancers to whom I have given my order for attack."<sup>78</sup> But with the loss of their leader, the cavalry turned to the left, plunged through the ranks of the infantry and became involved in the disastrous confusion.

The actual places where Pulaski and Jasper fell are unknown but it has been stated that Pulaski fell at a point inside of what is now the depot of the Central of Georgia Railway and Jasper a short distance to the South where are now located the packing house plants.

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<sup>76.</sup> *French Officers Journals*, p. 35; Jones, *History of Georgia*, Vol. 11, p. 402, note; Lossing, *Field Book*, Vol. 11, pp. 736, 737, 738.

<sup>77.</sup> The character of the shot has long since been determined. It was extracted by Dr. James Lynah, of Charleston, and is owned by his great-great-grandson, James Lynah, Esq., and is now in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society. A photograph, actual size, accompanies this article.

<sup>78.</sup> *French Officers Journals*, p. 34, note.



"The British forces consisted of 2,850 men, including 150 militia, some Indians and 300 armed slaves." It was elsewhere stated to have been not exceeding 2,350 men.

The French forces under Count d'Estaing amounted to 4,456 men.

The American army under General Lincoln, including 250 cavalry under command of Brigadier General Count Pulaski, amounted to 2,127 men, total strength of the allied army, 6,583 men.

The aggregate loss of killed and wounded of the French and American forces was 1,133 men.

The British loss was only 163.

This was due to the splendid defenses erected under direction of Major Moncrief and the skillful handling of the English troops under Lieutenant Colonel Maitland at the Maitland Redoubt, the Ebenezer redoubt and the entire Spring Hill redoubt section. His forces amounted to but 417 men.

The Americans were under heavy fire only 55 minutes. At 10 o'clock, a truce was declared in order to bury the dead and remove the wounded.<sup>79</sup>

A few days after the battle, Count d'Estaing moved his fleet from the coast and General Lincoln, retired with his forces into South Carolina.<sup>80</sup> The siege of Savannah ranks with Bunker Hill, Brandywine and Germantown as one of the bloodiest battles of the Revolution.

"Pulaski, with his wounded officer, was conveyed on board the (American Ship) Wasp, to go around to Charleston. They remained some days in the Savannah river; and during that time the most skillful surgeons in the French fleet attended on Count Pulaski. It was found impossible to establish suppuration and gangrene was the consequence.

79. McCall, *History of Georgia*, pp. 425-455 Jones, *History of Georgia*, Vol. II, pp. 375-406; Jones, *History of Savannah*, pp. 274-294.

80. McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 455, note. In appreciation of his meritorious services, the State of Georgia granted Vice Admiral d'Estaing 20,000 acres and made him a citizen of the state.

Just as The Wasp got out of the river, Pulaski breathed his last and his officer was compelled, though reluctantly, to consign to a watery grave all that was now left on earth of his beloved and honored commander."<sup>81</sup>

His death is said to have taken place October 11, 1779.

When The Wasp reached Charleston with the news of his death, resolutions were adopted to accord him funeral honors in keeping with his splendid career and his untimely death, and a date was set apart for the celebration of the obsequies.

When the funeral ceremonies took place, "The pall was carried by three American and three French officers of the highest grade, followed by the beautiful horse which Pulaski rode when he received his mortal wound, with all the accoutrements, armour and dress which he then wore. A large procession made a circuit around the city to a church where an eloquent and impressive discourse was delivered by the Chaplain of the army."<sup>82</sup>

In February, 1825, one of the citizens of Savannah suggested it would be appropriate to erect a monument to Count Pulaski.<sup>83</sup>

On March 21, 1825, General Lafayette while visiting in Savannah, laid the cornerstone of a monument to Count Pulaski in Chippewa Square.<sup>84</sup>

The site for the monument was later shifted to Monterey Square where the cornerstone was laid October 11, 1853.

The monument was completed January 8, 1855. It was designed and executed by R. E. Launitz, an eminent

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81. Bentalou, *Pulaski Vindicated*, p. 301.

82. *The South Carolina & American General Gazette*, Friday, October 29, 1779: "The gallant Count Pulaski died at sea, on his return from Georgia, of his wound; and on Thursday, last week, his funeral rites were performed here, in a manner suitable to the rank and merits of that intrepid and much lamented officer." Bentalou, *Pulaski Vindicated*, p. 30.

83. *The Georgian*, February 1, 1825.

84. Barrow and Bell, *Anchored Yesterdays*, p. 125.



PULASKI MONUMENT  
MONTEREY SQUARE, SAVANNAH, GA.  
Designed and Executed by R. E. Launitz, New York.

Polish sculptor who has given to the world a most graceful and beautiful monument.<sup>85</sup>

General Pulaski bore an unblemished reputation in private as well as public life.

In all the military engagements of which we have record, he was distinguished for his extraordinary personal bravery and for his handling of cavalry employing surprise and shock tactics by virtue of which he almost invariably met with success despite the use of small numbers against greater forces.

In the words of one of his comrades,—“the Count in battle—how he seemed to fight as if enjoying a banquet; how, again and again, he would dash into the midst of the enemy, cutting his way on the right hand and on the left, as if the strength of ten men lay in his single arm; and then wheeling, cutting his way back again, and often without loss.”<sup>86</sup>

Having been the first officer to be given command of all the United States cavalry, General Pulaski may be considered the father of that branch of service. For eighteen months the Americans had no regular cavalry corps and had none until Congress gave the appointment to General Pulaski.<sup>87</sup> He immediately began training our cavalry upon sound military lines, and there is no doubt that the knowledge that he brought to the task was passed on to the other cavalry leaders. So that it may be asserted that his training of the cavalry was probably just as important to that arm of the service as that of Baron Von Steuben's training to the infantry.

The leading motive of General Pulaski's life was the love of liberty.

<sup>85</sup>. Address on Laying of Cornerstone to Pulaski by Henry Williams, Savannah, 1855. A controversy raged at this time as to the place of Count Pulaski's burial, that it was at Greenwich and not at sea; but the statement of the Charleston paper and of Captain Bentalou may be considered final. Congress authorized a monument to Count Pulaski in November, 1779. This monument was not completed until May, 1910. The statue of General Pulaski now stands in front of the National Theater in Washington, D. C. The Committee for the Savannah monument was Richard D. Arnold, Chairman, Wm. Robertson, Treasurer, Wm. P. Bowen, Secretary and Commissioner.

<sup>86</sup>. Lynah Letters.

<sup>87</sup>. Sparks, *American Biography*, Vol. XIV, pp. 416, 417.



For this he fought valiantly in behalf of his native land and, although in that struggle he lost his near relatives, his home and all his property, and finally was driven from the country as an outlaw, his thirst for liberty could not be quenched and he dedicated his talents and finally his life to the cause of American liberty.

When Pulaski's remains were cast into the sea, it seemed as if all his hopes had sunk with him and that his efforts were wasted, but, from time immemorial, sacrifices have never been without their due reward.

Pulaski was exiled from his native land and sacrificed his life for the cause of freedom. Yet he did not die in vain.

Austria, a great Slav-Germanic nation, has been stripped of much of her territory and of her strength; Prussia, in the full tide of her prosperity, with her creation, the German Empire, has been largely shorn of her territory and her power; Russia, the third conspirator which despoiled Poland, has become a by-word amongst nations and has no voice in European affairs.

But with the memory of Casimir Pulaski reaching down to the present day, Poland has been restored and is taking its place, we trust, for all time in the family of nations.



# THE GENESIS OF GEORGIA

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY

JEFFERSON RANDOLPH ANDERSON





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A true understanding of the early history of Georgia and a proper comprehension of the causes leading up to its settlement by the English under Oglethorpe at Savannah in 1733 can not be had unless it is clearly realized at the outset that the chief and controlling object and purpose for the founding of the colony was a military one.

The imagination of some historians, captivated by certain philanthropic expressions in the charter of the colony and by Oglethorpe's efforts in Parliament to ameliorate the condition of imprisoned debtors, has led them to describe him as a Paladin of Philanthropy and to speak of the colony as if it was in some sort designed as an asylum for the idle, the thriftless and the incompetent. Nothing could be further from the fact than such an idea.

"Colonies for the exercise of benevolence were unknown to the statesmanship of that or any other age, but colonies for military purposes were as old as civilization itself." Oglethorpe, himself, was a soldier and a statesman before he was a philanthropist, and his intense activities during the ten years he spent in Georgia were practically all along military lines or to accomplish military ends and advantages. When he brought his colony to these shores he knew they were not entering into any unexplored Eden where he and they might erect a Utopia away from strife and turmoil. They were going, and he knew they were going into a debatable land which contesting powers had been claiming and fighting over for more than a century and a half, which the Colony of

South Carolina had been unable to successfully maintain and protect and which his colony was now intended to seize and hold for Great Britain.

In preparation for what lay before the emigrants the Trustees for the Colony subjected each applicant to a careful investigation and no one was accepted who was not by competent authority found worthy to be granted the rights of citizenship in the new colony. All approved applicants were then drilled in arms each day by sergeants of the Royal Guards until the time came for the embarkation; and the rules of the colony required land tenures to be held in Tail Male and on military service. The introduction of rum and slaves was forbidden, as lessening the defensibility of the colony. It was the only military colony ever sent out from Great Britain and it was the only one of the original thirteen colonies in America to receive direct aid from the British government.

The reasons for engrafting all these military features upon the colony become very apparent when we consider the previous history of the region of which the colony was intended to take possession. The establishment of this colony marked the latest move in a world-wide struggle in diplomacy and war which since the end of the fifteenth century had been going on between Spain, France and England for world supremacy and in which England was now beginning to develop as the successful contestant. At first the rivalry was confined practically to Spain and France which had become strong continental powers while England was still a small island kingdom with a total population in the year 1490 not quite double that of Georgia today. Spain after some seven hundred years of desultory but more or less continuous warfare to expel the Moors had finally emerged as a consolidated Kingdom of Castile, Aragon and Leon under Ferdinand and Isabella. Their grandson, Charles

(1509-1556), became the Emperor, Charles V., of the Holy Roman Empire, and was the most powerful Christian monarch of his time.

This was the era of adventure and exploration following the discovery of the Bahamas by Columbus October 12, 1492. On that voyage he also discovered Hispaniola (Haiti) and in 1496 Santo Domingo, the first European town in the new world was founded on the east end of that island by Bartholomew Columbus. This speedily became Spain's governmental and military base for her American possessions and remained such for years until superseded by San Augustine and Havana. In 1497 Americus Vesputius, sailing under letters from Spain, was the first to discover the mainland and sailed north along the coast from Florida to Hampton Roads where he is said to have stopped for thirty-seven days to refit. Thus Spain acquired her prior claim to the South Atlantic coast by right of discovery.

In the same summer John Cabot, a native of Genoa, under letters from Henry VII of England, and sailing on a northwesterly course, discovered land at Labrador and New Foundland and supposed he had reached the Chinese coast. There is no authentic evidence that either John or Sebastian Cabot ever touched at any point further south, and no further English attempts at exploration in the western world were made for nearly a century. On behalf of France in 1506 and 1508 the Gulf of St. Lawrence was explored by Denys of Honfleur and by Aubert of Dieppe and in 1518 the Baron de Lery made an abortive attempt to place a colony on Sable Island.

During the lifetime of the Emperor Charles V., however, neither France nor England could engage in colonial ventures, while his Spanish infantry dominated the continent of Europe and Spanish fleets controlled the seas. In the early part of the reign of his son, Philip II. of Spain, the relative conditions continued about the

same. England was perhaps also further handicapped for a time by the fact that in 1554 Queen Mary of England was married to Philip II. It was only after her death in 1558 and the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne that the rivalry of England with Spain became increasingly aggressive. The great military power of Spain, however, remained unbroken and as long as her fleets commanded the seas neither England nor France could successfully establish colonies across the ocean.

During her reign Queen Elizabeth, from the very first, gave every encouragement to the building up of English sea power. Bold adventurers like Hawkins, Gilbert, Raleigh, Drake, Howard and others were given every inducement to man and equip private ships of war and their depredations on Spanish commerce and their raids on Spanish settlements even in time of peace, were condoned, if not connived at. At length the crisis came in 1588 when Philip II. gathered his huge Armada to crush out the English entirely. Thanks to the skill and valor of the English sea captains and men and to the intervention of timely tempests the Armada was driven back and almost entirely destroyed. Three years later an English fleet under Raleigh, Essex and Howard almost annihilated the remaining navy of Spain in a great sea battle off Cadiz. Complete naval supremacy for England was thus secured and was never subsequently successfully challenged by Spain.

While France and England had thus been held in check, Spain had been energetically pushing her conquests and consolidating her possessions in the new world. In 1510 Ponce de Leon conquered Porto Rico and founded its capital, San Juan. On Easter Sunday (Pascua Florida), March 27, 1513, he discovered and named Florida; landed at 30° 8' North, and claimed the whole territory for Spain. He then spent many weeks exploring the coasts to the southward, rounded the peninsula and caused the west coast to be explored as far as the



Bay of Apalache. Vasco Nunez de Balboa had by March 15, 1513, marched across the isthmus of Darien and discovered the Pacific. Colonies were established at Santiago, Trinidad, and elsewhere in Cuba, which had been discovered by Columbus on his second voyage in 1494. Havana was settled in 1519, and in the same year Alvarez de Pineda found there was a continuous coast line all the way round the Gulf from Florida to Tampico, where he met Cortez and his troops preparing to invade Mexico. On his return voyage Pineda discovered the mouth of the Mississippi river which he named Rio de Santo Espiritu. He ascended the river and spent six weeks on its waters and banks, exploring the country, and trading with the natives.

In the following two years, 1519-1521, Mexico was conquered by Cortez, with the aid of his Aztec sweetheart, Dona Marina, and the great booty obtained there set all Spain aflame with excitement and largely turned Spanish eyes towards Central and South America; leaving to Hispaniola, Porto Rico and Cuba the task of developing the mainland to the north or the northern mystery as it was sometimes called. In June, 1521, Ayllon's first expedition, under Francisco Gordillo, sent out from Hispaniola, landed at Winyaw Bay at 33° 30' north and explored for some distance into the interior of the region which was called Chicora by the natives. In 1526 Ayllon sailed with an expedition of seven ships and 600 people to found a colony in Chicora. They landed first near the mouth of the Cape Fear but later removed to a point near the mouth of the Pedee river. This first Spanish attempt to colonize the mainland on a large scale proved a failure, due to disease and lack of provisions. Ayllon died of fever on October 18, 1526, and after his death the survivors returned to Hispaniola. The years 1531-33 witnessed the conquest of Peru by Pizarro, one of whose Lieutenants was Hernando de Soto, and the enormous wealth found in that land of the Incas again caused

Spain to look to the South and for many years caused a distinct slackening up of Spanish efforts to colonize Florida as the northern continent was called.

The lust for gold, however, still caused exploring expeditions to be undertaken in quest of fabled treasures which experience with Mexico and Peru had made men believe existed everywhere in the western hemisphere to reward the successful seeker. In 1539 De Soto came up from Havana and on May 25th landed on Tampa Bay with a well equipped force of infantry and cavalry of nearly a thousand men. His march from there through an unexplored and trackless wilderness across great rivers and over rugged mountains despite the opposition of many hostile tribes constitutes an epic in the military annals of the world that is paralleled only by Xenophon's retreat from Asia nearly two thousand years before.

De Soto's line of march led him up the Florida peninsula to the neighborhood of the present site of Tallahassee and then north into the present State of Georgia, which he crossed in a northeasterly direction to a point on the Savannah river opposite the great Indian town of Cutafachiqui, now Silver Bluff, about twenty-five miles below Augusta. From there he marched for seven days up the valley of the Savannah to the mountains and thence over hill and dale to another large Indian town called Chiaha at the confluence of the Etowah and Oostenaula rivers. This is the present site of the city of Rome. Then, following the course of the Coosa river, after defeating the Alibamons and the Tuscaluze he proceeded south past the site of Montgomery and down the banks of the Alabama to a point about twenty-five miles above its junction with the Tombigbee, where he found the strongly fortified, palisaded Indian town of Mauvila, the chief city of the Mauvila (Mobile) tribe. There a desperate battle was fought in which the Spaniards sustained very heavy casualties and lost most of their baggage by fire. De Soto abandoned his route to the sea,

turned northwest and marching across the present Alabama and Mississippi reached the great river itself at a point a short distance below Memphis. Crossing there, after aimless wanderings in the west in search of gold, he returned to the river where he died in 1542 and was buried in its waters. His men under Luis de Moscoso first attempted to make their way overland to Mexico but after many painful weeks of march and coming in sight of very high mountains to the west they made their way back to the Mississippi. There the survivors built seven crazy brigantines in which they managed to reach the Gulf and were finally wrecked on the Mexican coast near the town of Panuco in 1543.

Jones in his history of Georgia says that in 1560 three hundred soldiers fully equipped with mining implements were sent out from De Luna's brief and ill starred expedition to Pensacola, in a search for gold based on the reports of De Soto's expedition of twenty years before. They penetrated into Alabama as far as the Coosa and then followed the back track of De Soto's old trail as far as into Cherokee, Georgia, where they were successful in locating and developing gold mines. It is certain that considerable mining operations were carried on by the Spaniards in that region for the physical evidences still exist, but whether they resulted from the above expedition mentioned by Jones or from later Spanish expeditions and garrisons sent into that territory in 1566-1567 from Santa Elena can not now be definitely determined. Johannes Lederer, the German traveller who visited Virginia and Carolina in 1669-1670, states that at that time, more than a century afterward, the Spaniards were working mines in those mountains, and as late as 1690 James Moore, afterwards governor of Carolina, while on an exploring expedition into the interior was told by Indians that the Spaniards were still working mines not far away; and only a quarrel between Moore and his guides kept him from seeking out the mines.

While the energy of the Spaniards was concentrated on building cities and gathering riches on the Islands, in Mexico, in Central and South America, the French had once more begun to feel their way across the north Atlantic. A former French corsair, John de Verrezano, sailing under letters from Francis I, sighted land on March 20, 1524, and was the first European actually to explore the coast from about the site of Wilmington, North Carolina, to Nova Scotia and New Foundland. Ten years later in 1534 and 1535 Jacques Cartier sailed from St. Malo on two voyages and discovered and explored the St. Lawrence river as far as the Indian town of Hochelaga (Montreal), and beyond. No actual settlements immediately followed these voyages, and the religious wars raging in France between 1562 and 1595 left her people little or no energy for other things.

In the year 1562, however, the great Admiral Coligny sent out an expedition under Captain Jean Ribaut to find a suitable location in the new world for Huguenot Colonies. On May 1st of that year Ribaut arrived at the mouth of the St. Johns river in Florida and named it River of May. After investigating it he sailed north, exploring the whole of the Georgia coast and naming all its rivers after those in France. The Savannah river he named the "Gironde" and he may have ascended it as far as Yamacraw Bluff before proceeding on to Port Royal Sound where, on what is now Parris Island, he located his Huguenot colony of thirty men under Albert de Pierria, built a fort, Charlesfort, and then sailed back to France. The little colony failed miserably and in 1563 the survivors, without any proper tools or appliances, knocked together a makeshift vessel, with bed sheets for sails, on which they ventured out to sea. They were reduced to cannibalism before they were providentially rescued by an English cruiser several hundred miles from the English coast and were carried to London.



DeRojas, who in 1564 had been sent from Cuba to eradicate any remnant of Ribaut's colony, brought back with him the stone column bearing the arms of France which Ribaut had erected at Port Royal. On his return voyage he visited an Indian town on St. Catherine's Island of which he understood the native name to be Guale. Thus the name Guale came to be given by the Spaniards at first to the island and gradually to the entire region, now Georgia, between the St. Marys and the Savannah rivers. Another account is that the name Guale was that of the old Indian chief instead of the island.

In that year 1564 Coligny sent out a new and larger expedition under his kinsman, René de Laudonniere, who had been Ribaut's lieutenant in the former venture. Laudonniere found the old fort and settlement at Port Royal abandoned and destroyed and he sailed on south along the Georgia coast to the St. Johns river. There on St. Johns Bluff he located his colony, built Fort Caroline and erected a column bearing the arms of France as evidence of her claim to sovereignty over that territory. This colony soon became unruly and mutinous. A number of them stole two of the vessels, put out to sea and resorted to piracy for their own account. They were soon captured by Spanish cruisers and taken to Havana; and from them the Spaniards learned full particulars of the French Colony on the St. Johns. The news was speedily forwarded to Spain where it found that Philip II had just been persuaded to make another effort to colonize the northern mainland and had commissioned Pedro Menendez de Aviles to command the expedition, with the rank of Adelantado or Governor General for the whole of Florida. On the news that French heretics had trespassed upon and were settled in the Spanish territory of Florida the force assigned for Menendez was greatly increased and he sailed from Cadiz for Cuba on June 29th, 1565, with eleven ships and over a thousand troops. Menendez was a cold blooded murderer and butcher of his enemies

and he may have been a "pious cutthroat" as Parkman calls him, but he was undoubtedly one of the very greatest soldiers, colonizers and administrators of his time.

While Menendez was on his way to Cuba matters had been going from bad to worse with the French colony at Fort Caroline. Starvation was threatening when on August 3rd, 1565, an English squadron under Captain John Hawkins, returning from a negro slave trading voyage to Santo Domingo, put in at the mouth of the St. Johns and discovered their plight. Hawkins gave them provisions and offered to carry them back to Europe on his ships but Laudonniere was hoping for the arrival of Ribaut and declined. Hawkins then left a ship for their use and sailed away. His visit shows that the Florida, Georgia and Carolina coasts had in 1565 already become known to English sea rovers although no English settlement was attempted on these southern shores until more than one hundred years later.

The long expected Ribaut finally arrived at the St. Johns on August 28th with seven ships bringing provisions and supplies and about three hundred people, men and women, for the colony. There were great rejoicings and little did they dream of the dark fate that was even then creeping toward them from the southward. Menendez in Cuba had completed his expedition and had sailed from Havana with 34 ships and 2,646 men to expel the intruders and to colonize Florida with loyal Spaniards. With part of his fleet he reached the St. Johns on September 4th, perceived the French vessels at anchor and passed on to San Augustine Inlet, where he entered and landed his colony on September 7th in a camp which he immediately began to entrench and named San Augustin.

At Fort Caroline all was excitement and preparation. The approach of the Spanish fleet on September 4th had been perceived by the French ships which had immediately slipped their cables and prepared for action though

Ribaut and many of his men were up the river at the fort. Only a few Spanish ships had been actually seen, and when they turned away a small French vessel followed them and in a few days returned with the report that the ships had landed at St. Augustine. A council of war was immediately held at which it was decided that Laudonniere with only a small garrison should hold the fort while Ribaut with the best ships, the troops and most of the men able to bear arms should sail to attack the Spaniards before they could establish themselves on the land. Ribaut sailed on the 10th and his appearance the next morning off the Inlet at St. Augustine caused great consternation there as the Spaniards were still disembarking their stores and ordnance and were not in position to make a strong defense. The sudden outbreak of a tropical hurricane forced Ribaut's fleet out to sea, scattered his ships and the next day drove them all ashore as wrecks at various points along the coast between Matanzas Inlet and Cape Carnaveral. His soldiers and crews managed to get ashore but with only small supply of water, food or ammunition.

With Ribaut's disappearance in the storm, Menendez began to prepare in his turn to take the offensive, and on the 14th he set out overland with 500 men to attack Fort Caroline. At dawn on the 20th he surprised and carried it by assault in the midst of a driving rain, and massacred nearly all the inhabitants, men, women and children to the number of 142. Laudonniere himself, Le Moyne, the artist, and a few others escaped by means of a small vessel in the harbor and succeeded in getting back to France. On his return to St. Augustine Menendez learned of the presence of Ribaut's shipwrecked forces on the coast to the southward and marched to meet them. They seem to have been in two separate bodies. The first detachment of some 200 men met Menendez, with a greatly inferior force, on the opposite side of Matanzas Inlet. The French were nearly starving and by a ruse de guerre

Menendez misled them into the belief that they were outnumbered and induced them to surrender. They were brought across the Inlet in batches of ten with their arms bound behind their backs. Once over they were led behind the sand dunes and mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood. Not a man was left alive except about sixteen who had declared themselves not to be heretics. A few days later Ribaut with his detachment of 350 men arrived at Matanzas Inlet where Menendez lay in ambush as before. Ribaut and 150 of his men were persuaded to surrender and all but five were massacred. The other 200 refused to yield and made their way into the forests where all were starved or killed by the savages as none were ever heard of again. The Inlet bears to this day the name Matanzas, which means "slaughterings." Thus was extinguished in blood the latest and final effort of France to plant a colony on the South Atlantic coast of this continent.

Only about one-half of his original expedition had succeeded in reaching Menendez at St. Augustine. The French having been disposed of he proceeded to consolidate his position and strengthen his outposts. Fort Caroline was rebuilt, enlarged and strengthened and was renamed Fort San Mateo. In April, 1566, he explored carefully the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina as far as Santa Elena at 32° 30' north. There he built a strong fort and established the military presidio of San Felipe on Parris Island near the mouth of Port Royal Sound with a garrison of 110 men under Las Alas as commander. In June much needed reinforcements were received at St. Augustine when General Arcienaga arrived with 17 ships, 1,500 men and a number of families to strengthen the colony. Several priests also came with them. Menendez was still away in the north. In July, 1566, in returning from San Felipe at Port Royal he established the first Spanish settlement in Guale (now Georgia) by building a fort with a garrison of 30 men on Santa Cata-







MAP OF THE GEORGIA COUNTRY IN SPANISH DAYS



lina (St. Catherine's) Island. Here Spain continued to remain in practically uninterrupted occupation for well over one hundred years until 1680 when continued attacks by Indians, instigated or led by English traders from Carolina, forced her to withdraw her chief military post in Guale from Santa Catalina to Zapala Island.

It would be well at this point to examine map on opposite page and learn from it just how the territory comprising the present States of South Carolina, Georgia, and upper Florida was known to and held by the Spaniards more than a century before any English settlement was attempted in this part of the world. The missions shown are those restored or built after 1598. The names of the districts are the Spanish interpretation of the Indian names. Along the coast it will be observed that the region between St. Augustine, the Suwanee River (San Pedro) the Okefenokee and the St. Marys was called Timucua. North of that the district between the St. Marys and the Savannah was known as Guale. The district between the Savannah and the Edisto constituted Orista and north of that lay Chicora. In central Georgia was the undefined region of Tama. Florida between the Suwanee and the Apalachicola (Santa Cruz) rivers was known as Apalache and to the north, clustered at and near the falls of the Chattahoochee were a number of Indian villages then known as Apalachicolas and later as Creeks. North of them and of Tama was the district of Cherokee.

In 1566 Menendez sent Captain Juan Pardo from the presidio of San Felipe with a detachment of 150 soldiers to explore the interior. Pardo built his first fort about 40 leagues northwest of San Felipe and then crossed over to the great Indian town of Cufitachiqui on the Savannah river which De Soto had visited 26 years before. His next fort, San Juan, was established at the head of Broad river near the Indian village of Juada. There he was recalled to take command of San Felipe and the expedi-

tion was left in charge of Boyano, who reached Chiaha (Rome) and built a fort there. In 1567 Pardo was sent out on a second expedition and followed his former line to Juada. Thence he proceeded to the headwaters of the Savannah and after three days march reached the native town of Tocax (Toccoa). From there he went to Cauchi in the Nacoochee Valley and finally joined Boyano at Chiaha. There he strengthened Boyano's fort and on his return march to San Felipe built a block house and left a garrison at Cauchi. It is to this garrison and its successors that Prof. Johnson thinks the evidences of mining in the Nacoochee valley should be attributed. The result of these two expeditions was that the territory, now Georgia, was almost completely encircled by a loosely flung chain of small Spanish military posts extending from the base at Santa Elena on the north to near the head of the Savannah; then across to Cauchi and Chiaha (Rome), whence ready access to the Gulf could be had by crossing over to the Chattahoochee and following that stream down into Apalache.

We now come to a strange instance of reprisals wreaked on Spain by an individual Frenchman for the butcheries by Menendez at Fort Caroline and at Matanzas Inlet. When the French government failed to demand redress, Dominique de Gourges, a gentleman adventurer and sea rover of France, sold his estates and fitted out a private expedition of three well armed vessels with which he sailed for Florida. Arriving off the coast in May, 1567, he put into the St. Marys river and secured the aid of disaffected Indian tribes. With their help he surprised and destroyed Fort San Mateo, formerly Fort Caroline, and two small forts at the mouth of the St. Johns. All in the forts except a few fugitives were killed or taken prisoner. The prisoners he hanged with placards on their bodies reading: "Not as to Spaniards, but as to traitors, robbers and murderers." Then he sailed away before he could be attacked from St. Aug-



ustine. Menendez was in Spain at the time but on his return in 1568 he rebuilt Fort San Mateo and garrisoned it with 150 men. He also enlarged the presidio of San Felipe at Santa Elena and added 193 men to the garrison there.

Menendez returned finally to Spain in 1572 and died in 1574 leaving the province in the hands of his able nephew, Pedro Menendez Marques, who for nearly twenty years successfully directed its affairs. In 1573 Marques made a detailed exploration of all the Atlantic Coast from the south point of the peninsula at 25° north to the Bay of Santa Maria (Chesapeake Bay) in 36° 30' north and made notes and charts of all ports, bays, rivers, bars, shoals, etc. In 1576 the Indians of Orista attacked and destroyed Fort San Felipe, which was evacuated by the weak and incompetent Miranda, who held the governorship of Florida during the interim between the death of Menendez and the elevation of Marques.

In the year 1577 Marques was appointed Governor of Florida and he began his rule by building a much stronger fort at St. Elena, near the site of old San Felipe, and named it Fort San Marcos. Then ensued several years of intense activity on his part against intrusions of pirates, chiefly French, from the Caribbean. Through oversight, neglect or connivance the officials in Santo Domingo after 1550, had allowed French buccaneers and freebooters to occupy the west end of Hispaniola, at Tortuga, and that part of the Island thus became more French than Spanish. It was finally ceded to France in 1697 and developed into a very flourishing French colony until it was destroyed in the slave insurrection of 1791. It is now the black Republic of Haiti. From this stronghold these pirates would sally out to prey on undefended settlements or passing ships.

By the year 1575 the value of the treasure brought back to Spain by its argosies from the west had grown to incredible proportions. Fiske states that it was thus

that Philip II got the sinews of war to support his armies in Europe and to build the great Armada and that by the year 1609 Spain had received from the new world gold and silver which at present day values would amount to over five billions of dollars. Naturally treasures so vast attracted hordes of predatory cutthroats from every clime and when Marques became Governor of Florida the western waters were swarming with piratical craft of every description. Some of these gentry took to making their secret lairs at hidden points in the estuaries along the Georgia and Carolina coasts. Each of these rendezvous was a focus for spreading disaffection among the Indians and for instigating or carrying on raids against Spanish settlements and Missions. Their extermination was therefore very necessary to the peace and welfare of the province.

Two of the chief of these offenders were the French pirate captains Nicolas Estrozi and Gilbert Gil. Marques, after months of patient searching, found Estrozi's stronghold and the wreck of his ship on a river to the north of Santa Elena, but the place had evidently been surprised by the Indians and all the pirates captured except those left dead on the spot. Marques was finally able to secure from the Indians the delivery to him of Estrozi and a number of his men. They were taken to St. Augustine and tried, and Estrozi and most of the others were duly condemned and executed. Captain Gil, with two vessels, was caught by Marques in the mouth of the St. Johns river in July of 1580, and in a desperate naval battle which ensued Gil was killed and his ships destroyed. During that summer more than 20 pirate vessels were sighted off the Georgia coast but help from Spain enabled Marques successfully to police the inland waters and keep them off. Ordinary pirates, however, were not the only ones, about this period, to ravage Spain's colonies in the western hemisphere. In 1586 England and Spain were at war and Sir Francis Drake,

with an English fleet of over 20 ships, made a daring raid into West Indian, Caribbean and our South Atlantic waters and sacked the cities of Santo Domingo, Cartagena, Panama and St. Augustine. It was when he was returning from this expedition that Drake rescued Sir Walter Raleigh's starving settlement at Roanoke Island and took them back to England. Drake's raid caused a temporary withdrawal of the Spanish garrison at Santa Elena to defend St. Augustine and aid in repairing the great damage done there.

One of the most interesting chapters of early Georgia history is the Spanish Missions and their christianizing efforts among the natives. The Jesuit missionaries who had first come over in 1568 had not been successful and after a few years they abandoned Florida. Some went with Father Segura in 1570 to Axacan (Virginia) where they established a Mission on Chesapeake Bay but shortly afterwards were murdered by the Indians. The others withdrew in a body to Lower California and Mexico. In 1593 the Council of the Indies in Spain granted permission to the Franciscans to enter Florida and twelve of them arrived and promptly started missions along the Guale coast and sea islands in addition to the previously established and existing mission of San Pedro on San Pedro (now Cumberland) Island. In 1595 five more of the Little Brothers came to Guale and old churches were restored or new ones built in seven native towns along the coast. In 1597 there blazed out an Indian revolt in which the missions on the mainland and those on Ossabaw (Asapo), St. Catherines (Guale), St. Simons (Asao), and Jekyl (Ospos) islands were destroyed. On San Pedro Island, however, the natives were loyal and attacked and routed the insurgents. Governor Canzo at St. Augustine acted with vigor, the revolt was quickly stamped out and the ringleaders executed or forced into exile. Pardon was later granted to the other Guale chiefs and friendly, or at least peaceful relations, were renewed.

By 1605 all the Missions were restored, the chief ones being this time built of tabby. Missions were re-established at Guale, Zapala, Tupique, Talaxe, Asao, Espogache, St. Marys and on San Pedro Island. The devoted zeal of these friars and the successful result of their labors is evidenced by the fact that in April of 1606 Bishop Cabeza Altimirano, from Havana, made a pastoral visitation to all the Guale missions and 1070 christianized Indians were given the rite of confirmation.

The golden era of Spanish rule in Guale was thus ushered in and lasted for nearly three-quarters of a century, unbroken by any serious disturbance from within or alarm from without, until 1670 when the English came to Carolina. Spain had then already begun to enter on her decadence. She had never been able to recover from the defeat of the Armada by the English in 1588 and the resulting loss of her sea power. Her energies had also been seriously sapped by the wonderful and almost superhuman exertions she had made in Europe and in her conquests and colonizings in the western world throughout the whole of the sixteenth century. While she still had the appearance of being formidable she had passed her zenith and the real struggle for control of the North American continent during the seventeenth century became one between the English and the French.

By a curious coincidence both England and France gained their first permanent footholds on this continent at about the same time. The English settlement at Jamestown was made May 13, 1607, and in the next year, 1608, Champlain established the first permanent French colony at Quebec. Neither nation concerned itself at all about the claims or even the rights which Spain might have to the regions they were entering upon. What were these claims and rights? The designation Florida had been originally applied by Spain to the whole continent and the whole of it was claimed by her by virtue of the Papal Bull of 1493 of Pope Alexander VI, which France, as a



Catholic country, might be supposed to respect, and also under right of prior discovery by Vespuccius in 1497 and by other Spanish navigators. As to the Chesapeake Bay and the country south from there to Port Royal Sound Spain had more than a mere claim. As to that region her claim by right of discovery was supplemented by a right from actual exploration and open assertion of title. From Port Royal Sound to the Florida keys she had also a still additional right derived from actual occupation and settlements at nearly all strategic points.

France, however, went steadily on with the acquisition of the whole of Canada and then proceeded to place posts throughout the region north of the Ohio and to obtain control of the entire Mississippi valley, thus hemming in any attempted English expansion in those directions. Meanwhile the English extended their colonies along the Atlantic coast and pushed ever further into the interior. An ultimate clash of arms between these two Nations for supremacy in North America was thus rendered inevitable. The original charter granted for Virginia covered the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans between the 34th and the 45th parallels of north latitude; that is from the mouth of the Cape Fear river to the line of the present northern boundary of Vermont and included what is now Nova Scotia. It was provided that it be settled as two colonies, a northern and a southern, and in 1620 the second colony, the Puritans, landed on Plymouth Rock. In the interim Virginia herself kept a vigilant eye on her littoral and Virginia vessels under Captain Argall forcibly seized and bodily deported two attempted French settlements started on her territory, one at Annapolis in the Bay of Fundy and the other on Mt. Desert Island on the Maine Coast. On his way back Argall found the Dutch at the Hudson river and compelled them to haul down their flag and to hoist the English ensign in its place.

For many years England seems to have recognized the claim of Spain to the country South of the Cape Fear river and confined her efforts toward consolidating her hold on the North Atlantic coast from Cape Hatteras to the Bay of Fundy. For more than sixty years after the settling of Jamestown, except for a small settlement by Virginians in 1653, just across the line on the Chowan river, no southward move was made into Spanish territory although the entire region was unoccupied by Europeans from the Cape Fear river to the site of Charleston where Spain had a *Visita* or visiting missionary station called San Jorge at the Indian village of Cayagua (Kiowah). The destruction of her sea power had made it impossible for Spain after the year 1600 to continue to support an aggressive expansion of her American colonies and this station at Charleston proved to be the high water mark of her northward advance. Charles I of England, despite Spanish claims, had in 1630 granted a charter for Carolina to Sir Robert Heath but nothing came of it, and the first actual English action towards settling on the South Atlantic coast came from Barbados, the most eastern of the English West Indian islands. Planters there felt the need for richer lands and Sir John Colleton and others there sent William Hilton in 1662 to spy out the mainland coast of America for a likely spot. Hilton found Port Royal Sound but also found there on Parris Island a Spanish garrison and he withdrew to avoid being captured. Colleton and his friends then interested a group of influential persons in England in the present Carolina country and in 1663 Charles II granted to eight Lords Proprietors a charter for a proprietary colony, extending from sea to sea between the 31st and 36th parallels of north latitude. This grant not only considerably overlapped on the north the southern boundary of Virginia's original grant but on the south it took in the whole of Georgia, then in actual possession and oc-

cupation by Spain. Not content with that, the royal Charles two years later, in 1665, enlarged the boundaries of his namesake province so as to extend it to  $36^{\circ} 30'$  on the north, the present boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia, while on the south he named the 29th parallel as the boundary. This was well below the present Daytona Beach and took in nearly the whole upper half of the Florida peninsula including San Augustine and all existing Spanish settlements in Georgia as well as all those north of Mexico as far as the Pacific Ocean. Of course such a grant was fantastic. It could only mean that the advisers of the English Crown were either woefully ignorant of both geography and existing conditions or else were deliberately seeking to create war with Spain.

In 1665 Sir John Yeamans, one of the Lords Proprietors, sailed with three ships from Barbados and established a short lived colony at Cape Fear. One of his vessels, under Robert Sanford, then sailed south to explore Santa Elena which Hilton had visited three years before. With Sanford went a young Dr. Henry Woodward. They found no Spaniards present but the San Marcos fort was intact and in the plaza stood "a faire wooden Crosse of the Spaniards errecon." Woodward remained in the Indian village at Santa Elena, took the cacique's comely young niece for a housekeeper, learned the native languages and was ever afterwards a thorn in the side of the Spaniards and one of the chief instruments of the successful colonization of the country by the English. Their first colony of 200 persons under Governor William Sayle was made in 1670 on the Ashley river near the old Indian village of Cayagua in Chicora, and was named Charles Town, the population of which was largely increased a few years later by the arrival in 1685 of a number of Huguenot refugees. It is interesting to note that this French element in the colony was increased in 1755

by 1200 French exiles from Acadia and again augmented in 1793 by 500 French refugees, fleeing from the slave insurrection in Haiti.

At the news that the English were at San Jorge, Governor Guerra at St. Augustine promptly dispatched three frigates and fourteen periaguas to destroy the settlement, but when on August 18th this expedition arrived off Charleston the colony was saved from destruction by the advent of a hurricane which drove the ships out to sea and so crippled them that they had to put back to St. Augustine. Spain had for several years been protesting vigorously to Great Britain against the Carolina Charters and the contemplated English intrusion into her territory. Finally in 1670, the same year that Charleston was founded, a formal treaty was made and signed between England and Spain by which the possession of Charleston by the English and of the country to the south by the Spaniards was recognized, and each of the high contracting parties bound itself to respect the territory of the other. No exact boundary line between them was however expressly defined.

The steadily expanding pressure from the English colonists in and around Charleston soon made impracticable the peaceful maintenance of any Spanish settlement and mission on Parris Island; and after Hilton's visit to Port Royal in 1662 Spain apparently had permanently withdrawn her northern military headquarters from Santa Elena in Orista across the Savannah river to Santa Catalina in Guale. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1670 the Carolina colonists soon began not only to enter upon the Spanish territory of Orista, north of the Savannah, but also to make armed aggressive incursions into Guale itself; and Woodward led repeated raiding, trading and exploring expeditions into what is now middle and southwest Georgia, even going so far as the Indian towns at the falls of the Chattahoochee.



From 1680 onward the Spanish governors at St. Augustine were kept continually on the defensive against these depredations on their territory or were retaliating with punitive expeditions of their own. The first result from this state of affairs was the realization by Spain of the necessity of strengthening her military base at St. Augustine, and it was determined to replace the old wooden fortifications there with stone. This work was so energetically pushed that when in 1687 the new governor Quiroga arrived he found, substantially completed, the great stone fortress which in later years successfully defied two separate sieges by English colonial armies and which still stands intact today; mute evidence of Spain's will in those olden days to try to hold her possessions on the South Atlantic coasts.

The storm against which they were preparing began to beat upon them in earnest within ten years from the landing of the English at Charleston. In the year 1680, although England and Spain were at peace, a band of the Carolinians with 300 Indian allies, crossed the Savannah and attempted a surprise attack on the Spanish settlement and Mission of Guale on Santa Catalina. They were repulsed and defeated by the garrison there, but the alarm and fear of further attacks caused the Indian allies of Spain to desert the island and some fled west as far as the Chattahoochee. Governor Cabrera at St. Augustine also felt that the post on Santa Catalina was too exposed and by 1681 withdrew it to Zapala, where a substantial fort was constructed and a larger garrison established. Cabrera received orders from Spain to respect the treaty of 1670 on his part but to repel all English violations of what was recognized under it to be Spanish territory. This was easier said than done with England in control of the seas. Within less than three years Lord Cardross planted a Scotch colony at Port Royal itself and immediately began to give trouble by raiding Orista and Guale and capturing Indians to sell as slaves to the old Barbados

planters in Carolina. In 1685 he organized a raid on a big scale with some colonists and a large force of Yamassee Indians, who had been won over by the English and had moved over in a body to Santa Elena. They invaded Guale and raided across it beyond the Altamaha and passing west of the Okefenokee they penetrated into Timucua and plundered one of the missions on the Suwanee river about 85 miles west of St. Augustine itself. Laden with spoils they retreated swiftly to the Savannah river where Cardross met them and bought their booty and their Indian captives. This, of course, incensed St. Augustine and provoked retaliation. The next year, 1686, Cabrera sent north three ships under de Leon with a force of one hundred Spanish infantry and a large body of Indians, and in September of that year they completely destroyed the Scotch colony at Port Royal and killed or drove off the inhabitants. De Leon next raided and sacked the plantations along the Edisto river, including that of Governor Morton on Edisto Island, and then proceeded to an attack on Charleston, which would undoubtedly have been ruined if not destroyed but for the intervention, for the second time in her short history, of a hurricane to save her from the Spaniards. De Leon's ship was wrecked and he with many of his men, were drowned. A second ship was driven ashore and burned, and with only one vessel left the expedition had to make its way back to St. Augustine.

But it was not only with the Carolina colonists that the Spanish governors had to deal. About this time, 1680-1685, being no longer afraid of any other sea-power and in order to protect the trade handled by English vessels, the English government undertook to suppress the indiscriminate freebooting on the seas which theretofore had been indulged in by corsairs and buccaneers. The result was that many of these reckless sea-rovers resorted to open piracy, and plundered on land as well as on sea, wherever they could. Spanish settlements or

English settlements were alike to them and both Spanish Guale and English Carolina suffered from their depredations. In 1683 all the South Guale missions were plundered by the pirate Agramont, who was followed by the equally infamous Hinckley in 1684 and Agramont himself made a second raid in 1685. This nearly compassed the ruin of the Guale coast and in 1686 Cabrera withdrew the military headquarters of Guale from Zapala to Santa Maria.

While the sea-coast region of Guale had thus been slipping through their fingers the Spaniards had been equally unfortunate in the interior districts along the Flint and the Chattahoochee. St. Augustine had been since 1565 the capital and administrative base for all Florida but almost equal to it in importance from a very early day had been the district of Apalache in northwestern Florida, through which De Soto had marched in 1539, and which was at the head of Apalache Bay, discovered by Ponce de Leon's lieutenant in 1513. There the Spanish garrisoned post of San Luis had been established near the site of the present city of Tallahassee. This became the military base for all of western Florida for trade and for expeditions into and beyond the region of Pensacola, which itself was not permanently settled until 1696 by an expedition from Vera Cruz. San Luis was also the base for expansion up the Chattahoochee and the Flint into the land of the Apalachicolas and the Cherokees, now western and northern Georgia. For a time the development of this western territory was delayed while there was more pressing need for Spain to get well established at San Augustine and in Timucua and Guale. No foreign ships were to be feared in Apalache Bay and the possibility of such a thing as an advance of Europeans by land from the north and east was not even to be dreamed of. Freedom from pirates and from European intrusions were favorable for a rapid development. The first mission and the fort at San Luis were not established until 1633 but

by 1639 there was regular packet boat service with San Augustine and between Havana and San Marcos, the port of the district. By 1655 there were nine flourishing missions established; settlements and plantations soon followed, and San Luis and San Marcos became thriving business centres. Trade relations were entered into with the confederacy of the Apalachicola towns at and near the falls of the Chattahoochee in Georgia, and in 1679 three friars were sent to establish a mission at Sabacola, a village a short distance below the falls, near the present city of Columbus. The chief of the Cavetas tribe, who was the head of the confederacy, would not, however, permit them to remain.

About six years later, in the summer of 1685, Woodward with a small band of Carolina traders and hunters appeared on the Chattahoochee and ingratiated himself with the chief of the Cavetas. This marked the beginning of a struggle between the English and the Spanish over western Georgia which was not finally closed until 1763. When news of his presence reached the Spanish authorities, Antonio Matheos, the commander at San Luis, immediately started out with a mixed force of Spaniards and mission Indians to capture Woodward's party, and Cabrera sent troops from San Augustine to reinforce the garrisons in Apalache. Matheos marched up the Chattahoochee in September, 1685, passing through about a dozen villages below the falls, but when he reached the group of towns above the falls it was only to find that both Woodward's party and the Indians had gone into hiding. Matheos destroyed a partly built stockade and returned to San Luis. No sooner had he arrived there than he learned that Woodward was again at the Cavetas town and Matheos in December started out once more with a larger force than before to seize him. This time he marched straight across country with instructions from Cabrera to destroy the Indian towns if they failed to surrender Woodward and his men. When he



arrived at Cavetas he found Woodward was again hidden out in the forests. Matheos then sent out a call for a meeting of the Indian chiefs at Cavetas and eight of them appeared but the other four towns refused. These four towns Matheos burned and destroyed. Woodward himself never returned to Apalachicola but others followed him and five different expeditions to catch them were sent out from San Luis in less than that many years. In 1689 Captain Primo de Rivera built a strong fort at Apalachicola "with stockade, parapet, ditch and four bastions" and placed there a garrison of 40 men. This so overawed the disaffected Indians that most of the four northern tribes moved eastward in a body and joined the Uchis along the Ocmulgee river where they became known later in Georgia history as the Lower Creeks. This presidio at Apalachicola was razed and the garrison withdrawn in the summer of 1691 when San Augustine became alarmed for its own safety because of numerous pirate attacks along the Atlantic coast.

A presidio and a mission had been established at New Sabacola at the junction of the Flint and the Chatahoochee; but the raids of Carolina traders and their Indian allies continued, not only in the west but also in the east where in May, 1702, they raided into Timucua and destroyed the Mission of Santa Fé, only 60 miles west of San Augustine. In that year the war over the succession to the Spanish throne, in which England acquired Gibraltar, had broken out in Europe. In America it was known as Queen Anne's war, and in Carolina it was signalized by an ambitious attempt to drive the Spaniards out of Apalache and to capture San Augustine. A large body of backwoodsmen and Indians were assembled at Cavetas. At the same time a Spanish force with 800 Indians was marching to drive them out. Battle was joined near the Flint river and the Spaniards disastrously defeated. Governor Moore of Carolina led in person the expedition against San Augustine and besieged the fort-

ress for a month but was unable to take it and withdrew, after destroying three missions and all settlements in his path. Old Guale also was devastated by this expedition.

In December of 1703, his son, James Moore, who later was also governor, gathered quite an army of Indians and set out from Charleston to destroy Apalache. He defeated the garrison of San Luis and devastated the province. Out of fourteen mission towns only one was not destroyed and that escaped by paying a ransom of all the church ornaments and ten horses loaded with provisions. Many of the prisoners were tortured and Mexia, the commander of the San Luis garrison, and two friars, who had stubbornly defended their missions, were burned at the stake and beheaded. Moore finally withdrew to Carolina, taking with him a great amount of booty and 1,400 captive mission Indians, many of whom were sold as slaves. Before the end of Queen Anne's War Spain had to withdraw her military base on the coast of Georgia from St. Marys to the St. Johns.

In 1710 Carolina was divided into two separate provinces, North and South, and South Carolina soon began to experience troubles of her own, both internal and external. Great and growing dissatisfaction was manifested by her inhabitants against the proprietary form of government; and Indian disaffection and destructive raids by pirates along the coast were causing increasing alarm and apprehension. During the 40 years that Carolina had been developing to this point, the French had been active in the interior of the continent. St. Louis on the Mississippi had been settled in 1674 and named after Louis IX. La Salle in 1682 had descended the great river all the way to the Gulf, had taken possession of the entire valley for France and had named the territory Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV. In 1699 d'Iberville had planted a colony at Biloxi and de Bienville one at Mobile in 1702. In 1711 Louisiana was made an independent colony, and New Orleans, founded in 1718, was made the

capital of the colony in 1722. The French in the South were thus barring the way of English expansion into the interior just as they had been doing, from the first, in the north. They were also inaugurating in the south the same policy of stirring up the Indian tribes against the English which they had been pursuing for so many years in the north. The Carolina grant extended from sea to sea but the French by establishing Louisiana and by these settlements on the Gulf coast had appropriated much more than half of Carolina's territory and thus France had become a more serious menace than the Spaniards had been.

In 1715 a great disaster befell the Colony. The powerful and heretofore friendly Yamacsee tribe in the old Spanish district of Orista, partly because of grievances and partly due to Spanish and French instigation, turned against the colony, and from their chief town of Pocotaligo launched a sudden attack upon the English towns and settlers. Fully 200 of the English were killed and their homes destroyed before the Indians could be driven back. They withdrew into Guale and then to St. Augustine. The Lower Creeks in Georgia also joined the Spaniards and all Englishmen caught in their districts were driven out, made prisoners or killed. Seven chiefs of the western, or Upper Creeks were ceremoniously escorted to Mexico where they were lavishly received and swore allegiance to Spain. A state of intermittent warfare between the English and the Indians and Spaniards continued for several years.

The resources of the Lords Proprietors were unequal to the task of adequately protecting the colony any longer against pirates, Indians and Spaniards. They placed a small garrison called Fort George near the mouth of the Altamaha but it had soon to be abandoned. They then tried the expedient of securing a buffer colony to be placed between them and the Spaniards. In 1717 the Lords Proprietors of South Carolina made a grant to Sir

Robert Montgomery of the territory between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers on condition that he should within three years establish there a colony on strictly military lines and provide an armed force for its protection, so that it might serve as a defense to Carolina. Sir Robert named his projected colony the Margravate of Azilia and issued the most striking and alluring prospectuses about it but failed to secure any settlers within the time limit and his grant accordingly lapsed. Renewed agitation arose throughout South Carolina for the province to be made a royal colony, and finally in 1729 seven of the eight Lords Proprietors, sold to the English Crown all their proprietary rights both of jurisdiction and to the soil. Lord Carteret alone did not join in the deed, but the Proprietary Government ceased to exist and South Carolina became a royal colony under a governor appointed by the King.

The privy council to the English crown recognized fully the importance of affording protection to the southern frontiers of Carolina, and on June 9th, 1732, a charter was granted by King George II to "*The Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.*" The Charter itself expresses in no uncertain terms that the colony is to serve for defense as well as to "strengthen our colonies and increase the trade, navigation and wealth of these our realms." Of course the council and the trustees were too politic to have the King state baldly in the charter that he was taking steps to guard against his very good friends the King of Spain and the King of France with whom he was then at peace. The instrument was more diplomatically worded than that, so as not to wound their sensibilities. The Indian was made the scapegoat and put forward as the apprehended menace, but between the lines of the document the real fact is plainly to be seen that Georgia was to serve as a bulwark against all comers; and Spain and France were the only possible outside comers to guard against. Viscount Per-



cival, who later became the Earl of Egmont, was appointed president of the corporation and Edward Digby chairman of its common council, of which Oglethorpe was one of the most active members.

The territory granted to the Trustees for the new colony was identically the same with that which the Lords Proprietors of Carolina had granted in their day, to Sir Robert Montgomery for his proposed Margravate of Azilia; except that as the Crown had later acquired from the Proprietors only an undivided seven-eighths of that territory, the charter could only grant seven undivided parts of it. The remaining one-eighth part, however, had already been acquired by the trustees from Lord Carteret, who as we have seen was the only one of the eight Lords Proprietors not to join in their deed to the Crown three years before. The Charter granted to the trustees "seven undivided parts, the whole in eight equal parts to be divided, of all those lands, countries and territories \* \* in that part of South Carolina, in America, which lies from the most northern part of a stream or river there, commonly called the Savannah, all along the sea coast to the southward, unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatomaha, and westerly from the heads of the said rivers respectively in direct lines to the South Seas."

The map on page 262, which like the other is reproduced here by the kind permission of Prof. Bolton, gives a very clear illustration of the relation which the overlapping claims of Spain and the Carolina Grant of 1665 and the Georgia Grant of 1732 bore to each other. Spain's original claim included Virginia (Axacan) and it will be remembered that in 1573 Marques under then undisputed claim of Spanish title had explored and charted all the Hampton Roads portion of Chesapeake Bay. After the settlement of Jamestown, however, the Spanish claim was limited to the territory south of the top hachured line on this map, extending all across the continent. The



territory between the two hachured lines is the country included in the second Carolina Grant of 1665, the first grant having come no further south than a line running west from about the mouth of the Altamaha river. Superimposed on the map in heavy black lines is shown the Georgia Grant of 1732. It is at once apparent that any attempt to enforce this last grant invited trouble, not only with Spain, who was claiming ownership and exercising at least quasi sovereignty in Georgia, but also with France, which before that time was in full control of the Mississippi and of the Gulf coast west of the Perdida river.

Such was the situation when Oglethorpe with his colony sailed from Gravesend on November 17th, 1732, bound for Georgia on the good ship *Anne* of 200 tons burden, Captain John Thomas, master. There were about 130 souls on board, in which were included 35 families. Arriving off Charleston January 13, 1733, Oglethorpe sent the ship to Beaufort, there to wait his return, while he went up the Savannah to Yamacraw Bluff to inspect it as a site for the colony and to secure the consent of the Indians to its being located there. At Yamacraw a Carolina trader, John Musgrove, had a trading post and there was a village of a small tribe of Yamacraw Indians, under an old chief or Mico called Tomo-chi-chi, who had refugeed there from the Chattahoochee some years before. Oglethorpe obtained the aid, as an interpreter, of Mary Musgrove, the half-breed daughter of the trader, and after some days succeeded most fortunately in gaining the actual friendship of Tomo-chi-chi and in securing the needed treaty. Tomo-chi-chi was ever afterward the loyal ally of the colony and assisted it in numberless ways. On February 13th, with much gratitude to the good people of Beaufort for their kind hospitality, the colony proceeded to Savannah where they landed that afternoon, and by dark had erected four large tents where they slept their first night on Georgia soil.



At the beginning of this article we have already described the military features of and arrangements for the colony. Savannah was laid off on paper before the disembarkation, and was laid out much like a military camp with streets intersecting at right angles and with open spaces or squares into which settlers in the projected outlying villages and township could retreat in case of attack. The plan for the whole settlement bore a curious resemblance to that which had formerly been designed for the old proposed military Margravate of Azilia.

Oglethorpe began at once, even before the people could be housed, to place the colony in position for defense. A battery of cannon was mounted on the northeast point of the Bluff and the town stockaded. Fort Argyle was built where the "Creek Path," or regular Indian war trail, crossed the Great Ogeechee river and ten families were sent from Savannah to settle there and serve as a garrison. Small forts were built and garrisoned as speedily as possible at Thunderbolt and at the northeast end of Skidaway Island to guard the water approaches from the south and Fort Wormsloe was erected to defend the Skidaway Narrows and was garrisoned by a detachment from "Captain Noble Jones' company of marines."

In May, 1733, Oglethorpe by diplomacy materially strengthened the position of the colony. An assembly of all the chiefs of the eight towns of the Lower Creeks to which confederacy the Yamacraws belonged, was held in Savannah. The infant colony gave them the very finest entertainment it could possibly provide and the result was successful. The chiefs confirmed the former understanding had between Oglethorpe and Tomo-chi-chi, consented to the settlement of the English among them and entered into a treaty almost tantamount to an offensive and defensive alliance between the Confederacy and the Colony against the Spaniards and the French. The treaty, while it marked out no definite areas for the col-



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

The following January, with an armed patrol of 16 men Oglethorpe made a reconnaissance of the southern boundary of the province to determine its defensibility against the Spaniards. He decided that military settlements were needed to control the Altamaha and he selected sites for military posts at New Inverness, Frederica and the south end of St. Simons Island. It may be observed that under the charter the trustees had no jurisdiction whatever south of the Altamaha river, that St. Simons can scarcely be claimed to be north of that river and that any action on that island was entirely ultra vires the corporation itself. Oglethorpe, however, was not to be deterred by any such considerations. From a military standpoint St. Simons was strategically necessary to a proper defense system and therefore he would incorporate that island within the province.

A body of 78 Salzburgers arrived on March 23, 1734, and were settled about 20 miles northwest of Savannah as a cover in that direction and in April, 1735, one hundred and thirty Highlanders, under Lieutenant Hugh Mackay arrived from Inverness, Scotland, with fifty women and children and their Pastor, the Rev. John McLeod. They were settled at New Inverness (now Darien) on the Altamaha where a strictly military encampment with fort and guard house was established and all the men required in turn to serve on guard and do other military duty. A good highway was also projected to be built to Savannah. In the same year Augusta was

marked out for a military post and a garrison sent there early the following year. Being at the head of navigation on the Savannah it soon became an important trading point also. Early in 1736 an independent company of 50 Rangers under Captain McPherson was created to serve as a mobile force. February 19th, 1736, found Oglethorpe at Frederica, marking out a fort with four bastions. A periagua with workmen, material, provisions and cannon arrived three days later, and on March 8th a large number of new colonists who had reached Tybee Roads early in February were brought in small vessels to Frederica. By March 23rd the streets of the camp-like town were laid out, the fort was almost finished and a battery had been mounted commanding the river.

Without waiting for Frederica fort to be completed, Oglethorpe left there on March 18, 1736, to reconnoitre the region to the South, "where His Majesty's Dominions and the Spaniards Joyn," as his report says. Tomo-chi-chi with 40 Indians, Captain Mackay with 30 Highlanders, and 10 men of the Independent Company accompanied him on this expedition. He marked out a fort, Fort Andrew, on the northwest point of Cumberland (Wisso) Island and left Captain Mackay with his command to build it. The next island to the South which the Spaniards called Santa Maria he re-named Amelia. From there the Mico and his warriors took him to the mouth of the St. Johns river and showed him the location of the advanced Spanish guard post. The Mico then took him through a part of the interior and indicated to him the line which the Creeks had always claimed as the rightful dividing line between them and the Spaniards. In that same summer of 1736, after returning from the above expedition, Oglethorpe erected a battery, (Fort St. Simons) at the south end of St. Simons Island to cover the entrance to Jekyl Sound; and built a large camp with barracks for troops. He also built Fort William at the south point of Cumberland Island to cover the inland









passageway towards St. Augustine and established one or more other small guard posts. At Frederica the settlers were drilled in arms every day and given other military training by Lieutenant McIntosh. An additional water battery of 13 cannon, Fort Delegal, was entrenched on the east point of St. Simons and a scout boat patrol was established as far as the present site of Fernandina on the inland water way to the south.

All these intense military activities carried on by Oglethorpe during the three years or more since the landing at Savannah naturally aroused suspicion, apprehension and hostility at St. Augustine, and it was perhaps fortunate for the little colony that the governor there was not a man of the fighting calibre of the great Adelantados of the previous century or they would never have passed unchallenged by arms. As it was the Spanish ambassador in London made the most strenuous objections that they were all in clear violation of the treaty of 1670 and lodged many vehement and even threatening protests with the Court of St. James. Finally in the fall of 1736 the Spanish government both in London and at Frederica made a peremptory demand that the treaty of 1670 be respected, and for the evacuation by the English of all territory south of St. Helena's Sound. The map on opposite page shows this Debatable Land.

Oglethorpe immediately sailed for England on November 29th to exert his efforts both in Parliament and at Court in opposition to Spanish influence, and to secure assistance for the colony. On his arrival in England a spirited diplomatic duel ensued between the trustees and the Spanish Embassy in London. The trustees petitioned Parliament for a grant of men, munitions and money to maintain the colony. Spain urged her rights based on prior title and existing treaties, and the English premier, Newcastle, seemed in doubt. The trustees then resorted to a hot political propaganda against Spain in the newspapers during the course of which the ancient animosity

of the public was again aroused. Spain made formal protest against the sending of troops to Georgia and against Oglethorpe being permitted to return there, but Parliament yielded to the public agitation and authorized the raising of a regiment of six regular companies and a grenadier company, in all about 700 men and of which Oglethorpe was made colonel. He was also appointed as General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces both in South Carolina and in Georgia; and a battalion of regular troops was ordered sent from Gibraltar to Georgia, where on their arrival in 1738 they were stationed at Fort Andrew on Cumberland Island. On September 18th, 1738, Oglethorpe with four companies of his regiment arrived in Jekyl Sound in five transports convoyed by two men of war. With women, children and supernumeraries they amounted to approximately 700 souls. The other three companies of his regiment under Lieut. Col. James Cochrane had arrived at Charleston the previous spring and had been marched overland to Darien. Oglethorpe disembarked his force at the south end of St. Simons at the large camp and barracks which his foresight had constructed there before he went to England; and in three days had opened up a passable road of six miles to Frederica. Spain on her part sent 400 soldiers to St. Augustine and began concentrating her forces at Havana, where ultimately over fifty ships and nearly seven thousand men were assembled for defense of Spain's West Indian and American possessions.

Both sides were evidently making preparations for war and war finally did break out in 1739. In anticipation of it and before it came Oglethorpe gained a signal diplomatic success of inestimable value to the colony. In July, 1739, he attended a great assembly of Indian tribes held at Coweta town, called by the Spaniards "Cavetas," where he succeeded in obtaining a treaty by which all the Creeks renewed the alliance made with the English by the Yamacraw treaty of May, 1733. The treaty also

recited that the Creek nation had always owned the territory from the Savannah to the St. Johns, thence west to Apalache Bay and north to the mountains and that they would permit no one but their good friends the English to settle in that territory; and the treaty further confirmed to the Colony the lands between the Savannah and the St. Johns as far inland as the tide flows, and all the Sea Islands, except St. Catherines, Ossabaw and Sapelo; and with a reservation extending from Pipe Makers Bluff to Savannah. Oglethorpe thus also gained the support of many thousand Indian warriors for the expected war; Jones says seven thousand.

On his return to Savannah from this most successful expedition Oglethorpe found letters that war had been declared between England and Spain. In America this war was chiefly between these two powers but in Europe it was combined with the Wars of the Austrian Succession in which England, Holland and Russia, supporting the Empress Maria Theresa, were arrayed against Prussia, France, Spain, Sardinia and Naples. The news of the war was received with enthusiasm by all the people of the Colony and Oglethorpe immediately began to prepare to attack St. Augustine. Early in October, 1739, he sent runners to the Creeks and Cherokees to have at least a thousand warriors join him on the southern frontier. On January 1st, 1740, he surprised and destroyed Fort Picolato on the St. Johns and a few days later captured and occupied Fort Pupo within twenty-one miles of St. Augustine. In April he was reinforced by a regiment from Carolina under Col. Vanderdussen and in May he advanced upon St. Augustine with a land army of over two thousand regulars, militia and Indians, supported by a small fleet of armed vessels. Montiano, the governor at St. Augustine, had only a force of about five hundred soldiers and one hundred negroes and Indians and had thus been compelled to stand on the defensive and shut himself up within the fortress. Fortunately

for him six armed galleys had just arrived from Havana and took position in the Inlet where as floating forts they were able to ward off assaults and compel a siege. The siege lasted two months but the fortress proved too strong. Oglethorpe himself was ill and the army returned to Frederica about July, 1740, where Oglethorpe was confined to his bed for two weeks of a severe fever. The Carolina regiment returned home and the next two years were marked only by a series of skirmishes and desultory border warfare. St. Augustine had successfully resisted Oglethorpe in 1740 just as it had successfully resisted Governor Moore of Carolina in 1702.

Meanwhile the great concentration of Spanish forces at Havana was going steadily forward, but the expedition against Georgia was considerably delayed by a series of attacks on Cartagena, Santiago and other Spanish cities in the Caribbean and Gulf by a large English fleet under Admiral Vernon supplemented at first by a land force of 3,500 men from the English northern colonies in America and later by 9,000 more troops from England itself. When that campaign was abandoned and the English fleet back in Jamaica swarms of Spanish privateers made frequent raids along the Atlantic coast from the St. Johns to New York and a great number of English ships were seized and taken as prizes into St. Augustine and Havana. Oglethorpe in the winter of 1741-42 urged that a second campaign be made against St. Augustine, but the trustees were unable to obtain the necessary means and support.

Finally in May, 1742, the Governor General at Havana wrote Governor Montiano at St. Augustine that the expedition would start from Havana the first week in June and would consist of 30 transports composed of frigates and bilanders with 600 regulars and 700 militia in addition to the seamen. As many of the vessels as possible were to carry mounted guns; a separate transport and two large well armed barges for the additional force to



be taken on at St. Augustine, and a former French frigate of 24 guns would be included. Four hundred regulars and one hundred militia were ordered to be added from St. Augustine. Colonel Rubiani was to be in immediate command of the force from Havana and Don Antonio Salgado from St. Augustine was named as Lieut. Colonel while the able Engineer Officer Antonio de Arredondo was to serve as Chief of Staff. Governor Montiano himself was appointed as the Commander in Chief of the expedition. His orders were to "destroy all the plantations as far as Port Royal" but that this must be consistent with other measures "looking to the secure withdrawal of our forces through the interior channels between the Keys." It was stated in his orders that "This result can be better secured by first getting rid of the regiment of Oglethorpe," but they also warned him that only 400 men had been retained at Havana for its defense and that the Havana contingent must be returned immediately upon the end of the expedition. Montiano was an irresolute and not very competent officer and the emphasis laid by his orders on the necessity for a safe withdrawal may have had some bearing on what followed.

Oglethorpe was fully apprised of the advent of the expedition and quickly gathered together all the forces within his reach. Numerous and urgent appeals were sent by him to Carolina for all possible troops to be sent to his assistance, but they evoked no response. Carolina apparently regarded the threatened Spanish invasion as a matter of entire indifference to her, and this may be significant of the fact that when, later, Oglethorpe received a number of congratulatory letters on his victory from the Governors of other colonies there was no letter of congratulation from the Governor of Carolina. The Spanish expedition appeared off St. Simons on June 28th, 1742, but its onset was held up for several days by storms in which some of the smaller vessels were scattered. In the afternoon of July 5th thirty-six Spanish

vessels forced a passage past the batteries on the south end of the island, silenced the guns and made their entrance into the Sound. Orders were given to disembark and by midnight about a thousand men had been landed and had taken possession of the English land batteries and camp. No real opposition to the landing was attempted as it would have been smothered by the guns of the fleet. Oglethorpe withdrew his men to a position some two or three miles to the north where he had selected to make his stand. It was a position of extraordinary strength for a defense. At that point, on the eastern side of the island was a large marsh, shaped somewhat like a fan with its broad convex end towards the west and bounded on the east by a narrow strip of beach crossed by inlets leading into the marsh and flooding it at each high tide. On the west side of the island was also a wide strip of marsh bordering the Frederica river. Between these two marshes was only a neck of terra firma, less than a mile in width at its narrowest part. This was covered with primeval forest and a dense semi-tropical undergrowth of brush, scrub palmetto and tangled vines; and through this only one narrow road which skirted the edge of the large marsh for a time and then disappeared into the forests on its way to Frederica some three miles away to the north. A flank attack on this position from either side was entirely impracticable, and the range of the Spanish field artillery was not great enough to do much damage from across the marsh. Here Oglethorpe had prepared his position and awaited the enemy. Montiano found it was impossible to advance across the marsh itself and after nearly two days spent in reconnoitering, the discovery of a narrow road along the west side of the marsh was reported and the Spanish commander, about midday on July 7th, ordered his troops forward along that road. The advance guard sent back reports that no deployment into anything like regular line of battle was possible, that the road was frequently

only a narrow causeway, that it was barred at intervals by heavy log barricades, that there were similar barricades concealed by brushwood in the woods on both sides of the road, that they had been exposed to heavy fire without even being able to see the enemy and had therefore retired to open ground. The Spaniards advanced again in force along the road and in the woods but a flank charge by Oglethorpe at the head of the Highlanders and Rangers routed them in utter confusion, and three companies of grenadiers were advanced to cover this retreat. According to the English accounts these regulars advanced bravely but after getting into the forest were attacked from ambush on each side and almost destroyed. According to the Spanish account the battalion of grenadiers after having advanced and covered the retreat, were cooking a meal with their arms stacked when they were set upon from the woods by a flank attack and routed. In either case the Spanish losses were very heavy and Montiano had no further stomach for fighting. After a few days of reconnoitering and half-hearted attempts to attack Frederica by water he embarked his troops and sailed away. General Oglethorpe in his report said, "The Spanish invasion, which had a long time threatened the Colony; Carolina and all North America has at last fallen upon us and God hath been our deliverance." This battle is known in Georgia history as the Battle of Bloody Marsh, and never since that time has any hostile force speaking a foreign tongue, ever set foot on Georgia soil. In March, 1743, Oglethorpe led an expedition into Florida and drove the Spaniards into their fortifications, but had not force enough to attack the castle and returned to Frederica. No further events of any moment occurred in this field during the rest of the war which was finally closed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Some two years after the peace Oglethorpe's regiment was disbanded, and grants of land were made to all those who desired to settle in Georgia.

After the defeat of the Spanish invasion Oglethorpe could rightly feel that his labors for Georgia had been successful in laying deep and strong the enduring foundations of the colony, and that he could now retire. He sailed finally for England in the cruiser "Success" on July 23, 1743. For many years the people of the colony continued to celebrate his birthday as a general public holiday; and today in the centre of one of the beautiful parks in Savannah there is a splendid monument, erected to his memory by the people of Georgia and of Savannah, on which his effigy in bronze, clad in his armor and with drawn sword in his hand, stands as it were still on guard; facing ever towards the South.

After the peace of 1748 the Trustees recognized that they might now safely relax some of the regulations which on grounds of military policy had originally been imposed on the colony, and the introduction of slaves into the colony was permitted after January 1, 1749. The prohibition against rum was still officially continued, but seems virtually to have repealed itself and become a dead letter. The grand juries would not indict offenders, and William Stephens, the President of the Colony, wrote to the Trustees that "A beverage compounded of one part rum, three parts water and a little brown sugar is very fit to be taken at meals."

In March, 1750, the Trustees abolished all the old restrictions on land tenures under which land owning had been based on military service and women had not been able to inherit because not able to bear arms. The tenure was enlarged into one of free and common socage; that is all grants of land made in the past or to be made in the future were to be estates of absolute inheritance, or fee simple. On January 26, 1751, the First Provincial Assembly of Georgia, composed of 16 delegates, met at Savannah with Francis Harris as Speaker.

The next year (1752) witnessed a complete change in the nature of the Colony and its government. On July



4, 1752, the Trustees surrendered to the Crown the old charter of 1732, one year before its expiration, and the Colony was placed temporarily under the charge of the Board of Trade. In this year also two other important events occurred in the life of the Colony; the Dorchester Congregation was settled in the "Midway" district, and the old calendar for counting time which had been originated by Julius Caesar was abandoned and the Gregorian calendar adopted. On June 21, 1754, Georgia was made a Royal Province and Capt. John Reynolds was appointed Governor. He arrived on October 29th and in January, 1755, was held the first General Assembly of Georgia with 18 members and David Douglass as speaker. Just a year later four hundred French exiles from Acadia were brought in on a British transport; the old colony charter with its restrictions being no longer in force.

In 1754 the French and Indian Wars (1754-1760) broke out between England and France, but the fighting occurred chiefly in the northern colonies and Canada. This was merged with the Seven Years War (1756-1763) in Europe in which England and Prussia were arrayed against France, Spain, Austria and Russia. This war marked the downfall of France and the ascendancy of England in the long rivalry that had existed between them ever since the times of Francis I and Henry VIII. at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Before the overwhelming sea power of England, France lost an empire to Great Britain in India and in America. Quebec was captured by General Wolfe September 13, 1759, and the following year saw Montreal and the rest of Canada pass under English control. The war was terminated by the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763. Under this settlement France ceded the whole of Canada and Spain ceded the whole of Florida to Great Britain. Spain's cession of Florida was made in exchange for Havana and Cuba, which had been captured by an English fleet the year before. France ceded all of her Louisiana Territory

to Spain in payment for her help in the war and in compensation for the loss of Florida. Spain actually took possession of Louisiana, subdivided it into Upper and Lower provinces, and held it with headquarters at New Orleans and at St. Louis until 1803, when she gave it back to France under the secret treaty of San Ildefonso which had been made between them in 1800. This caused the United States to intervene and resulted in the purchase by them in 1803 of the whole of the Louisiana Territory from France.

Although Georgia had seen little or no fighting during the Seven Years War, the Treaty of Paris produced most important results in her history. In the first place England recognized that the colony could no longer claim any territorial rights beyond the Mississippi; and in the second place the cession of Florida to Great Britain by Spain settled finally and forever all dispute as to the ownership of the region between the Altamaha and the St. Marys. Although no warfare over that region had occurred between the Colony and the Spaniards since Oglethorpe's victory on St. Simons, twenty years before, yet continued and acrimonious disputes over ownership had never ceased and the territory had remained unsettled save by the native Indians and by runaway slaves and outlaw settlements like that of Grays Gang at New Hanover on the Satilla river. It is true that Great Britain surrendered Florida back to Spain in 1783 but the Florida then surrendered was the present Florida and owned no rights to any land north of the St. Marys, nor north of a line from the head of that river to the point of confluence of the Flint and the Chattahoochee.

During the war the General Assembly of the Colony by Act of March 17, 1758, had subdivided the territory between the Savannah and the Altamaha, into eight parishes, called respectively Christ Church, St. Matthews, St. Georges, St. Pauls, St. Philips, St. Johns, St. Andrews and St. James, and representation was based on them.

Almost immediately following the cession of Florida by Spain the Board of Trade in England recommended to the Crown on June 8, 1763, that Florida be divided into two distinct provinces, East and West; and that the region between East Florida and the Altamaha be added to the Province of Georgia. The Board pointed out that the boundaries of the Province were still those defined in the original charter of the colony, that the Province accordingly had no jurisdiction south of the Altamaha and that the General Assembly of Georgia could pass no regulations governing it nor could the royal Governor exercise any control over it.

The Crown acted favorably on this recommendation and on October 7th by Royal Proclamation declared Florida to be divided into two provinces, one east and the other west of the Apalachicola river; and declaring further that "We have also, with the advice of our privy council, thought fit to annex to our province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Marys." In the Commission issued to Governor James Wright on January 20th, 1764, the Crown also recognized that the western boundary of the Province had become the Mississippi instead of the "South Seas." In that document the King revoked the boundaries of the province as recited in his previous commission of May 4, 1761, and defined the new boundaries of the province to be the following: "Bounded on the north by the most northern stream of a river there commonly called Savannah as far as the head of the said river; and from thence westward as far as our territories extend; on the east by the sea coast from the said river Savannah to the most southern stream of a certain other river called St. Mary, including all islands within twenty leagues of the coast between the said rivers Savannah and St. Mary, and as far as the head thereof; and from thence westward as far as our territories extend by the north boundary line of our provinces of East and West Florida." The General Assem-

bly of Georgia formally took possession of the new territory south of the Altamaha and by the Act of March 25, 1765, divided it into the four additional parishes of St. David, St. Patrick, St. Thomas and St. Mary; and placed Jekyl Island in the previously existing parish of St. James. The Indian title to this region from the coast to the head of tidewater may be said to have been extinguished by the treaty of 1739 between Oglethorpe and the Indians at Coweta, but the Indian titles to the vast territory south of the Altamaha and between tidewater and the Chattahoochee were not divested from them until the treaty of Ft. Jackson between the Creeks and the United States in 1814.

A curious episode in Georgia history occurred about this time. It will be remembered that the Province of South Carolina had declined in 1742 to assist Oglethorpe in repelling the great Spanish invasion of that year. The treaty of Paris ceding Florida to Great Britain of course extinguished all Spanish claim to territory south of the Altamaha. Almost immediately after the execution of the treaty South Carolina attempted to lay claim to this territory, apparently on the theory that the second Carolina Charter of 1665 extended half way down the Florida peninsula and that Spain's title being extinguished the title to the region now belonged to her. Governor Thomas Boone of South Carolina in that year actually granted to various persons tracts of land south of the Altamaha aggregating something over four hundred thousand acres. Governor Wright sent Mr. Gray Elliott to Charleston and by him filed a protest and caveat to the proceedings. He also wrote to the Home Government on April 20th, 1763, about "A matter which I conceive to be a very extraordinary procedure of the Governor of South Carolina." The Board of Trade promptly denied Carolina's claim and on May 30th, wrote Governor Boone, "it is our indispensable duty to avail ourselves of the opportunity by a vessel now ready to depart for Charleston, of



expressing to you our surprise and concern that you should have engaged in a measure of this nature so inconsistent with and prejudicial to His Majesty's interests and authority." The General Assembly of Georgia, by Act of March 6, 1765, provided that all these grants were void unless persons claiming lands under them should within six months submit their grants to the Governor of Georgia and satisfy him that they had as bona fide settlers within this province families of whites or blacks to the number of one person to each 50 acres granted; and shall within three months thereafter register their grants in the Register's office and file plats of the same in the office of the Surveyor General of Georgia.

The events leading up to the American Revolution were now near at hand. The news of the Stamp Act reached Savannah March 23rd, 1765, and on December 5th the cruiser "Speedwell" arrived with the stamps. They were first placed in Fort Halifax, then in Fort George on Cockspur Island and finally returned to the Speedwell for safety against the "Liberty Boys." On February 22, 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed and the agitation in Georgia quieted down for a time. Later when other grievances arose and it was considered advisable that the colony should have an agent in London to look after its rights and interests Benjamin Franklin, who was acting there for other colonies, was selected for that purpose on April 11th, 1768. Georgia on the whole was receiving quite favorable treatment from the Home government and under Governor Wright's administration was quite prosperous. In 1761 there had been about 6,000 white inhabitants while in the latter part of 1766 he reported some 10,000 whites and 7,800 blacks. The development of the revolutionary movement was therefore not so rapid in Georgia as in some of the northern colonies. The news of the "Boston Tea Party" and the throwing overboard there of 2,000 chests of tea on December 16, 1773, was published in the Georgia Gazette

the latter part of the following month and the extremists of course made the most of it, but the people as a whole felt no special causes for grievance and when the first Continental Congress was held in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, Georgia was the only colony which sent no representative.

A Provincial Congress was called by the patriots, as they then began to style themselves, to meet at Savannah January 18th, 1775, but only five of the twelve parishes sent delegates and Noble Wimberly Jones, John Houstoun and Archibald Bulloch who were named to go to Philadelphia declined to serve as they would not be representing a majority of the parishes. The parish of St. Johns, where the Dorchester congregation was settled and where the spirit of revolt, perhaps on that account, appeared strongest thereupon proceeded independently on its own account to elect Dr. Lyman Hall as its individual representative, and he was admitted to a seat in the Congress at Philadelphia "as a delegate from the Parish of St. Johns in the Colony of Georgia."

The news of the Battle of Lexington turned the scales in Georgia and caused her people to throw themselves whole-heartedly into the revolutionary cause. A Provincial Congress was again held in Savannah on July 4, 1775, significant date, and this time all twelve of the parishes were represented. John Houstoun, Archibald Bulloch, Noble W. Jones, Lyman Hall, and Rev. John J. Zubly were elected delegates to the Congress. After that the progress of events was rapid. A Council of Safety was organized, the royal magazine was raided, an English armed vessel captured and the port of Savannah was closed to English ships. In January, 1776, Governor Wright himself was made prisoner, but in February escaped on the armed ship "Scarborough." A regiment of Georgia troops was formed under Lachlan McIntosh as Colonel; and at a third Provincial Congress held in February Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, Lyman Hall,

Button Gwinnett and George Walton were elected to the Continental Congress. Only the last named three were able to attend and thus became the three Georgia signers of the Declaration of Independence. On February 5, 1777, Georgia adopted her first Constitution as an independent State, with Archibald Bulloch as President; and the twelve parishes of the province were changed into eight counties: Chatham, Liberty, Glynn, Camden, Effingham, Burke, Richmond and Wilkes.

A British fleet and transports with two thousand troops under Colonel Campbell from New York appeared on December 29, 1778, captured Savannah and drove out the patriots. Governor Wright returned on July 14, 1779, and resumed his official duties under the protection of British bayonets. The Americans were assembling an army under General Benjamin Lincoln and on September 3rd, 1779, a French fleet under Count d'Estaing arrived at Tybee Roads to assist them. The siege of Savannah by the combined forces began on September 16th, and on October 9th a desperate assault was made on the strong British works on the western side of the city. There fell the brave Sergeant Jasper and there the gallant and beloved young Polish nobleman, Count Casimir Pulaski, also fell, mortally wounded, while leading his legion in a brilliant cavalry charge upon the British lines. After a number of determined attacks, in which the allies sustained over 800 casualties, it became clear that the British position was too strong to be taken by storm. Count d'Estaing reluctantly ordered the siege to be raised and returned his forces to their ships. General Lincoln was obliged to fall back and the British remained in possession of the city until the end of the war. About three years later, in January, 1782, General Anthony Wayne took command of the American forces in the South and gradually forced the British back from all interior points into Savannah to which he then laid siege. The British, however, continued to hold the city until

after Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown when they finally evacuated it July 11, 1782, under an order to Governor Wright from Sir Guy Carlton in New York, and General Wayne and the American forces then entered and took over the possession of the city. With this event the Genesis of Georgia was completed and she took her place in history as one of the Sovereign States of the United States of America.

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# MODERN SAVANNAH

BY

ROBERT M. HITCH







"A handsome City Hall, of modern architectural design, adorns the river bluff which the founding fathers climbed in 1733."



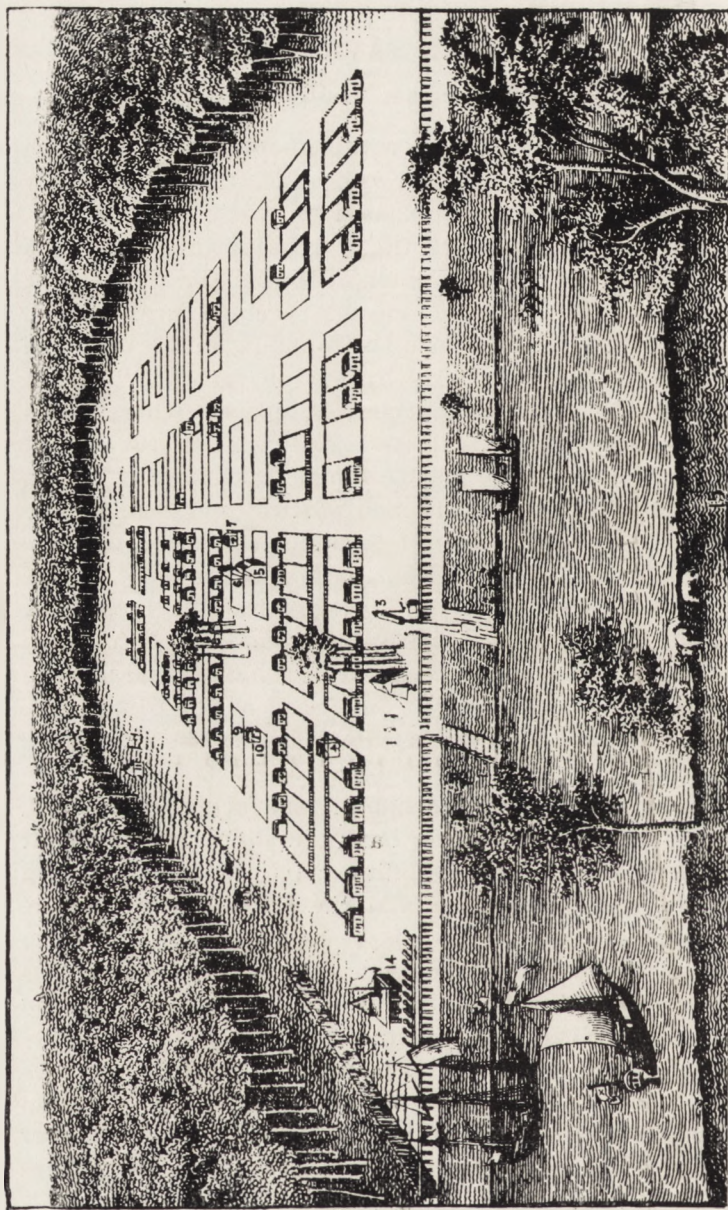
## MODERN SAVANNAH

BY ROBERT M. HITCH

Georgia's first capital is within four years of its 200th anniversary. That it is at the same time thoroughly modern, however, is emphasized on every hand.

Savannah suggests to the discriminating observer a harmonious and graceful union of the old and the new. A handsome City Hall, of modern architectural design, adorns the river bluff which the founding fathers climbed in 1733. It also shields from the morning sun of summer the stone memorial seat placed where Oglethorpe pitched his tent and rested at the close of Georgia's first day. A marble temple of finance, with the traditional Greek columns and portico, and housing the headquarters of the largest banking institution between Baltimore and New Orleans, occupies the spot where stood the Public Store in 1734. By its side is historic Christ Church, whose earliest congregations listened to a young missionary just come from England and bearing the name of John Wesley. Just back of the Church the very up-to-date John Wesley Hotel covers the site of the little parsonage where the founder of Methodism formerly lived. Across the little square, and facing the Church, stands another imposing bank building, just back of which is a prosperous building supply house occupying the site where stood in 1734 the Public Oven and the House for Strangers. Two large and thoroughly modern 10-story hotels now face that same square which was once viewed from the windows of their earliest Georgia prototype. Nearby a commodious hotel for automobiles,—otherwise known as a storage garage,—occupies the site where stood the public mill, used for grinding corn during Georgia's teething period. And in the center of the public square around which these buildings are grouped stands an imposing granite shaft, commemorat-



A VIEW OF SAVANNAH AS IT STOOD THE 29<sup>th</sup> OF MARCH 1734.

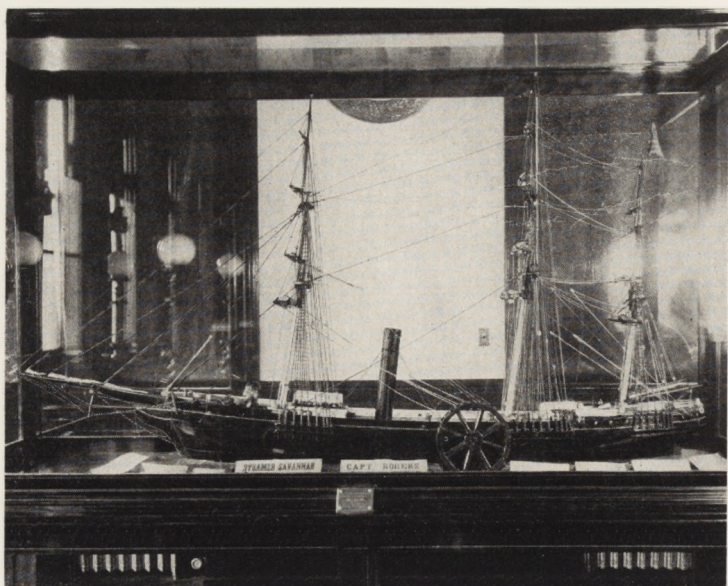


ing the life and services, and marking the last resting place, of that great son of Rhode Island, Gen. Nathaniel Greene, the right arm of Washington and the deliverer of Georgia from British rule. And on the nearby plantation at Mulberry Grove, presented to him by a grateful State, his friend Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin which vastly altered a civilization and indirectly produced the great war of the Sixties.

But if Savannah is drenched with history, it is also saturated with the impulses of 1929. Into the granite Custom House which occupies the site of the public building in which John Wesley preached his first sermon on American soil March 7, 1736, from the ever-memorable I. Cor. 13, a great sugar refinery now pours tariff taxes at an average rate of approximately \$21,000 per day for every day in the year, exclusive of Sundays



Custom House officers inspecting and weighing raw sugar from Cuba.



First Steamship to cross the Atlantic—S. S. "Savannah."

and holidays, these duties being collected on its imports of raw sugar from Cuba. And its sugar laden ships ascend the same river that carried to the ocean and to fame on May 22, 1819, the first steamship that ever crossed the Atlantic Ocean, i. e., the steamship Savannah, built by Francis Ficket, commanded by Capt. Moses Rogers, and financed by William Scarborough and his associates, all of Savannah, with whom the idea originated.

A very ornate Federal Court-house and Post Office, built of Georgia marble, and now about to be greatly enlarged, occupies the site of the little court-house erected by Oglethorpe, and in which the law of the land was administered by him and his judges on week days and the law of the Lord proclaimed on Sundays by John Wesley from May 9, 1736, to November 27, 1737. These

facts are shown on a bronze tablet to be seen on the Whitaker Street side of the building.

In the little park lying between the Federal Court-house and the State Court-house are two monuments which in themselves typify the old and the new. One is an unhewn granite boulder, in memory of Tomochichi, an Indian chief, friend of Oglethorpe and an ally of the colony of Georgia; while the other is of polished marble, and of limestone and granite, erected in memory of William W. Gordon, the first president of Georgia's first railroad.

And speaking of Indians, those who wish to burn a little incense to the memory of the noble red man for the sake of one of his most popular gifts to the white, yellow, brown, black, and other races, may find the makings at a very modern cigar store on the northwest corner of Broughton and Whitaker Streets, where in earlier days stood the famous Tondee's Tavern, in which the Sons of Liberty were wont to gather in 1776 to laud the revolutionists and damn the British. Quite likely it was from this very spot that the little band of patriots led by Major Joseph Habersham, walked three blocks to the "Government House," at Barnard and President (formerly King) Streets, where at present stands the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, and there, in his official residence, placed under arrest, on Jan. 18, 1776, the last Royal Governor of Georgia, Sir James Wright. A nice neck-tie party Sir James would have given afterwards to those young men if there had been no Washington and no Yorktown.

Having mentioned the last Royal Governor first we may properly respect the ancient saying by mentioning an early Republican Governor last. He was the Hon. John Houstoun, for whom was designated an excellent County in middle Georgia, with a slight change in the spelling of the last syllable of his family name. He was Governor of Georgia in 1778, following the adoption of Georgia's

first State Constitution in 1777. On the site of the former home of Governor Houstoun, at Abercorn and Congress (formerly Duke) Streets, we now find a beautiful and up-to-the-minute Temple of Mirth, or whatever kind of temple a good theatre really is. At any rate, in the deeply cushioned seats of this sumptuous play-house, to the tune of soft music and under shaded lights, you may enjoy the movies and the talkies all combined. And if there is anything more modern than that, it must be a Savannah girl of October, 1929.

Curious and fascinating are some of the contrasts in this most delightful of cities. The old Colonial Cemetery at Abercorn Street and Oglethorpe Avenue, once enclosed with a high and forbidding brick wall, is now a charming park, minus the wall. Stroll along its winding walks and soothe your senses with the drone of the honey bees and the healing perfumes of flowering plants, while reading the quaint inscriptions on the tombs of by-gone worthies. And commingled with the age-old drone of the bees you may hear the drone of an airplane winging its way northward from Daffin Park, and your contemplation of ancient epitaphs may be interrupted by the hoarse shriek of an ocean steamer going out to sea, or by the rattle and roar of motor-driven fire engines rushing to the scene of a conflagration, or by the steady detonations of Fords, Chryslers and Packards, et al., of the latest and the earliest models, as they flash along the asphalted surface of Oglethorpe Avenue. And not a man whose bones now rest in that little park ever heard of gasolene, a gas engine, an automobile, or an airplane, and but few ever heard of a steamboat, or any self-propelled vehicle on land or water or in the air.

On the western side of the city great railroad terminals now flank the spots where Sergeant William Jasper, hero of Fort Moultrie, and Count Casimir Pulaski, of Poland, received their mortal wounds in the attack on Savannah October 9, 1779.



In Madison Square, at Bull and Macon Streets, we view the features of the gallant Irishman, as represented in bronze by Daniel Chester French, and find his statue on the very spot where ran a portion of the British lines in that same battle which cost Jasper his life, while grouped around the square are a very handsome tourist hotel, named in honor of the celebrated Spanish *conquistador*, Hernando De Soto, an up-to-date Y. M. C. A. building, the arsenal of the Savannah Volunteer Guards, an imposing Masonic Temple, St. John's Episcopal Church, and several notable residences. In the next square to the northward Oglethorpe himself, cast in imperishable bronze, looks down approvingly at the little children playing about the base of his monument, while in the next square to the southward beyond the Jasper Manument a tall shaft of white marble commemorates the life and services of the Polish nobleman who was the comrade in arms and companion in death of the Irish sergeants.

But let us go back to the beginnings and before, and consider why was Savannah in order that we may better understand why is Savannah. What particular considerations, geographical, political, military, commercial, economic, or what not, prompted the locating of a city and the founding of a State on this particular spot in 1733? No doubt the reasons were numerous and varied. Let us glance first at those of a political and military character.

Two centuries earlier Balboa had stood upon his peak in Darien and gazed out on the broad Pacific. In the interim British voyagers had familiarized themselves and their countrymen with the Pacific as well as the Atlantic side of the two Americas. Thinly planted along the Atlantic coast of North America were twelve struggling British colonies, stretching from Massachusetts on the north to the Carolinas on the south. France had placed a line of Gallic outposts from the mouth of the St. Law-



1—Pulaski Monument.

2—Oglethorpe Monument.

3—Jasper Monument.

4—Monument to General Nathanael Greene.

rence to the Great Lakes, along the borders of the Lakes, and from the Lakes down the Mississippi to the Gulf. In Florida were the Spaniards. Likewise the Spaniards were in Mexico, which then comprised not only the Mexico of today, but a greater Mexico which included California, Nevada, and Utah, most of the present New Mexico and Arizona, and part of Colorado and Wyoming, as well as a considerable portion of the present State of Texas. Should the future civilization of this new continent be Latin or Anglo-Saxon? The answer given to that question by our British forefathers was one of the reasons for Savannah. A new colony, a buffer state of a semi-military character, was needed between South Carolina and Florida. So an experienced and resourceful military officer became the leader of the expedition which was to establish a new state, and the military impress which Gen. Oglethorpe gave to the infant colony has lasted until the present day.

But why this particular spot near the mouth of the Savannah River, rather than several others which might have been chosen? This brings geographical, economic and topographical considerations to the fore. Hang a map of the Western Hemisphere against the wall and take a glance at the Atlantic shore line of North America. It will be seen that Savannah is at the apex of a great gulf-like salient to the westward, where the hungry ocean has bitten deeply into the continent. Run a line north from Savannah and it barely misses Pittsburg, Buffalo and Toronto. Extend it south from Savannah and it bisects the Isthmus of Panama to the westward of the great canal. In other words, Savannah is further westward, and closer to the heart of continental United States than any city on the Atlantic seaboard. Savannah is approximately the same distance as the gulf ports from the west coast of South America, Central America,

North America, Hawaii, the Philippines, Japan and China. And it is at the mouth of a river that is navigable for 200 miles inland.

Now what do these facts mean from an economic and commercial standpoint? Do they constitute an advantage, or a disadvantage, or have they any particular significance at all? Let us see.

It is axiomatic that every great city must have adequate transportation facilities for the handling of commodities both in-bound and out-bound. It must be able to draw its food supplies and its trade from far and near. It must be privileged to send its products to far-off peoples and countries, as well as to those near at hand. A town or a small city may subsist on local trade, but it can never become a large city if it lacks transportation. It is also a long established proverb that, of all the different forms of transportation, carriage by water is the most economical. That is the fundamental reason why cities of the first rank, in ancient as well as modern times, have been located on navigable water. Transportation by water requires no roadbeds, nor rails, nor bridges that cost much money to provide and maintain, and on which taxes may be levied and collected. There is no interest to be paid on the construction cost of such items. And the sailing vessel is the cheapest method of transportation by water, since the roving winds furnish the motive power and eliminate all fuel costs. Hence, in the last analysis, the cost of sail transportation is the regulator and controller of all forms of carriage by water, and indirectly of a great portion of transportation by land.

Other things being equal, therefore, or approximately so, a city which is located on navigable water has a distinct advantage over its competitors. And to carry the point still further, the city which enjoys transportation by water, and has access to the open sea, and is at the same time located furthest inland, has still greater ad-



vantages over its competitors. For example, Montreal as compared with Quebec. And if and when the Great Lakes-St Lawrence waterway is made available for ocean steamers all the way through to the Lake cities, then Montreal will lose its present distinct advantage as the head of ocean navigation, and the Lake cities will correspondingly profit.

In the long run, then, a city which can reach the sea by ocean-going vessels, and is at the same time furthest inland, must evidently surpass its rivals, unless its advantages in these particulars are more than counter-balanced by advantages of some other nature enjoyed by its competitors. The combined overland and oversea freights, to or from the interior, are cheapest via that point. Artificial and arbitrary rate structures may temporarily hinder, but can not permanently alter that basic fact.

Bearing in mind the fundamental factors above outlined, it is not difficult to see why Oglethorpe and his associates and advisers fixed on Yamacraw bluff, 18 miles up the Savannah River from the sea, as the site for the beginning of the new colony of Georgia. A state here established would anchor the left flank of the line of British colonies along the Atlantic Coast, facing the French outposts along the Mississippi, the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. It would also make a good spear-head for a thrust at the Spaniards in Florida. Be it remembered, too, that our founding fathers were of a commercial as well as a fighting stock. The trader always followed the soldier, or accompanied him. Minerva and Mars were never far apart. Business began as soon as the fighting ended. It can not be doubted, therefore, that they clearly appreciated the commercial advantages which would be enjoyed by an Atlantic seaboard city that was furthest inland. They looked forward to the day when the Spaniard and the Gaul would be submerged by the

Anglo-Saxon tide and the teeming millions destined to live between the Alleghanies and the Rockies would have need of this window on the sea.

The faith of the fathers has been justified by fact. There is now but one law, one language, and one people in all the land between the Great Lakes and the Gulf, and stretching from ocean to ocean. Within less than two centuries since Georgia was founded, this people has outstripped all others in both hemispheres, and is now acknowledged as the most powerful nation on earth. Hitherto it has been much occupied in consolidating its position at home. Domestic commerce, internal development, the building of cities and factories and railroads and bridges and tunnels, the clearing of forests, the cultivation of fields, and the opening of mines have engaged its attention and satisfied its ambition. But the World War made it world conscious. It is now observant as well as observed of foreign lands and peoples. The prizes to be gained and the riches to be obtained in foreign trade will increasingly attract its energies, and inevitably our ports will swell with the constantly expanding volume of our overseas trade. No more in the future will America trade so exclusively with herself. More and more she will trade with all lands. Greater and greater will be the need for and the use of her ports.

In this new era that is now upon us, geographical position and superior transportation facilities will inevitably play their part. A pebble changes the course of a stream, a slight obstruction alters the direction of a river. So a small difference in freight rates becomes controlling when goods are moving in large volume, and will determine the route which commerce takes. Commodities moving to or from many mid-continental cities of the United States from or to the United Kingdom, northern continental Europe, Mediterranean ports, anywhere east of Suez, or anywhere west of Panama, can reach the Atlantic more quickly, in point of miles, by

way of Savannah. The costlier land haul is shorter, and the cheaper water haul is longer, by way of Savannah than by way of any other Atlantic port. The Gulf ports have no advantage of Savannah, in distance, time or cost, on traffic going westward through the Panama canal. Savannah has great advantages, in distance, time and cost, over any of the Gulf ports, on all traffic to or from Europe and the Suez canal.

For many years Savannah has been preparing against the day that is at hand. It has laid its foundations broad and deep. It has been building not for a day, nor for a season, but for the centuries. Steadily it has fostered and developed its transportation facilities, by water, on land, and now in the air. It has been frequently the pioneer and pathfinder. Not only did it send the first steamship across the Atlantic in 1819, but in 1834 it built the first iron vessel—the “John Randolph”—ever seen in American waters. The first railroad built in Georgia, and one of the first in the United States,—the Central Railroad—was built from Savannah, and by Savannahians. The old Atlantic and Gulf, running from Savannah towards the southwest, and now a part of the Atlantic Coast Line, was built by Savannahians. So was the South Bound, from Savannah to Columbia, now a part of the Seaboard Air Line. So was the Savannah & Atlanta. When the automobile era was just beginning a generation ago, Savannah held two national automobile races, which won unstinted praise throughout the nation,—the Grand Prize race of the American Automobile Association, and the Vanderbilt Cup race. Savannah and Chatham County were among the very earliest communities in the South to provide hard-surfaced highways to the County line. The first hard-surfaced highway across the State to Florida,—now a part of the Coastal Highway, hard-surfaced from Maine to Miami,—was built from Savannah, and was fathered by Savannah initiative and energy. Savannah has recently completed, and formally opened for



Savannah Airport. Opened September, 1929.

business, one of the most commodious and complete airports possessed by any city of its size in the country. Inevitably, it will be an important point on all the trunk lines of the air, from North and East to the South, just as it is on all the trunk line railroads of this section. Its geographical position compels it.

Always transportation! Oglethorpe commenced laying out and building roads almost as soon as he landed, and Savannah has clung to the policy ever since. Motor busses and motor trucks are now moving over improved highways from Savannah towards Charleston, Columbia, Augusta, Macon, Columbus, Waycross and Jacksonville. The railroads running out from Savannah, together with their subsidiaries and affiliated lines, have an aggregate main line trackage of over 35,000 miles, ramify all parts of the Southeast, and serve a population of approxi-

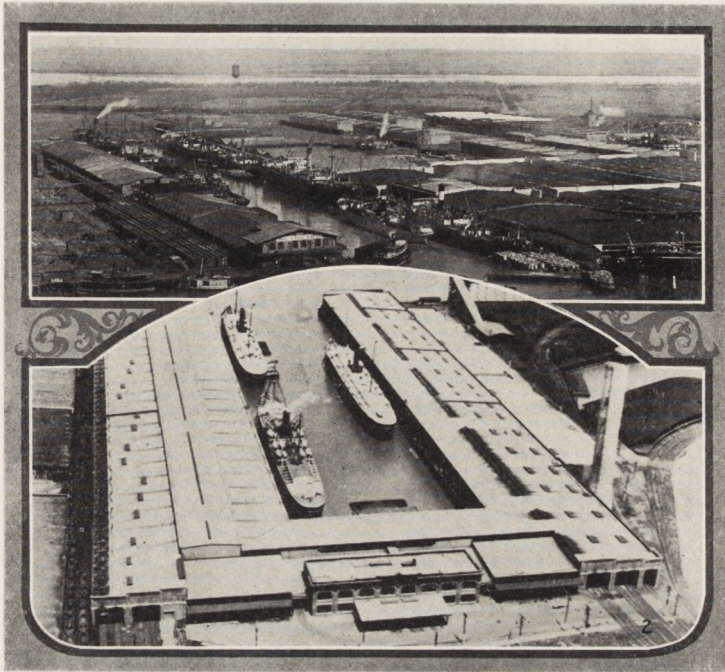


mately 30,000,000 people. Savannah is the only port of the Central of Georgia Railway, and is the geographic center, approximately, of both the Atlantic Coast Line and the Seaboard Air Line railroad systems. It is an important point on the Southern Railway. It is almost equi-distant from New York and Havana, and a natural stopping point for air-line traffic from the North Atlantic cities and Great Lakes region to Cuba, Porto Rico and the east coast or the west coast of South America. Eleven lines of railroad lead out of Savannah, as compared with ten out of Atlanta, seven out of Jacksonville, nine out of Norfolk, six out of Wilmington, and five out of Charleston. Steamers sail from Savannah to New York and Boston thrice weekly; to Baltimore and Philadelphia and to Jacksonville and Miami twice weekly. All these are handsomely equipped passenger vessels, as well as commodious freight carriers. River steamers are operated to Augusta, and inland water way steamers to Bluffton, Port Royal, Parris Island, and Beaufort, S. C. Great fleets of freight steamers, operated by 41 steamship lines of national and international repute, ply between Savannah and practically all foreign ports of importance. Savannah's water-borne commerce frequently exceeds \$500,000,000 per annum in value, and more than 1,000 vessels enter the harbor each year.

The constantly improving condition and capacity of Savannah's harbor is a result of vigilance and a source of pride. Millions of dollars have been spent upon it, and millions more will be spent. It has richly repaid, however, every dollar expended. The duties on imports collected at the Savannah Custom House in the last three years aggregate more in dollars than all the Federal expenditures for the improvement of the harbor from the founding of Savannah to the present date. The present harbor limits extend from the ocean for a distance of 29.6 miles up the river, which means about 11 miles above the city, to the plants of the Savannah Sugar

Refinery and the Savannah Creosoting Company. Over the bar the depth is 30 feet at mean low water, or about  $36\frac{1}{2}$  feet at high water. This depth is maintained up to the Quarantine Station, a short distance below the city. From the Quarantine Station a depth of 26 feet at mean low water is maintained at present for a distance of about 2 miles above the city, to the Seaboard Air Line bridge. Within recent months a large oil refinery and an asphalt roofing plant indicated a purpose to locate above the bridge if the minimum depth of 26 feet were carried 2 miles further up the river to the municipal dock opposite King's Island. With admirable enterprise and courage, and without hesitation, the City Council authorized the expenditure of \$150,000, out of the city treasury, under the supervision of the U. S. District Engineer, in providing the desired depth of water above the bridge, in order that the city might secure these important industries, trusting to the Federal Government for a reimbursement of this expenditure when the next Rivers and Harbors bill is passed. This improvement is now about two-thirds completed, and will be finished before the close of the year. The depth of water from King's Island to the Sugar Refinery is 21 feet at mean low water. Ultimately the 26-foot depth will no doubt be carried to the Coastal Highway bridge just above Port Wentworth.

Extensive wharfage and dockage facilities have been provided on both sides of the river in the immediate vicinity of the city, and are considered adequate for any demands that may be made for several years to come. More can be readily obtained. Modern dredges carve steamboat slips and turning basins out of a river bank as easily as a grocer carves cheese. Witness what London has done on the Thames, for miles above and below the city. Philadelphia has done the same at the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. Savannah is splendidly accommodated as to storage sheds, yards and

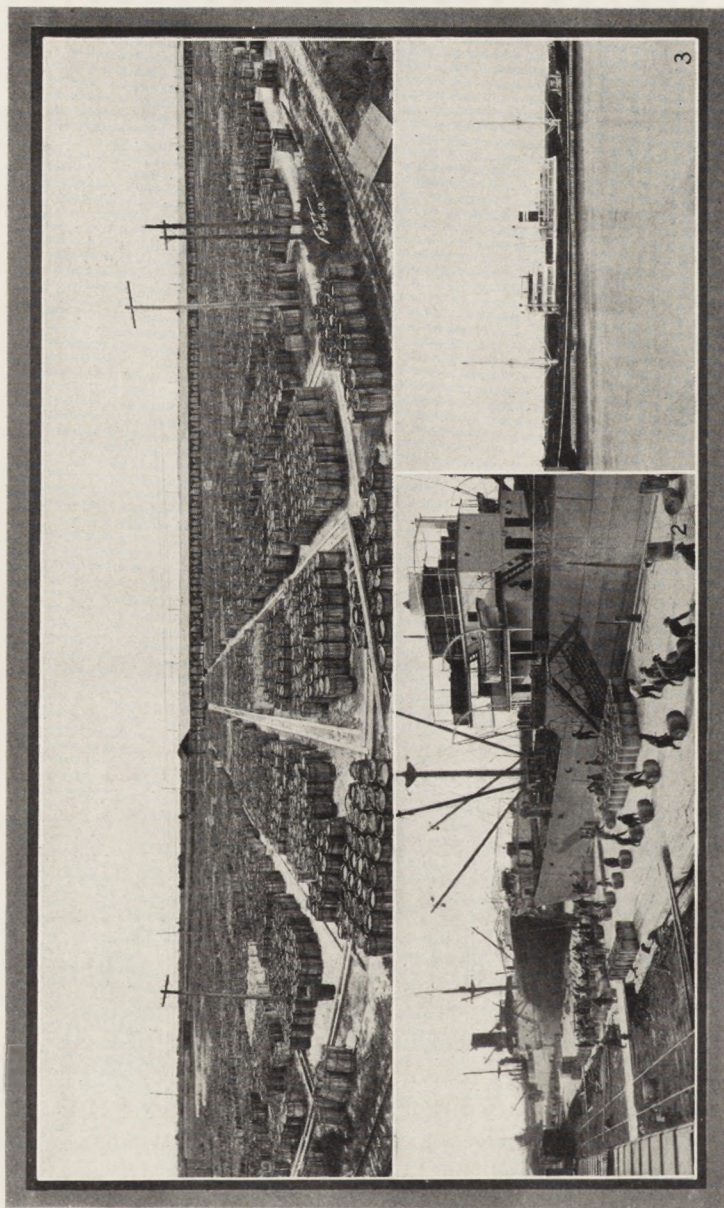


1 Seaboard Air Line Railway Slip and Freight Sheds.

2 Scene at Ocean Steamship Co. Terminals.

warehouses. Transportation in and about the harbor is efficiently handled by experienced and well equipped towage and lighterage companies. The Pilots Association comprises an adequate number of skilled pilots to handle all incoming and outgoing ships. Labor is abundant, and to be had at reasonable prices. Ample banking facilities are furnished by a number of strong financial institutions, the largest of them having resources of more than \$80,000,000. In every essential particular, the city is prepared to handle its commerce with efficiency, economy and dispatch, both by sea and land. Its supremacy as a naval stores market has been unquestioned for many years. The daily quotations on rosin and spirits of tur-





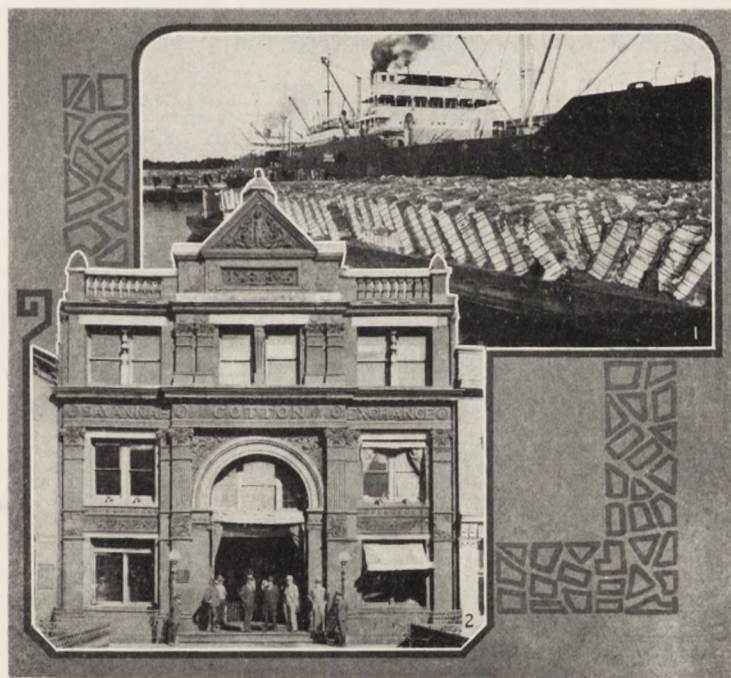
1—Rosin Yard.

2 Loading Rosin from wharf.

3 Loading Rosin from lighter.



pentine as posted at the Savannah Board of Trade are controlling the world around. More naval stores are annually exported from this city than from any other port in the world. In the export of lumber and other forest products it has long held high rank. Much of our original timber supply has been cut away, but our advantages of soil and climate are so pronounced that the supply is continually replenished if nature is given half a chance. In cotton exports Savannah formerly held second or third place, being surpassed only by Galveston and New Orleans. In recent years, however, as the boll weevil has steadily moved eastward, the shrinkage in cotton production in Savannah's territory has caused a



1—Loading cotton for export.

2—Savannah Cotton Exchange.

severe decline in her exports of cotton. This, however, is apt to be temporary only. The sections nearer the Rio Grande in which the boll weevil first appeared years ago are now producing practically as much cotton as they ever made. Logically, the same result should follow in the Savannah territory. In earlier years Savannah's annual exports have amounted to as much as two million bales and over. Last year they were less than 400,000 bales. Apparently 1928 marked the low point in the swing of the pendulum, as current daily receipts are at present running far ahead of those for the corresponding periods of last year. The cotton exports from Savannah for September, 1929, were about fifteen times those for September, 1928.

It is sometimes suggested that the steadily increasing consumption of raw cotton by Southern cotton mills will in time dry up our cotton exports. It must not be overlooked, however, that those countries which produce no cotton must continue to have their supplies of cotton goods, wherever they may be made, and it is therefore obvious that the Southern ports will ship more cotton goods when and if they export less raw cotton. In either event, the ports will be used and merely the character of the shipments will change. Indeed, such a change will naturally and inevitably take place with respect to a wide variety of our exports. As our inland cities grow, and as the number and variety and size of their industries continue to expand, the exports of raw materials will tend to decline and the exports of manufactured goods will increase. In like manner, our imports of manufactured goods will grow less, and our imports of raw materials will grow greater. Even now Savannah's imports show a striking variety and volume of raw materials for American factories, such as nitrates from Chile, sugar from Cuba, jute from Calcutta, potash from Germany, and numerous other articles.

The tariff taxes collected by the Federal Government on foreign goods imported through Savannah exceed those of all other South Atlantic ports combined, from Wilmington to Miami. In like manner, Savannah's water-borne commerce greatly exceeds that of any other South Atlantic port and frequently exceeds the combined water-borne commerce of them all.

In manufacturing, Savannah is steadily improving a position already strong. A gratifying increase year by year in the number and variety of its products has consistently marked its progress. Recognizing that industrial enterprises are among the greatest builders of cities, contributing largely to the increase of both population and wealth, and that they are potential stabilizers of local trade, Savannah has assiduously fostered the prosperity and expansion of the industries she has, and is pursuing an undeviating policy of encouraging the coming of others. Under authority of a constitutional amendment, the people have recently voted almost unanimously to grant to a classified list of new industries an exemption from local taxation for a period of five years. Through the combined and co-operative efforts of the City authorities, local trade bodies, and a number of leading citizens, a well equipped and capable Industrial Commission was organized sometime ago, and is accomplishing gratifying results. Its activities represent team work on the part of the principal elements in the life of the community. The Commission does not advertise itself or its work, conducts no hurrah campaigns, makes no charge for its services, accepts no fees or commission, and devotes itself solely, quietly and systematically to the securing of new industries and the service of those already here. At present 153 local industries are producing a great diversity of articles, many of which find ready sale throughout the Southeast. The largest cottonseed oil refinery in the South is located in Savan-

nah. It was at this plant that Dr. Wesson and his associates developed the processes for purifying the oil extracted from cotton seed so as to make it superior in many respects to that produced from olives. Here they also perfected the processes for producing high grade lards, soaps and other useful articles from cotton seed oil. Twelve fertilizer factories aid the farmer in producing his cotton, jute bagging factories help him in baling it for market, nineteen lumber and wood-working plants buy his timber and logs and convert them into finished products, seventeen bakeries provide his bread and cake, a great sugar refinery sweetens his coffee and his fruits, four ice cream plants and five ice plants aid him in the preparation of attractive desserts, three cigar factories provide the after-dinner comforters and seven stone-cutting establishments are ready to carve his virtues in marble or granite if his departure becomes unavoidable. An abundance of electric power is available at reasonable rates. Coal from the Virginia coal fields, the Clinchfield district, from Knoxville and from Birmingham, as well as fuel oil from Louisiana, Texas, Mexico and Venezuela may be obtained in any quantity at moderate prices. The fuel oil, of course, comes in at a low transportation cost in tank steamers. Industrial sites can be readily obtained at reasonable cost on deep water, with land and water freight interchange, or away from the waterfront with adequate rail facilities. The city itself has acquired for such purposes valuable waterfront holdings in order that any new industry of a meritorious character may be assured a satisfactory site at a satisfactory price. During the past five years twenty-two representative industries in Savannah show a gain in gross sales of 31.1%, a gain in average number of employees of 21.6%, and a gain of 22.5% in wages and salaries paid. For the same 5-year period proportionate gains are shown in electric current and gas consumed, telephones installed, value of exports and other recognized indicia of development.

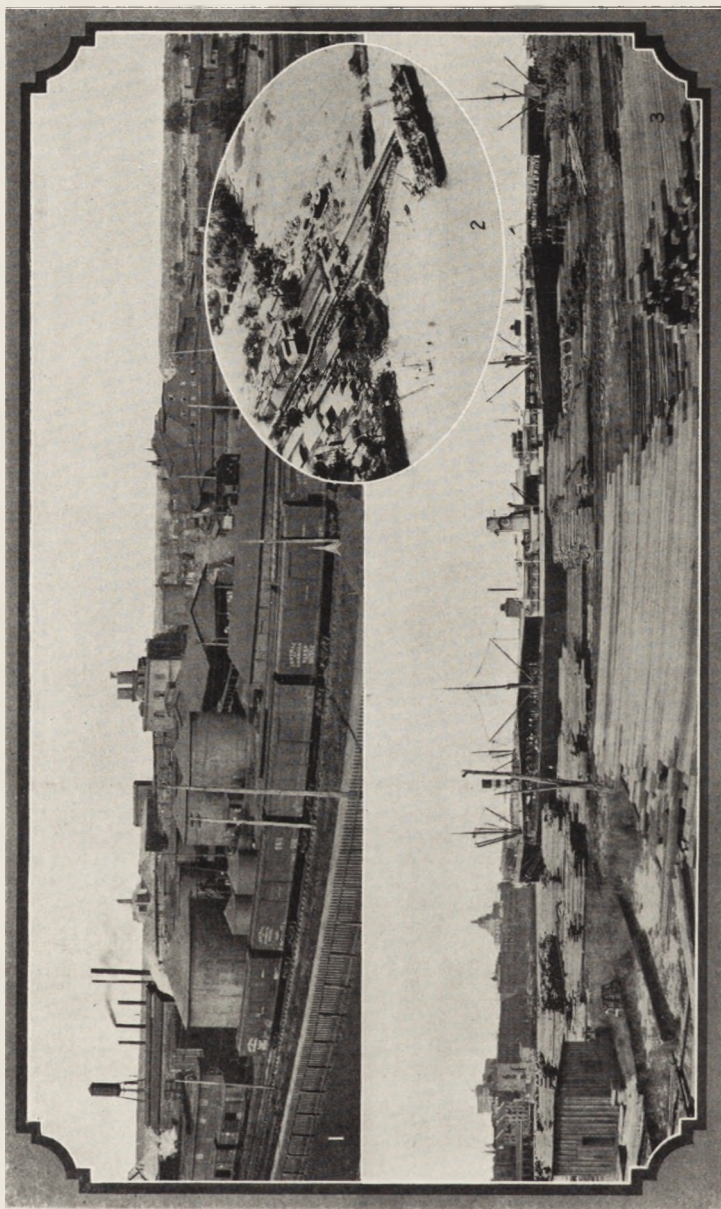




1—Woodworking Plants.

2—Fertilizer Factory.

3—Lumber Mill.



1—Southern Cotton Oil Co. Plant.

2 Air View of Savannah Sugar Refinery.

3 Lumber for export.





1- River front scene.

2- Business District.

3- Scene from Viaduct looking towards the city.

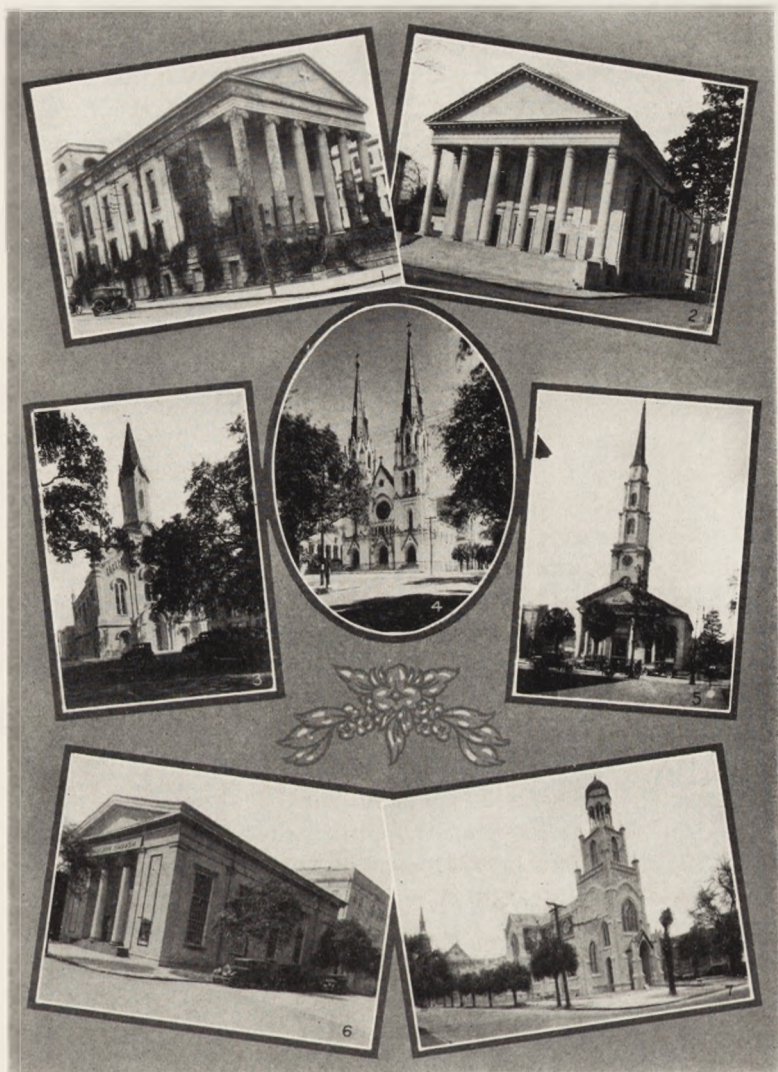
House rents, food prices and other living costs in Savannah compare favorably with those of other cities of its size, and are lower than in most of them. In a representative list of 19 cities throughout the United States, the increase in the cost of living, between December 1914 and December 1928, as shown in a compilation of statistics by the United States Department of Labor, was less in Savannah than in seventeen of the other eighteen cities, Portland, Oregon, alone showing a smaller percentage of increase.

In this connection it may be pointed out that executives as well as laborers can have living comforts and recreational advantages in Savannah at very moderate cost which can only be obtained in larger cities at considerable expense, if at all. Charming home-sites on tide-water are available within five, seven and ten miles of the City Hall, golf courses are within ten minutes of the business district by automobile, and good fishing and hunting are found within one and two hours from the city.

Churches, schools, public libraries, daily newspapers, a remarkable fine art academy, theatres, civic and social clubs, literary societies, patriotic and fraternal organizations, labor associations, music clubs, a poetry society, an artists' club, a number of famous and historic military organizations, benevolent societies, hospitals, and a nationally famous orphanage for boys all combine in providing a well rounded community life that is both satisfying and delightful.

Forty-four white churches and eighty-four colored minister to the spiritual needs of the people. The church membership comprises about 35,000 white people, of whom about twenty thousand are Protestants, about nine thousand are Roman Catholics, thirty-four hundred are Hebrews, and the remainder are distributed among a number of other denominations. The colored churches have an aggregate membership considerably exceeding





- 1—Christ Church (Episcopal).
- 2—First Baptist Church.
- 3—Lutheran Church of the Ascension.
- 4—Cathedral of St. John (Catholic).
- 5—Independent Presbyterian Church.
- 6—Trinity Church (Methodist).
- 7—Mickve Israel Synagogue.

that of the white churches, the leading denominations among them being the Baptist and the Methodist.

Some of the church structures of Savannah are notable both architecturally and historically. The first church building erected on the site of Christ Church, on Johnson Square, was erected in 1750. The present edifice was built in 1840 and houses the office of the Episcopal Bishop of Georgia. The Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, at Abercorn and Harris Streets, is one of the striking church structures of the city. The cornerstone was laid in 1873 and the building was finished in 1876. It was partially destroyed by fire in 1898, but was promptly restored without material change. It is regarded as the handsomest Catholic cathedral between New York and New Orleans. The residence of the Bishop of Savannah is located on Harris Street immediately to the eastward of the Cathedral. The Independent Presbyterian Church, at Bull Street and Oglethorpe Avenue, has been much admired. Its tall and graceful spire is regarded as especially attractive. The building was designed after the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, Trafalgar Square, London. Of the four church edifices erected in Savannah by this congregation, which was first organized in 1755 as a branch of the Church of Scotland, and is said to be the oldest Presbyterian church west of the Savannah River, the last two were erected on the site of the present building, which is a replica of the one destroyed by fire in 1889. Recently the congregation completed a beautiful and artistic Sunday School building, designed by Dr. Ralph Adams Cram, of Boston, and located immediately to the westward of the church. A portion of this building occupies the lot on which formerly stood the church manse in which Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Louise Axson were united in marriage the 24th day of June, 1885, by the Rev. Dr. I. S. K. Axson, pastor of the church and grandfather of the bride. Among numerous other notable church structures of the city mention should be



- 1—Senior High School.
- 2—Parochial School.
- 3—Thirty-seventh Street School.
- 4—Forty-ninth Street School.
- 5—Benedictine School (Military).
- 6—Junior High School.



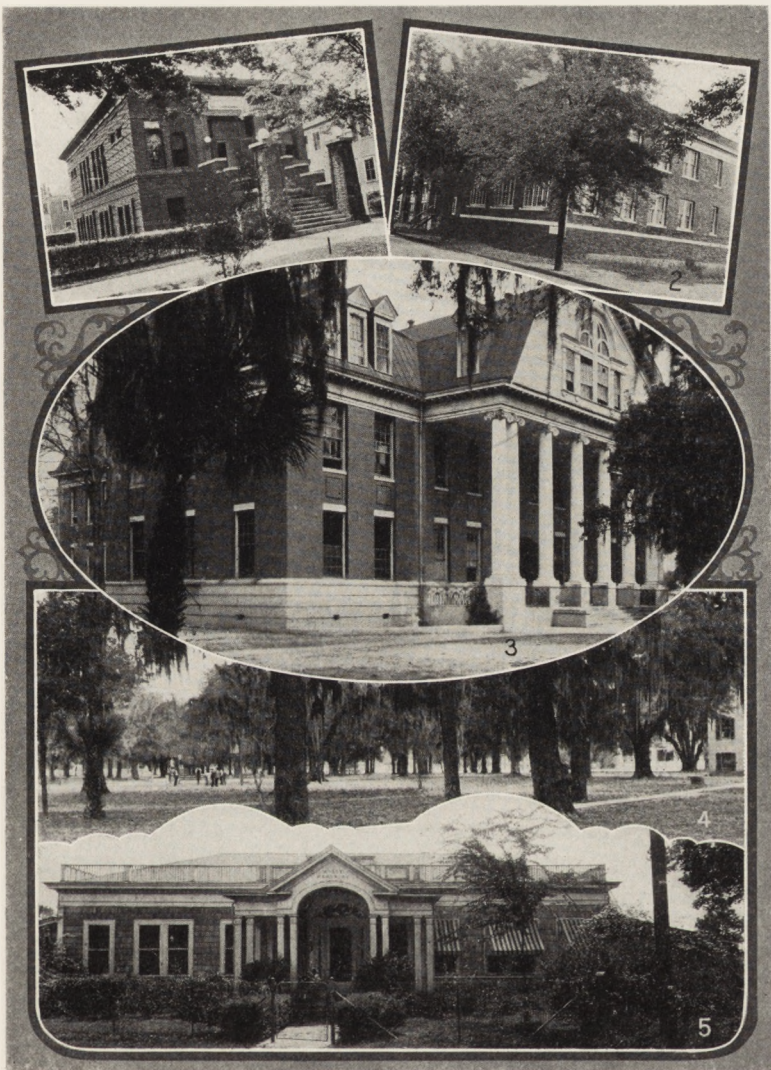
made of the First Baptist Church, at Bull and Hull Streets, Trinity Methodist Church, at Barnard and York Streets, the Lutheran Church of the Ascension, at Bull and President Streets, and the Jewish Synagogue at Bull and Gordon Streets, shown in the accompanying illustrations.

Savannah has always been noted for the excellence of its schools, and the intellectual and social culture of its people. The first free public schools in the State were organized in Savannah in 1866. Long prior to that time, a number of excellent private academies and schools provided educational facilities for the young. The total enrollment in the public schools of the city at present is approximately 14,200, including both white and colored. Besides these are a number of private schools doing excellent work, including the Benedictine School for boys, a secondary school of high grade with a military feature attached, the Pape School for girls, a preparatory institution of high character, the Kate Baldwin Free Kindergarten, a number of parochial schools, and several others.

The course of study in the public schools embraces a wide range of subjects adapted to the various needs of modern life. In addition to the usual subjects, the course includes bookkeeping, stenography, typewriting, business correspondence, economics, commercial law, domestic science, cooking, sewing, home economics, drawing, art work, physics, chemistry, biology, hygiene, music, and many other subjects that enrich and broaden human life.

The administration of the public schools is under the control of a Board of Education chartered by the General Assembly of Georgia. Its membership is largely self-perpetuating and the Board has been notable for the high standing, ability and character of its personnel. The Board and its very capable teaching staff are constantly endeavoring to improve the schools and to more completely equip their graduates for coping successfully with





1—Carnegie Library. (Colored).

2—Charity Hospital. (Colored).

3 and 4—Administration Building and Campus, Georgia State Industrial College. (Colored).

5—Mills Memorial Home for Aged Colored Domestics.

the complex problems of modern life. The numerous school buildings scattered throughout the city include many handsome and commodious structures, artistically designed and well adapted to their uses.

In this connection mention should be made of the very excellent work that is being done at the Georgia State Industrial College for colored youths, located at Thunderbolt, a short distance from the city, on the Wilmington River. This institution is a branch of the University of Georgia. The college campus comprises 116 acres, on which there are 16 important buildings, exclusive of a number of smaller ones. The total value of the property of the college is in excess of \$500,000. Sixty-seven counties were represented in the 423 pupils attending the college and high school for the term 1928-1929. 85 pupils attended the elementary grades for the full term. 314 pupils, representing 54 counties, attended the six-weeks summer session for 1929. 218 pupils attended the boys and girls short course, and 29 attended the winter short course, for men and women agents. The total attendance for the year 1928-1929 was 1,069.

Each student is required to give not less than one-half of his time to some of the following trades which are taught at the school: Agriculture, shoe-repairing, blacksmithing, masonry, sewing, auto mechanics, painting, carpentry, laundrying, cooking, electrical repairing, plumbing, drawing, home economics, and stenography. Through the co-operation of the State and Federal authorities, this college is now the headquarters for negro educational work in Georgia. It is in charge of capable educators of high character, all of whom are colored, and merits the universal commendation which it receives from all who are familiar with its work.

Notable among Savannah's cultural advantages are its libraries. The public library at Bull and 36th Streets is housed in a granite building of pleasing architectural design, donated by Andrew Carnegie. It is quite efficient-





1—Hodgson Hall.

2—Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences.

3—Public Library.

4—Interior Hodgson Hall.

ly managed and at present contains an excellent selection of 37,500 volumes. Regular appropriations from the public treasury enable the management to make continual purchases of additional books. A downtown branch for the convenience of business people is located in the Morning News building on Bay Street West, and fills a distinct public need. On Henry Street East is a Carnegie library for colored people, in an attractive brick building, and containing 3,500 volumes. Additions are regularly made to its book supply, and the library is well patronized. The library of the Georgia Historical Society (founded in 1839), located at Gaston and Whitaker Streets, in Hodgson Hall, contains a notable collection of books, many of them being reference works that are comparatively rare and of great value. Among the numerous private libraries of the city, mention should be made of the DeRenne collection, on the historic family estate at Wormsloe. It comprises the largest and most valuable collection of books, maps, papers and manuscripts in existence anywhere, relating to Georgia and the Georgians. Frequent resort to it and use of it is made by scholars, writers and others interested in historical research.

Of the several notable public institutions of Savannah, none is a source of greater pride to its people than the Telfair Art Academy, on Telfair Place, at Barnard and President Streets. It was originally established through the munificence of Miss Mary Telfair, whose father, Edward Telfair, was a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1778, Governor of Georgia in 1786, and again Governor from 1790 to 1793. The Academy was first opened to the public February 12, 1885. In its early years it was managed by the Curators of the Georgia Historical Society, but in 1920 the Society resigned the trust which it had administered for 37 years, and the future administration of the institution was taken over by a corporation chartered by the Superior Court of Chatham County



for that purpose under the name of Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences. Its collection of paintings, statuary and other works of art is much admired and is generally regarded as unexcelled by anything of its kind south of the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington.

Among other organizations which have contributed, and is contributing, greatly to the cultural and social life of the city is the Huntingdon Club for women, named for the Right Honorable Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, friend and patron of George Whitefield, and a loyal supporter of many worthy local causes when the colony of Georgia was in its infancy. A full length portrait of this lady, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is one of the most highly prized possessions of the Georgia Historical Society, and today hangs in Hodgson Hall, at Gaston and Whitaker Streets. It is an interesting fact, and not generally known, that this noble and gifted woman was distantly related to George Washington. Mention should also be made of the Oglethorpe Club, the leading social club for men, and to which women have been recently made eligible for membership, named in honor of Gen. James Edward Oglethorpe, founder of the colony of Georgia. The Club now occupies the former home of Gen. Henry R. Jackson, at the northeast corner of Bull and Gaston Streets, opposite Forsyth Park.

For many decades the patriotic organizations of Savannah have added greatly to the social attractions of the city, among which special mention should be made of the Hibernian Society, founded in 1812, the St. Andrews Society, founded in 1750, the German Friendly Society, founded in 1837, and the Victoria Society, founded in 1897.

The annual banquets of some of these societies are famous far and near. The leading men of the nation frequently have been their guests, and many notable addresses have been made at their gatherings. Notable

contributions to the social life of the city have also been made by the Savannah Riflemen's Association, Sons of the Revolution, Colonial Dames, Daughters of the Revolution, Daughters of the Confederacy, and others. Especially valuable has been the work of several of these organizations in marking historic spots about the city, in transmitting to generation after generation a just appreciation of the heroic sacrifices made for us by our forefathers, and in inculcating sentiments of local, state and national patriotism in the minds of our people.

Founded as the city was by a distinguished military officer, and to a large extent for military purposes, no



1—Chatham Artillery Armory. Brass cannon at left of entrance presented by General George Washington.

2—Savannah Volunteer Guards Arsenal.

treatment of modern Savannah would be complete which failed to make mention of some of its more famous military organizations. Notable among these are the Georgia Hussars, dating back in continuous succession to a cavalry troop founded in 1736 and formally organized under its present name in 1817; the Chatham Artillery, organized in 1786, and which treasures as priceless two brass cannon presented to it by Gen. George Washington; the Savannah Volunteer Guards, organized in 1802; the Republican Blues, organized in 1808; the Irish Jasper Greens, organized in 1842, and the German Volunteers, established in 1846. These commands have seen service, whenever they had a chance, in every war our country has known since the days they came into existence. The Republican Blues now constitute the Headquarters Battery of the 118th Field Artillery, while the German Volunteers are the Service Battery. The First Battalion comprises the Savannah Volunteer Guards, while the Second Battalion includes the Chatham Artillery (Battery C, Battalion Headquarters, Battalion Headquarters Battery and Combat Train) and the Irish Jasper Greens (Battery E). The headquarters of the 55th Field Artillery Brigade located at Savannah, as are the headquarters of the 118th Field Artillery Regiment. The National Guard strength in Savannah at present aggregates about 600 officers and men.

Probably no other city in the land can rival Savannah in the possession of a military parade ground of 20 acres located in approximately the geographic center of the city. Lying immediately south of, and adjacent to, Forsyth Park, the parade ground is commonly referred to as the Park Extension. For many decades the people have been accustomed to assemble there on holidays and witness the military parades. During the Spanish-American War large bodies of troops were reviewed there by President McKinley, including a Nebraska regiment com-





1—Scene at Polo Grounds.

2—Municipal Tennis Courts, Daffin Park.

3—Artificial Lake and Swimming Pool, Daffin Park.

4—Football game, Municipal Stadium.



manded by Col. William J. Bryan. At the close of the war, the Park Extension was a favorite place for mustering out the returning commands. Frequently the parade ground, like the celebrated Boston Common, is also used for open air meetings on a large scale. Those inclined to athletics find a more frequent use for it in playing baseball, football, tennis and other games.

Another favorite site for sports is Daffin Park, in the southeastern portion of the city. A large municipal swimming pool, or more properly an artificial lake, is here provided by the city for the benefit of the children in the summer months. A bountiful supply of clear, pure artesian water continually pours into the lake at one end, while an outlet carries off the excess at the other side. Periodically, too, the lake is drained dry and cleaned. In mid-summer many hundreds of children are using the municipal swimming pool simultaneously, and nothing ever done by the city authorities in a public way has contributed more greatly to the happiness, comfort and health of our boys and girls than this artificial lake on the border of the city's best residential district. It is quite a sight to see young boys and girls by the hundreds on a summer afternoon hurrying along the streets in bathing suits, coming from every direction, some on foot, others on bicycles, or in automobiles, and all bound for the swimming pool. The "ol' swimmin' hole" of the country-bred boy has been distinctly improved on by this municipal lake. For several successive summers, also, some elaborate and delightful water carnivals have been held at the lake, in which visitors from a large number of counties in both South Carolina and Georgia have been participants, and contestants for prizes. At a large and beautifully lighted pavilion on the border of the lake, dancing, roller-skating and other amusements are enjoyed.

Immediately to the eastward of the lake are a number of public tennis courts. To the southward is a landing field for airplanes. Much further to the eastward is



1—Hotel De Soto.

2—Hotel Savannah.

3—Savannah-Oglethorpe Hotel on Wilmington River.

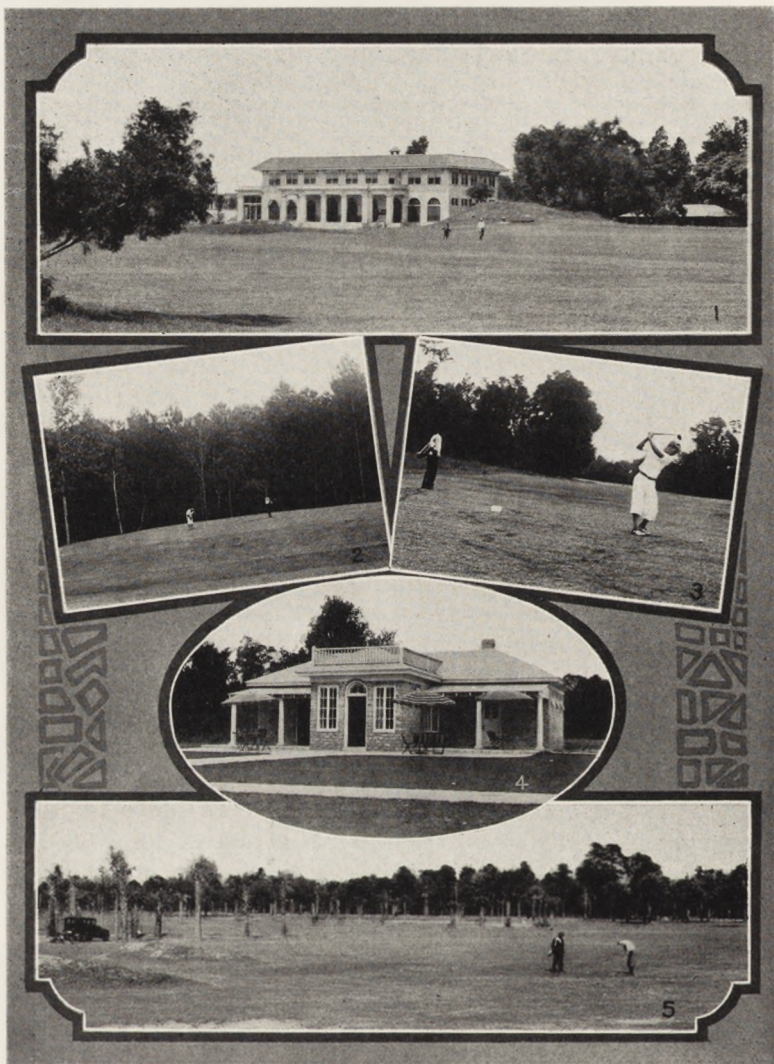
4—DeRenne Apartments.

the Municipal Stadium for college football, baseball and other games. A short distance to the southward of Daffin Park are the polo grounds of the Savannah Polo Club, and a couple of miles to the southeast, in Bacon Park, are two excellent municipal golf courses, designed by Donald Ross; also, a very satisfactory club-house. About a mile to the northeast of Daffin Park are the popular links of the Savannah Golf Club. This course presents a very unique attraction in that the bunkers are the old Confederate breast-works, constructed for the defense of the city during the Civil War. The attractive club-house of the Savannah Golf Club is frequently the scene of entertainments which are the lineal successors to the historic Golf Club Ball held at the Savannah City Exchange on the evening of December 31, 1811, at least one of the original invitations to which is still in existence.

Motorboating and fishing, of course, are two popular local sports, since the Georgia coast in the vicinity of Savannah is interlaced with numerous tidewater streams that are ideal for such purposes. Hard-surfaced roads run to all the more popular salt water points, such as Thunderbolt, Isle of Hope, Beaulieu, White Bluff, Montgomery, Vernon View, Wilmington Island and Tybee Island, so that from a downtown business office to the more serious business of fishing is a matter of a 30 or 60 minutes run by automobile. Fresh water fishing in the broad Ogeechee River, 14 miles from the City Hall, on the Coastal Highway, is also quite popular.

Hunters have their choice of a great variety of game, including black bear in the river swamps, deer, wild turkeys, quail, doves, and marsh hens at high-tide along the salts. In short, there are but few forms of recreation or sport, except those associated with ice and snow, that may not be enjoyed to a rare degree in and around Savannah. Tourists find satisfaction here of all the heart's desires.





1—Club House, Savannah Golf Club.

2—Scene on Number One, Municipal Golf Course.

3—Scene on Number Two, Municipal Golf Course.

4—Club House, Municipal Golf Courses.

5—Scene at Walthour Golf Course, Wilmington Island.



# Golf Club Ball.

The honor of *Miss Eliza Johnston's*

Company is requested to a Ball, to be given by the Members of the  
**Golf Club**, of this City, at the **Exchange** on Tuesday Evening,  
 the 31st instant, at 7 o'clock.

GEORGE WOODRUFF,  
 ROBERT MACKAY,  
 JOHN CAIG,  
 JAMES DICKSON. } MANAGERS.

GEORGE HOGARTH, Treasurer.

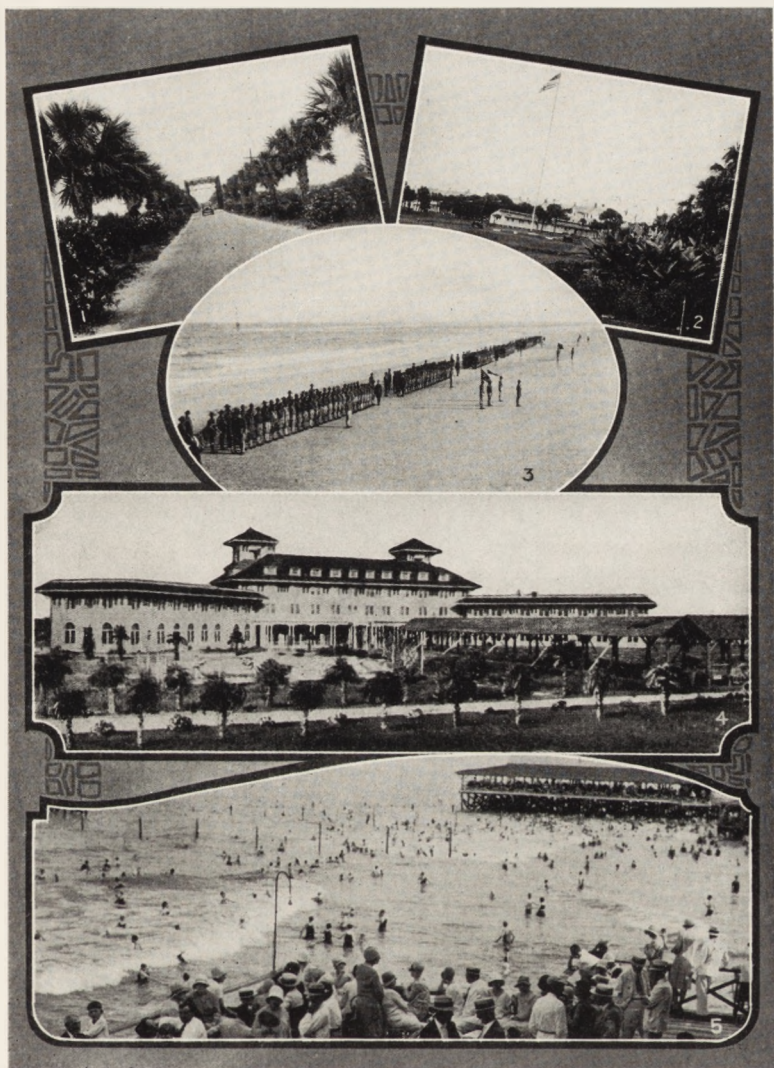
Savannah, 20th December, 1811.

A popular form of recreation, and of useful training at the same time, for the young people has been provided in the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations. There are 28 active Boy Scout troops in Savannah with an enrollment of about 550 scouts. Savannah is the original home of the Girl Scout movement, the founder of the Girl Scouts, Mrs. Juliette Low, having been a daughter of the late Gen. and Mrs. W. W. Gordon.

Climatic conditions in Savannah are well-nigh ideal. The winters are mild and for the most part balmy, while the warmth of summer is tempered by cooling breezes from the sea. Extremes of temperature are rare. The winter average is  $53^{\circ}$ , summer  $80^{\circ}$ , entire year  $67^{\circ}$ . For a period of 53 years the January minimum has averaged  $43^{\circ}$  and the July maximum  $89^{\circ}$ . The average annual rainfall is 48.82 inches, well distributed throughout the year. We do not have the high humidity in the summer which causes so much discomfort in some sections, and sunstrokes are practically unknown. Good golfing weather prevails 52 weeks in every year. In an average year there were 258 clear days, and partly clear, 162 days without a trace of cloud, and 108 cloudy days.

The health of the city is carefully guarded by a competent health department, supervised by an expert bacteriologist as Health Officer. A close working arrangement is maintained by the city and county health departments in a relentless fight on malarial and other mosquitoes. A high degree of success has attended their efforts. In the year 1928 there were only four deaths in the city from malaria, and three of the four were those of non-resident persons who had come into the city for treatment. In the same year the number of deaths from small-pox was none, and from typhoid fever seven, three of these being of non-residents.

Closely related to health conditions is the water supply. For quite a number of years the city has enjoyed



1—On road to Savannah Beach, Tybee Island.

2—Fort Screven, Savannah Beach, Tybee Island.

3—Scene at Military Training Camp, Savannah Beach, Tybee Island.

4—Hotel Tybee, Savannah Beach, Tybee Island.

5—Bathing Scene, Savannah Beach, Tybee Island.



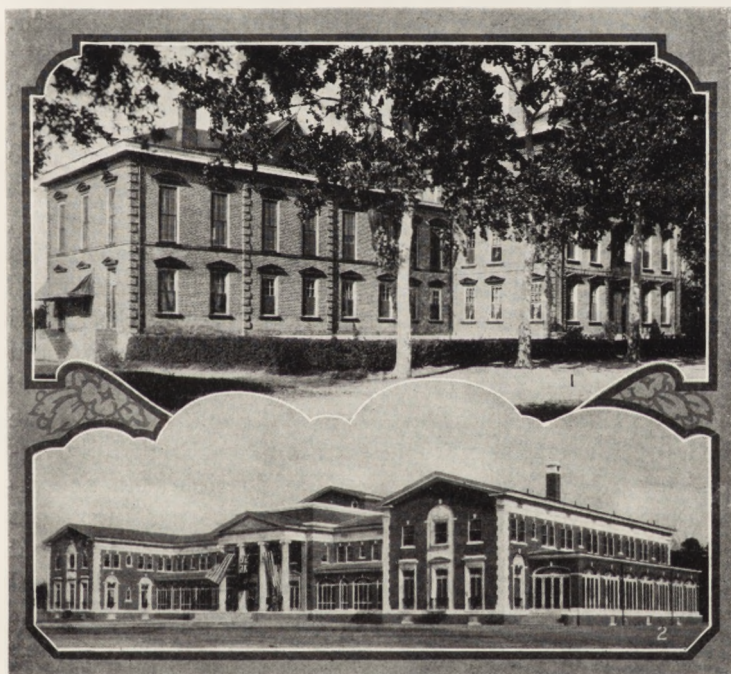
a liberal supply of water from a system of artesian wells furnishing about 13,000,000 gallons daily. The water is clear, colorless, tasteless, and of a high degree of purity. No reservoir is used, the water being pumped directly from the wells into the city mains. Every source of contamination is eliminated, if possible, and in addition a bacterial test of the water is periodically made by the city health department. So far the supply from the artesian wells has been sufficient for the city's needs, but if it should prove inadequate in future years by reason of an increasing population, the water of the Savannah River will always assure to the city an abundant supply. Also, the Ogeechee River, only 14 miles distant, and whose waters are in some respects preferable to those of the Savannah River, may be freely drawn on whenever necessary.

Contributing heavily to the good health of the city is an abundant supply of high grade milk. The surrounding country is well adapted to dairying, and the local production of good milk keeps well up with the demand. The city's unexcelled transportation facilities make it a simple matter to bring in more whenever the local supply runs short. All milk, cream, ice cream, meats and other food supplies sold in the city are subjected to rigorous and constant inspection by the city Health Department, and all hotels, restaurants, ice cream parlors and other places dispensing food to the public are kept under close scrutiny by a vigilant corps of trained inspectors.

Few cities of Savannah's size are so well represented in fraternal and charitable organizations, or have made such adequate and liberal provision for the sick, the poor, the aged, and the orphan. Practically every national fraternal organization is well established in Savannah, with active and well-housed lodges and clubs. Among the more notable hospitals are the U. S. Marine Hospital, Savannah Hospital, Oglethorpe Sanatorium, St. Joseph's



Hospital, Central of Georgia Railway Hospital, Telfair Hospital for Women and Children; also the Georgia Infirmary and the Charity Hospital, for colored people. Among the philanthropic and benevolent institutions may be mentioned the very handsome home of the National Order of Railway Conductors for their aged members, located on Oatland Island, the Seamen's Bethel, the Mary Telfair Home for Widows, the Louisa Porter Home, King's Daughters' Nursery and Home, Episcopal Orphans' Home, Abraham's Home for aged women, Savannah Female Orphan Asylum, St. Mary's Orphan Home, Little Sisters of the Poor (home for aged men and women), Juvenile Detention Home, Florence Crittenden Home (organized for the rescue and help of unfortunate



1—Bethesda Orphanage. Founded by George Whitefield, 1740.

2—Order of Railway Conductors' Home for aged members.

women), the Cohen Shelter for Little Ones, at Tybee, the St. Frances Orphan Home for colored youth, and the Mills Memorial Home for aged colored servants.

The Bethesda Orphanage for boys is in a class by itself. It has been termed America's oldest charity. Certainly there is none more worthy. Such is the esteem in which it is held locally that it is distinctly bad form in Savannah for a man to die without leaving something to Bethesda. Without a doubt there are dozens and perhaps scores of wills now reposing in the safes and safe deposit boxes of Savannah carrying bequests to Georgia's most historic philanthropy. First conceived by Charles Wesley and Gen. Oglethorpe in the earliest years of the colony, when numerous boys had been rendered orphans by the sickness and death of their parents, and were without homes, or means of support, or opportunities for education or religious training, suggested by Charles Wesley to George Whitefield when the latter succeeded John Wesley in the curacy at Savannah in 1738, and established by Whitefield in 1740 on a suitable tract of 500 acres of forest land about 10 miles from Savannah, granted to him for that purpose by the trustees of the colony, the "House of Mercy" has for 189 years carried on its good work of sheltering and educating homeless boys and training them in the ways of helpful citizenship. Up and down America, from Georgia to Massachusetts, and through the cities and towns and countrysides of England the indefatigable and irresistible Whitefield preached the needs of his orphans. The poor and the rich alike responded to his appeals, and made possible the accomplishment of his dearest wish. With the passing years this great beneficence has seen its abilities increased and its usefulness enlarged. Many successful and honored citizens of Georgia and of other States have been brought to maturity and educated at Bethesda. The leading men of the community have felt honored in being called to serve in the management of its affairs. At present it

owns an attractive group of buildings, well kept grounds, cultivates the same lands granted by the trustees to Whitefield, and is supporting and educating an attractive group of about 100 young boys.

The governmental affairs of Savannah are under the management and control of a Mayor and twelve aldermen. All are elected from the city at large, rather than by particular wards. Significant of the tolerant and broadminded attitude of the different elements of the population for one another is the fact that by long established custom and tacit consent practically every board of aldermen contains among its members a fair representation of Gentile and Jew, Protestant and Catholic, native and foreign-born, Georgia "cracker," Irish, English, German and other elements. Successive city administrations have well reflected, and translated into action, the progressive impulses and sentiments of their constituents. The policies of the present administration have been especially notable in that respect.

The population of Savannah has increased for the last several decades at substantially the same ratio as the country at large. More particularly, its growth has closely paralleled the growth of the State of Georgia. For the five decades from 1880 to 1920 the U. S. census reports show the population, stated in terms of thousands only, and disregarding odd numbers, as rising by the following steps: 30, 43, 54, 65, 83. For 1928 the Census Bureau estimated the population at 99,900. The census of 1930 will undoubtedly show a population in excess of 100,000. The increase has not been spectacular, but steady and constant. Savannah is keeping even step with the growth of the section from which it draws its support. Its prosperity and adversity is indissolubly linked with the prosperity and adversity of the territory surrounding it.

Surprise is sometimes expressed that the port cities of the South Atlantic and Gulf have not grown as rapidly during the last century as the port cities of the North Atlantic, nor as rapidly in recent decades as the port cities of the Pacific Coast. The reasons are not far to seek. The port cities of the North Atlantic have owed their rapid increase in population since the Civil War to the constant flow of European immigrants in large numbers to those cities year by year. A casual visitor to any one of the larger cities of the North Atlantic coast is struck by the great percentage of foreigners seen upon the streets and in the subways and on the elevated trains. As to the Pacific Coast cities, the discovery of gold in 1849 in California resulted in the rapid growth of San Francisco, the later discovery of gold in Alaska forced the rapid growth of Seattle, and the discovery of oil in Southern California caused the rapid development of Los Angeles.

The port cities of the South Atlantic and the Gulf, on the other hand, have experienced none of those adventitious aids. They have had no immigration, no gold, no oil, with the exception that New Orleans is now feeling the stimulus of the new wealth pouring in from the recently developed oil fields of Louisiana. On the contrary the growth of all the southern ports was largely paralyzed for 150 years by periodic outbreaks of yellow fever epidemics, until the clean-up in Cuba after the close of the Spanish-American War in 1898 disclosed the cause of this dreadful scourge and the means of preventing its development and spread. Previous to that discovery, southern ports would frequently lose as much population and business in a yellow fever epidemic of a few weeks as had been gained in a number of years. They could make but little headway against such a handicap. Now that a particular type of mosquito is known to be the sole transmitting agent, the mystery about it has disappeared, and the public apprehension of it no longer exists. Cuba and



Central America and Panama and the east coast of South America, from which the scourge formerly visited our shores at intervals, are now free of it. The incubus of dread and fear has been lifted from our southern ports, and their future growth should be, and doubtless will be, constant and continuous.

Topographically, Savannah is very pleasing. The contour of the ground is gently undulating. A ridge of high land, running from the river bluff to the southward, is the backbone of the city, which is laid out largely in the shape of a long rectangle, similar to the layout of New York, on Manhattan Island. The familiar gridiron system of streets was adopted in the beginning, and has been consistently followed. One of the most unique and attractive features of the city is the system of small parks or "squares" which appear at regular intervals on the alternate north and south streets. The total area



FORSYTH PARK

of the 50 parks and squares is a little over 178 acres, including Forsyth Park, 10 acres, the Park Extension, 20 acres, and Daffin Park, 83 acres. Because of its great wealth of shade trees along the streets and in the parks and squares, Savannah is known as the "Forest City." A glance over the city from the top windows or roof of one of its taller buildings indicates the striking aptness of the expression. The woodland scenery along the paved highways in the vicinity of the city is strikingly beautiful and greatly admired.

The area of the city itself is comparatively small for the population, being only about 7.37 square miles. Truly it is "built as a city that is compact together." And the popularity of the little squares with the nurses and small children beautifully recalls the prophecy of Zechariah that "the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof."

There is about Savannah an intangible, indefinable, but all-pervading something which is perhaps best described by what Maud Adams calls "char-rum." It is sometimes very noticeable in certain individuals who may not be particularly noticeable as being brilliant or otherwise, handsome or plain, long or short, fat or lean, and yet we part from them with a gently diffused, pleasing and satisfying sense of having been delighted and soothed, and our outlook on life, our neighbors, the world, and things past, present and to come, rendered increasingly attractive and more appealing by a brief contact with them. Whatever that is, Savannah has it. Whether it inheres in her graceful and harmonious blending of diverse types of architecture, her profusion of flowering plants and evergreen trees, her lovely parks and squares and suburban drives, her balmy breezes from the pulsing sea, her business habits and social customs, or in the combination of all of these with something else, may not be easily determined. Most probably the secret of her charm is in her people.



- 1—Victory Drive.
- 2—Isle of Hope Road.
- 3—Coastal Highway Bridge over Savannah River.
- 4—Winter home of Dr. H. N. Torrey of Detroit.
- 5—Azaleas, Wormsloe Gardens.
- 6—Plantation Home near Savannah.



## WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Major William W. Gordon is a lawyer of Savannah, Georgia, and is a graduate of Yale University, Columbia Law School and the Georgia Law School.

He is the author of "Cavalry in the South," U. S. Military Journal, 1905, and other magazine articles. He was in the Georgia State cavalry twenty years, retiring with the rank of Major. He took part in the Spanish-American War as Second Lieutenant and Aide-de-camp General W. W. Gordon, and was Attaché of the Porto Rican Peace Commission.

He is ex-President of the Georgia Poetry Society and is now President of the Georgia Historical Society.

Mr. Jefferson Randolph Anderson is the senior member of the law firm of Anderson, Cann & Cann, of Savannah, Georgia.

From June 23, 1913, to June 25, 1915, he was President of the Senate of Georgia. He was Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the First District Agricultural & Industrial School, located at Statesboro, Georgia, from its creation in 1906 until 1920 and he was the first Chairman of the Savannah Public Library for six years from 1916 to 1921. He also served for several years as a member of the Federal State Board for Vocational Education.

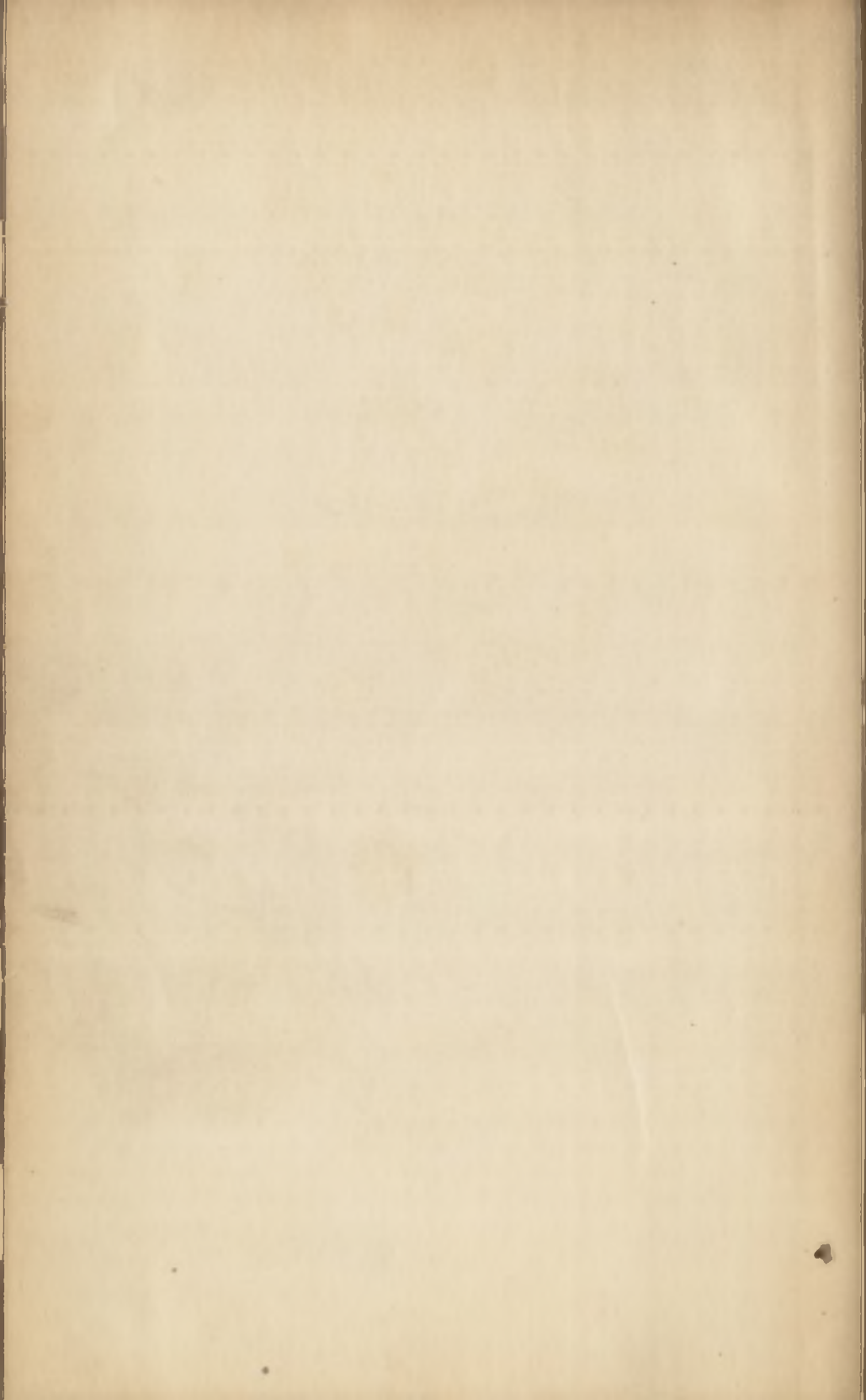
Mr. Robert M. Hitch is a native of Brooks County, Georgia, a graduate of Mercer University, and became a member of the Savannah Bar in 1893. In 1900-1901 he was a member of the General Assembly of Georgia from Chatham County; in 1908 a Presidential elector. He is senior member of the law firm of Hitch, Denmark & Lovett, officer, director and counsel for several important business associations, and the author of numerous addresses and papers on historical, patriotic, economic, social and other topics.



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