

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GEORGIA WOMEN

By
HELEN R. BARTLETT

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Maryland in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy
1939.

UMI Number: DP70066

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI DP70066

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

I wish to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to my adviser, Dr. Hayes-Baker Crothers, who suggested the topic of this thesis and who at all times encouraged and assisted me, in the long and tedious hours of its preparation, with deepest kindness and utmost patience, to its ultimate conclusion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	TITLE	PAGE
I	The Influence of Women in the Founding of Georgia and its Early Development.....	1
II	Mary Musgrove.....	10
III	The Legal Status of the Women of Georgia in the Eighteenth Century.....	41
IV	A Sketch of the Economic Conditions in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century.....	53
V	The Economic Status of the Women of Georgia in the Eighteenth Century.....	62
VI	Women of Georgia in the Revolution.....	77
VII	Amusements in the Eighteenth Century.....	89
VIII	Education for Women in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century.....	101
IX	The Everyday Life of the Women of Georgia in the Eighteenth Century.....	116

CHAPTER I

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN IN THE FOUNDING OF GEORGIA AND ITS EARLY DEVELOPMENT.

Georgia, the last of the thirteen American Colonies, was founded through the influence and under the leadership of the soldier-philanthropist, James Edward Oglethorpe. His interest had been aroused in the many people in the prisons of England, due to the laws which made criminals of all men who could not pay their debts. He proposed to establish these debtors in a colony in the new world. Also, as a soldier fighting in Europe under Eugene of Savoy, he had learned of the persecutions of the Protestants in Germany. He hoped that they, too, would find a haven in his new colony. With an eye for economic gain, he wished to establish a colony which would serve as a base for a profitable fur trade with the Indians. Although the above motives were very powerful in the colonization of Georgia, the real reason was a military one. Oglethorpe, a soldier, wished to establish a buffer state against the imperialistic ambitions of Spain, and to keep her within the boundaries of Florida.

With such an aim, it was easy to secure the interest of the British Government, as well as financial aid. A charter was issued, similar to the proprietary grants in

Maryland and the Carolinas except for the granting of the land to a board of trustees instead of the individual proprietors. The government was to be in the hands of these trustees for a period of twenty-one years, when it would revert to the crown. A committee of the trustees was to form the council, and this body, in turn, was to appoint the governor. The governor and the council were empowered to make the laws, which must not be contrary to those of England. The people could suggest laws, but had no way of compelling the lawmakers to accept them. Religious freedom was granted. Slavery was forbidden. One reason for prohibiting slaves was, "Produce designed by the trustees to be raised in the colony, i.e., Silk and Other produces were such as women and children would be of as much use as negroes".¹

In the original charter women were not allowed to hold land or to inherit land. Benjamin Martyn, the Secretary, gives the following reasons for this:

The lands in the charter were granted to men only; because, if women were allowed to hold or inherit land they would be entitled to one lot and hence would take from the garrison the portion of one soldier. Also, by intermarriage several lots might have been united into one. And again, if a man had several daughters his lot would have to be divided among them all. Also -- women being equally incapable to act as soldiers or serve on juries, these duties

¹ Benjamin Martyn, An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from It's First Establishment (London, 1741), p. 9.

and many others, such as watchings and wardings, should return so much oftener in proportion to the number of the men in the township was lessened, and by that means be very burdensome to the remaining male lot-holders. And in case of any attack from Indians, French or Spaniards, the township² would be less able to make an escape.

However, in this case, as in many other instances later, the trustees found it was far easier to make rules and regulations than to enforce them. When they made known the objects and terms of the charter to the one hundred fourteen persons whom they had resolved to send, they received protests from four. These desired their daughters, as well as their sons, to inherit. The trustees decided that these and all others of like mind should have the privilege of naming a successor to the lands granted them, who, in case the possessor should die without male issue, should hold same to their male heirs forever. They also agreed that widows should have their thirds as in England. These concessions satisfied the people for the time being. Thus the Georgia colonists struck a blow for women's rights before they ever set sail for the new world.

² Benjamin Martyn, An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from It's First Establishment (London, 1741), pp. 5-6.

South Carolina welcomed the news that a colony was to be established to the south. Her people had suffered severely from both Indian raids and marauding parties of Spaniards, and this new colony would serve as a buffer state to protect them. Oglethorpe was invited to land first in the Carolina colony and to remain there at its expense until a suitable site for settlement should have been selected. Accordingly, Oglethorpe and his colonists landed first in Charlestown. From there they went to

Beaufort, where the colonists, by courtesy of Governor Johnson, occupied the new barracks until Oglethorpe, accompanied by William Bull and Jonathan Bryan, could visit the future settlement. The prospecting party left in an Indian canoe, and after winding in and out among the small islands at the mouth of the Savannah River they at length espied, some miles up the stream, a bluff crowned with pine trees, at the western end of which was a village, called Yamacraw. The chief of the tribe to which the village belonged was named Tomo-chi-chi. There was here a trading post owned by a man named John Musgrove, whose wife Mary was an Indian halfbreed. At first the old chief refused to grant the request of the Europeans for land on which to settle but through the good offices of Mary Musgrove he finally consented to enter into treaty negotiations, after which the land was surveyed and the party returned to Beaufort for the colonists.³

³ F.D. Lee and J.L. Agnew, Historical Records of Savannah (Savannah, 1868), pp. 3-4.

Two years later, to protect Savannah from the ravages of enemy Indians, the trustees laid out, to the south, a new town which was called Frederica. For some time after this the Savannah settlement was known as the Northern Province and the one around Frederica as the Southern Province. In March, 1734, a group of Salzburgers came to Georgia and settled at Ebenezer, the translation of which is, "Here we rest". Augusta was settled in 1737.

Thus Georgia was settled; but, from the very beginning the struggle to establish a prosperous colony was not successful. Many reasons may be given, among which are the following: Oglethorpe was a military despot; there was no Assembly until 1751; the regions of settlement were fertile but malarial; the land grants were small; slavery was prohibited. These may have been only contributing factors toward the fate of a project which was doomed to fail, even as a similar experiment in the Carolinas had done. The trustees planned the colony in England with no real knowledge of the land or the nature of the settlers when placed in a new environment. They made a pattern which just failed to fit.

In 1737 the trustees received word of uneasiness among the people about the confining of land holdings to male heirs. They, being apprehensive of the success of their undertaking, hurried to make further concessions in regard to the holding of land by women. They considered that the

colony had been established long enough and that the people were numerous enough; and, since a regiment was stationed in it for defense, that former tenures were unnecessary. Therefore the trustees decided that, in default of male issue, any legal possessor of land might, by Deed-in-writing, or last will and testament, appoint his daughter his successor, or any other male or female relative, provided the successor personally claim the lot granted within eighteen months after the death of the grantor. Soon this concession was extended to every possessor's being empowered to appoint any other person his successor.⁴ This was another victory for the rights of women, especially significant since it was won in the New World.

Even with these concessions the colonists continued to be discontented and unhappy. They were divided into factions, and constant complaints were sent to the trustees by one side or the other. The trustees, in order to inform themselves of the real conditions that prevailed in the colony and the justice of the complaints that reached them, decided to appoint someone to study the situation and to keep them advised. They selected for this important work Colonel William Stephens, a man of integrity and character, who had sat in parliament for a quarter of a century, and who enjoy-

⁴ Benjamin Martyn, An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from It's First Establishment (London: 1741), p.27.

ed the confidence of the trustees and of the country. In the summer of 1737, he was sent to Savannah as "Secretary of the Trustees in Georgia". His office was to take a general oversight of affairs, to advise unofficially the officers of the colony, and to keep the trustees fully informed of the conditions that prevailed and of the progress of the settlement. He entered upon his duties October 20, 1737, and continued to perform them with diligence and fidelity until October 4, 1740, when the plan of government was changed and the colony was divided into two counties. He was appointed president of the county of Savannah.⁵

Stephens kept a journal of his three years' work as secretary. This journal reveals further concessions in regard to land-holding and the extension of women's rights:

The Trustees to make all people easy and contented as they could, published an advertisement in the London Gazette 8th September, 1739, and other papers several days and ordered it to be published in the South Carolina Gazette that they had resolved to enlarge their grants on failure of male issue and to make a provision for widows of grantees as follows: That lands already granted should, on failure of issue male, descent to daughters of such grantees

⁵ "Preface", The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia (Atlanta, 1904), vol. IV.

and in case there should be no issue male or female that grantee might devise such lands to Heirs-at-law with provision that possessions of person not to be over 500 acres and that the widows of the grantees should hold and enjoy the Dwelling House, Garden, and one Moiety of the lands of their Husbands and during term of their lives.⁶

These concessions are a fair indication of the state of the colony, since the trustees would take such desperate steps in an effort to bring about satisfaction among the discontented colonists. Their efforts must have failed, for we find further extensions in June, 1740:

The Trustees further extended the tenures by which a Daughter of a Grantee or any other person, was made capable of enjoying by Devise or Inheritance, any quantity of Lands which did not increase her or his possession to more than 2000 acres.

It is presumed now that no complaint can be made against tenure of lands as they have more power than is generally given by marriage settlements in which grantees are only tenants for life, incapable of Mortgaging or Aliening or making any disposition of their last will whereas Freeholders in Georgia are now become Tenants-in-Tail General and may with license of Common Council of said Trustees upon application made to them for that purpose, Mortgage or Alien, and further without that License have it absolutely in their power on Failure of Issue in tail to dispose thereof by their last will.⁷

⁶William Stephens, A Journal of Proceedings in Georgia Beginning October 20, 1737 (London, 1742), p. 30.

⁷ Ibid, p. 33.

Thus the women of Georgia held unusual rights, unique in those times, rights to inherit, hold and convey property. Unhappily for the women, however, these were to be wiped out, to be replaced by the common law of England when Georgia became a royal province in 1752.

CHAPTER II.

MARY MUSGROVE.

No Georgia woman stands out so prominently as Mary Musgrove. She was born in the Indian town of Coweta. Her Indian mother was said by Mary to have been the sister of the old Emperor of the Creeks. Her father was a white trader from South Carolina. When she was ten years of age, her father took her back to South Carolina, so she could "learn religion". At fifteen she returned to her mother's people, but these five years left their imprint and deeply influenced the remainder of her life. A few years later she married John Musgrove, a rather important man, being the son of Colonel John Musgrove, who had been sent by the South Carolina authorities in 1716 to make a treaty with the Creeks. Young John Musgrove and his wife Mary established a trading post on the southern side of the Savannah River. Tomo-chi-chi, the mico or chief of the Yamacraws, a tribe of the Creeks, who were Mary's people, had given them permission to open this post among them. Oglethorpe found them living here when he landed at Yamacraw Bluff, later to be Savannah. John acted in the preliminary negotiations as interpreter. He continued in this service until his death a few years later receiving £100 a year and a grant of five hundred acres of land.¹

¹ The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia (Atlanta, 1904), vol. II, p. 75 (Hereafter referred to as Colonial Records of Georgia).

When Oglethorpe found that Mary was a Creek, he sought her assistance. By her influence, Tomo-chi-chi came to favor the white settlement and used his power to win the consent of the remaining tribes of the Upper and Lower Creek nations for this new project. He called a Council to meet at Yamacraw and fifty chiefs answered the summons. A treaty was concluded, satisfactory to both sides, by which the Creeks granted:

all the Lands upon the Savannah River as farr as the River Ogeechee & all the Lands along the Sea Coast as farr as the River Saint Johns & as high as the Tide Flows and All the Islands as farr as the said River Particularly the Islands of Frederica, Cumberland & Amelia to which they have given the names of His Majesty King George's Family out of Gratitude to him but they declare that they did and do reserve to the Creek Nation the Lands from Pipemaker's Bluff to Savannah & the Islands of Saint Catherine's, Ossebaw, Sapelo and they further declare that all the said lands are held by the Creek Nation as Tenants-in-Common.²

Mary continued her services to the new Colony and there are many references to her in the reports to the Trustees, e.g., a letter from Thomas Causton, magistrate and store-keeper of Savannah, in which he said, "Mrs. Musgrove is in good health and continues her good offices in Indian Affairs on many occasions".³

² Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. XXVI, p. 488.

³ Ibid, vol. XXI, p. 272.

About three years after the settlement of Georgia, John Musgrove died. Oglethorpe persuaded Mary to take up the active duties of her husband as interpreter at his salary of £100 a year. Also at his request, she decided to keep on with the trading post on the Savannah River. A few years later she married Jacob Matthews, who had been an indented servant of her husband. After his master's death he "found means to get into the Saddle in his Stead fitly qualified to verify the old Proverb of a Beggar on Horseback".⁴

William Stephens wrote of him in his Journal, "Such a promotion from obeying to commanding had the usual effect, which seldom fails and he soon grew vain dressing faily (which ill-became him) and began to behave insolently to all he kept company with looking on himself at least equal to the best man in the colony".⁵

It seems that Oglethorpe had a better opinion of Mary's second husband than had Stephens. He persuaded her to establish another trading post at Mount Venture on the south side of the Altamaha River. This served as an outpost against the Spaniards, so Matthews asked that it be defended. In reply, Oglethorpe wrote him this letter.

SR. Frederica 30^d Octo^r 1740
 In regard to your desire of having
 your settlement at Mount Venture defended
 I am very well S_atisfied it is for the

⁴ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. IV, p.218.

⁵ Ibid, p. 518.

King's Service, but cannot at present divide the Regiment, yet I would not be wanting to Encourage you; Therefore Appoint You a Garrison of Twenty Men, which I empower you to Command, the same, etc.

To Mr. Jacob Matthews⁶ James Oglethorpe.

Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Heron wrote in regard to this letter,

Hence it Appears That Mrs. Bosomworth's, then Mrs. Matthews' Settlement at Mount Venture on the South of the Alatomaha was ever looked upon as for the King's Service; and what Stronger Proofs could she give of her zeal and Attachment to His Majesty's Interest & the Welfare of the Colony than by Venturing her Life & Effects in the very Jaws of the Enemy where they were daily liable to Fall Sacrifice with no other View but for the protection of the Southern Frontiers. And the Losses Sustained thereby in that Settlement being Burnt & Destroyed by the Spanish Indians were never yet repaid her.⁷

Mary's landholdings consisted of the 500 acre grant to her first husband. William Stephens described how these were increased by a further grant from her friend, Tomo-chi-chi. He said that he and some friends went for a walk December 13, 1737, and having heard of a meeting at the old Indian town of Tomo-chi-chi, they decided to go there out of curiosity. They found in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Matthews, a table spread with a cloth and Mrs. Matthews

⁶ The Georgia Archivist lists this as Manuscript under Georgia Department of Archives. It is the unpublished volume XXVII of The Colonial Records of Georgia. Hereafter it will be referred to as Colonial Records of Georgia unpublished vol. XXVII.

⁷ Colonial Records of Georgia unpublished vol. XXVII, p.1.

sitting at the end with the old Indian chief beside her, two young girls on either side and her husband at the head. A barbecued pig was already on the table. They were asked to partake with them and some did but those who did not drank several glasses of wine. Stephens then found out that the feast was in honor of Tomo-chi-chi on the occasion of his granting Mrs. Matthews a piece of land. Stephens said Tomo-chi-chi told him with Mary, acting as interpreter,

That he desir'd Notice might be taken of his Claims and Property in that Land; that he had granted it to Mrs. Matthews and her Husband; and that he hoped the Trustees would not be offended if henceforward Mr. Matthews allowed no Cattle to go there but his own; all of which I promised to take notice of.

N.B. This land begins at the Rails near Town's End runs away West to a small creek bounded on the North by the River on the South by several blazed Trees and is judged about two or three hundred acres, more or less.⁸

With these two or three hundred acres she now held around eight hundred acres on the Savannah River. Her private interests would have to be sacrificed if she and her husband left the supervision of these lands to others while they opened the settlement at Mount Venture. So this was done purely in the interest of the Colony because an outpost was badly needed to keep off the Florida Indians, who were in league with the Spaniards. General Oglethorpe wanted her to establish this post to the south of Frederica to draw the Creeks there, thus making a stronger barrier

⁸ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. IV, pp. 49-50.

between the Georgia Colony and the Spaniards and their Indian Allies in Florida.

While still at her Savannah post news came that the Spaniards had attacked Oglethorpe and Frederica had fallen. This report caused most of the inhabitants of Savannah to flee. Even the magistrates kept their horses in readiness to take flight at the first appearance of danger. But Mrs. Matthews got together all the Indians she could possibly enlist and was ready to go to the assistance of Oglethorpe.⁹ His appreciation of her efforts is shown in the letter following.

Madam

July 13th 1742

I was very glad to hear of your Resolution & it is with great Satisfaction that I can Acquaint you that we have De-feated the Spaniards in two Fights by Land and one by Water there are four Captains and above one hundred and fifty men killed and taken but as we don't know what they intend to do I must desire you would send all the Indians you can to me And I will defray with pleasure any Expencc that shall be laid out upon them. We are all resolved to Fight to the last and do not doubt of beating them.

I am

Madam

Your very humble Servant
James Oglethorpe

To Mrs. Matthews¹⁰

Later on an officer under Oglethorpe, Lieutenant William Horton appealed to her for help also.

⁹ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, Vol. XXVII, p.1

¹⁰ Ibid, p.3.

ffrederica Feb.19th,1743

Madam

This day Whanny (an Indian warrior) and Twenty Indians Arrived here and he tells me he expects Talyeo here in a few days with another party. I am Apprehensive there is some Division amongst the Indians in the Nation and that several of them are gone to the Spaniards I hope I shall have the pleasure of Seeing you before these Indians return for they will be more open with you and should be very glad of your Advice what is proper to be done on such an occassion. A Spanish Agent has been lately amongst them.

I am / Madam

To Mrs. Matthews¹¹ Wm. Horton

He wrote her again asking her to locate Itchke, an Indian Chief, who was hunting near Savannah, and get him to go to Frederica. He also asked her to send all the Indians she possibly could, as he thought they would be attacked by the end of June. Upon receipt of this letter, Mary got a party of about forty Indians, which was considered a large number on so short a notice, as it was the hunting season. She embarked with them for Frederica where the enemy was daily expected.¹²

Stephens, later one of Mrs. Matthews severest critics, wrote September 21, 1738, when he heard that a great number of Indians, "no less than 50 of the Upper Creek Nation was coming to visit the General at Savannah" and would expect presents as usual:

Wherefore we thought it the best way to send to Mrs. Matthews whom they all have Resort to on these Occasions, to persuade

¹¹ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished. vol.XXVII,p.7.

¹² Ibid, pp. 8-9.

them when they were come the Length of the Plantation where she lives on the River, to stop there where she might furnish them with Corn and proper Sustenance, for their support whilst they staid which would be allowed her again; But in case they were to come to Town, we knew by Experience, that not only meat from the Stores must be dealt out to them in Plenty but strong Beer also and Liqueur of any kind wherewith they might get drunk, as was too often their Practice; from whence great Mischief Might issue: This was a tender Point however, which required great Caution: for as they were a numerous Nation in strict Amity with us and whom the French were near Neighbors to, and always courting of them; it was most undoubtedly the Interest of this Province to be on good Terms with them almost at any Rate. Hoping this Expedient would satisfy them till the Arrival of the General, we sent a Messenger to Mrs. Matthews in pursuance thereof, to desire herto amuse them for awhile as she best knew how.¹³

Lieutenant Horton was in Savannah April 29, 1739, and after a conference with Mr. Stephens went up the river to deliver a message to Mrs. Matthews from General Oglethorpe. The Indians of Tomo-chi-chi's tribe seemed to be restless. They were planning an attack on the Florida Indians, who were in amity with the Spaniards. If they did this, it would be impossible to convince Spain that the English had no hand in it, because the Creeks were known to be allies of the English just as the Florida Indians were allied with the Spanish. This was so important that General Oglethorpe wished to see her. He instructed Horton to persuade her and her husband to go to Frederica. Horton succeeded and Mr. and Mrs. Matthews promised to go to Oglethorpe immediately. Tomo-chi-chi

¹³ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. IV, p.204.

promised to go with them to "put what restraint he could on the Indians to keep them from following any such plan".¹⁴

The first sign that Mary was not entirely in favor in Savannah is to be found in Stephen's Journal when he wrote August 13, 1741,

Nothing at all occurring better worth Notice at this time, I chuse to recall to mind what I barely hinted in my Notes on Monday last, relating to our Neighbour Indians; humbly apprehending it to be a Matter well worth the consideration of the Honourable Trust. It may be proper here to look back to the Beginning of my Service under them. When on December 13, 1737 I took Notice of a Cession of Land, close adjoining the Town (reserved by the Indians to themselves at the first settling of the Colony) then made over by Tomo-chi-chi, to Mary the late wife of Musgrove since married to Jacob Matthews; the said Land to be holden by her, and her Said Husband, their Heirs, etc. I could not help thinking at that Time, it foreboded no Good and those Apprehensions have for some Time past appeared to be well founded.¹⁵

August 11, 1739, the Assembled Estates of the Lower Creek Nation met in the Square of the Town of the Cowetas. General Oglethorpe had been appointed commissioner for His Majesty so he opened the meeting by a speech. After certain rites and ceremonies had been performed, the whole "Estates Assembled" declared their love to the King of Great Britain and their loyalty to the agreements of the year 1733, with the Trustees of the Georgia Colony. They recognized the boundaries already agreed upon and also again reserved the lands from Pipemaker's Bluff to Savannah and the Islands of

¹⁴ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. IV, pp. 326-328.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 217-219.

Saint Catherine's, Ossebaw and Sapelo. The report of this meeting was signed by Oglethorpe and he issued the following notice.

To all His Majesty's Subjects (sic) whom these presents shall come Greeting Know ye That you are not to take up or Settle any Lands beyond the above Limits settled by me with the Creek Nation at their Estates held on Saturday the 11th day of August Anno Domini 1739. As you shall the same at your Peril Answer. Given under my hand and Seal at the Coweta Town this 21st day of August Anno Domini 1739.

James Oglethorpe
General and Commander-in-Chief of
all His Majesty's Forces in
South Carolina and Georgia.¹⁶

This is proof that the Indians had not ceded this territory to the Trustees. Later they gave it to Mrs. Matthews (then Mrs. Bosomworth) for her services to them. Dating from this cession or purchase or gift to Mary, whatever it may have been, there seemed to have been a conspiracy in the Spanish District to discredit Mary for all she had done or was to do, for the colony.

Jacob Matthews, Mary's second husband, died in 1742 and she later married the Reverend Thomas Bosomworth, a minister of the church of England. That she continued to serve the Georgia Colony as Mrs. Bosomworth is best shown by the following letters.

Madam,

I have given the Indians that came from Wars very Extra-ordinary presents but nothing will satisfye them tho' they have amongst other things Eight Horses.

¹⁶ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. XXVI, p. 489.

Captain Jones keeps himself in Liquor and will not let them be Satisfyed; I must desire you'll please to come here for I am very Apprehensive Captain Jones will make mischief among the Indians.^{16a} I have Ordered one of Captain Jones's Boats to wait on you and Mr. Bosomworth the sooner I have the pleasure of Seeing you the better it will be for the publick service. I am Madam

Wm. Horton

To Mrs. Mary Bosomworth¹⁷

Frederica Oct^r 8th 1744

Sr.

The Indians since M^rs Bosomworth's Arrival Seems very Well Satisfyed, before she came I was Harass'd to death & all I could do fell quite Short of their Expectations, I am

Wm. Horton

To the Reverend Thomas Bosomworth¹⁸

That Oglethorpe trusted Mr. Bosomworth is shown by excerpts from one of his letters ro Major William Horton, who had been advanced from a Lieutenantcy to be in charge when Oglethorpe left for England:

I desire you would countenance Mr. Bosomworth who brings you this and (to the utmost) M^rs Matthews (now his wife) and you will know best in what manner that can be done. I find there is the utmost Endeavours by the Spanish Factions to destroy her (Mrs. Bosomworth) because she is of consequence & in the King's Interest, therefore it is the Business of the King's Friends to Support her besides which I should always be desirous to serve her out of Good Will and Friendship she has at all times Shewed to me as well as the Interest of the Colony.¹⁹

^{16a} This is the Captain Noble Jones praised for putting down the threatened Indian war at Savannah, the disturbance alleged to be of Mary's making.

¹⁷ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII, p. 10.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

General Oglethorpe returned to England in 1743. Mrs. Bosomworth in a Memorial to the King's Council, June 30, 1755, said she had been paid for all issues and supplies made to the Indians during the command of General Oglethorpe, but for her personal services as interpreter she had received only £200 sterling. Oglethorpe deplored the fact that so inadequate a sum was all that he had in his power to pay but his bills were being disputed in England.²⁰ After the General's departure she continued her services to his successor, Major William Horton and, at his decease, to Colonel Alexander Heron, who succeeded him, but still she was not paid her salary nor was she paid for the supplies she had advanced. She appealed to Oglethorpe, whose reply was,

Madam, Whitehall July 16, 1746
 I should be glad of doing you any service in my Power but the Regulating of the Matter of Accounts or payment of Bills is not at present in my Power I shall not be wanting in recommending your past services to the Government when that shall be of use to you.

I am / Madam
 James Oglethorpe²¹

By 1747 conditions were so bad and unrest so widespread among the Indians that a general rupture with the Creeks was thought to be unavoidable. Lieutenant-Colonel Heron now commander of the company, at the suggestion of Mrs. Bosomworth, appointed Abraham Bosomworth, her brother-in-law, as special agent to the Creeks. At Heron's earnest

²⁰ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII, p. 164.

²¹ Ibid, p. 15.

request, she furnished money to the extent of £650 sterling to equip the commission with supplies and presents for the Indians. Colonel Heron wrote her in regard to this, soon after she had advanced it:

Mad^m Frederica Aug^t 31st 1747

I am extremely sorry it is not in my power at this time to replace the presents you was so good as to give the Indians at the Forks but as soon as I shall get Supplys they shall be returned & a more regular Method fallen upon for the future Supplys. I hope by this you have heard from your Brother in law M^r. Abraham Bosomworth & that he hath Succeeded in his negotiations; I hope to have the Pleasure of seeing you here with Malatchi and Chickelly as soon as they can conveniently come. Mrs. Heron joins me in our Sincere good wishes and I really am
Dear Madam

Your m^t ~~love~~ & Obed^t Serv^t

Alex^r Heron

To Mrs. Mary Bosomworth²²

It is difficult to understand why Mrs. Bosomworth was not paid. Of course Stephens, the president and his assistants had to pass on the payment of all debts. That they did not recommend the payment of this debt is probably due to the quarrel over the lands definitely reserved by the Indians in their treaties with the trustees. The colonists in Savannah were appropriating these lands for themselves and this made the Indians very angry. They looked to Mary, who had kept them loyal to the English, to see that their lands were protected. Also, Mary, herself owned quite a large part of these lands. These troubles caused others

²²
p. 23. Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII,

and soon the danger of an open rupture became very real. This was felt so keenly by Colonel Heron that he appealed to the Deputy Secretary of State, Andrew Stone, Esq^r, over the heads of the President and Trustees.

S^r Frederica 8th Dec^r 1747
 In my last I sent you a Copy of the Memorial of Mrs. Mary Bosomworth with Extracts of Sundry Letters from Gen^l Oglethorpe and Major William Horton which I think sufficiently Justifies her character from the Aspersions of her Enemies.

I have had personal Knowledge of her Merit since my first Arrival in this country (a great part at the Expence of her own private Fortune) in continuing the Creek Indians In Friendship and Alliance with the English; And since Malatchi, the Emperor's Arrival here I am more than ever convinced that she is looked upon by the whole Creek Nation as their Natural Princess, and any Injury done to her will be Equally Resented as if done to the whole Nation.

I therefore must beg the favour, Sir, to lay her case before His Grace, the Duke of Newcastle and Use the Utmost of your Interest to Sollicit Redress for her Sufferings & Obtain an Annual Support for her for the Future For I assure you, Sir, She is a Woman of such Consequence that if she is driven to the necessity of flying to her Indian Friends for Bread it will be morally impossible for me to Maintain His Majesty's peace & Authority amongst them; If she is properly Supported & a Sufficient Fund Allowed for Indian presents I doubt not but her Interest with the Creek Indians and the Regiment alone to Maintain the Frontier Against all His Majesty's Enemys, I am

Alexand^r Heron²³

In proof of his statements he sent with his letter to Stone a Memorial signed by the officers of his company and the important citizens of Frederica.

²³ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII, pp. 24-25.

#

We the officers of the Honble Major General Oglethorpe's Regiment & others y^e principal Inhabitants of the Town & County of Frederica in Georgia having had personal Knowledge of Mrs. Mary Bosomworth of the said Colony from our first Arrival therein Do in Justice to her Character & the World, think Ourselves Obliged to make this Publick Declaration.

That the whole Creek Nation who are a very numerous, Bold and Warlike people, seem greatly under her Influence.

That she has (to the best of our knowledge) from the first Settlement of the Colony Always Endeavoured to Advance his Majesty's Authority amongst y^m

That she always shewed the Tenderest Regard for the lives & propertys of his Majesty's Subjects when any disputes or controversies happened between the Natives and the people of Georgia, by useing her Interest & good offices amongst them.

That she has used (always the utmost of her Endeavours) in bringing down her Friends against his Majesty's Enemies whom they have very much Annoyed and been a Strong Barrier and Defence to this province and South Carolina against the Spaniards.

That She never has to our Knowledge Acted inconsistent with her Duty as a British Subject, or Allegiance to her prince, but has for many years, Gladly embraced every opportunity of Giving proofs of her Zeal & Loyalty as such.

The Signal Instance which she has lately given by Joining and co-operating with Mr. Abraham Bosomworth who was appointed Agent by Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Heron and went up to conferr with the chiefs of the Creek Indians & thereby prevent a Rupture with that Nation (tho a Warr was thought unavoidable) will we think be Sufficient to prove the wicked Insinuations of her Enemys, False, Groundless, and Malicious.

We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed have likewise had personal knowledge of the Reverend Thomas Bosomworth for these Five Years past Do Certify that the said Thomas Bosomworth never to our knowledge behaved Inconsistent with his Duty or Allegiance to his prince but hath always Strictly Conformed

to the Liturgy of the Church of England as by Law Established. In witness whereof We have hereunto Set our hands this Seventeenth day of December in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred & Forty Seven.

Robt. Paterson Navl Officer
 Arch^d Sinclair Register of the Court
 of Vice Admiralty
 Thom^s Hird Constable and Marshall of
 the Court of Vice Admiralty
 John Calwell
 Stephen Bedon
 Samuel Lee
 Tho^s Walker
 Alex^t Heron
 Roy^d Demeré
 Paul Demeré
 Sam^l Mackey
 Tho^s Goldsmith
 Prob^t Haworth
 Caleb Davis
 Arch^d Don
 Ronald Campbell
 Feth^e Bailiff
 Will^m Frances
 pat^k Houston²⁴

Even these strong appeals brought no redress of grievances and in November 1748, news was brought to Frederica that the President and Assistants had sent affidavits to England proving Thomas Bosomworth guilty of treason. He went to Savannah immediately and asked the President the cause of this accusation. Stephens would give him no answer but common report informed him that his crime was purchasing lands of the Indians. The regiment of General Oglethorpe was reduced in May 1749. Still considerable sums were owed to Mrs. Bosomworth for supplies and presents to the Indians as well as for her services as interpreter. When these claims were pressed, the President

²⁴ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII, pp. 26-27.

and Assistants emphasized the act of treason committed by the Bosomworths in purchasing lands from the Indians. Bosomworth decided to go to England and present his claims in person. As he was Chaplain to the Regiment, he was entitled to free passage for himself and wife on the vessel sent by His Majesty to take the reduced officers and soldiers home. Mrs. Bosomworth decided to go with him but could not leave without notifying the Indians since they had heard rumors of her being taken to England in irons. The boat was to leave in three weeks, so while she prepared for the voyage her husband set out for their trading post on the Altamaha to tell Malatchee the nature of the voyage so as to quiet the fears of the Indians. As he could not speak the Creek language, he took with him Joseph Piercey, an interpreter. When they arrived, they found the Indians were out on the hunt. They set out to find them, hoping they would still get back in time for the trip to England. However by the time they had found them and returned it was July 21, 1749 and the vessel had sailed. Malatchee returned with them with two Head Men of the Cussetaws. They came to see Mrs. Bosomworth before she went to England.

The President and Assistants in the Minutes of their Meeting July 24, 1749, reported:

That Mr. Bosomworth had likewise engaged all the Chiefs of the Creeks to follow him down and Expected them here in seven or eight days which Alarmed the Board; especially that a Private Man should Take upon him, Contrary to express Tenour of the Act,

without any Previous orders or Authority to bring down a Body of Indians at a time when no Provision was made for them; and from thence and other Corroberating Circumstances, they had reason to Suspect that the Bosomworths were Carrying on some Secret and dangerous Desings.²⁵

Joseph Piercey signed an affidavit which proved that this was false.²⁶ The real reason for the Indians coming to Savannah is given in the report of the South Carolina Committee in May 1749. It appears from this report that the coming down of the Indians was solely in consequence of a notice sent to them by the assistants that presents had arrived from His majesty to be distributed among them at Savannah.²⁷ The assistants found, too late, that they had sent this notice too soon and in seeking to place the blame anywhere but on themselves, heard of Bosomworth's visit to the Creeks. He could easily be blamed because of his wife's connection with and influence over the Indians. But the report of the South Carolina committee said they had considered a letter from William Stephens to the Governor of South Carolina, dated May 5, 1749, in which he said notice had been sent to the Indians to come to Savannah for the presents. Bosomworth did not go to the Creeks to tell them they were going to England until July 1, 1749.

The account of the Indian disturbance at Savannah given by histories of Georgia is based on the story of the president and his assistants. A typical one is that of Charles C. Jones in his History of Savannah, Georgia. A

²⁵ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII, p.353

²⁶ Ibid, vol. XXVI, pp. 490-500.

²⁷ Ibid, unpublished, vol. XXVII, pp. 354-356.

brief resumé of his account is as follows: After the marriage of Mrs. Matthews to the Reverend Bosomworth they asserted a false claim to some land, said, in fact, to be all of Georgia except around Savannah and declared Mary was by right, Empress of all the Creek Indians. They stirred up the otherwise peaceful Indians, creating quite a disturbance and a war scare in the colony, which was totally unprepared for war, Bosomworth got Malatchee on his side, made him believe Mary was a relative of his and by right the Empress of the Creeks. He told him that the Englishmen had taken away the land belonging to the Indians and their Empress, etc. The Indians believing this, marched with the Bosomworths on Savannah. There were 200 of them. The people in Savannah were badly frightened. Stephens asked them if they came for friendly or unfriendly reasons. When they refused to answer, he ordered Captain Noble Jones to deprive them of their arms. Stephens wrote frantically to the Trustees, saying they could not afford to have an Indian War because Oglethorpe's regiment had been disbanded and there were neither troops nor money. Mary was put in solitary confinement and Stephens made a timely speech to the Indians in which he told them Mary was only a common half-breed who had won distinction by the preference shown her by the colonists, that she had been well paid for her services. He told them that both Mary and her unscrupulous husband were merely using the Indians for their own ends and were taking for themselves the lands of the Indians. The Indians now

became just as furious at Mary as she had made them at the colonists but she was able to win them back upon her release, by another of her "bad talks". She asked them if they would permit the indignity of their queen being taken to England in chains. Finally, however, peace was made and they went back home.

This story is full of contradictions. The Indians had never claimed all the lands of Georgia after the treaty of 1733 but only the lands reserved by them then and in the renewal of the treaty in 1739. Stephens said the lands did not belong to the Indians but later told the Indians that Mary wished to take their lands from them. He also said that Mary was paid for her services later by having St. Catherine's Island ceded to her yet at the close of his story he stated that she had already been well paid. If so, why was she paid again? Also, if the claims of the Bosomworths were false, why was land ceded to them? And why was anything given to people who wilfully stirred up the Indians and almost caused an Indian war? The account of the president and assistants will not bear critical analysis.

In a report of the trustees from the southern province, Frederica, there is evidence that despite her treatment at Savannah, Mrs. Bosomworth continued her services to the colony. The Indians were very resentful of the treatment they (the Indians) had received and even went so far as to put up French standards in their village. Mary went to them and won them back and got them to remove the French flag and remain loyal to the English alliance. The

Frederica colonists reported that the only defense they had now since the regiment had been reduced was the Creeks, who were kept friendly to them by Mrs. Bosomworth. The report in regard to her was as follows,

We humbly beg leave to refer your honours to the Bearer herself Mrs. Mary Bosomworth whose great authority and Interest amongst the said Nations Enable her to dive into their most hidden Councils & designs; and the Tender Regard she has at all times Shown for the lives and properties of his Majesty's Subjects in continuing those Nations Steady and Steadfast in their Friendship & Alliance with us, Your Memorialists have seen so many Signal Instances of, as claim our particular Acknowledgements. This is a piece of Common Justice that will never be denied to this Gentlewoman, but by Malevolent Men guided by Sinister Motives, Envy, Malice or ill design who are not only wilfully resolved to disown the plainest Evidence of her Just Claim to such Acknowledgements from every Inhabitant of this Colony, but are even ungrateful Enough to throw upon her unjust loads of Infamy & Reproach in order to arrogate to themselves that Merit which is alone due to her Services since the first Settlement of this Colony. And we further beg leave to declare that we are so highly Sensible, not only of the Merit of her past Services but the Consequences of the present Interest for the Welfare of the Colony, that to her Authority and Interest in Countermining the designs of the French in Alienating the Creek Indians from the British Interest the defenceless Frontier at this Juncture Chiefly Owes its Safety.²⁸

That this tribute came after the affair at Savannah is significant for it tends to prove ridiculous the charge of the President and Assistants that Mary was a menace to the colony because of her evil influence over the Indians. This Memorial was signed by the freeholders of the Frederica

²⁸ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII, pp. 104-5

settlement. Among the thirty-four signatures, there are the names of men influential in the history of the southern part of Georgia. However in spite of all petitions and memorials in their behalf, nothing was done by the Trustees for the Bosomworths. They were even refused a portion of the Indian gifts. Abraham Bosomworth had been appointed by the Governor, Council and Assembly of South Carolina to act with William Stephens of Georgia to dispense the £3000 sterling furnished by the King of England for gifts for the Indians. He had been instructed to join with the agent of the Trustees in deciding what portion of the gifts should be given to Mrs. Mary Bosomworth. He proposed this to Stephens and the Board upon his arrival in Savannah. "But finding everybody incensed at some Indiscretion and uneasiness that had happened before I came, rather chose to deferr that Matter till another Opportunity hoping those Animosities would subside, and that her future Behaviour^[sic] wou'd in some Measure atone/for her late imprudent. Conduct and having then some pressing Business in Charles Town was obliged to return without any determined Resolution".²⁹

Later he wrote that he was convinced that she was sorry for that unhappy affair and ready to do any Service for the welfare of the Province; that in view of this, he hoped they would be forgiving and take into consideration her present unhappy circumstances, and relieve the distress under which she labored. The Board turned down this request

²⁹ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. VI, p. 305.

saying they were not convinced that the Bosomworths were yet sensible of their errors. They would not be satisfied of this until they gave up their claims to the Indian lands. The Board took occasion to express their appreciation of Abraham Bosomworth for "behaving with candour" in this affair.³⁰ This being the case it might be well to give his deposition, taken later, concerning the affair at Savannah. Note that this is the deposition of a man recognized by the Board as acting with candor, which gives added weight to his account.

Abraham Bosomworth late Agent for Indian Affairs in the Province of South Carolina in America but now of Saint Jame's Westminster maketh oath and Saith that he this Deponent Did on or about the 19th or 20th of August 1749. Arrive at Savannah in Georgia and that some time before the said Deponent left Carolina, News was there brought by one Lieutenant High Mackay as this Deponent believes and was informed who had sometime before left Georgia That Thomas Bosomworth and Mary, his Wife were either Imprisoned or Shortly to be taken into Custody by the Magistrates of Savannah afore said for making Disturbances among the Indians and that the same was currently reported in Charles Town and Port Royal in South Carolina before any Disturbance with the Indians happened in Georgia, which was afterwards alleged as a Reason for Mary Bosomworth and her Brother in law Adam Bosomworth being Imprisoned which he this Dep^t declares and believes to be a plain Demonstration that the confinement of the said Adam and Mary Bosomworth was previously Determined by the magistrates of Savannah afore said to the disturbance which they (the magistrates) afterwards Created as this Dep^t was informed as a Pretext for their Illegal and Arbitrary proceedings and this Dep^t Further Saith That on or about the 23rd of the same month He this Dep^t was in Company with James Hebersham and other

³⁰ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. VI, p. 307.

Gentlemen at the House of Abraham Minus in Savannah upon the Dep't's Enquiring the Reasons of the Disturbance amongst the Indians and why the White People were kept constantly under Arms when he this Dep^t declared he could see no manner of Occasion for it from any Apprehension of Danger from the Indians who seemed quiet and all very peaceably inclined the said Habersham Answered and in a Whispering Voice told this Dep^t that it was not from Real Apprehension of Danger from the Indians that the People were kept in Arms but that the true Cause was to make an Appearance (at least) of Danger of a Rupture with the Indians in Order to make that an Argument to the Ministry in England to gain a Re-establishment of a Troop of Rangers or other Forces which would be for the Benefit of the colony in its present poor condition by being the means of the Circulation of so much money in that County And this Dep^t lastly upon his Oath declares He never did or does Believe any such Irruption was owing to any Insolent Behaviour or Offensive Intentions of the Indians whatever but firmly believes that such Military preparations Created great Jealousies and Uneasiness, in the Minds of the said Indians and would have been attended with most fatal consequences had it not been for the immediate Interposition of the said Mary Bosomworth's Interest and Authority with them.

Middx to wit

Sworn before

me this 4th

day of Nov^r. 1754

L. Lediard³¹

A. Bosomworth

This deposition is quoted in full in order to strengthen Mary's case and to counteract the report of Stephens that Mary's brother-in-law Abraham Bosomworth, an upright and honest man, had admitted her guilt.

³¹ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. XXVI, pp. 500-502.

If Georgia did not appreciate Mary's value, it seems that South Carolina did. The Governor sent for her and ordered her on a very delicate mission which had to do with pacifying the Creeks and keeping them from making war on the Cherokees. The Cherokees had killed some Creeks and war seemed inevitable, yet Mrs. Bosomworth pacified the Creeks and got a treaty of peace between the two Nations. The Governor was extravagant in his praises and said she had accomplished what no man would even dare undertake. The Bosomworths were given a handsome gratuity and their services recommended to England.³²

The President and Assistants and the Trustees all refused to pay Mary or to recognize her claims to the land given to her by the Indians, even to the time that Georgia became a royal province. With a change in government the Bosomworths renewed their claims. A Memorial was drawn up, entitled, "Memorial & Representation of Coosaponakeesa,³³ Princess of the Upper and Lower Creek Nations of Indians to the Board, relative to certain disputes concerning lands and other points between His Majesty's Subjects and the Creek Indians". It was sent to the Right Honourable, The Earl of Halifax and the rest of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. All her services to the colony and her injuries from the President and Assistants were included

³² Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. XXVI, p.405.

³³ Indian name of Mary Musgrove.

in this Memorial. She also presented a paper with this by which the Creek Indians gave her the right to speak and act for them as their Rightful Princess. These papers were received by the Lords of the Council for Plantations, who referred them to Reynolds, at that time Governor of Georgia. He ordered both sides to present all evidence they possessed and then to come before him and answer if they had anything further to say:

I have taken the matter under serious consideration and beg leave to Report thereupon to your Lordships, that as the aforesaid Members of the late Court of President and Assistants do not pretend to bring the least proof in contradiction to the Bosomworths Allegations and their pretence of not being able to charge their memories with the recollection of Transactions that happened so long ago and that as they had not then taken the precaution of supporting their Proceedings in this case, by taking proper Affidavits, they cannot now undertake to do it, because most of the Evidences are either Dead or Absent, appears to me, to be only a Subterfuge, and it is therefore my opinion that Mr Bosomworth and his wife have been very Ill used by that Court of President and Assistants, who I think acted in a very Injudicious Unwarrantable, and Arbitrary manner.

I am, with Great Respect,

My Lords

Your Lordships

Most Obedient and

Most Honorable Servant

J. Reynolds³⁴

Sept. 25th 1756

All the papers, affidavits, and depositions were sent with this letter of Reynolds to the Lords Commissioners For Trade. Most of the evidence in these papers has already been referred to, or quoted in full or in part.

³⁴ Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII. pp. 344-345.

The Bosomworths, who had gone to England to present their case in person, in 1755, had returned and Mary was still serving as interpreter. At a Conference held by His Excellency Henry Ellis, Esq., Oct. 10, 1759, with a party of Creek Indians, Mary Bosomworth spoke in Creek so the Indians would understand:

May it please your Excellency The Indians who are now present are the Head Men of the two principal towns of the Nation, and Reports having prevailed of their being so far alienated from the British Interest as to have entered into an actual Confederacy with the Cherokees in a War against the English; And the Accused being my own near Relations, by your Permission Sir, I sent for them hither that they might Exculpate themselves and declare to your Excellency the Causes of their Dissatisfaction And I hope you will be pleased to hear from their own Mouths what they have to say.³⁵

When the Creeks returned from a victorious war against the Cherokees April 14, 1760, the Governor congratulated them and told them he had a long talk to give them then or when Mrs. Bosomworth arrived. They asked him to wait for her. Her influence is shown further in regard to a deposition taken at Augusta relative to murders committed in the Creek Nation 1760.

This Deposition being duly considered the Board were of the Opinion that an Express should be forthwith sent to the Creek Nation Fulwyger Mico with the following Talk from his Excellency: and that a Copy of the

³⁵ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. VIII, p. 160.

Deposition be sent to the Southward with a letter to Colonel Baillie, and that another Copy thereof together with a Copy of the Talk, be dispatched to Mrs. Bosomworth that she might also send the Talk by another Messenger to the Nation to prevent Mis-carriage and accompanied with a Talk of her own. All of which was accordingly done.³⁶

On Friday, June 13, 1760, Mr. Bosomworth and his wife waited on his Excellency and he executed the Deeds for releasing all their demands on the crown and also their right to the islands of Ossebaw. His Excellency signed His Majesty's Grant to the said Mrs. Bosomworth and her heirs all that Island called St. Catherine's in consideration of public services by her performed and executed. This had come about in this manner. Mr. Bosomworth had attended a Council in Savannah July 20, 1759, and had set forth his title to the islands and other lands under deeds made to him and Mrs. Bosomworth by the Creek Indians. Later the Governor told him that his claim and title had been examined before His Majesty in Council and had been disallowed. However on July 23, 1759, the merits of Mrs. Bosomworth's services, losses, etc., were taken under consideration,

His Excellency observed to them that there were many charges in the Account exhibited that the Board would take no Cognizance of: but that they had seriously considered the many years Services of Mrs. Bosomworth as Interpreter, the Great Losses she had sustained and the Sums of Money she had advanced at different Times for His Majesty's service; and upon a State of the whole had come to a Resoulution

³⁶ Colonial Records of Georgia, Vol. VIII, pp. 314-316.

to allow them in Respect thereto and in Consideration thereof the Sum of two thousand one hundred Pounds Sterling; provided so much should be produced from the State of the Islands Ossabaw and Sapola, which should be sold forthwith for that and other Purposes: And also in Regard of their having been many Years settled upon and improving the Island of St Catherine's, and a Grant of the said Island should be ordered to pass to Mrs. Bosomworth in further Recompense, and with the aforesaid Sum of Money in full Discharge of her Services, Losses and Cash advanced Which Terms Mr. and Mrs. Bosomworth gratefully accepted and acknowledged themselves thoroughly satisfied therewith as soon as same could be made good to them.³⁷

This ended the losing fight for justice! The award of £2100 Sterling was no more than was owed to Mary Bosomworth for her services as interpreter since the founding of the colony. She had served in this capacity from 1733 to 1760 a total of twenty-seven years. She had been paid only £200 Sterling and she had been promised £100 a year, so they really owed her £2500 Sterling. This does not take into account the great amount owed her for supplies she had furnished to the Indians from time to time at the request of General Oglethorpe, Major Horton, and Colonel Heron. And as far the cession to her of the Island of St. Catherine's, that was hers already. In the first treaty with the Creeks and the two renewals of this, this island with other lands had been reserved to themselves. They sold it or gave it to the Bosomworths and this was their right. Oglethorpe

³⁷ Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. VIII, pp. 85-86.

recognized it. Even admitting the possibility that they duped the Indians into giving it to them, it was their land. What Mary Bosomworth got out of this tardy settlement was a bare pittance for the great services she had rendered this struggling colony.

Colonial histories report that South Carolina and Georgia were singularly free from dangers or Indian wars; yet Georgia was settled to protect South Carolina from the Indians and the Spaniards in Florida. The Creeks were widespread over the territory which is today Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia. It is the nature of the Indian to be fickle and treacherous, passing easily from one allegiance to another. It made little difference to him if allied to French, Spanish, or English. What explanation can be given for the fact that the Creeks allied themselves to the English and were kept loyal to this alliance, throughout this trying period when French and Spanish agents were making them tempting offers? The answer is found in the letters of General Oglethorpe and those of the officers, who succeeded him in the colony. The "Commander of all His Majesty's Forces for South Carolina and Georgia" did not ignore this woman as a common half-breed but called on her for advice and help on every occasion of danger. He recognized her as a woman of great ability and recommended her to his successors. Major Horton and Colonel Heron were even more dependent on her for advice and

help. Her worth was recognized by the whole regiment. This was demonstrated by the officers when they joined the important citizens of Frederica in defense of her to the trustees against the attacks by the president and assistants.

To receive this recognition in a time when women were considered to have little brains and no ability outside of the home truly bespeaks greatness! Georgia owes a debt of gratitude to this woman for her part in the establishment of the colony. Mary Musgrove - Matthews - Bosomworth deserves to be numbered among the great women of the Empire State!

CHAPTER III.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE WOMEN OF GEORGIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

As has already been shown in Chapter One, the women of Georgia had been granted legal rights by 1740, far beyond anything known in the colonies or in England at that time. They could inherit land in their own right, hold these lands even up to two thousand acres and convey them to whom they wished upon their decease. A study of the Georgia Colony at that time reveals clearly why the trustees granted such advanced concessions. From its settlement the struggle to live had been a desperate one. The trustees having had the experience of seven bad years would go to any length to encourage growth and prosperity. Unfortunately, there were not enough women in the colony eligible for these unusual privileges. Then too, conditions were so bad that the advantages gained were nullified. The state of the colony gradually grew worse until the trustees petitioned the King to take the colony from them and not wait for the twenty-one years to elapse, provided for in the charter. Therefore Georgia became a royal colony in 1752.

When the King took over the colony, unfortunately for the women their advanced rights were lost, for now the regulations of the trustees were supplanted by the laws of England. What a paradox! When women had the rights they

could not enjoy them, and when they could have enjoyed them, they had vanished into thin air. Years would pass and a long weary struggle would have to be undergone before the women of Georgia, or elsewhere would again enjoy such privileges.

The common law of England together with legislative enactments of the Georgia legislature made up the body of law of the colony until after the Revolution. In 1784 the legislature passed the Adopting Act by which it adopted the common law and statutes of England which were in force May 14, 1776, insofar as they were not contrary to the constitution and laws of Georgia and the form of government established. Such action had been necessary by breaking off from England. By common law, the wife's chattels, real and choses in action, on inter-marriage and so soon as he reduced them to possession, vested absolutely in the husband. As to chattels, personal or choses in possession which the wife had in her own right, such as ready money, jewels, household goods and the like, the title to them on inter-marriage without further action vested immediately in the husband and the title thereto never again re-vested in the wife or her representatives.¹

By the Act of 1789 in all cases of inter-marriage since February 22, 1785, the real and personal estate of the wife

¹ Joel Branham, "The Emancipation of Women in Georgia", Report of the 31st Annual Session of Georgia Bar Association, (Macon, 1914), p. 184.

was vested in the husband. Real and personal property was placed on the same footing and both kinds of property of the wife descended and was distributed alike. Thus by this act and the common law the husband became the absolute owner of the property of his wife. As far as law could make it, her legal existence was merged into his. He was entitled to her earnings, to all moneys made by her by keeping a boarding house, baking bread and cakes and selling them, by sewing and to proceeds of labor of every kind. (Wood v. Wilson Sewing Machine Co., 76 Georgia 104). She had to keep house for him and to rear his children. If her behavior did not conform to his views he had the right to chastise her provided he did not strike her with a "stick larger than his thumb". Her jewels and personal ornaments vested absolutely in him on marriage. In return he became liable for her debts existing at the time of the marriage and he was required to furnish her with necessaries such as food and raiment.²

Hence husband and wife were a unit, one person in law, with all the property vested in the husband as the head of the family and subject to all his debts. Also a married woman was incapable of making a will, for want of perfect liberty of action, being presumably under the control of her husband. However, under certain conditions a married woman could make a will, but only in the following cases:

² Orville park, "Georgia in the Eighteenth Century", Report of the 38th Annual Session of the Georgia Bar Association (Macon, 1921), p. 90.

- 1st Where express power to will her separate estate was reserved or granted to her in the instrument creating the same, or by marriage contract.
- 2nd When, having a separate estate absolutely, or an estate in expectancy; her husband consented to her disposing of the same by will.
- 3rd Where her will was in execution of a power vested in her.
- 4th Whenever by reason of the abandonment of her husband or a divorce from bed and board, or for other cause, the law declared her to have the right of femme sole as to her own earnings.³

This being the law many women, who had property in their own right took advantage of this protection in one way or another before their marriage. The most common means used was the marriage agreement. A comparatively simple one is given below to show the nature of such a document.

This Indenture made the fifth day of
August in the year of our Lord One
Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-three

³ This statute appeared for the first time in the Georgia code of laws as Section 2378 of the Code of 1863. The principle embodied in this law "came over the waters" as lawyers are wont to say, from the first statute of wills enacted in the reign of Henry VIII (1540), as explained in the subsequent act of Parliament 1542.

Between James Rutherford of St. Johns Parish in the Province aforesaid of the one part and Mary Burtley of the same Parish and Province Spinster of the other part WHEREAS the said Mary Burtley is possessed of and intitled unto a Stock of Cattle consisting of about fifty head and also some horses and mares together with sundry household goods AND WHEREAS a Marriage is intended to be shortly had and Solemnized between the said James Rutherford and the said Mary Burtley upon the contract of which marriage the said James Rutherford hath agreed that if the same shall take effect that then notwithstanding the said Marriage he the said James Rutherford, his executors administrators or assigns shall not nor will intermeddle with or have any right Title or interest either in Law or Equity in or to any part of the aforementioned Stock of Cattle and the Increase thereof neither shall he, the said James Rutherford, his Executors Administrators or assigns intermeddle with or have any right title or Interest either in Law or equity of, in or to the household Goods aforementioned but the same shall remain, continue and be to the said Mary Burtley and to such uses as is hereinafter mentioned NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that for the making the said agreement effectual in Law for the preserving the Stock of Cattle and the Increase thereof and Household Goods above mentioned to and for the separate use of said Mary Burtley and so that the same shall not be in the power and Disposal of the said James Rutherford doth for himself his Exors and Administrators covenant, promise & agree to and with the said Mary Burtley that notwithstanding the said intended marriage shall take effect all the said Stock of Cattle with the Increase thereof and the Household Goods shall be accounted

reckoned and taken as a separate and distinct Estate of and from the estate of him, the said James Rutherford & in no ways liable or subject to him or to the Payment of any of his debts But with the Profits or increase that shall hereafter be gained or made of the samebe to and for the use of the said Mary Burtley and the heirs of her body to be begotten by the said James Rutherford. Provided always and it is declared concluded and agreed by and between the parties to these present and it is the true intent and meaning thereof and of the Parties hereunto that if the said intended marriage shall take effect and the said Mary shall decease before the said James Rutherford without having heirs of her body then and in such case the said Stock of Cattle and the increase together with the Household Goods shall come to and be the property of the said James Rutherford, To the use of him the said James Rutherford and his heirs forever. IN WITNESS WHEREOF the said Parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and Seals the day and year first above written.⁴

Typical of all such marriage agreements, this guaranteed to the wife her property which otherwise would have become her husband's immediately upon their marriage.

Another method commonly used to protect the property of married women was a trust. A most imposing document of this nature is to be found at the Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia. It is of sheepskin twenty-seven and one-half inches by twenty and one-half inches when opened. The writing is similar to that on the old style diplomas only much more difficult to decipher,

⁴ "Marriage Contract", Mss., Bonds, Bills of Sale, Deeds of Gift, Powers of Attorney, 1761-5, pp. 170-171, Department of Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

about ten hours being required to translate it. It is folded and on the top side is a very impressive seal about four inches across. The form of the Trust is shown by the quotation of the first paragraph below:

This Indenture Tripartite made the 17th day of May in the eighth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight between Henry Yonge, the younger, of Savannah the Province of Georgia Esquire of the first part, Mary Powell of the same place spinster, of the second part the Honorable James Edward Powell, William Graeme and Henry Yonge the elder all of the same place esquires of the third part. And whereas in consideration of said intended marriage taking effect and for making some provision for the support and maintenance for the said Mary Powell in case she should happen to survive the said Henry Yonge and also for some provision for the issue of said intended marriage in case heirs shall be.

This document put property including two parcels of land, five hundred acres each and some slaves in trust for Henry Yonge and his intended bride, Mary Powell. It gave Henry Yonge the management and he was to "enjoy the land and the rents issues thereof to and for his own benefit". (Note that this is for his benefit not theirs.) This agreement was for Henry's lifetime and if Mary survived him it was to continue in trust during the remainder of her life when it would be divided equally among their children. If there were no children it was to go to the heirs of Henry Yonge. (Note again that it did not go to their heirs but to his.) A most

unusual clause provides that this document can only be broken in case Henry Yonge can give an equal or greater settlement to Mary Powell and her issue. In this case the trust is void and the property therein treated may be put to such use as "they, the said Henry Yonge, the Younger and Mary Powell shall think fit and proper". This is the only reference in this lengthy document to Mary as a person, able to think for herself or have a voice in the proceedings. Another interesting fact to be noted in regard to this document is that the parties to this indenture, obviously well-to-do and of the higher social class signed their names by means of a mark. This will be referred to in the chapter on education.

Having shown documents permitting married women to hold their own property, and to will it as they wished, it is necessary now to consider some of the wills made by the women of this period. Because the trust agreement of Mary Powell has been given, it is interesting to have a copy of the will of her mother, a part of which is given below:

POWELL, MARY wife of James Edward Powell
of Savannah Esq. Georgia

Sept. 28, 1776

Nov. 22, 1776

To daughter-in-law Miss Alicia Powell,
wife of son Robert Williams Powell of
Charleston, Gentlemen, 1000 acre tract
of Great Ogeechee at the head of Belcher's
Creek St. Philips Parish sd. tract
originally granted the sd. Robert Williams
Powell in trust to and for my use and my
heirs.

To husband James Edward Powell all my rights
in 2/3 of a 1047 acre tract, adjoining
Beaufort in South Carolina and called
Pidgeon House or Watson's Point. Also my

rights in 500 acre tract about 13 miles from Augusta, Ga. sd. tract granted Messrs Muelryne and Tattnall in trust for me forever; 2 lots lying at the Trustees' Gardens in Savannah; negro slaves Maria and her children and Fanny with future increase during his natural life with remainder to daughters Elizabeth Moore and Henry Yonge, Jr., Gentleman as tenants-in-common share and share alike.

To son Robert Williams Powell and daughter Elizabeth Moore £2000 current money of South Carolina, share and share alike due to me from the will of my late father Robert Williams Esqr.

Test: Claudia Muelryne
Mary Wright Elizabeth Morgan⁵

Evidently the right of Mrs. Powell to make this will came from one of the four conditions already stated, most probably from a marriage agreement. The authority by which Mrs. Elizabeth Brownson, Newport, Georgia, made her will was stated in the first paragraph, which is quoted below. This will was made March 24, 1775, and probated November 20, 1775.

Georgia

In the name of God, Amen.
I, Elizabeth, wife of Doct. Nathan Brownson of Newport in said province, being sick and weak of Body, but of sound and disposing Mind and Memory thanks to Almighty God, for the same, but calling to mind, the uncertainty of the present life, Do make and ordain this my last will and Testament in manner and form following, viz First and principally my soul I resign to God who gave it, and my Body to the Earth to be decently buried, in a Christian like manner In hopes of a happy resurrection to Eternal life thro the above merits of my only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, And as touching such Worldly things as it has pleased

⁵ "Will of Mary Powell", Colonial Will Book AA, pp.261-3
Georgia Department of Archives, Atlanta, Ga. This is manuscript.

God to Endow me with, I give and dispose
of by virtue of that power reserved to
myself in a marriage settlement Sealed Geo
also, by my said Husband in manner and
form following, etc.⁶

The legal position of the spinster was vastly different from that of the married woman. On the face of things it would seem that she was far better off but in an age when it was considered a disgrace not to get married, her lot was not an enviable one. This will be discussed in a later chapter. Only the legal status of women is under consideration at this point. A spinster could inherit property, hold it in her own right, and dispose of it by will. But there were very few spinsters who had any property. This was a great drawing card and spinsters with property soon changed their legal status to that of married women. Of the twenty-five or more wills of women of this period examined, there was only one of a spinster. This is so unique, a brief of it is quoted below:

Palmer, Mary Spinster Savannah Georgia

Nov. 18, 1761
March 28, 1763

To brother Samuel (born in Northampton,
England) £10 Sterling. If brother Samuel
is dead afd £10 shall go to sister
Elizabeth wife of Emmanuel Western of
London. Also another £10 Sterling to sd.
Sister

To SAMUEL and SARAH children of afd.
Elizabeth Western £10 Sterling each.

⁶ "Will of Elizabeth Brownson", Colonial Will Book AA,
pp. 202-206. Georgia Department of Archives, Atlanta, Ga.

If sister is dead at time of my decease her legacy shall be divided equally between her children. Equal shares of wearing apparel to sister Elizabeth and niece Sarah. To afsd. niece chintz counterpane.

To Wakelin Welsh of Watlin Street London and his wife I guinea each to buy rings. To Thomas Vincent of Savannah and wife and Miss Elizabeth Rock 1 guinea each to buy rings.

Ex. Wakelin Welsh
Thomas Vincent⁷

It is a great shock to all accustomed to think of Georgia in the eighteenth century, as a haven for oppressed debtors to find that not only were men imprisoned legally for debt but women as well. There were two kinds of executions issuing from judgments obtained in suits to collect debts. One was execution against the debtor's property and is still the law today. The other was ca. sa. This was an execution against the body of the debtor. Debtors, male and female, were subject to be jailed and kept in jail until their debts were paid. Married women were subject to imprisonment for their own debts.⁸

Thus it can be seen that the legal position of the women of Georgia in the eighteenth century was not an enviable one. At marriage, a woman ceased to have a separate legal existence. She became a unit with her husband. In

⁷ "Will of Mary Palmer", Colonial Will Book AA, pp. 102-3, Georgia Department of Archives, Atlanta, Ga.

⁸ Joel Branham, "Emancipation of Women in Georgia", Report of 31st Annual Session of Georgia Bar Association 1914 (Macon, 1914), p. 184. Imprisonment for debt was not finally abolished until the adoption of the Constitution of 1868.

this way her spinster sister was better off, for legally she did have an existence of her own. But socially and economically, her lot was such an unhappy one that she gladly gave up her legal existence so that she would not suffer the disgrace of being "an old maid".

CHAPTER IV

A SKETCH OF THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN GEORGIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

For the first twenty years of its existence, the Georgia colony made little or no economic progress. Probably no colony had a better class of first settlers but they were very poor. They were hampered by impracticable regulations of the Trustees such as the prohibition of slaves and rum. Also for the purpose of establishing a compact settlement, a limit was placed upon the amount of land that might be acquired. The Trustees also decided what products were to be raised without knowing if the climate and soil favored such production. From the first, such regulations as these failed of economic necessity. Finances were in such bad condition that by 1737 it was necessary for Oglethorpe to turn to his own private fortune. The situation was aggravated by the defalcation of Thomas Causton, the first magistrate of Savannah and keeper of public stores.¹ Further trouble was caused by dissension between the Savannah and Frederica provinces. The latter complained in a "Memorial" to the Trustees that their province was being ruined by the "rigours and Arbitrary

¹ C.C. Jones, "The English Colonization of Georgia", Justin Winsor, ed., Narrative and Critical History of America (Boston, 1887), vol. V, p. 380.

proceedings of those presiding in civil authority at Savannah".² They were forced to go to Savannah for all legal matters and also to market their produce there. They did not have the time to go to Savannah and the expense of carrying produce as far as Savannah was necessarily too great. This was so discouraging that from a heavy influx of settlers before, not one had arrived in the last two years but many had left. If conditions were not changed for the better all would be forced to leave.³ Matters went from bad to worse until the trustees were forced to realize that their paternalistic experiment was a failure. They did not wait for the twenty-one years, for which the charter provided, to elapse but surrendered their authority to the Crown in 1752.

William De Brahm gave a good picture of the colony at this time in his account, which, as a matter of interest, is the first history of Georgia. He said that he came to Georgia from South Carolina in 1752 and that a few days after his arrival in Savannah, a lot with a fair house on it had sold for a few shillings. He added that with £20 Sterling he could have bought nearly half the city. De Brahm sold his property in South Carolina and came to live in Georgia. Many rich planters did likewise. The spirit of migration from South Carolina to Georgia became so widespread in the year 1752 that, during that year and the one following

² Colonial Records of Georgia, unpublished, vol. XXVII, p. 101.

³ Ibid, p. 102.

about one thousand negroes were brought into the colony where in 1751 there were scarcely three dozen.⁴ As has been said in a former chapter⁵ the regulations of the Trustees gave way to the laws of England when Georgia became a royal province, hence slavery and rum were no longer forbidden.

De Brahm gave the following reasons why Georgia was preferable to South Carolina:

By the foregoing account of Streams and Rivers, it fully appears that the province of Georgia, although only equal to South Carolina as to plantings yet being watered preferably to South Carolina can not but have the preference in the capacity and conveniences for Trade and Navigation, first in respect to the great numbers of Streams and Rivers which are navigable; secondly, that vessels trading up any of the Streams may unload in fresh water, or after they are unladen run three or four miles higher up and be in fresh water where in 48 hours the fresh water will dissolve the Sea Salt (The glue of the coagulum consisting of barnacles and sea weeds), and get the Bottoms clean from all adherent Matters which will fall in scales and kill the Sea Worms while in other Salt Water Parts, 'tis a very expensive Article for it is to be done there artificially with great Labour, time and Expen⁶.

Besides Savannah there were four seaport towns, Hardwick on the great Ogeechee, Sunbury on the Midway,

⁴ John William Gerar De Brahm, "Georgia History", an abstract from the "Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America", circa 1773 and 1774. Copy from British Museum, King's Library, vol. 197. Each page has two numberings. This reference is p. 460 or 434. Georgia Department of Archives. Hereafter this will be referred to as De Brahm, Georgia History.

⁵ Supra, p. 9.

⁶ De Brahm, Georgia History, pp. 474-475 or 448-449.

Darien and Frederica on the Altamaha. De Brahm gave an interesting description of the products of Georgia at this period:

They cultivate European and American grains wheat, rye, barley, oats, Flax, Mays, Peas, Pompions, Melons they plant Mulberry, Apple, Peach, Nectarines, Plumbs and Quince trees besides all manner of European garden Herbs, but in particular they choose the culture of Silk their principal Object in which culture they made such a progress that the Filature, which is erected in City of Savannah could afford to send in 1768 to London 1084 pounds of raw silk equal in goodness to that manufactured at Piedmont but the bounties to encourage that manufactory being taken off they, discouraged, dropt their lands from that culture from year to year in a manner that in 1771 its product was only 290 lbs. in lieu of 1464, which must have been that year's produce had this manufactory been encouraged to increase at a 16 years' rate. In lieu of Silk they have taken underconsideration the culture of Mays, Indigo, Rice, Hemp and Tobacco.⁷

Slow but steady progress was made from the time Georgia became a royal province. By the revolutionary period, life in Savannah and the nearby towns had, at least, caught up with the colonial life in other southern colonies. William Bartram, botanist to the King, was sent by Dr. Forthergill of London in 1773 to search the Floridas, western parts of the Carolinas and Georgia for "rare and useful productions of Nature, especially in the vegetable

⁷ De Brahm, Georgia History, p. 461 or 435.

kingdom." He stopped in Savannah while the Assembly was in session. He staid at the Inn where several of the members were lodging. These men insisted on his visiting them especially a Mr. B. Andrews, who lived near South High Road. After his first visit, he went often to see Mr. Andrews, "for it was a seat of virtue where hospitality, piety, philosophy formed the happy family; where the weary traveller and stranger found a hearty welcome and from whence it must be his own fault if he departed without being greatly benefitted!"⁸ Upon his return, he stopped at the home of Mr. Andrews,

who received and entertained me in every respect as a worthy gentleman could a stranger, that is, with a hearty welcome plain but bountiful board, free conversation and liberality of sentiment. I spent the evening very agreeably and the day following for I was not permitted to depart sooner.⁹

After a fishing party he left the next morning for Darien where he visited the home of Mr. L. McIntosh.

When I came to his door this friendly man, smiling and with a grace and dignity peculiar to himself took me by the hand

⁸ William Bartram, Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida The Cherokee Country The extensive territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, And The Country of the Choctaw Containing An Acct. of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions Together with Observations On The Manners of The Indians (Dublin, 1793), p. 4. Hereafter referred to as Bartram, Travels.

⁹ Ibid, p. 4.

and accosted me thus, "Friend Bartram, come under my roof and I desire you to make my house your home as long as convenient to yourself. Remember from this moment that you are a part of my family and on my part I shall try to make it agreeable!" This was verified during my continuance in and about the southern territories of Georgia and Florida; for I found here sincerity in union with all virtues under the influence of religion.¹⁰

Up to the Revolution, Georgia was a frontier colony, with all the discomforts of frontier life but really none of its calamities. This was due to luck more than to good management; for, to the west were the French in unsettled Louisiana, and to the south, the Spanish in the Floridas, and in between, the Indians. Had the Creeks not been kept friendly by the efforts of Mary Musgrove, the calamities possibly would have been greater than in the other colonies; for here they would have been joined by the unfriendly Spanish or French, as neither ever relinquished their efforts to win the Creeks to their cause. Only a small part of Georgia had been settled and the towns were the only parts of the colony that had caught up with the colonial life elsewhere. There were no mills. Indian corn was beaten in a mortar or ground in a hand mill. The houses were of round logs or clapboards. The floors were of dirt, the chimneys of clay and stakes. There were no comforts but generally there was plenty of food. There was no flour but they had rice.

¹⁰ Bartram, Travels, p. 15.

It was not until after the Revolution that north and northeast Georgia was settled. In 1784, the Honorable Chief Justice delivered the following charge to the Grand Jury:

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury fourteen or fifteen years ago I several times rode over this county (Wilkes) when it was wilderness and nothing to be seen but the Savage and his Game of the Woods, the Indian line being soon after removed further out, it began to settle and altho it has been Interrupted by a seven or eight years' war in which the first settlers greatly distinguished themselves, it has been increased in numbers strength and cultivation to an astonishing degree this rapidity of settlement is an Incontrovertable proof of the goodness of the climate soil and Navigation as it has been in the face of almost insuperable difficulties, etc. ¹¹

In order to better their condition a large number of Virginia families settled on the Broad River immediately after the Revolutionary War. Among these were such names as Harvey, Meriwether, Taliaferro, Gilmer, Mathews, Crawford, Johnson, Jordan, McGehee. These people were descendants of the most vigorous and industrious class of Irish, Scotch, English, and Welsh. This group was said to have formed the most intimate friendly social union ever known among the same number of persons. They were exceedingly active in business, economical in expenditure, honest in their dealings and their prosperity was beyond example. From

¹¹ George Gilmer, Sketches of some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia of the Cherokees and the Author (New York, 1854), p. 186. Hereafter referred to as, Gilmer, Georgians.

1770 to the end of the century, a similar group came out from North Carolina and settled in the counties of Wilkes and Lincoln. Among these were such names as Clarke, Dooly, Hart, Jack, Dabney - names very prominent in the history of Georgia.¹²

Bartram in his travels crossed the Savannah River by ferry into this section in 1776. He gave a picture of the life in this frontier area. He found the people,

contrary to what a traveler might perhaps reasonably expect from their occupation and remote situation from the capitol or any commercial town, to be civil and courteous, and tho' educated as at first in the woods no stranger to sensibility and those moral virtues which grace and ornament the most approved and advanced character in civil society.¹³

Many New Englanders moved south after the revolution, but none of them were more distinguished than the name of Hillhouse, which for generations has been outstanding in Connecticut and Massachusetts, in the state of New York, where members of the family emigrated as well as in Georgia.¹⁴ David Hillhouse and his wife Sarah came to Georgia to escape the cold winters of Massachusetts just fifty years after Oglethorpe had settled the colony. They located in a new town called Washington. Mrs. Hillhouse

¹² Gilmer, Georgians, p. 6.

¹³ Bartram, Travels, P. 317.

¹⁴ "Descendants of First Georgia Woman Editor Columbus Citizens"; Columbus Enquirer, Sunday, Apr. 23, 1928. (An abstract of original papers loaned to editor by descendants of Mrs. Hillhouse.)

wrote "The town is 180 miles from Savannah on the sea coast and about 50 miles from Augusta and 20 miles from the Indian lands. There is a court house, jail, and a good latin and grammar school".¹⁵ David Hillhouse opened up a general store in Washington in which he kept sugar, rum, and molasses from the Barbados and West Indies, tea and other provisions. They found a few congenial families but conditions there were very rough.¹⁶

To the turn of the century conditions in the colony were as have been described above. Savannah and the towns immediately surrounding, had taken on the complexion of the other colonial towns but the country to the north was the frontier, it was then the outpost of civilization. It was rapidly filling up, however, and by the end of the century caravans were passing through to the wilds of Louisiana.¹⁷

¹⁵ "Descendants of First Georgia Woman Editor Columbus Citizens", Columbus Enquirer, Sunday April 23, 1928.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ This chapter was not meant to discuss economic conditions in full detail, but rather to give a picture of the colony as it was in the eighteenth century as a background for the place of woman in this economic picture.

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE WOMEN OF GEORGIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

To eighteenth century women in Georgia, just as to their sisters in the rest of the colonies and in fact, to women of civilized nations there was but one desirable career open, and this was, of course, that of wife and mother. Those who missed this goal of their highest ambitions became known as spinsters, a name derived from the fact that the unmarried daughters or sisters in the homes of father or brother were engaged mostly in spinning. Thus women came to be divided into two groups, the housewife and the spinster. This was a rather unfair classification for surprisingly enough there were many women at that time who belonged to neither of these groups. These can be definitely classed as women in business.

The different kinds of business in which women were engaged were far more extensive than one would be led to believe from a casual reading of colonial history. Probably this is true because women in business were the exception not the rule. Anyway the interesting fact is, that there were successful business women from the very beginning of the history of Georgia. The outstanding example of a

successful Georgia woman in the earliest days was Mary Musgrove. She continued her husband's trading post at his death and even established another on the southern frontier and in addition was an extensive land owner. A full account of her activities has already been given in Chapter Two. Women were the main agents in the silk industry until it failed when the bounty was cut off.

Because people and their activities were not unusual, it did not occur to anyone to make a record of the everyday things of life. For this reason it is very difficult to reproduce the economic or the social life of these early times. Fortunately, there are many old newspapers extant from 1763 to the end of the century. From the advertisements in these papers, a rather complete picture of the economic life of women can be given.

Women owned and ran plantations as early as 1763. This is shown by an advertisement which appeared in the Georgia Gazette of Savannah, Georgia, December 22, 1765.

Strayed or Stolen from Mrs. Kennan's plantation a strong gray horse 14 hands high branded on the near shoulder W.V. with a fleur-de-luce a-top and on the off shoulder I.P. - Whoever takes up said horse and delivers him to Lieut. Grant in Savannah shall be handsomely rewarded.

More active ownership is shown in the following advertisement in the Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State, September 12, 1795;

I do hereby forewarn the tract of land advertised as John Bragg's property to be sold and I hereby forbid any person selling the said land as it never was his property, nor never had any right title or claim to any such land as I am the right owner of said land and am ready to settle any claim or demand against.

Bedford, August 14th, 1795
Martha Ricketson

That women owned slaves and had trouble with them running away is shown by the following advertisements in the Savannah and Augusta papers. First, in the Georgia Gazette, March 14th and 21st, 1765:

Runaway from the Subscriber A Young negroe which named Sydney has her country marks on her breast and arms and a mole under her left eye, talks no English wore a blue negroe cloth gown and coat and a new oznaburg shift a cheque handkerchief on her head and another about her neck. A reward of 10s. will be given to any person who takes her up and delivers her in Savannah to

Elizabeth Anderson

Secondly, in the Augusta Chronicle November 6th, 1790:

Thirty Dollars Reward
Runaway from Mrs. Elbert near Savannah about 18 months ago a Negro Fellow named Prince of a dark complexion, short and junky made, a blacksmith by trade and used to work at Spirit Creek Saw Mills with Mr. Atkinson when he lived there, he is supposed to be harboured at this time in that neighborhood.

The above Reward of Thirty Dollars will be given on condition that he is harboured or \$10 on his being delivered to Mrs. Elbert near Ogeechee ferry Chatham County, to the keeper of the work house in Savannah or in Augusta to

George Hundley

An interesting advertisement of a woman plantation owner, showing the honesty prevalent at the time appeared in the Georgia Gazette, May 29th, 1783.

Come to the Subscriber's Plantation
 A Negro Fellow
 about 25 years old about 5 ft. 6 in.
 high, named Peter, speaks good English
 and says he belongs to one Mrs. Thompson
 in Charlestown. Any person claiming
 said negro may have him by proving the
 property and applying at White Bluff to
 Hannah Wright

That women were actually engaged in selling slaves is shown by this notice which appeared in the Georgia Gazette, February 17th and 24th, 1767:

To be Sold at Sunbury on first
 Tuesday in March next
 A Parcel of Country Born
 Negroes consisting of valuable
 Sawyers and hardy House Wenches
 Credit will be given till first
 of January next, paying interest
 and giving security if required to,
 Isabelle Mackey

That women were keen in their business dealings is clearly shown by this notice, which appeared in the Augusta Chronicle, April 25th, 1795.

A Caution
 All persons are hereby warned against
 trading for a note of hand, given by
 me to Frederick McMurrin for 13 head
 of cattle as I have fully discharged
 the same.

Mary Wilsher
 Warren County

Another field of economic endeavor in which women were proficient was dealing in real estate. The Georgia Gazette of June 20th and July 7th, 1765, carried this notice.

To be sold
 A lot at Yamacraw 300 feet in length,
 200 feet in breadth where-on is a
 good dwelling house and kitchen.
 For further particulars inquire of
 Ann Raspberry
 N.B. Credit will be allowed
 purchaser giving appv'd. security.

Elizabeth Anderson, whose advertisement for a runaway slave
 has already been quoted, had this notice in the Gazette of
 October 14th and 21st, and November 4th, 1767:

To be sold
 A tract containing 150 acres of good
 pine and red oak land, in the parish
 of St. George, bounded northeast by
 land of Henry Overstreet, northerly
 by land of Elizabeth Anderson and on
 all other sides by vacant lands.
 Another Tract containing 150 acres of
 good oak and pine land, in said parish
 bounded n.e. by land of Henry Overstreet
 southerly by land of Elizabeth Anderson
 and on all other sides by vacant lands.
 Any person inclinable to purchase both
 or either of the above tracts of land
 may apply in Savannah to
 Elizabeth Anderson

Besides selling land they rented property. Of the many
 advertisements found to prove this fact, the two
 following are typical:

Georgia Gazette, April 11th, 1765:

To be Let
 The House and Lot at Yamacraw,
 where Mr. William Mackenzie lately
 lived
 For full particulars inquire of
 Ann Raspberry

Georgia Gazette, August 14th, 1783:

To be Let
 By the quarter or whole year
 A large and convenient House
 near the courthouse. Inquire
 of Mrs. Evans in Savannah or of

Robert Bolton at White Bluff.

Surprisingly enough, in this century dominated so completely by men, women were very often chosen to administer estates. The earliest editions of Georgia newspapers carry advertisements supporting this statement. The Georgia Gazette September 20th, 1764, carried this notice,

To be sold Sat. 27th day of Sept.
at the plantation where Morgan Sahn
deceased, did live

Sundry Articles

belonging to estate of said deceased,
viz, Household furniture consisting
of mahogany tables, a desk, chairs,
beds, bed-steads, bedding, some china
and delft-ware, knives and forks and
sundry plantation tools. Also a few
Head of Black Cattle, Horses, Mares
Colts and Hogs.

The conditions of the sale will
be made known on the day by

Mary Esther Nicholds, Executrix

Sometimes they served in this capacity with men as in the
case advertised in the Georgia Gazette September 4, 1783:

All persons indebted to the estate of,
Rebecca Lloyd
deceased are requested to settle the
same on or before the 10th day of Sept.
inst. or in default they must expect
their bonds, notes and accounts will be
in the hands of Samuel Stirk, Esq.

Rebecca Davies, Executrix

Ben Lloyd)

Edward Lloyd)

Executors

An examination of wills of women of this period shows that
in one out of five, women served as executrices of the
estates. That women were successful in this field may be
judged from the following advertisement in The Augusta
Chronicle and Gazette of the State June 6th, 13th, 27th, 1795.

Any person inclined to undertake the collection of debts to a considerable amt. due to the estate of Peter Carnes, Esq. deceased may procure employment on advantageous terms by the application to the subscriber.

Eliza Carnes, Ex'x

N.B. None need apply but such as can give ample security.

E.C.

Women were even appointed attorneys. In an advertisement in the Gazette September 13th and 20th 1764, proof of this appears.

The subscriber being about to leave this province for a short time, gives notice pursuant to an act of Assembly of this province called the Attachment Act, that he is ready to answer to any suit, and give bail to any writ or summons that shall in the meantime be issued against him. He has appointed Mrs. Ann Whitefield, Thos. Dixon and Benjamin Stirk his attorneys in his absence; and the business of the wharf and stores will be carried on by Mr. Hugh Ross who will punctually attend there.

James Whitefield

Mrs. David R. Hillhouse was the first woman to edit a newspaper in Georgia. This was The Washington News. It was founded by Alexander Mc Millan and was known as the Washington Gazette. He was succeeded by David R. Hillhouse, who operated with it, the first job printing office in the interior of the state. He died in 1804 and Mrs. Hillhouse took over his dual enterprises. The name of the paper was again changed to the Monitor. The Journal of the House of Representatives was printed in her office and sent to Louisville, then the seat of government. Some of the copies of the Monitor are still in existence today

and testify to her ability as a newspaper woman. Although Mrs. Hillhouse did not become editor until her husband's death in 1804, which takes this particular event out of the eighteenth century, yet Mrs. Hillhouse belongs to the eighteenth century having been a Georgian practically all of her married life. White, in his Historical Collections of Georgia, chartered her as a woman pioneer in education, friend of LaFayette and Eli Whitney. He said she helped Whitney in carrying out his plans for the perfection of the cotton gin.¹

Besides being participants in these more serious occupations, women were engaged in the lighter fields such as those of entertainment. In the earliest extant issues of the Georgia newspapers there were advertisements of balls and dances held by women. Mrs. Sarah Lyon notified the public in the Gazette of December 22, 1763, that she was holding a ball December 28th in Savannah; tickets admitting a lady and a gentleman were ten shillings each. They must have become popular for when Mrs. Mary Blake announced her ball for April 7, 1767, the price had dropped to fifteen shillings for a couple. She probably originated the "stag" line for she added that one person would be admitted for seven shillings six pence. Toward the end of the century, women became even more venturesome and opened up houses of

¹ "Descendants of First Georgia Woman Editor Columbus Citizens", Columbus Enquirer, April 23, 1928.

private entertainment. The following notice appeared in the Augusta Chronicle September 5th and 12th, 1795:

Mrs. Kern respectfully informs her friends and the public in general that she has removed from the Coffeehouse and now resides in the house formerly occupied by Chastlay Bostwick, Esq. on Broad St., where she intends keeping a House of private entertainment and hopes her attention will merit the approbation of those who will favor her.

That women held the positions described above as early as the eighteenth century will surprise the ordinary reader for this is unusual. However, women were to be found in greater numbers in the fields for which they were especially fitted, such as running boarding-houses, bakeries, millinery shops, stores, and dress-making establishments. There were the usual, "hum-drum" occupations for women. Mary Hepburn advertised in the Gazette August 5th and 12th, 1767:

The subscriber intends opening a Coffee Room on the 6th day of this month, at the house she now lives in, next door to Mr. Box's store, where Gentlemen may Breakfast on the same footing as in London; She likewise will keep an Ordinary for eight Gentlemen to dine, on the same terms as in Charlestown. Whoever will please to favor her with their company will be used with all civility in her power and she makes no doubt (altho the first attempt of this kind) of giving satisfaction. So soon as the members of her boarders is compleated, she will begin her ordinary.

Whether gentlemen did not desire to breakfast on the same

footing as in London"; whether they did not wish "to dine as in Charlestown"; whether Mary failed to get "eight boarders"; or whether her frank admission of "never having made such an attempt before", prevented her success in her undertaking, will never be known but the following notice appeared in the Gazette November 25th, and December 2nd, 1767:

Mary Hepburn intending soon to leave this province requests those indebted to her to pay their accounts; and those having any demands against her to send them in.

Perhaps Mrs. Thompson found the secret of success in this line of work for her notice ran in the Augusta Chronicle five weeks beginning October 30th, 1790, and read as follows:

"Having furnished Herself with Liquors, etc., will accommodate Gentlemen with boarding and Lodging on the most Reasonable terms. N.B. Good stabling for horses."

Evidently Mrs. Fox, also of Augusta, felt the need of reminding people that she was still in business for she advertised in the Chronicle November 6th, 13th, 20th, and 27th, 1790, "Mrs. Fox Respectfully informs her friends and the public that she continues her house for boarders and lodgers. Strangers may depend on good treatment." Was the reminder necessary because only strangers received good treatment?

Some women were engaged in the baking business at this time, but not as many as one would expect. It seems that when this activity of the home was commercialized, it was almost invariably run by men. There were some exceptions

but these were probably confined to fancy baking such as cakes and pies. Elizabeth Anderson advertised in the Gazette of December 28, 1764:

The subscriber having taken the house where the late Mrs. Pogey lived proposes carrying on the Baking Business and will be obliged to the customers of Mrs. Pogey to continue their favors to
Elizabeth Anderson

That Mrs. Pogey's customers did favor her may be deduced from the facts already given regarding this lady. She advertised in March, 1765, for a runaway slave and in October, 1767, the sale of considerable land. Evidently the baking business was flourishing.

Another economic field invaded by the eighteenth century woman was that of shop keeping. The Gazette carried this advertisement January 5th and 19th, 1764, "Ann Cunningham and James Brooks sell in retail at their shop on the Bay all sorts of spirituous liquors, sugar, mollasses, etc., etc." In the issues of June 19th and 26th, 1764, there appeared this notice, "To be sold at the house of Mrs. Flyning in Savannah, Shrub By the quarter cask or in smaller quantities not less than three gallons". It is very gratifying to find that all the shops run by women were not liquor stores. A very long but most enlightening advertisement appeared in the Gazette September 8th and 15th, 1785:

Ann Taylor
Has for sale
at her store in Broughton street on
moderate terms for cash or produce
The following Articles Imported
in the Last Vessels from London

Quilted stuff plain and satin
 petticoats, ducares, lutestrings,
 mantuas, Irish sheeting, Irish linens,
 cotton counterpanes, huckaback, diaper,
 men's gloves, men's silk hose, women's
 cotton ditto, chintz, gown patterns
 calicoes men's fine shoes with stitched
 heels, women's morrocco slippers with
 French heels, satin shoes, spangled
 calamanco ditto with French heels,
 ribbons of all colors fine pocket
 handkerchiefs, spangled fans, spotted
 and plain lawns, gauzes of all kinds,
 morocco pocketbooks, Marseilles
 quilting, corduroys, purple casemire,
 superfine broadcloths bed ticken, English
 and White-Chapel needles, negro cloth,
 Yorkshire cloth, Jesuits bark, Stoughton's
 bitters, British oil, essence of bergamot,
 essence of lemon, Tarlington's balsam,
 spirits of lavender, rhubarb, ipecacuancha,
 Anderson's pills, magnesia, camphire,
 an assortment of hardware and sundry other
 articles.

After a perusal of this "ad" of everything from petticoats
 to pills, can anyone deny to woman, the honor of having
 originated the idea of the modern department store?

There were some fields of business at that time open
 only to women, but which have been invaded by the men in
 our day. These are, of course, millinery and dressmaking.
 That women did not buy enough hats to warrant a shop
 selling hats only, is shown by the notice which appeared
 in the Gazette of the State of Georgia June 3, 1784.

Mary Gobert from France Takes this
 method to acquaint the publick that
 she has undertaken the Millinery
 Business being perfectly acquainted
 with the newest fashions, also the
 whitening silk laces, stockings,
 gauze, etc., and clear starches
 laces, gauzes, etc., etc.

She has to dispose of the
 following articles, viz., Laces,

gauzes, ribbons, flowers, women's hats, fans, all sorts of stockings, cotton caps, scented hair powder and starch.

Dressmaking was done in the homes just as men's suits were made by the women of the household. This practice was general even through the Civil War period. But at the end of the eighteenth century women especially in the cities went into the business of dressmaking. Ann Taylor added this line to her business described above.² She announced this in the Gazette of the State of Georgia June 2, 1785.

Ann Taylor
 Begs to inform the Ladies that she proposes to carry on the
 Mantua-Making Business in all its branches. Her own experience together with the assistance of the able hands she has provided for the purpose, will, she flatters herself, enable her to give entire satisfaction to these ladies who will please to favor her with their commands.

N.B. A genteel Assortment of Dry Goods adopted to present season to be sold cheap.

Also in Augusta women were engaged in this business for the public. The Georgia Gazette or Independent Register carried this advertisement July 12th and 19th, 1788,

Mrs. Jones

Begs leave to inform the Ladies of Augusta and its environs that she intends to carry on the Mantua-Making business at the house of Mr. John Cotton, lower end of Augusta, where Ladies may rely on having their work done with elegance.

² Cf., pp. 72-73.

Toward the end of the century the business of mantua-making was combined with the selling of hats and ready-made dresses. These hats and ready-made dresses were most likely used as models for the hat and dress-making.

Miss Esther Sheftall announced in the Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser January, 11th, 1798, that, "She had just received from Baltimore a few Elegant Head Dresses Suitable for the present season Among which are the following, viz. Grecian Cap, The Much-admired Green Nett Cap, York Bonnett, etc., and also a few fashionable fall dresses". In the March 30th and April 3rd issues of the same newspaper, Miss Sheftall informed the ladies of Savannah that she had just received from Charleston and New York some of the most fashionable dresses worn in those cities which are the York Robe, Military Robe and Coat. In the October 27th issue, she advertised that she was adding to her business that of mantua-making and was supplied with the most tasty fashions for the ensuing season.

There are three other occupations of women which have not been discussed i.e., teaching, housekeeping, and that of servant. There were too few women in the profession of teaching as early as the eighteenth century, for it to be considered a field of endeavor for women. A few women teachers had come down from the north and a few from France and England but not until the close of the century.

The position of housekeeper should have been a splendid outlet for the many spinsters of the time whose only training had been to take care of a home. This also should have been a good opening for a widow when left destitute. Most of these two classes were prevented from accepting such positions due to stigma attached to them which would cause loss of social caste. Because of the existence of slavery, there were few white servants in Georgia, in fact, only newly-arrived immigrants ever entered menial service.

Because of frontier conditions which kept the great majority of the women of Georgia busy, it was only in the settled towns and older communities that women were able to engage in business. The marvel is not that there were so few engaged in gainful occupation, but that there were any women engaged in activities outside the home.

CHAPTER VI.

WOMEN OF GEORGIA IN THE REVOLUTION.

The other colonies were disgusted with Georgia for the part she played at the opening of the American Revolution. Her governor, James Wright, succeeded, at the outset, in keeping the colony loyal to the King. He prevented her sending representatives to the Continental Congress. A revolutionary government was finally set up and for a time Georgia had two governments. However, when the British failed to come to Wright's aid, he was taken prisoner and Georgia joined the other colonies against England. They might well have paused had they realized that they would be worse off when she joined for the colony was weak and exposed to attacks from Florida which had belonged to the English since 1763. Georgia had 18,000 whites and 15,000 negro slaves. If every Georgian had enlisted in the army they could not have had more than 3,000 fighting men. There were 10,000 Indian warriors in tribes to the westward, who had been allies of England since the founding of Georgia. They would not understand why they should change their allegiance suddenly and become allies of a people who hardly knew why they were fighting the Mother Country. Then, too, if Georgia had not come in with the colonies the southernmost boundary to be defended would have

been the Savannah River. Georgia had more to gain than to lose in casting her lot with the revolutionary colonies.¹

Although few battles were fought in Georgia the devastation was as great as in any other colony for, besides the invading British Armies, she was cursed with a bitter civil war due to the refusal of many people to join the revolutionists. In the darkest hours of this deadly conflict the influence of woman was indeed far-reaching.

The presence of her sympathy and aid, the potency of her prayers and sacrifices, the eloquence of her devotion, her tears, and her smiles were priceless in the encouragement they gave and more effective than an army with banners. The gentle hands of the wives, mothers, and sisters furnished clothing, prepared ammunition and manufactured war-trappings for the soldiers in the field.²

The heroism and dauntless courage of all the women of Georgia was outstanding but the names of a few deserve special attention for their services. Sarah Gillian Williamson never found it necessary to leave her plantation while her husband was fighting under Elijah Clarke, and if Aunt Nancy Hart were half what tradition has made her, she was largely responsible

¹ E.M. Coulter, A Short History of Georgia (Chapel Hill, 1933), pp. 121-132.

² Charles C. Jones, The History of Georgia (Boston, 1883), vol. II, p. 463.

for the rescue of all upper Georgia from the Tories.³ There was Susannah Tomlinson Fort whose husband was very active in the revolutionary cause. Their home was in Burke County in a hot bed of Tories. Fort often slipped home to visit his family even knowing it was death to be caught. A Tory neighbor, who hated him watched his chance to capture him. At last seeing that Fort was at home he gathered a band of Tories and broke into the house. As one of the number started to shoot Fort, his wife heroically threw herself in front of her husband. The Tory refused to shoot her and told her that he was saving him for her sake. However, she forgot her heroism and shed bitter tears when they started ripping her feather beds filling the air with feathers and cutting her precious cloth from the loom.⁴

As a revolutionary heroine, Nancy Hart eclipsed them all. This remarkable woman was a native of North Carolina and a daughter of Thomas Morgan of the Revolutionary Army. She married Captain Benjamin Hart a native of Kentucky who had migrated to Orange County, North Carolina, with his mother and five brothers and sisters about 1760. Captain Hart took his bride to Georgia and they made their home in the frontier country. "Mrs. Hart was a woman of remarkable strength and decision of character and she exhibited as much

³ E.M. Coulter, A Short History of Georgia, p. 132.

⁴ Sarah H. Butts, The Mothers of Distinguished Georgians, (New York, 1902), pp. 139-140.

if not more courage and heroism as any woman during that great drama of American liberty - the War of the Revolution".⁵

A description of her physical appearance is given below.

"She was marked by nature with prominent features. She was horribly cross-eyed as well as cross-grained; but nevertheless she was a sharp-shooter. Nothing was more common than to see her in full pursuit of the bounding stag. ... Many can testify to her magical art in the mazes of cookery - being able to get up a pumpkin in as many forms as there are days in the week. She was extensively known and employed for her profound knowledge in the management of all ailments".⁶

The deeds of daring attributed to this woman during the war are so numerous that history and tradition have become hopelessly entwined. Some of these exploits are found in too many different accounts to be doubted. The truth probably runs like a thread through all of the conflicting accounts. George White in his Historical Collections of Georgia said of Nancy Hart: "One among the most remarkable women that any country has ever produced resides in Elbert. The clouds of war gathered and burst with a dreadful explosion in this state. Nancy's spirits rose with the tempest. She declared and proved herself a friend to her country ready to

⁵ John William Baker, History of Hart County (Atlanta, 1933), p. 25.

⁶ George White, Historical Collections of Georgia (New York, 1855), pp. 442-443.

do or die".⁷ White said that he visited Elbert County and talked with an old lady, who had been on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Hart. She told him many anecdotes of her life some of which are summarized below.

On one occasion when information as to the happenings on the Carolina side of the river were anxiously desired, no one could be persuaded to go. Nancy offered to undertake this perilous duty. She made her way alone to the Savannah River but found there no means of crossing. She got a few logs tied them together with a grape-vine. She crossed the river on this make-shift raft, obtained the information and returned with it to the Georgia troops.⁸

Another incident related to the time when Augusta was in the hands of the British. The American troops in Wilkes County under the command of Colonel Elijah Clarke were very anxious to find out the British plans. Nancy assumed the garments of a man, pushed on to Augusta, went boldly into the British camp pretending to be crazy. In this way she was soon able to obtain much useful information which she hastened to lay before the commander, Colonel Clarke.⁹

Another story the old lady told him was of the time Nancy met a Tory on the road. She engaged him in conversation got his attention and then snatched his gun and marched him

⁷ p. 443.

⁸ p. 446

⁹ p. 448.

to the American fort.¹⁰ And yet another - Nancy was alone in a fort with women and children when it was attacked by Tories and Indians. There was only one cannon in the fort. She tried unsuccessfully to get it into firing position. Then she saw a young man hiding under a cow-hide. She turned on him and at the point of her gun made him help her. Together they fired the cannon, which so frightened the Tories that they ran off.

In Women of the Revolution by Elizabeth Ellett, written in 1848, the account summarized below is to be found. She wrote that at the beginning of the Revolutionary War a large district in the state of Georgia/^{was} organized into a county called Wilkes which was a veritable hot bed of Whigs. It was called by the Tories, "Hornets' Nest". In a portion of this county near ferries on the Broad River, now in Elbert County, Was a stream known as "War Woman's Creek", a name derived from the character of an individual, who lived near the entrance of this stream into the river. This person was Nancy Hart, a woman entirely uneducated and ignorant of all conventional civilities of life but a zealous lover of liberty and of the "liberty boys", as she called the Whigs.

One day a party of Tories from the British Camp at Augusta brutally murdered Colonel Dooly in his bed and went on their way to commit other atrocities. A group of five

¹⁰ p. 447.

from the party went to the east crossed Broad River to examine the neighborhood and visit their old enemy Nancy Hart. They entered her cabin unceremoniously and were received by her with a scowl. They told her they had come to investigate a current story that she had helped a rebel escape. Nancy assured them that she had and told them how she had done it. She said that she heard the hoof-beats of a horse and saw a man approaching her cabin on horseback at break-neck speed. She recognized him and let down the bars in front of her cabin and motioned to him to pass through both doors of her single-roomed house. She told him to hide himself in the swamp as well as he could. This he did in a hurry and she put up the bars, entered the cabin, and closed the doors and went about her household duties. Soon the Tories arrived and called to her very loudly. She muffled her head and face and opened the door and asked why they disturbed a poor sick woman. They asked her if she had seen a man on horseback there. She said no but that she had seen someone up the road turn into the woods. They decided that that was their man and so rode off in the direction she had indicated. She said if they had not been so lofty-minded and had looked on the ground inside the bars, they would have seen the horse's tracks up to the door "as plain as day". The Tories could do nothing but demanded that she cook them a meal. She told them she never cooked for King's men and

that she had nothing left from the thieving villians except one turkey gobbler. One of the Tories shot the gobbler and made her cook it. She sent her little daughter, Sukey, to the spring for water telling her to blow on a conch shell, signals to her father.

The Tories were eating and making merry and as she served them she managed to push two of the five guns out of a crack in the cabin wall. They caught her putting out the third but she brought a gun to her shoulder and declared she would kill the first man who approached her. Because she was cross-eyed they all thought she was looking at each of them. One advanced and she shot him. Sukey returned and gave her her remaining gun. She shot another. The rest surrendered to her husband and some Whigs, who had come in response to the conch shell signals. They were hung on a tree near the cabin.¹¹

This story does not agree with the one which appeared in the Yorkville Pioneer (South Carolina) which is believed to be the first account of her that ever found its way to the public. George White gave this account as follows:

All accused of Whiggism were ordered to be hanged. Men including Nancy's husband hid in the cane-brake, but Nancy refused to leave the cabin. One day Tories came and ordered her to cook dinner for them. She did. They stacked their arms and sat down. Nancy seized a

¹¹ vol. II, pp. 263-269.

gun, cocked it, and with a blazing oath declared she would blow out the brains of the first mortal that offered to rise or waste a mouthful. . . . "Go", she said to one of her sons, "and tell the Whigs that I have taken six base Tories". Since Nancy was cross-eyed each thought she was looking at him. Her husband and neighbors came and took charge of the prisoners.¹²

White does not attempt to put the stamp of authority on either of these versions. There is no way of finding out the truth in regard to details but both stories agree that she captured Tories in her home while being forced to cook them a meal.

Mr. White also got some information from the Reverend Mr. Snead of Baldwin County, Georgia, who was a relative of the Hart family; also from the Honorable Thomas Hart Benton, another relative. The Snead account does not agree with the common version of her physical appearance. He said that he well remembers how she looked and that she was positively not cross-eyed. He described her as six feet high, very muscular and erect in her gait, her hair light brown sprinkled with gray the last time he saw her which was when she was about sixty years of age. He said her countenance was liable to sudden changes due to long indulgence in violent passion. In dwelling upon the hardships of the Revolution, the perfidy of the Tories and her frequent adventures with them she never failed to become greatly excited.¹³

¹² George White, Historical Collections of Georgia, pp.442-443.

Mr. Snead added another anecdote about Nancy. He said that Nancy and her children were gathered around the fire one evening. There was a pot of soap boiling in the fire-place. One of the children noticed a spy peeping through the crevices of the chimney, which was built of logs, and gave a silent notice of it to Nancy. She went on talking and stirring the soap, all the while waiting the reappearance of the spy. Suddenly she dashed the ladle of boiling soap through the crevice full in the face of the spy. Blinded by hot soap, he screamed and roared and Nancy went out and with gibes and taunts, bound him fast as her prisoner.¹⁴

Governor Gilmer in his Georgians said that Nancy's cabin was near his father's and that it was built by her and her husband. He described her as tall, angular, red-headed and cross-eyed. In fact the only account that denies the obliquity of her eyes is that of Mr. Snead. Gilmer is the authority for the story that Nancy captured three Tories single-handed. To deliver them to the Whigs she had to cross the Broad River. She gathered her skirts high under one arm, grabbed a gun in the other and waded across the river in a shallow place marching the Tories before her to the Whig Camp. Gilmer gave her this tribute:

Nancy Hart's confident courage stirred into action many vacillating, British-fearing men of the times. When the Whigs of upper Georgia were flying from the murdering and plundering Tories and their superiors, she stood her ground ever disposed and ready to defend herself and

¹⁴ George White, Historical Collections of Georgia, pp.441-442.

hers from her country's foes.¹⁵

Shortly after the battle of New Orleans when the question of placing a painting of that notable event in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington was before Congress a member of Georgia tried to secure an appropriation for a painting of Nancy Hart wading Broad River with the three Tory captives in front of her on her way to Clarke's station. This effort to commemorate her valiant deeds failed but when a new county was laid out in that part of the state in 1856 it was named Hart County in her honor. At first it was proposed to call the county-seat Nancyville but later they decided on Hartwell.¹⁶ While perhaps it would not be possible for Hart County, the state of Georgia, or the United States to be as loyal to the memory of Nancy Hart as her noble character was true to American liberty, however in a measure her memory has been revered and perpetuated in several very substantial ways. Besides the county and county seat being named in her honor, the first locomotive on the Hartwell Railroad was named Nancy Hart. One of the consolidated schools of Hart County has been named for her; also one of the State Highways, Route 77. On a little park in the city of Hartwell stands a granite marker which was unveiled July 19, 1928, to the memory of Nancy Hart.

Nancy Hart Highway
Named by Georgia D.A.R.
John Benson Chapter
March 1928

¹⁵ pp. 111-112.

¹⁶ Cyclopedia of Georgia (Atlanta, 1906), vol. II, p. 230.

About one mile east of Hartwell is a monument which was erected by an appropriation of \$1650 by the United States government to this great patriot of the American Revolution, November 11, 1931.¹⁷

The age that produced such men in Georgia as Elijah Clarke, John Twiggs, Arthur Fort, John Dooly, and others would indeed have been remiss had it not produced equally remarkable women and of these there is none greater than Nancy Hart.

¹⁷ J.W. Baker, History of Hart County, p. 30.

CHAPTER VII.

AMUSEMENTS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GEORGIA.

The fact must be kept in mind that the span of Georgia's eighteenth century existence covered only sixty-seven years. The first twenty years was a life and death struggle and even after it became a royal province, many years passed before a place was found for amusement in this hardy frontier life. The little social life enjoyed in Georgia before the Revolutionary period was centered in the towns settled before 1752.

In Savannah as early as 1764 there was an advertisement in the Georgia Gazette of a meeting of the Georgia Library Society, at the home of Mrs. Mary Smith on Thursday, March first at six o'clock in the evening. This notice was in three issues of this weekly paper. The meeting of this same society was advertised March, the twenty-ninth and April the fifth to meet again on April the eleventh. This is the only evidence to be found of any social activity in this early period outside of those of church and home. Georgia was a frontier colony and sparsely settled.

After the revolution, immigration was extensive. The frontier filled very quickly and was pushed farther west. The towns, already settled, grew rapidly larger. With this great influx of people, the social picture was changed. Mrs. Hillhouse, who emigrated from Massachusetts with her husband, to

Washington, Georgia, just fifty years after Oglethorpe's arrival, wrote to her father, "The inhabitants are very numerous around us tho' but a few in the town but those in the town very compact".¹

Savannah and Augusta were fast becoming cities and with this growth of population, came varied forms of entertainment, cultural and otherwise. A love of music was catered to by many concerts from time to time. This notice appeared in the Gazette of the State of Georgia, February 10, 1785:

Concert

On Tuesday evening, the 15th inst. at the Court House in Savannah will be performed for the benefit of Capt. John Hewill

A concert of Instrumental Musick consisting of violins German flutes, clarinets, French horns, basoon, etc.

Tickets to be had at the New Inn and at the Printing Office at One Dollar each.

The people of Augusta also enjoyed the advantage of being able to attend concerts. This advertisement appeared in the Georgia Gazette or Independent Register, January 5, 1789,

Concert

The subscriber returns his most grateful thanks to his public for their former favors and being about to leave this place, proposes to entertain for the last time the inhabitants of Augusta and its vicinity at the house of Mr. Womersie's.

On Tuesday next The 8th instant with this performance of

A Concert

Vocal and instrumental Music Harpischord,

¹ "Descendants of First Georgia Woman Editor Columbus Citizens", Columbus Enquirer, Sunday, April 23, 1928.

Clarinet, etc., etc., and hopes
Ladies and Gentlemen will favor him
with their company.

To begin precisely at 7 o'clock
Tickets at half a Dollar each or 7 s.
medium may be had either at the
Printing Office or the Subscribers
N.B. Colonels Milton and Martin, Managers
Claude Simon

The concert must have surpassed his fondest hopes for he
advertised another, January 22nd, as positively his last
performance. Often return engagements spoke for the popu-
larity of an entertainment such as the following:

Grand Concert

By Particular Desire

The particulars of which will be
expressed in the Bills of the day

The Public may rest assured
that no pains will be spared to
render the entertainment as agree-
able as the former; As Mr. Goodwin
and Mrs. Decker who have just arrived
will make their first appearance of
this season September 6th.²

Musical concerts were not the only entertainments as
the theater came in for a limited share of attention. This
interesting notice appeared in the Gazette of the State of
Georgia September 15th, 1785:

By Permission

At the theatre in Savannah On
Thursday evening the 22nd inst.
September will be presented for
charitable purposes by a set of
gentlemen the tragedy of

THE ORPHAN OR THE UNHAPPY
MARRIAGE - to which will be added
the celebrated farce of

THE OLD MAID

A Prologue suitable will be delivered.

² Advertisement in Columbian Museum and Savannah
Advertiser, Tuesday, Sept. 6, 1796.

Between the acts Select Pieces
of Musick

Tickets to be had at
Messrs Niotta's and Brice's
Counting House, Johnson's Square
only price 4s. 8 d.

The Door to be opened at Half
past Five o'clock and the Curtain
to rise at Half past Six.

N.B. No person can be admitted
behind the scenes and no money
will be rec'd at the door

Vivat Republica!

Toward the close of the century there was formed in Savannah
and association very similar to the "Little Theatre" of today.
It was known as the Thalian Association. Its activities are
shown in the following notice,

Thalian Association

This institution, having public utility
in view contemplates contributing to the
amusement of the Inhabitants of this city
for a short time.

The Exhibitions of this association
will commence on Saturday the 19th inst.
with the

TRAGEDY OF CATO

Introductory to which will be delivered an
ORATION

Which will develop the principles of the
association and will also be applicable
to the Tragedy; to which will be added a
Musical Entertainment

To be conducted by a number of Gentlemen
of this place

Particulars in the bills of the day
Tickets to be had at the office of
the theatre.³

This venture must have proved very popular, for in the March
5th issue of this newspaper, there was a notice that the
fourth performance was postponed. Also an advertisement
appeared March 22nd, 1799.

³ Advertisement in Columbian Museum and Savannah
Advertiser, January 15, 1799.

Thalian Association
 (The last night but one)
 This evening will be presented the 2nd
 time (by particular request)
 The tragedy of
 THE GAMESTER
 To which will be added
 THE PURSE or BENEVOLENT TAR
 Particulars in the Bills of the day.

The Academic Society offered another form of entertain-
 ment, that of debating on current topics. Of course as on
 the stage, men only did the performing but ladies were invited
 to the performances. A notice appeared in the Georgia
Gazette or Independent Register August 16, 1788,

Academic Society

The society will meet at the Academy
 on Sat. 16th inst. and discuss the
 following question:

"Is it consistent with the
 policy of the American Republic to
 establish a navy?"

The doors will be opened and the
 debates commenced at three o'clock
 precisely. The Society hopes to be
 honored with the company of all
 Ladies and Gentlemen, who may find
 it convenient to attend.

Later they advertised another meeting when the question to
 be debated was, "Would universal toleration in religion be
 consistent with good government?" This is extremely
 interesting in view of the fact that these questions were
 uppermost in the minds of the people all over the country
 in discussion of the constitution.

All the amusements thus far discussed have been in the
 cultural class of entertainment. Of course the greater
 number and variety were of much lighter vein. Of these,

there were exhibitions of marble composition e.g. figures of the late royal family of France advertised in the Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser, Tuesday, March 20, 1798.

Also notice of a waxwork exhibition was in the same paper, to be held for a week beginning January 8, 1799, with admission of half-dollar for grown folks, and children half price. This form of entertainment was very popular and followed the races from town to town. An elephant was first exhibited in New York in 1792. A similar exhibition did not reach Savannah until 7 years later. It was so popular that it remained there from March 22nd to April 10th, 1799. The admission was one-half dollar.

Two very cruel amusements of the time were cock fighting and gander pulling. The first of these needs no explanation but the second will be understood by the following description:

A considerable number of persons of different ages, sexes, sizes and complexions collected from rival towns and country around. But few females were there however, and those few were from the lowest walks of life. A circular path of about forty yards diameter had already been laid out; over which, from two posts about ten feet apart, stretched a rope, the middle of which was directly over the path. The rope hung loosely, so as to allow it, with the weight of a gander attached to it, to vibrate in an arc of four or five feet span, and so as to bring the breast of the gander within barely easy reach of a man of middle stature upon a horse of common size. A hat was now handed to such as wished to enter the list; and they threw into it twenty-five cents each.

This sum was the victor's prize .
 The gander's feet were tied and put
 on the rope. Its neck was greased. Men
 on horse-back rode around the ring
 reaching for the gander's neck. The
 one, who could hold the neck long
 enough to pull the gander from the
 rope, was declared the winner. That
 the neck of the poor gander was always
 broken in the process, took nothing
 from the pleasure of the sport for
 the participants and the on-lookers.⁴

Few women attended such sports as cock-fighting and
 gander pulling but horse racing was very popular with the
 ladies, as well as with the gentlemen. They called it at
 that time, "The Turf". The following is an excellent
 description of a horse race of this time:

Crowds of persons of all ages, sexes,
 conditions, and complexions were seen
 moving toward the booths; some on foot,
 some on horseback, some in gigs, some in
 carriages, some in carts, and some in
 wagons. The carriages (generally filled
 with well-dressed ladies) arranged
 themselves about thirty or forty paces
 from the starting-point, towards the
 centre of the turf. Around these circled
 many young gentlemen, each riding his
 prettiest, whipping, spurring, and curbing
 his horse into the most engaging antics,
 and giving visible token that he thought
 every eye from the carriages was on him, and
 every heart overpowered by his horsemanship.
 As many more plied between the booths and
 carriages, bearing messages, rumors, apples,
 oranges, raisins, lemonade and punch.

"But surely no lady drank the punch!"

"Yes, three of them did; and if I
 know what large swallows mean, they loved
 it too. But they didn't drink long. The
 ladies ought to be informed, however, that
 a countryman passing them observed, "The

⁴ Augustus Longstreet, Georgia Scenes Characters
 Incidents etc. in the First Half Century of the Republic
 (New York, 1860), pp. 151-2. Hereafter referred to as
 Longstreet, Georgia Scenes.

way them women love punch is nothing to nobody!" ... Men, women and children, whites, and blacks were all betting. ... A horse fell and killed his rider. "I declare", said Mrs. Blue, as her carriage wheeled off, "had it not been for that little accident, the sport would have been delightful." ... Men all agreed that they had never witnessed such sport in all their lives.⁵

The most popular amusement of the eighteenth century was dancing. This was true of country as well as of town. Longstreet gives us a delightful description of the dancing of his youth in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Dancing was really, in those days, a merry-making business. Except the minuet, which was introduced only to teach us the graces; and the congo, which was only to chase away the solemnities of the minuet, jovial, heart stirring, foot-stirring amusement. We had none of your mathematical cotillons; none of your immodest waltzes; none of your detestable, disgusting gallopades. The waltz would have crimsoned the cheek of every young lady who attended a ball in my day; and had the gallopade been commenced in the ball-room it would have ended in the street. I am happy to say that the waltz has met with but very little encouragement in Georgia as yet; the gallopade with none. Ye fair of my native land! Ye daughters of a modest race! Blush them away from the soil, which your mothers honored by their example and consecrated with their ashes! Born to woman's loftiest destinies, it ill becomes you to stoop from your high estate to ape the indecencies of Europe's slaves. It is yours to command, not to obey. Let vice approach you in what form she may - as the hand maid of wit and talents, the mistress of courts, or the queen of fashion fail not to meet her with the frown of indignant virtue and the flush of offended modesty. There is a majesty in

⁵ Longstreet, Georgia Scenes, pp. 152-160.

these which has ever commanded her homage. There is a loveliness in these which will ever command the admiration of the world.⁶

The dancing in the city was as different from that of the country in those times as it is today. Fortunately Longstreet has given us a description of both. In the city, he described a ball he attended. Music was furnished by negroes neatly dressed. The band consisted of three performers on the violin, one on the tambourine and one on the triangle. The account is best quoted in part:

The dancing of the ladies was with few exceptions much after the same fashion. I found not the least difficulty in resolving it into the three motions of a turkey-cock strutting, a sparrow-hawk lighting and a duck walking. Let the reader suppose a lady beginning a strut at her own place, and ending it (precisely as does the turkey-cock) three feet nearer the gentleman opposite her; then giving three sparrow-hawk bobs, and then waddling back to her place like a duck, and he will have a pretty correct idea of the dancing. ... There was as little variety in the gentlemen's dancing as there was in the ladies'. Any one who has seen a gentleman clean mud off his shoes on a door-mat has seen nearly all of it; the principal difference being that some scraped with a pull of the foot, some with a push and some with both. ...

The dance was known as a Cotillon. Tickets were drawn for partners and five sets of cotillions could occupy the floor at a time. ... A splendid supper was prepared at 12 o'clock and the young ladies ate almonds, raisins, apples, oranges, jelly, sillabub, custard, candy, sugar plums, kisses and cake, as if they had been owing them an old grudge.⁷

⁶ Longstreet, Georgia Scenes, pp. 160-161.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 168-173.

One of the managers refused to give out the tickets for the dancing, saying that it was quite unfashionable in New York to begin dancing before nine o'clock.

The country dance was quite different. Again Longstreet is the authority. He described a dance which he had attended in one of the frontier counties at the home of a magistrate. This dance began at 10 A.M. The guests began to arrive at 9:30. The girls of the household had been dressed for the occasion since 9 o'clock. The log house had been dismantled of furniture in order to give room for the dancing. The music was furnished by a negro Billy Porter, well-known throughout Georgia, for his handling of the violin. The dance was the republican six-reel. They began as soon as the guests arrived and danced until noon, when the wife of the household with the help of kind neighbors served a dinner on tables set up under the trees. There was plenty of food but it was very plain fare. The young folks hurried through the meal in order to get back to their dancing. When the older folk had finished eating and washing the dishes, they came into the house where the young folks insisted on them taking a round, which they did much to the amusement of the on-lookers. Late in the afternoon the dance wound up with a merry old jig and the company dispersed.⁸ Dancing continued to be the most popular amusement until driven out by the Baptists and Methodists in the early nineteenth century.

⁸ Longstreet, Georgia Scenes, pp. 6-21.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century churches became the centers of social activities especially in the country. They held "sings", which attracted those who could sing, and those who thought they could. Church was often the only recreation enjoyed by the frontier folk - church and the visiting of their neighbors, afterward. The courting of the young people took place on the way to and from church. A revival meeting was looked upon by the young ladies as an opportune time for conquests of the heart. In a letter from a young Georgia girl, lately an emigrant from Virginia to her cousin back home, this fact is brought out:

June 7 A.D. 1790

D^r Cousin

I have this opportunity to write to you. I inform you that I am well at present 'tho I have nothing strange to write. The loss of your company is great. I can inform you that I saw T.G. a few days ago. He was well. I am very sorry you was not at the meeting. I saw a number of young gentlemen but I must inform you that I did not get but Two Sweethearts. If I could see you I could tell you a great long string I hope I shall say before long. Write to me - I have no more - excuse bad writing. Give my compl^{ts} to Miss S.

9
P.C.

⁹ A private collection of letters of Sally Tate Anthony now in possession of Mrs. Edward Flanders, Macon, Georgia. These letters were copied by Miss Anthony and her brother, Milton, and bound in a New York Herald dated May 19, 1803. This is covered on the outside with book muslin. The preface

Evidently the young lady counted the revival meeting a failure because it netted her only two conquests of the heart. Along this line it should be added that weddings were great occasions in those times. They were sumptuous affairs lasting over a period of three or more days. The old customs of "Infairs" were popular where the wedding festivities were transferred to the groom's home. Rich and poor alike gave what they could to make this an occasion to be remembered.

After reading an account of the amusements, one might conclude that the Georgia pioneers had a pretty good time after all, but one must not lose sight of the fact that these pleasures were not universal and that they were to be found sprinkled sparsely through the far greater hardships and struggles of the period.

to this collection is as follows:

"Prefacio!

To the reader: The following Selection of letters are those which I have Rec^d of my associates as well as my answers to them from A.D. 1788. Until the present Date (Being always fond to promote a Social correspondence with my friends) And chiefly for my own satisfaction, I have compiled them in this small Treatise, S.T.A."

Hereafter this collection will be referred to as Anthony Letters.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN IN GEORGIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In the beginning there was little to suggest that Georgia would lead the world in establishing the first college chartered to confer degrees on women. During the first twenty years while Georgia was under the Trustees, little attention was paid to schools or churches. There was a tabernacle and a school in Savannah, and after the colony became a royal province, a church and a school was established at Ebenezer.¹ De. Brahm described culture in America and Georgia as follows:

Natives in America are in general of very "elevated Spirits" but have little education. Some however by reading good authors acquire real knowledge and great wisdom. After acquiring estates they were in easy circumstances and could devote much time to reading and writing. There were some of the European luxuries [sic] such as balls, masquerades, operas and plays.

Almost every house in America has some choice authors, if not libraries. of Religions, Philosophical and Political writers. Booksellers import the newest editions which soon find admirers and purchasers.

The province of Georgia was scarcely settled thirty years before there were three fine libraries in Savannah, the fourth at Ebenezer, the fifth on the Savannah River 96-3/4 miles from the sea.

¹ George Gilman Smith, The Story of Georgia and Georgia People 1732-1860, (Macon, 1900), pp. 35-37. Hereafter referred to as Smith, History of Georgia.

In these libraries were books written in the Caldaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Sirian, Coptic, Malabar, Greek, Latin, French, German, Spanish, Dutch and English.

As De Brahm lived in Georgia at the time, his description must be accepted as authentic but the question arises as to the value of such a library when so few were even able to read English.

Mr. Whitfield's Orphan House was a school as well as a home, therefore it must be mentioned in a discussion of education of this early period. A traveler in America visited this venture because it had stirred up so much comment in Europe. To him we are indebted for a description of this orphans' home. It was a square building of very large dimensions, its foundations and chimneys of brick while the rest of the superstructure was of wood. The whole was laid out in a neat and elegant manner with a kind of piazza work surrounding it which made it a pleasant retreat in summer. The Hall and all its apartments were commodious and prettily furnished. The gardens were very extensive and well-kept. It had in it plants and fruits of almost every clime. The traveler said they were received by the Superintendent, Mr. Barker, a dissenting minister in a genteel and friendly manner. The household was at dinner when they arrived, the whole family at one table. There were,

² De Brahm, History of Georgia, pp. 463 or 437, 464 or 438.

besides Mr. Barker, the schoolmaster and some women, about forty young persons of both sexes dressed very neatly and decently. After dinner they retired, the boys to school and the girls to their spinning and knitting. The visitor said he visited the orphans' home "pre-possess'd with a bad opinion of the institution. I made all the Inquiries I could, and, in short became a convert to the Design".³

A strong financial supporter of Whitfield's experiment was Selina Shirley, countess dowager of Huntingdon. Because of this, she merits especial attention in the history of education in Georgia. This eminently pious lady, second daughter of Washington Shirley, second Earl of Ferrara, was born in 1707. She married Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon by whom she had four sons and three daughters. After a dangerous illness she was impressed with a serious turn of mind and upon her recovery devoted her whole time, fortune, and attention to religion and charity - to the utter astonishment of all the fine ladies of the gay fashionable world. She became a patroness of Mr. Whitfield's and the calvinistic Methodists, in general. She gave a large donation to the Orphans' Home in Georgia and aided Mr. Whitfield considerably in founding the laudable institution. It was said that during her life she appropriated at least £100,000 Sterling for propagation of the gospel and

³ Edward Kimber, Observations in America, reprinted from London Magazine, 1745-6 (Savannah, 1878).

to institutions for the relief of the poor. Her portrait hung in the Orphans' House when she died in 1791.⁴

Whitfield wished to establish a college for the young men of the south. He succeeded in getting the trustees to grant him 2,000 acres of land, in addition to the 1,000 acres he already had for the orphanage, for this purpose. He planned to go to England to get money to build the college, and slaves to cultivate the new lands but he died before his plan materialized. He left his property to his friend, Lady Huntingdon. Soon after his death the orphanage buildings burned. She rebuilt the house but it was never properly established as a college.⁵ Application was made to the trustees to grant Hutchinson's Island, opposite Savannah to Lady Huntingdon, who promised to place negroes on it for cultivation of rice to furnish a substantial and permanent support to the Orphans' House. The proposition was not agreed to but a tract of 500 acres was granted in trust to that lady who stocked it with negroes and at her decease left a large donation for the use of this institution.⁶ All honor and praise are due the memory of this woman, who gave so liberally of her interest and money to Georgia and to the south. Recently a prominent college in Alabama has honored the name of this public-spirited woman by changing its name

⁴ Hugh McCall, The History of Georgia (Savannah, 1811 and 1816 ; reprinted Atlanta, 1909), p. 228.

⁵ Smith, History of Georgia, pp. 64-65.

⁶ McCall, A History of Georgia, p. 146.

to Huntingdon College. Thus we have a picture of the educational facilities of this early period. The opportunities for education were few and women were trained only in the arts of the home, i.e., knitting and spinning.

Until after the Revolution, all of Georgia except the older towns was frontier country. It was impossible to have regular schools under pioneer conditions. The lack of education among the better classes was the result. Many men owning 1,000 acres of land could only sign their names and many of the best women had never spent a day in the school room. Records from the Court of the Ordinary of Wilkes County show that five out of sixteen wills had marks on them instead of signatures. Few women whose signatures were attached to wills before 1811 could read or write.⁷

In inventories of estates from 1777-1783 in Wilkes County, the first five had only four books, valued at 6 shillings; the next four had one entry of books coupled with sleighs both valued at 4 shillings; in the next three, there was but one book - an old testament; in the next three, an entry of one parcel of old books valued at 5 shillings; in the next eight, no mention of books; in the next five, an entry of a prayer-book; in the next three, one entry of an old bible and hymnbook; the next, has an entry of a

⁷ Smith, History of Georgia, p. 182.

parcel of old books valued at 7s. 6d.; next three, no entry of books; then in the next one, tomahawk, prayerbook, and testament; in the next seven, one bible; the next fourteen no books at all.⁸ This is typical in the frontier communities and Wilkes County was settled in the revolutionary period and immediately after. Probably the reason for the scarcity of books was due to the fact that in moving from Virginia and North Carolina, they could bring only the implements for making a living.

Not only was there a lack of schools, teachers and books but there was a strong sentiment against education for women. It was not considered the thing for girls to study Arithmetic. However as the frontier became settled, life was not so hard. People began to have more leisure and "country" schools came into existence on the fringes of civilization, and in the cities many private schools were opened. Sentiment was changing from violent opposition to girls getting an education to mild indifference. The country schools received both boys and girls, for these schools were not established until after the Revolution. In the cities it was the custom to have separate schools but there were some attended by both sexes.

A good description of a country school of 1790 was given by Longstreet in his book, Georgia Scenes.

⁸ Gilmer, Georgians, pp. 180-181.

It was a simple log-pen about twenty feet square, with a doorway cut out of the logs to which was fitted a rude door made of clapboards and swung on wooden hinges. The roof was covered with clapboards also, and retained in their places by heavy logs placed on them. The chimney was built of logs, diminishing in size from the ground to the top, and overspread inside and out with red clay mortar. The classic hut occupied a lonely spot, over-shadowed by majestic hickories towering, poplars and strong-armed oaks.

Pupils in these country schools sat on benches of "puncheons". In Georgia this term meant split logs, with their faces a little smoothed with the axe or hatchet. Their "tools of learning" and the methods by which they were taught were very crude but hardly as bad as Gilmer pictured them when he said, "The preacher and schoolmaster were slow to reach the out-skirt settlements and those who did were drunken Irishmen or dissolute Virginians." Evidently this condition was remedied for later in his book Gilmer spoke very highly of Duncan G. Campbell, a teacher. "He was educated at Chapel Hill. After college graduation he removed to Georgia and settled in Washington, Wilkes County. His first employment was to teach the young ladies of the town the elements of learning."

As would be expected, schools in the cities of Savannah and Augusta had developed before the frontier had been settled. However, schools open to girls taught only needlework, embroidery, music, and possibly dancing. By 1784 sentiment was changing and a study of the "three Rs" was opened to

girls but not Greek and Latin. The advertisement below appeared in the Georgia Gazette Jan. 22nd, 1784.

A School

The subscriber in a former advertisement of his relative to a school, communicated this idea to the public that he proposed to attend to the Greek and Latin Languages chiefly and this of consequence would exclude all females. Such a school was thought by several Gentlemen necessary and that sufficient employment in all probability might be had in this way. But experiment having been fully made, it appears there cannot. The publick are hereby notified that no age or sex will be objected against; and that, according to their ability and inclination such studies shall be particularly attended to as will most conduce to their benefit. Young Ladies may be instructed in Writing, Arithmetick, English Grammar Composition Geography, etc. and proper conveniences provided for their reception. A school will therefore be continued at the Parsonage House in this place if a sufficient number of various ages, of either sex apply by the 2nd day of February next, to the Publick's very humble servant

Samuel Bird

Savannah Jan. 21, 1784.

It would seem that instruction in the simple subjects was opened to girls, not because of demand or ability but because Professor Bird could not exist economically on the tuition of the few males interested in Greek and Latin. In fact this advertisement has all the "ear-marks" of defiance somewhat of this nature, "If there are not enough of you, young gentlemen who desire the doors of the Classics opened to you, then I will turn to that very degrading occupation of teaching young ladies their A B Cs for after all a man

must live". Be this as it may, soon all schools were offering other subjects besides the domestic arts.

That schools were not popular is shown by the many failures of these private ventures. A list of advertisements given below is an example:

A Writing School

Will be opened on Monday next the first day of March at Mrs. Tondée's large house, for instructing the youth of both sexes in this most useful branch of education in the very best manner. I will also teach in the most correct method, the English Grammar, Arithmetick, and Book Keeping at a reasonable rate. A Night School will be kept from 6 - 9 o'clock. Ladies and Gentlemen who do not choose to go to a public school may have private attendance at certain hours. Gentlemen of the Law, Captains of Vessels and others may have their business transacted with accuracy and dispatch. As the utmost attention will be given to the morals of my young pupils, particularly to the female part, I flatter myself of giving general satisfaction.

Dalziel Hunter

Savannah Feb. 25, 1784.

N.B. Boarding for those who live at a distance.¹⁰

What an educational opportunity for all! A day school for girls and boys, a night school for ladies and gentlemen and an opportunity for lawyers and captains and all business men to get their "figering done"! In addition to all of these services, Mr. Hunter offered board to those at a distance and promised to give utmost care to the morals of his pupils "especially the female part". Evidently the people

¹⁰ Advertisement - Georgia Gazette, March 4th and 11th, 1784.

of Savannah were not "thirsting for knowledge" for the school did not materialize. Perhaps the real reason is to be found in the following notice which appeared in the Georgia Gazette, June 3, 1784.

As to a Wife's Character

Savannah, May 31, 1784

Mr. Johnston

Be pleased to insert in your Gazette the following Declaration which will shew the frailty and weakness of human nature and which will, I hope, set in a just and true light a much injured character, and you will oblige your most humble servant.

Dalziel Hunter

An unfortunate circumstance of my getting in liquor the other night (which is of truth the 2nd instance in my whole life) occasioned a very great and scandalous abuse given by me to my wife and to my great shame do I now publicly acknowledge this extreme folly that I have unjustly committed against her character for I declare before God and the world that for these 2 and 1/2 years that I have been married to my wife, I have never found anything unbecoming in her conduct towards me, so as to raise the least degree of jealousy within the breast of

Dalziel Hunter

Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ascalon lest the daughters of the uncircumcised rejoice!

Whether his "unfortunate fall from grace" was caused by the failure of his school or vice versa cannot be said but if the gentlemen was not able to watch over his own morals, how could he hope to guide so carefully those of others? If his teaching were to be judged by the accuracy of his quotation from the Bible given above, it is well that he changed his occupation to that of justice of peace.

At the close of the century the people were evincing much more interest in education. More courses were being opened to young ladies and schools for girls only, were being emphasized. As a result, the schools were more successful. The best example of this is to be found in a series of advertisements of the Sandwich school.

Education

For Young Ladies in Augusta Mrs. Sandwich observing the difficulty attending the education of young ladies and that, when their parents submit to the impropriety of sending them to a boys' school for reading and writing the useful and ornamental needle works are wholly neglected; has therefore opened a school at the late residence of Dr. Montgomery where every branch of education will be taught conformable to the opinion of the celebrated Dr. Rush of Philadelphia.

Six young ladies can be elegantly boarded at 25 guineas per annum and 5 guineas entrance (not a third of the charges to the northward, exclusive of the dangers and expense attending so long a journey).

Day Scholars reading and needle-work for four dollars per quarter, and one dollar entrance, writing and arithmetic two dollars, geography and astronomy two dollars.

Should the school become too numerous for Mrs. Sandwich and her daughter to conduct, teachers of known ability (before she left England) will be engaged.

N.B. The house is at a retired distance, a dry and healthy situation, which, the doctor's long continuance there, must evince. This plan has met such universal approbation that Mr. Sandwich will undertake the scientific branches.¹¹

¹¹ Advertisement in The Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State, March 21, 28, Apr. 4, 1795.

This school was again advertised June 6th, 13th, and 20th, 1795, as having to be enlarged to care for the demand. On July 18th it was further extended to include all ladies who could not attend the Academy in person. Mr. Sandwich offered to take them from 7 to 9 A.M. for one dollar or to go to their homes on Saturdays, when he would teach a group of six pupils for three dollars. By October 1795, the success of the Sandwich Academy was assured.

Education for Young Ladies in Augusta
 Delightful task! to rear the tender thought
 To teach the young idea how to shoot
 And pour fresh instruction over the mind!

Mr. and Mrs. Sandwich have the pleasure of informing their friends and the public, that by the acquisition of Mr. and Mrs. Lubbick, they are enabled to add music and French to the sciences and can now vie with the world in a compleat system of Literature!

Parents and guardians may avoid the danger and expense of a Norward journey, this Academy being opened on the enlarged plan, for boarders and day scholars. Young gentlemen are received and prepared for the Latin classes; Or their education completed in French and English. Mr. S. omits a Latin class whilst the public academy is supplied with a respectable Rector - The boarders will sleep in spacious rooms where constant fires are kept during winter.

This Seminary is so well-established that no further advertisement will be deemed necessary.¹²

¹² Advertisement in The Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State, October 31, 1795.

The Sandwich School had truly arrived for with its enlarged course of study it could now compete with the schools of the north. The custom had grown up of sending children north to be educated. It was born of necessity but long after there was no longer any need, it was the fashionable thing to do and persists today among all southerners of any great wealth. Mrs. Hillhouse,¹³ an emigrant from Massachusetts, believed in higher education for her girls as well as for her boy. She sent her son to New Haven and her two daughters to the old Moravian School for girls in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. This school was then considered by the people of the South to be the best school in the country for young ladies. Now that the Sandwich Seminary and others of similar nature were being established in Georgia they were patronized by the people of the state and soon only the very wealthy went north to be educated.

The growing sentiment for education for women was given voice by a very brilliant young graduate of the University of Georgia in the early nineteenth century. In an address before the Demosthenian and Phi Kappa Societies on the day after Commencement in the University of Georgia, Daniel Chandler said in part:

The praises of Women have been sung in every age; and in all countries where the light of civilization has diffused its blessings her virtues and her worth have had admirers. ... But a spirit as

¹³ Cf. Chap. IV, p. 60.

destitute of liberality, as it is devoid of all native manliness, has too often presided over the customs, manner and legislation, that have fixed and regulated the rights, duties, privileges and obligations of woman. She has been sunk by the force of public opinion beneath the high destiny of her creation. She has been deprived of her natural rights by an arrogant assumption of all superiority. Consigned by the usages of society to the drudgery of domestic employment and constrained by necessity to the performance of duties, in the discharge of which, neither strength of intellect, nor cultivation of mind is required, the opinion has too generally prevailed that she is deficient in intellectual endowments. This impression together with the conviction that there is no necessity to devote either time or attention to the development of her mind or the regulation of its powers has tended to lower the standard of female worth and to expose the sex to the mortification of ignorance and the humiliation of gross inferiority.

And he concluded his speech as follows:

Give the female the same advantages of instruction as the male; afford her the same opportunities for improvement, and she will struggle with the boldest mind, for the mastery in science and in letters, and outstrip in the proud race of distinction many of the favored objects of parental solicitude and legislative bounty. Shall not these advantages be afforded her? The spirit of the age, which seems by the ubiquity of its presence and the greatness of its power to pervade every country, animate every bosom and prosper ever cause is destined soon, I trust, to shed its blessings upon the female mind. In this great work of moral and intellectual illumination will Georgia remain inactive?¹⁴

¹⁴ Daniel Chandler, "An Address on Female Education", (Printed with author's consent by William A. Mercer, Washington, Ga., 1835. A copy of this is in the Wesleyan College Library, Macon, Ga.).

This address was so popular that the Phi Kappa Society had 5,000 copies printed at its expense and distributed throughout the state. This speech had no little influence on the members of the State Legislature who voted at their very next session to grant a charter to a college permitting it to confer degrees on women. And so Wesleyan Female College was founded in 1836 at Macon, Georgia, the first college in the world to confer degrees on women.¹⁵ Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies to be settled, led the whole world in granting to women equal rights in education. Though this victory was won in the nineteenth century, yet the sentiment for women's education was born in the late eighteenth century.

¹⁵"I am here in behalf of women's colleges to affirm that Wesleyan is the first college for women. I am glad to pay honor to the Magna Charta of education for women".
Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, Pres. of Vassar College.
Centennial Address at the Convocation on October 23, 1936. The Wesleyan Alumnae, November 1936, vol. Xli, No. 4.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EVERY DAY LIFE OF THE WOMEN OF GEORGIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The homes of the pioneers of Georgia whether of first settlers in Savannah in 1733, or in Frederica in 1735, or in Augusta in 1737, or in North Georgia in the period from 1770 to 1800, were all very much alike. The first dwellings were likely to be crude log cabins consisting of but one room, which answered the three-fold purpose of dining room, bed room, and kitchen. The logs were handhewn and even when covered by clapboards left very wide cracks in places, where vile toads and venomous serpents found their way into the cabin in summer, and through which winds whipped unmercifully in winter. As prosperity increased, these log cabins gave way to more comfortable houses. Generally the houses of this period were built of the material at hand, which was usually wood. Before the close of the century some of the very lovely homes to be found in the older towns of Georgia had been built by the more prosperous planters of the colony.

The most important feature of these early homes was the fire place for it provided facilities for cooking and heating. Cooking utensils were hung around it and nearby were the spinning wheel and weaving frame, the constant companions of

the industrious housewife. The kitchen was also the dining room. The dishes were wooden or pewter and were placed on shelves near the fire place. Just as the log cabins gave way to better houses, in more prosperous times, so other fire places were added in the new rooms and paper was put on the walls and china substituted in some cases for pewter.

Dr. Crawford Long's grandfather came to Georgia after the revolution. He papered his walls with Continental currency. Later when by Act of Congress it became valuable, it was so firmly attached to the walls that its only worth was its association. An advertisement in the Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser, Tuesday, March 5, 1799, listed, besides other items, "A very neat set of Blue Table China complete, China Teapots, Sugar Dishes. A general Assortment of Queen's Glass ware and Stone Jugs and Jars."

Furniture was made by hand and was very crude. It was not till the late eighteenth century that the prosperous planter or merchant substituted for these crude furnishings some of the ornate and delicate Chippendales or Sheratons. This was not for the typical colonist however, for he was a poor middle-class farmer who hardly aspired to imported chinaware or mahogany. And so it was with food. The so-called "groaning boards" loaded with many varieties of imported foods and wines are mostly figments of the imagination. If these existed at all, they were few. The food of the common people was very monotonous, especially in winter when cornbread and salt meat or fish formed the staples for

their tables. Housewives were nevertheless experts in drying fruits and vegetables in summer for the winter months. The men varied the meats by successful hunting trips. Mrs. Felton of Georgia, the first woman to sit in the United States Senate, wrote in her book Country Life in Georgia in the Days of my Youth, "In summer drying of fruit was diligently pursued. The poor and shiftless alone did not supply their homes with dried peaches, apples, cherries, and pears. My careful grandmother put up bushels of dried white English peaches of which she often made family preserves for home consumption in scarcer springtime".¹

The strenuous outdoor life made the people heavy eaters and in all accounts of this period, the fare is spoken of as coarse and plain but abundant. Drinking was universal throughout the eighteenth century. Mrs. Hillhouse wrote in a letter to her father in New England, "When any public business is done which is often, four to six hundred standing so thick that they look like a flock of black birds and perhaps not one in fifty but what we would call fighting drunk".² Describing a dinner at which she was a guest in Savannah, she wrote, "Our plates were changed seven times and wine glasses five. From this you may well suppose we were all tipsy. However after all the parade not one guest was drunk, except Mr. C. and Mr. Cranston, the Episcopalian

¹ p. 33.

² "Descendants of First Georgia Woman Editor Columbus Citizens", Columbus Enquirer, Sunday, Apr. 23, 1928.

clergymen of this place, who were the only gentlemen present".³
 This shows that drinking was not confined to the men.

Georgia in this period was known for her hospitality. Bartram in his Travels praised the hospitality of the people of Savannah, those of South Georgia, and later those of North Georgia. Longstreet wrote in his Georgia Scenes, "I visited my friend Captain Griffen, who resides about seven miles to the eastward of Wrightsborough; then in Richmond, but now in Columbia County. I reached the captain's hospitable dome on Easter, and was received by him and his good lady with a 'Georgia Welcome' of 1790. It was warm from the heart, and taught me in a moment that the obligations of the visit were upon their side not mine. Such receptions were not peculiar at that time to the captain and his family; they were common throughout the State. Where are they now? And where the generous hospitalities which invariably followed them? I see them occasionally at the contented farmer's door and at his festive board, but when they shall have taken leave of these, Georgia will know them no more".⁴

The home and all connected with it centered around the wife. In order to show all that was expected of her, the long description that Longstreet has given of the wife of his brother is quoted below:

³ "Descendants of First Georgia Woman Editor Columbus Citizens", Columbus Enquirer, Sunday, April 23, 1928.

⁴ p. 94.

His wife was one of the most lovely of women. She was pious but not austere; cheerful but not light; generous, but not prodigal; economical, but not close; hospitable, but not extravagant. In native powers of mind she was every way my brother's equal; in acquirements she was decidedly his superior. To this I have his testimony as well as my own; but it was impossible to discover in her conduct anything going to show that she coincided with us in opinion. To have heard her converse you would have supposed she did nothing but read; to have looked through the departments of her household you would have supposed she never read. Everything which lay within her little province bore the impress of her hand or acknowledged her supervision. Order, neatness, and cleanliness prevailed everywhere. All provisions were given out with her own hands, and she could tell precisely the quantity of each article that it would require to serve a given number of persons, without stint or wasteful profession. In the statistics of domestic economy she was perfectly versed. She would tell you, with astonishing accuracy, how many pounds of cured bacon you might expect from a given weight of fresh pork; how many quarts of cream a given quantity of milk would yield; how much butter so much cream; how much of each article it would take to serve so many persons a month or a year. Supposing no change in the family, and she would tell to a day when a given quantity of provisions of any kind would be exhausted. She reduced to certain knowledge everything that could be; and she approximated to it as nearly as possible with those matters that could not be. And yet she scolded less and whipped less than any mistress of a family I ever saw. The reason is obvious. Everything under her care went on with perfect system. To each servant were allotted his or her respective duties, and to each was assigned the time in which those duties were to be performed. During this time she suffered them not to be interrupted, if it was possible to protect

them from interruption. Her children were permitted to give no orders to servants but through her, until they reached the age at which they were capable of regulating their orders by her rules. She laid no plans to detect her servants in theft, but she took great pains to convince them that they could not pilfer without detection; and this did she without betraying any suspicions of their integrity. Thus she would have her biscuits uniformly of a size, and, under the form of instructions to her cook, she would show her precisely the quantity of flour which it took to make so many biscuits. After all this, she exposed her servants to as few temptations as possible. She never sent them to the larder unattended if she could avoid it, and never placed them under the watch of children. She saw that they were well provided with everything they needed with everything they needed, and she indulged them in recreation when she could. No service was required of them on the Sabbath further than to spread the table and to attend it; a service which was lightened as much as possible by having the provisions of that day very simple and prepared the day before.⁵

This is a picture of the ideal wife and gives rise to doubt that anyone person could do so much but surprisingly enough, she did even more. She was the soap-maker of the home making it from meat scraps and bones utilized for the purpose and cooked with lye drained in ash-hoppers. Everything to eat and to wear that could be grown at home, was diligently cultivated. Wool and flax were spun and woven into cloth by the women of the household. Silk culture had existed until 1750 but the use of cotton was handicapped until the gin was invented in the late eighteenth century. Women made

⁵ pp. 82-83.

all the wearing apparel of the household from the cloth woven in the home, for themselves, for the men and for a very large slave family. They also knitted men's socks (they usually went sockless in summer). "Coverlids" were also woven by hand and innumerable quilts made, which served as bed covering, for comforts were not known at that time.

Besides all this indoor work women had such duties as superintending all dairying activities. Bartram wrote that when he visited northeast Georgia in 1776 he found the wife at the cow-pen superintending slaves - women, boys, and girls - milking forty cows. The wife and servants took the milk to the dairy. He learned that they made only enough butter and cheese for the plantation family with enough milk for the "big house" and the slave family.⁶ Daughters were taught very early how to superintend all these activities. Gardening was also left to the women as well as the raising of poultry and pigs. They had to raise geese for feathers for beds as mattresses were not known then. There was plenty of work to do and the wonder is how women ever did all they were supposed to do. Truly it could be said,

"Man's work is from sun to sun
Woman's work is never done".

Not all of the duties of women were as monotonous as the ones described. Most of their own dresses were made in

⁶ p. 317.

home but keeping up with the fashions as they reached their particular neighborhood took the drudgery out of this task. A few of the very wealthy ordered their dresses from London, Paris, New York, or Charleston and the "moderately well-to-do" purchased silk dress patterns and had a mantua-maker copy some of the dresses she had in stock in her shop. But the greater number of women made their own dresses at home, according to the latest styles to reach them. As a result the styles in the country were usually far behind those of the cities. Longstreet has a delightful description of the country girls' attire at a dance, in his Georgia Scenes.

They were attired in manufactures of their own hands. The refinements of the present day in female dress had not even reached our republican cities at this time; and, of course, the country girls were wholly ignorant of them. They carried no more cloth upon their arms or straw upon their heads than was necessary to cover them. They used no artificial means of spreading their frock-tails to an interesting extent from their ankles. They had no boards laced to their breasts, nor any corsets laced to their sides; consequently, they looked, for all the world, like human beings, and could be distinctly recognized as such at the distance of two hundred paces. Their movements were as free and active as nature would permit them to be.

The attire of the city girls is given in this account by inference. Fashions were often brought to a neighborhood by letter. In a letter from Philadelphia to a friend in Georgia the styles are described as follows,

⁷ p. 14.

I want to pretend to mention the fashions of the city for frock dresses very plain before short waisted very short sleeves and very long trails some dark dresses with white sleeves the frock has buttons behind A belt to go around the waist and the bonnets are trimmed with some bands with a bo at the side before and brought across the crown the bonnets are some crape some split straw some lincorn our ladies dresses very thin and bare. Tell the gentlemen their jackets are very short their pantaloons under arms their hair all sticking upon their heads and they try to look as rakish as possible in fact makes fools of themselves. I have given you a small sketch of the fashions.⁸

Fashions were as fickle then as today for this same lady later sent another report,

As the fashion we make all the dresses very long waisted with very short skirts trains are entirely out of fashion We also trim these with two sorts of trimming by the names of plat and laps the fall fashions for hats has been a very large leghorn hat with little or no trimming the winter fashion I can say nothing about not having seen any as yet last winter Beaver with velvet coat of same colour as the hat were all the rage.⁹

On June 13, 1789, the Augusta Chronicle and Advertiser carried this advertisement,

New Fashions from Paris
for the Ladies

The only variety since our last, appears in these following dresses

First: A plain celestial new satten gown with white satten petticoat On the

⁸ Anthony Letters

⁹ Ibid.

neck a very large Italian gauze handkerchief with satten border stripes The head dress is a "pouf" of gauze in the form of a globe the "creneaux" or head piece of which is made of white satten having a double wing in large plaits and trimmed with a large wreath of artificial roses which fall from the left at top to right at bottom in front and behind contrary

The hair is dressed all over in detached curls four of which in two rows fall on each side of the neck and behind it is relieved in a floating chignon.

Only one of the three dresses advertised is quoted. This is given to show that even at this early date Paris was setting the styles.

Not all of the goods for "my lady's wardrobe" were manufactured in the home for as early as 1768 the following imported cloths were advertised for sale: Irish linens, Glasgow and Manchester cheques, Holland cheques, Oznaburge, calicoes and chintzes. Silk was imported also but was very expensive. Jewelry was quite popular with the gentlemen as well as the ladies. The following assortment of jewelry was imported from England in 1768:

Ladies fine garnet ear rings, fine paste ditto, marcasite ditto, and garnet hair pins, men's breast buckles of differnet kinds, ladies' fashionable stone and plain ring, garnet hoop ditto, stone sleeve buttons, stone shoe and knee buckles, fine paste ditto Carnelian seals, gold wires for the ears, instruments pocketbooks of newest fashion, garnet necklaces, stone ditto with ear rings, garnet sleeve buttons set in gold, ladies watch chains, silver watches, silver hilted swords.¹⁰

¹⁰ Advertisement in the Georgia Gazette, October 19, 1768.

This importer was a keen businessman in that he catered to all classes. The wealthy could buy the real jewels and those of moderate means could satisfy their love of the beautiful by buying the paste. It speaks well of the honesty of this early period that the merchant would advertise that some of the jewels were only imitation. Another interesting advertisement appeared in 1795, offering one guinea reward for the return of a lady's miniature on ivory set in gold.¹¹

Medical knowledge was very limited and as a result the doctors usually did more harm than good. The chief remedies were cathartics and bleeding. If the patient survived these then he was subjected to a whole array of home remedies ranging from sulphur and molasses for spring fever to sheep-saffron for the ague. The wonder is that the death rate was not higher. Good health seemed to be news as so many of the private letters of the period opened with some such statement as, "I have with great difficulty taken my pen in hand once more to let you know that I am well, hoping that these few lines will meet with your Dear self in like health."¹² In a letter from a father to his daughter, he wrote, "We are all well at present but your your mother who is ill with the fever taken last night."¹³

¹¹ Advertisement in Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State, April 18, 1795.

¹² Anthony Letters.

¹³ Ibid.

Other diseases spoken of in these letters were colds, coughs, measles, yellow fever, smallpox, and fixed consumption.

Death seemed to be expected as one writer said, "people here are dropping into eternity every day".^{13a}

After the revolution, as has already been explained, north Georgia was settled very quickly by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina. These pioneers kept in as close touch as possible with those whom they had left behind. They wrote letters at every opportunity and fortunately some of these escaped the fate of most valuable documents in the South during the War between the States. These letters give a good idea of the customs and conditions of the people of the post-revolution period. There were no regular mails. They had to await a "favourable opportunity" to write. Often a letter-writer made this statement, "I have an opportunity to send this by John - etc." One man writing to his niece reprimanded her for not writing and named several persons by whom she could have sent him a letter, as well as by the Virginia Troop. Considering the difficulties, people wrote with surprising frequency. This seems to indicate that travelers were very numerous. One letter mentioned a stage coach but from the letter, it seems that the territory covered by it was very limited. A report of a journey given in another letter gave the method of transportation from Savannah to Philadelphia, the slow progress and the hazards of the trip.

Throughout this whole collection of Anthony Letters the deep interest in religion is shown by old and young alike. A great revival is described where many people "went down into the water" A maiden aunt wrote her niece to "shun young company and to read and think only of religion. She presented her thoughts and theories on religion which shows that women as well as men were interested in theology. Scarcely a letter in this collection failed to make some mention of God or religion which proves that there was a deeper spiritual feeling than one would judge when the emphasis is placed on church as the place where the courting of the period was carried on.

In this collection are to be found many love letters. These show that the young people of that day were not at a loss in the expression of depth of feeling. Read a portion of one of these letters - written January 4, 1788.

I am a little surprised at your not writing to me to let me know whether I am spending my time in vain or not. You are the only one that whom I Doth adore. Your animate looks both charmed my Eyes so that your Denial will Sink me into absolute Despair, these lines come as no make-game of Diversion they came from the bottom of my heart which cupit hath surely wounded excuse my boldness this when Said in the instant of snatching small favours means I am sounding the channel to See how you will take small libertys. If you excuse this I shall have room I hope, to proceed to greater there are few women who would not sooner forgive an excess of boldness than an excuse of modesty I must confess that I love you infinitely above all the creatures that I ever beheld

with my eyes. I hope you will not
 let me languish and die: Dear lovely
 I hope you will write to me, either
 a denial or incouragement & let me
 not spend my labour in vain. If you
 do right give the letter to Cousin C.T.
 & no doubt but I shall get it with
 safety. Pray Write by the first
 opportunity I have no more at present:
 Only remain your Dutiful lover until Death.¹⁴

If the writer considered such an ardent declaration
 "small libertys", what would a favorable reply call forth?
 The men were lavish in their praises of women, especially
 before marriage. There is a series of love letters in this
 group in which the lady is addressed as "Resplendent Nymphth"
 before marriage and after as "Dear Mrs." The general order
 of things in that day seemed to be that before marriage the
 lady was the recipient of extravagant praise but after
 marriage her duty was to flatter her Lord and Master and
 constantly prove to him that he was the wiser of the two;
 to make him into a sort of God, venerated by his neighbors
 and respected by his household and servants. In this way,
 she was able to control him and his decisions without his
 having the slightest suspicion of this state of affairs.
 Truly woman ruled as well as reigned, "Queen of the Home",
 but at what a fearful cost!

¹⁴ Anthony Letters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCE MATERIAL

A. BOOKS

- Bartram, William, Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, The Cherokee Country, The Exclusive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy And the Country of the Choctaws containing an Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians. London: James and Johnson, 1791.
- Carroll, B.R. Historical Collections of South Carolina embracing many Rare and Valuable Pamphlets and other Documents relating to the History of that State From Its Discovery to the Independence in the Year 1776. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Bros., 1836.
- Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Vols. I to VI. Savannah: Published by The Georgia Historical Society; printed by Braid & Hutton, 1901.
- Davidson, Grace R. Early Records of Georgia. Macon: J.W. Burke & Co., 1932.
- Gilmer, George. Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia of the Cherokees and the Author. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854.
- Lee, F.D. & Agnew, J.L. Historical Records of Savannah. Savannah: J.H. Estill, 1869.
- Longstreet, Augustus Baldwin. Georgia Scenes, Characters, Incidents, Etc., in the First Half Century of the Republic By a Native Georgian. Second Edition. New York: Harper & Bros., 1860
- McCall, Captain Hugh. The History of Georgia Containing Brief Sketches of the Most Remarkable Events Up to the Present Day. Atlanta: reprinted by A.B. Caldwell, 1909. (This is a reprint not a revision. The 1st volume of McCall's History was published in 1811, the 2nd in 1816. Both of these are in this volume just as it was printed 98 years ago.)

- Sherwood, Adiel, A Gazeteer of the State of Georgia. Charleston: Peter Force, 1837.
- Sibbald, George, Notes and Observations. Augusta: William J. Bruce, 1801.
- Tailfer, Patrick, A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia. Charles Town: P. Timothy, 1741.
- The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia. Compiled by Allen D. Candler under the authority of the Legislature. Atlanta: The Franklin Printing & Publishing Co., 1904, Vols. I to XXVI.
- The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia. Vol. II, 1778-1785. Compiled by Allen D. Candler under authority of the Legislature. Atlanta: The Franklin-Turner Co., 1908.
- White, George, Historical Collections of Georgia. New York: Pudney & Russel, 1855.
- _____, Statistics of Georgia, Savannah: W. Thorne Williams, 1849.

B. PAMPHLETS.

- An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America From its First Establishment. London: Force Collection, 1741.
- A Brief Account of the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia under General James Oglethorpe, Feb. 1, 1733. Washington: P. Force, 1835. Extracts from South Carolina Gazette, November 25, 1732 - July 14, 1733.
- A Description of Georgia by a Gentleman there Seven Years and One of the First Settlers. London: C. Corbett, 1741.
- Best, William, A Sermon Preached Before the Honorable Trustees For Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America and the Association of the late Reverend Dr. Bray at Their Anniversary Meeting, March 18, 1741-2. London: Innys, 1742.
- Kimber, Edward, Itinerant Observations in America. Reprinted from the London Magazine. Savannah: J.H. Estill, 1878.
- Martyn, Benjamin, Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia. London: W. Meadows, 1733.

- Martyn, Benjamin. An Impartial Inquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia. London: W. Meadows, 1741.
- Stephans, William. A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia Beginning October 20, 1737. London: W. Meadows, 1742.
- Wesley, John. An Extract from Reverend Mr. John Wesley's Journal. Bristol: S. & F. Farley, 1742.

C. MANUSCRIPTS.

Georgia Department of Archives, Atlanta, Ga.

- Biographical Georgia Scrap Book, No. 32, 1928.
- Bonds, Bills of Sale, Deeds of Gift, Powers of Attorney, 1761-1765.
- Colonial Will Book A.
- Colonial Will Book AA.

Georgia History, an abstract from the "Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America" made by John William Gerard de Brahm, circa 1773 and 1774. Copy from British Museum, King's Library, Vol. 197. This has been privately printed as, History of the Province of Georgia, for the editor, George Wymberley Jones. The impression was limited to 40 copies. There is a copy in the Rare Book Room at the Congressional Library.

Marriage Settlement in Trust: Henry Yonge, the younger, and Mary Powell, May 17, 1768.

The Colonial Records of Georgia, Vol. XXVII. This volume has not yet been published.

Congressional Library.

The Bosomworth Controversy. Mss. No. 2 Georgia, 1743-1759.

Private Collection.

The Anthony Letters. This is a collection of letters of Sally Tate Anthony. It is now in the possession of Mrs. Edward Flanders, Macon, Georgia. These letters are bound in copy of the New York Herald, dated May 19, 1803, covered with book muslin. They are dated from 1788 to 1812.

D. NEWSPAPERS.

Charleston, South Carolina.

The South Carolina Gazette, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1760.

Savannah, Georgia.

The Georgia Gazette, 1763-1770; 1783-1785.

Gazette of the State of Georgia, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787.

Georgia State Gazette or Independent Register, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789.

Georgia Gazette, 1790, 1791.

Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799.

Augusta, Georgia.

The Georgia State Gazette or Independent Register, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789.

Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State, 1789 to 1795.

Washington, Georgia.

The Monitor, August 20, 1806.

SECONDARY MATERIAL

A. BOOKS

Baker, John W. History of Hart County, Atlanta: Foote & Davis, 1933.

Benson, Mary Sumner. Women in 18th Century America, New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

Biographical Souvenir of the States of Georgia and Florida. Chicago: F. A. Battey & Co., 1889.

Butts, Sarah Harriet. The Mothers of Distinguished Georgians of the Last Half of the Century. New York: J.J. Little & Co., 1902.

Coulter, Ellis Merton. A Short History of Georgia. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

- Cyclopaedia of Georgia, Vol. II. Ed. by Ex-Gov. Allan D. Candler and Gen. Clement A. Evans. Atlanta: State Historical Association, 1906.
- Dexter, Elisabeth Anthony. Colonial Women of Affairs. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1931.
- Ellet, Elizabeth F. The Women of the American Revolution, Vol. II, Second Edition. New York: Baker & Scribner, 1848.
- Erle, Alice Morse. Colonial Dames and Good Wives. Boston: Houghton & Mifflin Co., 1895.
- Felton, Rebecca Latimer. Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth. Atlanta: Index Publishing Co., 1919.
- Folsom, Montgomery. Scraps of Song and Southern Scenes. Atlanta: C.P. Byrd, 1889.
- Harris, Joel Chandler. Georgia from Invasion of DeSoto to Recent Times. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896.
- Jones, Charles C. The History of Georgia. Boston: Houghton & Mifflin Co., 1883.
- _____, History of Savannah, Georgia. Syracuse
D. Wisor & Co., 1890.
- Knight, Lucian Lamar. Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials, and Legends. Atlanta: Byrd Publishing Co., 1913-14, 2 Vols.
- McCain, J.R. Georgia as a Proprietary Province. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1917.
- Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. V. Ed. by Justin Winsor. Boston: Houghton & Mifflin Co., 1887.
- Smith, George Gilman. The Story of Georgia and Georgia People, 1732-1860. Macon: G.G. Smith, 1900.
- Stevens, William Bacon. A History of Georgia. Savannah: W.T. Williams, 1847. 2 Vols.
- Woody, Thomas. A History of Women's Education in the United States. Vol. II. New York: The Science Press, 1929.

B. PAMPHLETS

- Coulter, E.M. Mary Musgrove, "Queen of the Creeks". Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1927. Reprinted from the Georgia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. I, March, 1927.

DeRenne, George Wymberley Jones. Observation on Dr. Stevens' History of Georgia. Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1849.

Drake, Samuel G. Early History of Georgia Embracing the Embassy of Sir Alexander Cumming to the Country of the Cherokees in the Year 1730. Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1872.

C. GEORGIA BAR ASSOCIATION REPORTS

(listed chronologically)

Matthews, Hon. H.A. "The Property Rights of Married Women: Is Additional Legislation Needed?" (A paper read before the 8th annual meeting of the Georgia Bar Association in Columbus, May 20, 1891) Atlanta: Jas.P. Harrison & Co., 1891.

Bleckley, Hon. L.E. "The Future of Women at the Georgia Bar". (A paper read before the Georgia Bar Association at its annual meeting in Rome, Ga., July 6, 1893). Atlanta: The Franklin Printing & Publishing Co., 1894.

Peeples, Hon. H.C. "Women Under the Law"

Branham, Hon Joel. "The Emancipation of Women in Georgia". (Papers read before the 31st annual session of the Georgia Bar Association at Tybee Island, Georgia, June 18-20, 1914). Macon: J.W. Burke Co., 1914.

Park, Hon. Orville. "The History of Georgia in the 18th Century". (A paper read before the 38th annual session of the Georgia Bar Association at Tybee Island, Georgia, June 13, 1921). Macon: J.W. Burke & Co., 1921.

D. NEWSPAPERS

Columbus, Georgia.

Columbus Enquirer, April 23, 1928.

Atlanta, Georgia.

The Atlanta Journal, January 1, 1939.