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**UNIVERSITY OF  
GEORGIA**

**Franklin College of  
Arts and Sciences**

*Department of Anthropology*

*Laboratory of Archaeology*

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA  
LABORATORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY SERIES  
REPORT NO. 10



OCONEE: TEMPORARY BOUNDARY

BY  
CAROLINE C. HUNT

1973

EDITED BY MARGARET CLAYTON RUSSELL



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## PREFACE

My purpose in pursuing the historical study of the proposed Lake Wallace Reservoir area on the Oconee River was to locate as precisely as possible the historic sites to be inundated by the hydroelectric project; to discover what historic events took place at the sites and what their importance was in relation to the history of Greene, Morgan, and Putnam Counties, Georgia history, the history of the South and of the United States; and to determine as far as possible what physical remains might be found by investigation of the sites. I was interested in doing this because this is my home territory and these are my people. I feel personally involved not only in what goes on now and what will occur in the future, such as the construction of the Wallace Dam and the changes it will bring to the adjacent communities, but also in the people and and events of the past which have made this area what it is today.

Morgan County does not have a county history, nor does Putnam County. The History of Greene County was published after the death of Dr. Rice and gives few sources. As a member of several historical societies, I was interested in putting together a history of Morgan County, and I had done research for the preparation of several papers about Morgan County history. I had also done a little genealogical research for myself and a few other people in Greene and Morgan Counties and at the Georgia Department of Archives and History. As chairman of the Morgan County Civil War Centennial Committee, I had helped in the microfilming of thousands of Morgan County family papers which were not limited to the Civil War period. I had available a fine collection of Georgia histories, and many personal contacts with knowledgeable people in the area and acquaintance with many professional historians and archivists who were most willing and cooperative in helping me gather the facts I needed.

It would be hard to say how long the study took. I actually started research on the present paper when I began to read the Inferior Court Minutes of Morgan County and to re-read the sections of Gilmer's Georgians and White's Historical Collections and Statistics which dealt with people and places along the Oconee and to re-read Hays' Hero of Hornet's Nest. But in childhood I had heard Judge Park himself tell about Jefferson Davis at Park Mill. I am a descendant of Benjamin Fitzpatrick and had heard since childhood that he and his brothers had been the first settlers of Morgan County and knew about his grave near the river. Curtwright and Howell of Curtwright Manufacturing Co. were the brothers of my great-great-grandparents Samuel and Barbara Howell Curtwright, and years ago I had found and copied the records concerning the incorporation of their manufacturing company. I had corresponded with Dr. Goff about the Old Okfuskee Path and the Seven Island Road when the Morgan County Civil War Centennial Commission erected a historical marker on U. S. Highway 441 where the old stage coach road cuts across the federal highway and is visible. He was a friend of my parents. Dr. Alexander Means taught my grandfather and he saw his working electric dynamo and light-bulb. I know Dr. Means' grandchildren and have been doing research on him for the United Methodist Church. It is hard to tell how much research time was saved by my lifetime of acquaintance with and interest in the area and its people.

In addition to reading, my husband and I took several Saturday and Sunday afternoons to drive hundreds of miles on all the highways and country roads on



both sides of the river in the area to be inundated from the bridge on Georgia Highway 15 on the north to the bridge on Georgia Highway 16 on the south. In addition, I floated down the Oconee from the Federal Highway 278 bridge to Park's Mill and this was invaluable to me in deciding where Fort Phillips was. We also walked over many areas looking for house sites, old roads, and other landmarks. These trips helped me pinpoint where I think the Revolutionary battle in the cane swamp at the Big Shoals took place. It also helped me to feel more at home with the lay of the land as I read the documents and to see the places where names in the records still occur on the site today. The most concentrated search of the records I carried out between March 1971 and August 1971 when I spent every Wednesday in the Georgia Department of Archives and History and half a day a week at least in either the Morgan or Green County Court House. In between, I borrowed all the books that were available on Inter-Library Loan from the Uncle Remus Regional Library which were not in their regional collection or the personal libraries of myself, my family and my friends. The writing I did mostly in the month of August, when I wrote about six hours a day several days each week, completely re-writing the manuscript twice to revise and incorporate the new material which I compiled during that time.

I am indebted to many people: to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Candler who very graciously allowed me to use their collection of Georgia histories, and to Mrs. J. H. Elliott, who did the same thing, since her collection filled out the gaps in the Candler library of Georgia history; to the Uncle Remus Regional Library for the use of its resources in Georgia and American history, and especially to Mrs. Frank Fitch and Mrs. J. C. Park who obtained books on Inter-library loan for me; to the Georgia Department of Archives and History, and especially Miss Carroll Hart who took a personal interest in the project since she is a Madisonian and her family are pioneers of Greene and Morgan Counties; and Miss Ruth Corry who went out of her way to be helpful and encouraging; to the Georgia Surveyor General Department which made available to me Dr. John Goff's papers as well as its copies of maps and plats of land grants on the Oconee, and especially Mrs. Pat Bryant and Mr. Marion Hemperley, who were most helpful; to the Emory University Library, Special Collections, and especially Mr. David Estes, for help in studying its collection of Georgia maps; to Mr. T. M. Forbes of Atlanta, former executive secretary of the Georgia Cotton Textile Manufacturers' Association, for information about the history of cotton manufacturing in Georgia, and also to Mr. Floyd C. Newton, of Griffin, president of the Association, for his cooperation; to Mr. Fred White of Park's Mill for the use of his books relating to Park's Mill and help in locating places along the Oconee; to Mrs. Herschel Huff and her uncle for helping me to identify the site of Vernon and the first court house in Morgan County; to Mrs. Francis Fears, Ordinary of Morgan County, and Mr. Joseph D. Baldwin, Clerk of the Court of Morgan County, who were unfailingly enthusiastic in their assistance; to Mr. and Mrs. William Caldwell of the Office of the Clerk of the Court of Greene County, who were most helpful; to Mrs. Lawrence Cross of Madison who helped me find material and was a companion in several cross-country and downriver jaunts on the trail of our pioneer ancestors (she is an Archibald and Davis Gresham descendant); to Dr. J. C. Bonner of Milledgeville who made suggestions and offered encouragement and to Dr. Joseph Caldwell who had confidence that I could do the job he wanted done even if I was "an amateur who has never published anything", and Mrs. Mary Jewett who had similar confidence that I



could carry out this project, since we had worked together on a variety of projects over a long period of years; and most especially to my husband - if he had not had to have all his upper teeth capped I could never have spent all those days in the Archives in Atlanta - I won't say he was patient, but he was certainly long suffering in the cause; and my son, Lowry Hunt, Jr., who went along on the canoe trip down the river; and many others who talked with me and gave me useful hints.

I do not consider that this is a finished production. One year is hardly sufficient for research to cover such a long period in such a big area which is so rich in history and historic sites, especially since the resources are so scattered and those available are frequently not indexed. There were insufficient funds to go to Duke University, where the earliest Greene County records are to be found, or to Spain where the Spanish Archives seem to have a very interesting collection of which the published excerpts have thrown much light on the area, or to the University of Michigan which seems to have good resources on the area. There was insufficient time to go to Putnam County more than two or three times, and I was unable even to start on the records there. I did go over the papers of Mr. Dennis Reid in the Putnam County Branch of the Uncle Remus Regional Library and visit Reid's Ferry and many old roads along the river. Any mistakes of fact or interpretation are my own, and the fault of no one else. I am continuing research on the project and hope eventually to fill it out in more detail. I am especially interested in the people. I hope to do a paper for the Georgia Genealogical Society on some of them. But the most amusing and interesting thing about the people is that their descendants today are so like their forebears of yesterday. I was telling one of the Carsons, who had never even heard about Adam Carson, the story of Fort Defiance, and her comment was, "Doesn't that sound just like a Carson!". And it did, too! One of the characters in "The Fox Hunt" by A. B. Longstreet was a Reid, and he sounds very much like some of the Reids living and dead whom I have known. My husband described a man who lives near the Forks of the Oconee and Apalachee, and he sounded just like some of the people in The Georgia Scene. Family relationships, the stability as well as the change in population, all are most interesting. In talking about the material with junior high school classes, some of the liveliest response was from Negro children, who were interested in their slave Colonial and Revolutionary forebears and their lives. One of the interesting sidelights was where the Negro family names came from. The names of former slaveholders are preserved by Negro surnames in the County where the white families emigrated away from the county generations ago. This is true of the Rileys, Taylors, Mapps and a number of others. There are also corruptions of name spelling and pronunciation which distinguish white from Negro in surnames, but which are drawn from the same original source. All of these provide an endless variety of by-ways to pursue research connected with the history of the area I hope I can continue with some of these.

Caroline C. Hunt



## I. The Colonial Period

From time immemorial the Indians had a trail which crossed the Oconee and Apalachee Rivers a short distance above the confluence. This was a major East-West passage through the Southeast, and when European traders began to use it late in the seventeenth century, it became known as the Upper Creek Trading Path or the Old Oakfuskee Path. Oakfuskee Town was an important Creek center in what is now Alabama; and beyond it, the trail stretched even farther westward to the Mississippi River. When English settlements were established in South Carolina, a heavy traffic of traders and their goods, six hundred traders a year, according to Louise Frederick Hays in Hero of Hornet's Nest (1), pushed along this trail into the interior of the continent and to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The Spanish and French, too, were active in trade along the trail, usually farther to the west, but there are evidences of their presence along the Oconee as well.

The earliest map which I have seen which shows the northern stretch of the Oconee River, including its confluence with the South Fork, called by the Indians Tulapoche, and later named the Apalachee, is the reproduced in Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors (2), which shows the route of Colonel James Moore along the Upper Trading Path during the Yamasee War in 1715. Besides its early date, this map is interesting, moreover, in that it shows "Oconerys 70 men" on the east side of the river, and the river takes its name from the presence of this town on its banks. Another early map in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan shows "The Creek Path" crossing the Oconee above the confluence with the Apalachee (3). According to Dr. John H. Goff, who did considerable research on Georgia Indian trails and stage coach routes, it was an unusual circumstance for an Indian trail to cross two rivers above the confluence. He gives the following account (4):

The Upper and Lower Creek Trading Paths "were the oldest, longest, and most important, economically speaking, of the noted wilderness thorough-fares that stemmed from Augusta. Also, because of the manner in which they were affected by the Fall line area, they are perhaps of especial interest...

"The two trails were first used by white traders some 250 years ago for reaching the important Creek Indian settlements on the Chattahoochee, Tallapoosa and Coosa Rivers of western Georgia and east central Alabama... The traces left Augusta on the same course, following almost identically the route of today's U. S. 78 or Georgia 12 ...

"The upper way mounted to the Piedmont Uplands, whereas the lower trace skirted the southern fringe of the Fall Line Belt. Its fording spots on the Oconee River were the shoally areas where the streams flowed over the lowest edges of the granitic formations of the Piedmont...

"There were several crossovers from one path to another... Then links usually sloped from the northeast to the southwest. Existence of these connections leaves the impression that travellers sometimes used a part of one trail and then a portion of the other according to wet or dry weather.



"The upper path... had a right fork that ran through Greensboro to a point immediately above the juncture of the Oconee and the Apalachee. After fording both streams this way then veered northwestward through Buckhead and Madison to become the noted Hightower Trail."

In a note he adds, "The trail crossed above the union of the two rivers. This double fording was not common. Indian fords where streams united were usually below the juncture, presumably to gain the advantage of one crossing."

In a further note he adds, "West of the Oconee to Murder Creek, the trail takes the name Chattochuccohatchee Path..., the Muskogee name for the present Murder Creek."

He also refers in the same article to the "Bull" Map, which, he says, is marked, "The Course Capt. Welch took in ye year 1698, since followed by ye Traders."

Louis Le Clerc Milfort in his Memoirs (5), also speaks of this double crossing on the trail when he describes his first journey into the Creek country. "Ready for anything that could happen to me, I traveled on for two more weeks (from Tugalo) which were very difficult, because I was obliged to swim across, on my horses, several rivers, such as the Big and the Little Oconi."

A later traveler on the trail also tells of falling into the swollen Apalachee River when he attempted to cross.

The Indian trail was also followed by settlers who began moving along it into the rich hunting grounds on both banks of the river many years before the lands had been ceded by the Indians. In 1749, Mary Musgrove Bosomworth, who had a trading post at the confluence of the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers, was complaining that the Georgians had invaded the Creek lands, for the trader Clement in violation of treaties had established a store on the Oconee River deep in Creek country (6), and there were illegal traders, whose names she gave, wandering all over the woods (7).

In a journal of a journey by Thomas Bosomworth to collect stolen horses and return them, he reached the site of Clements' burned store in November, 1752. On the night of November eighteenth, he slept all night "at the Oakonyees." On Wednesday, the twenty-second, he had just left Cherokee country early in the morning and at about noon he came to the Oakonyees where six horses were brought him from the vicinity. The Cherokee Corner is close enough to the confluence of the Oconee and Apalachee for a half day's journey to bring a traveler to that point. It may be maintained that the reference is to the two Oconee towns, and, indeed, the index to the Georgia Creek Indian Papers treats the term as such a reference; but since it is still being used at a time when the Oconee towns were no longer supposed to exist, and since an examination of the papers reveals that an entirely different Indian town was located on the "Ocoonies," I interpret this term to mean the confluence of the Oconee and Apalachee. Although it is possible that it refers to the confluence of the North and Middle Forks of the Oconee, this location never assumed the importance to Indians and



settlers alike that the confluence with the Apalachee did, and the presence of the trading path at the Apalachee juncture makes the lower site more logical. At any rate, the trading post was the scene for brawling and murder of whites by Indians and Indians by whites (8). Thus the pattern was set which was to characterize this frontier for the remainder of the eighteenth century.

Between 1767 and 1775 the Indians were constantly complaining to Georgia's Colonial Governors, Sir James Wright and Joseph Habersham that the woods were full of unauthorized white people with their horses and cattle, and that the intruders had driven off most of the once abundant deer and beaver on the skins of which the Indians depended for payment of their trade debts and for their own subsistence. Habersham wrote the Earl of Hillsborough on October 31, 1771:

"...There is too much reason to believe, that several of our back Settlers traffick with these People [Indian bands], and encourage them to come amongst them, notwithstanding we have a Law subjecting such Persons to a heavy Penalty, but their distant Situation makes it difficult to get proof to convict them, and the only means, that occurs to me to prevent this growing Evil, would be the Establishment of a Military Post on Oconee River, which would not only be a check on the Creeks, and prevent their distressing our Settlers, but it would prevent the idle white People from trading with them in the Settlements and keep them in other respects in Order as the civil Magistrate would be encouraged, and, if necessary, assisted in the Execution of the Laws, which can scarcely now be done; but if this is thought a necessary measure, it cannot well be effected, unless the Creeks join the Cherokees in the Surrender of the Lands, they have freely offered to His Majesty, which is without doubt as fine and fertile a Tract, as any on this Continent, and is capable of producing many very valuable Articles of Commerce, such as Tobacco, Hemp, Indigo, & c<sup>a</sup>. --The last article is now in very Demand and bears a high price...."

Thus in Colonial times the building of a fort on the Oconee was first recommended for the regulation of trade and the suppression of disorder.

The trade, while advantageous to Indians and whites alike in some ways, had the effect of making the Indian dependent on their white suppliers for guns, ammunition, axes, cooking pots, clothes, and other articles, and the English in particular were best able to supply an adequate amount of trade goods; but the Spanish in Florida had been on the ground longer and commanded the loyalties of the Indians from long association as well as from the fact that a good many Indians had been converted to the Catholic faith. The French, too, from their Gulf Coast settlements and up the Mississippi and its tributaries, were another important source of trade goods. There was a lively competition among the three European nations for the Indian trade, and this competition was in part a reflection of a



more intense type of competition, indeed, of war, between the principals on the continent of Europe. In America it was hardly less keen, as trade was an important adjunct of empire building in which all three powers were busily engaged in the Western Hemisphere. Traders might and often did act as agents for their respective governments, as Panton and Leslie did in Florida. In addition, there were secret agents and official government representatives who lived or roamed through the Oconee valley all during the eighteenth century. One of these was Louis Le Clerc Milfort, who left an interesting if questionable record of his activities. The Creek Indians themselves, in particular, were very skillful in carrying on diplomatic exchanges not only with these powers, but later with the State of Georgia and the United States under President Washington.

Until 1770, there was no question that the lands which are to comprise the Lake Wallace Reservoir were Indian territory which had never been ceded to any European power. The land was dotted with mounds of great antiquity. By 1770, however, few Indians still lived in the area. It was in 1770 that, at Augusta, a group of Cherokee and Creek chiefs made a cession to Georgia of lands east of the Oconee in payment of large debts owed the Georgia traders. As has been noted before, the Cherokee boundary is just a few miles north of the reservoir area, and many whites thought, or convinced themselves that they did, that the Oconee valley lands were included in the cession. Others, more cynical, more grasping, or more adventurous, just jumped ahead into the lands. Runaway slaves found it a refuge as did other outlaws. James Habersham complained in particular that the most unwelcome group were the Regulators who had fled thence from their unsuccessful rebellion in North Carolina (10). "The present Intruders," he wrote, "I am informed, are Persons, who have no settled Habitations, and live by hunting and plundering the industrious Settlers, and are by no means the sort of People, that should settle those Lands, and I hope the step I have taken will be effectual to remove them, as idle and disorderly Vagrants." Sir James Wright had no objection to settlers moving in so long as they were of his own choosing; he welcomed an increase in population so long as the people were not "runagates" who went about stealing horses and murdering Indians. Incidents of this nature were very troublesome. The suspects were supposed to be taken into the courts and tried, but on the occasions when they were apprehended, the grand juries of the legally settled townships refused to indict, so that the culprits escaped punishment. The Indians then would take matters into their own hands and would carry out reprisals, whereupon there would be counter-reprisals by the settlers and endless complications and recriminations. This pattern, too, continued as long as the Indians and whites continued to claim and occupy the same territory.

The Indians, in a sense, were themselves intruders in this area in the period from 1765 to 1775. There had been an agreement that the Indians would remove their settlements from the lands adjacent to the boundary in order to reduce the inevitable friction which nearness to the white settlers would bring. The Oconee lands were the Creeks "beloved hunting grounds" (they are still a rich haven for game of all kinds); but the only settled Indian town was one first mentioned in Georgia records in 1767, six or seven houses on the west bank of Oconee near the confluence with the Apalachee, which, on account of horse stealing was the scene of murders of both white



men and Indians in the next few years, and these incidents caused the town to be burned twice. Corkran describes the town and the incidents thus (12):

"In early 1767 Governor Wright's rangers in a Creek boundary inspection found a newly erected Creek village near the line which Ishenpoaphe was asked to remove before it caused trouble by Indian or white drunkenness....

"In July [1767] ... virulent frontier antagonisms and weak Crown and Indian authority figured fundamentally in an explosive area. On the Oconee River, not far from the newly decided boundary, one Houmahta had set up a village of seven houses from which vagabond Creeks raided the frontier to steal settlers' horses, which they profitably sold to the Cherokees. A band of exasperated settlers went to the village to reclaim horses and was fired upon. Retreating, they soon returned in augmented numbers, stormed into the place, and, finding it deserted, burned it to the ground and carried off some clothing and packs of deerskins."

Houmahta went to Galphin's at Silver Bluff to complain. He was persuaded to send word to the Lower Towns that his people provoked the attack, but Governor Wright was applied to for compensation for the losses which the Indians sustained. Stuart, the Indian agent, and Wright, exhibiting no sympathy for the frontiersmen's taking matters into their own hands, ordered seizure of the whites involved in the treaty violation and the restoration of an equal value of goods to Houmahta.

By May of 1768, Governor Wright was unable to have punishment inflicted on the persons who burnt and robbed the Indian Village on the Oconee River. The Grand Jury would not indict. The people were discharged notwithstanding a confession in writing to the facts signed by the parties themselves before the Chief Justice. The matter was settled entirely to the satisfaction of the Indians, but at the expense of the Province of Georgia, not the aggressors (13).

Corkran again describes events relating to this town in 1770 (14):

"In August 1770, Okfuskee horse stealers raided the Little River region with some success. Wright sent the frontier militia after them. The militia pursued as far as Houmahta's Oconee River hamlet which they again burned. Shortly thereafter the militia ran into an ambush and lost two men. No Indians were killed... the guilty had fled to the Cherokees."

In October, Governor Wright wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough (15):

"I mentioned before that I had sent out a Party to search after the two men missing, and reported to have been murdered, and am sorry to hear that some of them on their return lagg'd behind under pretence of their Horses being tired and burn't the Indian huts on the Oconee River, and cut up their Corn, but as I have frequently complained to the Chiefs in the Nation against this settlement being suffered to remain so near us, and they al-



ways declared it to have been made only by a few straggling runagate Indians, and who they wanted to keep at home in the Towns of the Nation, and as this little village which only consisted of 4 or 5 Huts was burn't by some disorderly back Settlers in July 1767, and on my writing to the Nation about it, they made light of the matter, and did not look upon it, or consider it as one of their Regular Towns, and these also declared it was settled by a few Runagates. Therefore I don't apprehend they will think anything of its being burn't again now, tho' possibly they may make a pretense of it to avoid giving satisfaction, but I rather hope it may have a good effect and prevent any attempt to settle there any more."

In December, 1770, he again wrote (16):

"In the time of the 8th of October, I mentioned the affair of the two white men being murdered at the Oconeas, and of the Burning of the Indian huts there." He continues by saying that the men had been murdered by two men of the Tyger Family who made off to the Cherokees. One of the murderers was suspected to have been the young and irresponsible principal chief of the Creeks, a grandson of the Emperor Brim.

The name of the chief of the outlaw Indian village in variously reported as Houmahta, Houmacha, Houmathla, and later as Ne-he-mathla-mico.

One writer describes Creek towns as more like a "canton." Swanton says (17): "Creek towns consisted of a succession of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along streams. The unit of such a town was a group of houses owned by the women of one clan from whom descent was taken." Oconee Town, which gave its name to the river, appears to have been located near Rock Landing, lower down the river, but there was a Big and a Little Oconee Town, and a gazetteer of 1794 still locates an Oconee Town in existence in Georgia. There was also an Indian town of the Cussataws at the confluence of Little River and Indian Creek in the 1780's and 90's, and so Houmahta's village may have belonged to one of these larger towns.

After the 1770 treaty with the Indians, a map of the cession territories was made and a copy was evidently sent to Lord Dartmouth in 1771. Another copy, similar, but not identical was kept in Georgia. A photostat of the former is in the Emory University Georgia Map collection. The latter is in the Georgia Department of Archives and History, and a copy accompanies this study (Fig. 1). The map shows "The North Branch of the Altamaha called the Oconee River," and the "Upper and Lower Indian paths to the Creek Country." On the west bank of the river, just north of the place where the Upper Indian path crossed the river, and above a creek confluence on the east which resembles that of present day Richland Creek, an Indian Town is shown. Since this area was settled so soon after the Augusta treaty, it is possible that the legend on the map by the creek, "Rich Wheat and Hemp Land," is the origin of the name of the creek, especially since the name is pronounced as if it were two separate and equally accented words. In Governor Wright's extensive



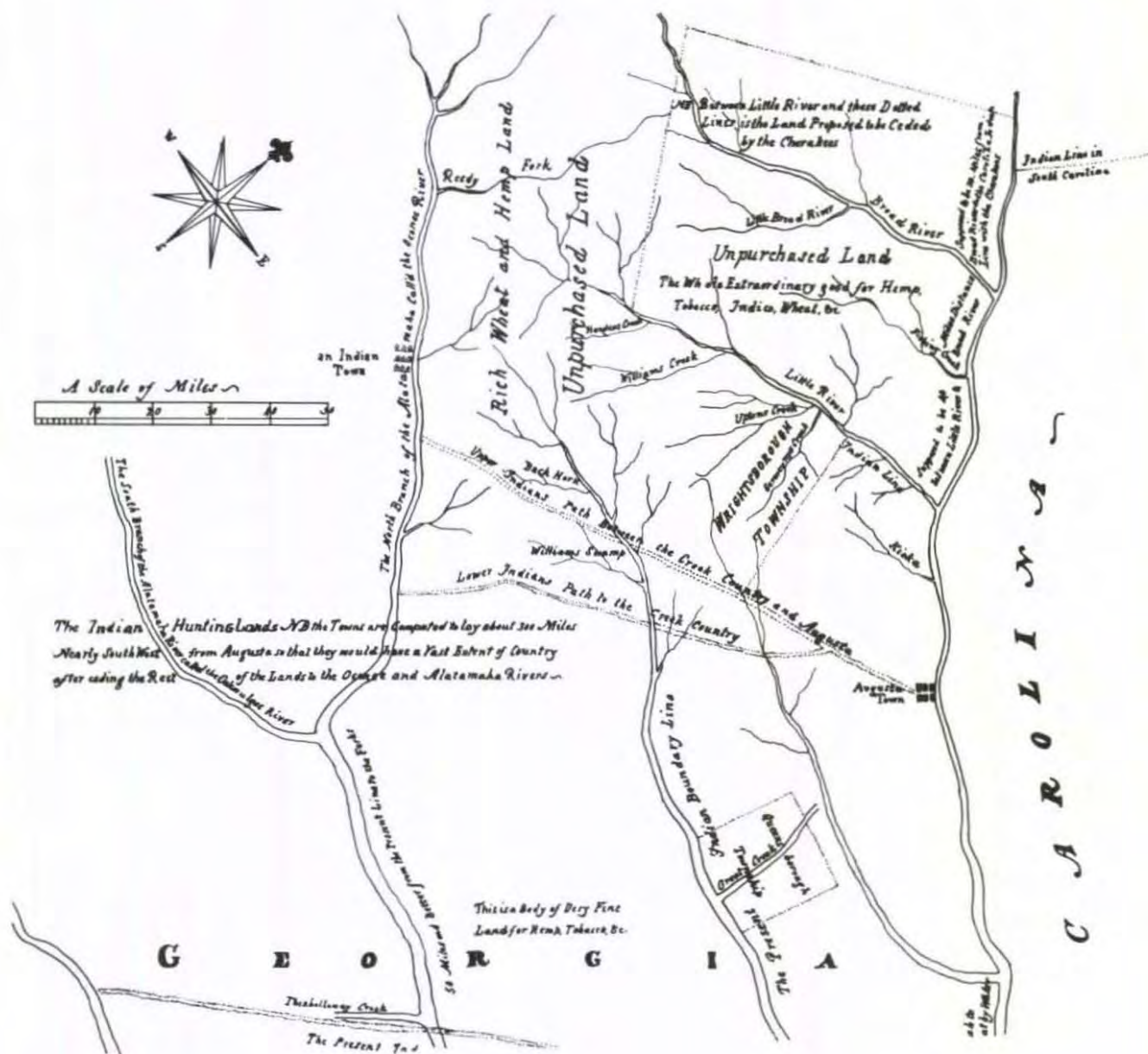


Fig. 1. Map of Creek Cession Territory, Treaty of 1770. (Colonial Records, Vol. 38 - tracing of photocopy).



report on his tour of inspection, he commented on the suitability of the lands he saw for the cultivation of indigo and tobacco (19). Several historians record that indigo was grown in this area during the early settlement period, and indigo which has escaped cultivation still grows on the east bank of the Oconee near the old house sites. Tobacco, too, became an important crop in the early settlement of Greene County, and Cracker's Neck, the old settlement at the mouth of Richland Creek, got its name from the whip cracking drivers of the rolling tobacco barrels and ox wagons who took their tobacco to the Augusta market along the "Great Commercial Road" to Augusta, the successor to the Upper Creek Trading Path, which, on the outskirts of Augusta, was called "Tobacco Road" (20).

Houmahta's village was still on the banks of the Oconee in 1771, as the following letter from James Habersham to the Head Man and Warriors of the Creek Nation, on October twenty-ninth, shows, (21):

"A very disagreeable Matter, that has lately happened between some of the white People, who live above Bryer Creek -- I am informed that the People, there have several of their best Horses stolen and carried away, and they being told, that their horses were in Possession of some of your people near Ogeechee, they went after them to get them again, but on their way they had three more horses stolen, and getting more, they went in Pursuit of them over Oconee River, where they found two Indians at a camp, and saw one of their Horses with the Bell stoped, and insisted upon the Indians showing them, where to find the rest of them, but one of the Indians attempting to run away, and the white People being very much provoked and very angry at losing their Horses, some of them fired at the Indian, but whether they wounded or killed him, I am not yet certainly informed, and I am told they tyed and whipped the other Indian and returned without getting their horses."

He expressed his regrets, and went on to ask them "not to allow your stragling People to have Camps and Settlements near the white People".

In a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, on November twenty-seventh, 1771, Habersham says that Mr. George Galphin, the Indian trader at Silver Bluff, said "that the Indian that was killed was of the Oakfuskee Town, some of whom had sometime ago killed two white People at the Oconies, and that it was only Satisfaction" (22).

The Creeks never recognized the cession of their territory by the Cherokees and a few unauthorized Creek chiefs; and so, in 1773, another attempt was made to get a Creek cession of the disputed hunting lands. A few chiefs favorable to the whites were plied with alcohol and pressured to sign another treaty which would make the treaty of 1770 binding. However, there must have been some doubt of its legality at the time, since Sir James Wright wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth on August 10, 1773 (23):

"The Creek Indians could not be prevailed upon to cede the Lands to the Bank of the Oconee River, which they said was their beloved hunting grounds for Bear and Beaver .... a River a natural



Boundary or Land Mark would have been greatly preferable but this could not be obtained of them."

Nevertheless, applications were taken for land right grants in the newly available territory, and he could write shortly afterward, "We have as yet only disposed of Fifty five thousand Six hundred and Fifty Acres of Land [October, November, and December], which has brought and will bring in Whites, Men Women & Children to the Amount of Fourteen hundred and Thirteen and Three Hundred Negroes ... I think Seven Hundred will be added to our militia muster roll [ages 16-60]" (24).

Among those who made application for these grants was Zachariah Phillips who identified himself as a long time resident of Georgia without land grant, with a wife and ten children. He received in January, 1772, one hundred acres in Wrightsborough Township where he was still living at the time of the Revolution (25).

In July, 1773, Sir James Wright received a petition from a large group of people (26):

"The Humble Petition of a Number of the Inhabitants of North Carolina and Pennsylvania of the Protestant Religion and Chiefly of the Presbyterian Persuasion Who are Subscribers to this Petition, Designing to become Inhabitants of your Province, and desirous to settle themselves in Such Bodies as may enable them to Support Ministers of the Gospel, Pray a Reserve of the Lands Lying on the East Side of the Oconi River as far as the Western Boundary of Wrightsborough Township and extending on said River equal to said Township, be Kept and Reserved: William Harris, Benjamin Patton, Calab Phifer, and Francis Holton, excluding all Negro headrights."

The first families who took up their grants across the Ogeechee, the whites and the Sherralls, were immediately set upon by the Indians, murdered, scalped, and their log cabin homes burned at Christmas, 1773 (27). On January 28, 1774, Governor Wright sent a message to the Speaker and Commons House of Assembly of the Colony of Georgia (28).

"Relative to the murders lately committed by the Creek Indians on several of His Majesty's Subjects in this province..., I have thought it proper that the militia be drafted and do such duty as may be most conducive to the protection and Safety of the Inhabitants. Also that Stockade Forts be erected where they may seem necessary and most usefull and have settled a Plan of defense to be observed 'till we know with Certainty what has happened in the Indian Nation and whether the Traders are cut off or not, and how far the Nation in general are concerned in this Matter. And for which Purpose I have sent a talk or message to them, a copy of which you will now receive, and also the Heads of the Plan for the Protection of the Settlements. And as the building Forts must be attended with and Expence probably more than the People themselves can well bear, and as I think the militia who are on actual service ought to have some allowance towards their Support or to defray their Expenses,



I must desire you will consider of these matters and let me know whether you think proper to make any provision for the same, and what.... Also for a Supply of Bullets to be sent to the different Parts of the Province."

William Young, Speaker, communicated to him the action of the Commons House of Assembly which approved "immediately erecting at proper places Stockade Forts and apprehend the building of them to be the Duty of the People of the respective Parishes of Districts where they may be wanted, but we will afford them such reasonable Assistance therein as, added to their own Assiduity may enable them to complete same." The militia and expresses were also to be paid for (29). Mrs. Hays states that Elijah Clarke and the settlers began to build a line of forts on the frontier along the Oconee River (30). She also states that at the next full moon after the Busk, Captain Allick, St. Iago, and Emisteseguo went to Savannah to have a Peace Talk with Governor Wright, and told him that they had killed three of the Indians who had massacred the Whites and the Sherralls, and that they would kill Howahta (Houmahta?) and Sophioe as soon as they could be found (31). Sir James Wright had written to the Earl of Dartmouth soon after the massacre that he was of the opinion that it was "the work of runagate Indians who have frequented the ceded lands for sometime back." He cited the need for troops and security (31). At the Treaty of Savannah on October 20, 1774, it was stipulated that "no Settlement or Settlements, Houses or Huts whatever shall be Built by any Indian or Indians whatever, Either on the Oconee River, or on the Oakmulgee River or near them... [and that the Creeks] will strongly recommend it to all [their] people, and endeavour to prevent any of them from Hunting on the North [east] side of the Oconee River or in the Settlements; In order the Better and more Effectually to avoid any Disputes or Quarrels, or any Horses being Stolen, either by the Indians from the White People, or by the White People from the Indians (33)."

On March 2, 1774, Sir James Wright in a letter to Lord Dartmouth estimated that by January, 1775, ten thousand settlers would have moved into the ceded lands if not alarmed by the Indians (34). On March 12, of the same year, it had been decided that the lands would be divided into townships and districts and representation provided for (35). He stressed the necessity of settling these lands for safety against Indians and internal enemies (he was already having trouble with the Liberty Boys and slave uprisings) and a ratio of ten whites to one Negro, the reverse of the coastal ratio, was set up. On the same date, he also asked for one thousand British troops to garrison the frontier forts, but would settle for five hundred (36).

At a meeting of the Executive Council in Savannah on December 6, 1774, the following action was taken:

"Read the petitions of Luke Man, Hepworth Carter and Thomas Morris, Severally praying that Lands might be granted Them within the Boundary of the Lands lately ceded to his Majesty by the Creek and Cherokee Indians and lying between the Altamaha and Ogeechee Rivers.

"And the Board taking the said Petitions into consideration, and having fully Informed themselves of the Quality and Situation of the lands petitioned for and finding the Plan that the whole Cession between the aforesaid Rivers contains 674,000 Acres of Land



31,000 Acres only of which is plantable, the remaining 643,000 Acres being pine Barren, fit only for the feeding Stocks of Horses and Cattle, It was therefore the Opinion of the Board that as the Small Quantity of Plantable Land afors'd cannot accomodate any considerable number of Settlers who may remove into this Province from other Parts, Therefore in order to Encourage the Encrease of Cattle and raising Stocks, that such lands being merely Range and not plantable might be disposed of to such Persons as already have settled in the Province without any Infracation of the General regulations for the Sale of the Ceded Lands, or any Inpediment to the Settlement of the Province ---, And it was further the opinion of the Board that plantable lands should not be granted to people already inhabitants of the province (37)."

On January ninth, 1775, it was further, "Resolved that all future Surveys of Ceded Lands on Rivers and Navigable Creeks be run four Chains back for one Chain in front" (38). By March 21, 1775, lands for Harris, Coleman and Downs had been evaluated.

The settlers had already become aware of the excellent cattle range which the Oconee lands afforded since, as early as 1763, the Mortar, a powerful Creek chief, protested at Okchai to Georgia Governor James Wright that the "Virginians," as the Creeks called the English settlers in these parts, had encroached on Creek lands near the Georgia frontier above Augusta, settling "all over the woods with people cattle and horses, which had prevented them [the Creeks] for some time from being able to supply their women and children with provisions as they could formerly, their buffalo deer and bear being drove off the land and killed" with the result that "Creeks kill cattle wandering in these lands to fill their bellies." (39).

An Act of the Assembly in 1777 required that lands be laid out in the form of a square or an oblong figure, the length not to be more than double the breadth and any person who erected a grist mill on vacant land was to have one hundred acres of land reserved until the mill was built and fit for use, and he then received a grant for the same; and every person building a sawmill was to have five hundred acres of land reserved on the same condition (40).

Thus the land policy for the settlement of the area was set up between 1774 and 1777, and the records show that the 1777 act only made official what had been de facto policy for some time. It is easy to see that people like the Harris and Phillips families took advantage of these arrangements. Several historians and contemporary writers explain that the men in the families moved out to the edge of the frontier and built forts, made fields, and cowpens, and stayed there during the growing seasons, while a second, more secure home, farther back from the boundary, was the residence for the wife and children. The second home, too, might be stockaded for the increased security of the family, since the Indians frequently penetrated to the second line of forts, too. These forts might be burned and rebuilt several times. There were known cowpens at Wrightsborough and in Walton County. It is probable that the Cow Ford on the Oconee south of the confluence with the Apalachee began to be so called in this decade. Georgians subsequently took the open range-cattle drive-corral type of stock raising to Texas and beyond, "the beckoning



land" toward which the Indian trails led.

## II. The Revolution

With outbreak of the American Revolution, Sir James Wright's plan for placing a fort or forts on the Oconee began to receive more attention, and the Augusta Minute Men, pressed by necessity, actually built several. David H. Thurmond, a Revolutionary veteran residing in Clarke County, probably in that part which is now Oconee County, made a deposition in 1833 in order to receive a pension from the government. His name appears also, shortly after the Revolution, among those who suffered losses from Indian depredations during the Oconee War. His account of the building of the Revolutionary forts declares (41):

"In July 1776 the Indians broke out, the Inhabitants, this declarant entered the service as a Volunteer under Cols. John Dooly, Major Burwell Smith, and Capt. Elijah Clarke, was appointed a Sergeant, fought the first battle with the Indians, about the last of July in that year about three miles from Lisbon in the direction of Washington, Wilkes County aforesaid where Capt. Clarke was wounded, on which Capt. Pulliam took the Command of the Company, and the troops to which declarant was attached, marched up the North side of Broad River (in Georgia) when, in the month of September in said year, another battle ensued and lasted about three hours. In October following, the declarant saith, our officers held a Council, and determined to build forts on the frontiers, which business occupied us nearly all the following winter, and in the next Spring (1777) this declarant acted as a Spy with John Cary and company, under the command of Capt. James Little, and continued in the service acting as a Spy during balance of that year.

"In 1778 this declarant went to Pulliam's fort in the county of Wilkes in the State aforesaid, and was elected a Lieutenant under Capt. William Pulliam, and rode and acted as a Spy until about the first of December in the year last aforesaid, when business called him to Hanover County, Virginia; he returned the last of January or first of February 1779 to the frontier forts of Georgia.

"In that year (1779), in the month of February, marched under the command of Colo. Elijah Clarke, Major Burwell Smith, and Capt. Daniel Gunnells, from the frontier forts, to the forts farther in the settlement, in consequence of and because the Tories had embodied in South Carolina, and were marching into Georgia across the Cherokee ford on the Savannah River, and the fishdam ford on Broad River. At Kettle Creek, about six miles from Washington in Wilkes County aforesaid, we encountered and defeated the Tories. From Kettle Creek battle we marched to Hinton's fort in Wilkes County, Georgia, where declarant served as a Spy .... The British having taken Savannah and Augusta, Colo. Brown, a British officer, sent Major Manson about the last of April or First of May 1780 to Colo. John Dooly, our Colo., to give us (liberty men) paroles. Lieutenant Colo. Elijah Clarke had the liberty men summoned to



attend at Colo. Dooley's to consider of it. A great part was in favor of taking parole, as it was affirmed that all South Carolina had taken parole, and that Cruger had marched to Ninety-Six with a large British force. Then Lieutenant Colo. Elijah Clarke, hard up for volunteers, and a small force, about thirty-eight, declarant being of the number, went with Clarke to the forts, continued there a few days, and marched from thence to the upper parts of South Carolina.... Some time in July 1782, Colo. Barber and this declarant, being out spying, found signs of Indians, and went to the settlements and gave notice, collected a party, crossed the Oconee at the Big Shoals, and a few miles from there we had a skirmish, killed one Indian, and took two Tories prisoners--carried the latter to the Big Shoals where they were hanged...."

Stevens quotes the proceedings of the Georgia Council of Safety on June 18, 1776, in part as follows (42):

"To the west, and almost down upon the Georgia line, are the most numerous tribes of Indians now in North America, in the whole, at least 15,000 gunmen. They are so situated as to make it extremely convenient for our enemies to supply them, from East and West Florida, with ammunition and everything that they want. There seems to be the greatest reason to apprehend a rupture with them; in such a case, the fate of Georgia may be easily conceived....

"....The great objects seem to be, then, fortifications, and a good understanding with the Indians....

"2d. That the sum of \_\_\_\_sterling be granted by the General Congress, for building fortifications and guardboats in the province of Georgia. The reason why we conceive this ought to be a general charge, is because it is evident the same will serve against attacks from the south, and for cutting off the communication between East and West Florida and the Indians, upon which the peace of the back inhabitants of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia depends."

The following resolution appears under the date of January, 1780, in the Georgia Revolutionary Records (43):

"Resolved, That a Fort be built at Harris old Fort and that the sum of five hundred pounds be allowed for the building the same, and to be erected under the direction of Captain Zachariah Phillips agreeable to the regulations which were made with respect to the other Forts on that frontier."

It was uncertain exactly where "Harris Old Fort" was when this study was undertaken. The Greene County Superior Court Minutes, Book A, place it on the Ogeechee River. In this case, as in several others, the words "fort" and "ford" seem to be used interchangeably, as forts were placed to guard fords in many instances. They were also used to protect mills, and Phillips Mill Baptist Church is in this vicinity, and Zachariah Phillips is said to



have picked up a Tory by the seat of his pants and to have thus forceably ejected him from services at this church while Silas Mercer was preaching there. Zachariah Phillips was also in a group of patriots from Wrightsborough. Another deposition of a Revolutionary veteran in Michigan says that a part of his service was in Phillips Fort on Little River in Georgia. Thus, we see that there were several Fort Phillips locations, and the earliest does not seem to be on the Oconee.

There are a number of other references to the Oconee frontier and its forts in Revolutionary records. At the same time that money was appropriated for the building of the forts, one hundred eighty men were to be garrisoned in the western frontier forts, and if no provision is made for relief garrisons, the figure would indicate that there were six such forts, since it was also provided that there should be thirty men stationed at each fort, and this latter figure held true for a number of years after the Revolution.

A number of references occur in the Minutes of the Executive Council in 1777 (44). John Coleman, Esq., made application for twelve hundred weight of gunpowder, two thousand four hundred weight of lead, and eight hundred flints for the use of the forts upon the western frontiers of the State in May, and it was ordered that this should be delivered to him to be delivered to the commanders of these forts according to his judgement. An order was also drawn in his favor for the sum of three hundred pounds for the use of two troops of Horse to be raised for the use of the western frontiers of the State. In June an order was drawn in favor of Lieutenant Colonel Clarke for the sum of four thousand five hundred and sixty pounds for the use of the Minute Men to be raised for the defense of this state. We have seen that David Thurmond was among these latter who served in the Oconee forts, and indeed built the earliest. William Few, Sr. was appointed Commissary for the two battalions of Minute Men, and the sum of two hundred pounds was advanced to him to provide for them, and he was to be held accountable. In July, a commission was issued to Thomas Gray as Captain of a Company of Indians to scout upon the frontiers and stop every person from driving cattle from this state. Two days later, on July sixteenth, the commanding officer of the militia then doing duty on the western frontiers was requested to call them in immediately, as sufficient Continental and Provincial troops were available to protect the state.

Corkran reports that in 1777 there were strenuous British efforts to organize the Creeks to go against the Georgia frontier, and that during July and August, 1778, several hundred Creeks operated on the perimeter of the Georgia frontier. Both Creeks and Cherokees operated as allies of the British during the Revolution. Later that year between two hundred and eight hundred Upper and Lower Creeks went against the Ceded Lands above Broad River. The Creek offensive broke up when the Cherokees warned them that the Americans were preparing a counterattack. The American counterattack was not mounted, and the Indians complained that the British were too weak to help them. (45) "On March 23, 1779, McGillivray and Emisteguo were on the path between Oconee and Ogeechee rivers moving with war parties toward Augusta [to join the British under Col. Archibald Campbell]. [At a halt at Fulsom's Fort], ranging out from ... camp, the Indians destroyed abandoned American Fort Rogers and reassembled to move against the ceded lands and an eventual junction with Campbell. In this latter objective they were blocked by a force



of a thousand frontiersmen whom they did not dare attack. Campbell withdrew from Augusta. Emistesequo went off to operate in the ceded lands. From then on Indians raided the frontiers." It was probably at this point that the Apalachee was given its present name since Apalachee Indians operated with the Creeks, and the settlers made no distinction. The name was not generally applied until years later, however. The Revolutionary Records of Georgia show that in August Colonel Dooly and the lower battalion of Richmond County were ordered towards the western frontier of the state, because information given under oath gave reason to believe that the western frontier was in the greatest danger of being invaded by the savages; he was ordered to join Colonel Few, and the pay was to be the same for the Georgia militia as for the South Carolina militia who were serving with them (46). If Le Clerc Milfort may be believed, he was probably with the Creek war parties at this period.

McCall (47) places the building of the Oconee forts in 1776 and tells of the engagement fought by Captain Thomas Dooley in a cane swamp near the Oconee River, which may be close to the Reid's Ferry bridge, from the appearance of the countryside there today. Other historians also give similar accounts.

"Captain Thomas Dooley had just returned from Virginia, where he had been employed on the recruiting service, with about twenty men enlisted for the continental brigade in Georgia, but he had not yet joined his regiment. Anxious to commence his military career with laurels, he advanced against a party of Indians, encamped near the Oconee River. Though the enemy outnumbered him, four to one; he depended upon courage and discipline for victory. The Indians had kept their spies on the alert, and discovered his approach in time to lay an ambuscade, upon the route he had taken. About seven o'clock in the morning of the 22d of July, as he was passing through a cane swamp, near the Big Shoals, he was attacked in front and flanks by a large body of Indians, covered by the cane. Early in the skirmish, Dooley received a ball in his leg which broke the bones above the ankle. Apparently regardless of his own condition and sufferings, he encouraged his men to continue the conflict, and set the example by firing his rifle twice at the enemy, after he had been wounded. Discovering that the commanding officer had fallen, the savages rushed out of the cane swamp to get possession of him. Lieutenant Cunningham, who was second in command, is said not to have resorted to those expedients which would have occurred to a man of courage and cool reflexion, by having his commanding officer carried off the ground. On the contrary he was charged with consulting his own safety in being among the first to make a disorderly retreat. When the retreat commenced, Dooley called to his men and requested them not to leave him in the hands of the Indians. The last man who saw him, said that he was endeavouring to defend himself with the butt of his gun, though he was unable to stand. Cunningham and the remainder retreated to the settlements. Dooley and three of his men fell into the hands of the Indians and were murdered."



McCall also says that most of the settlers found it necessary to live in forts, and that what little field work was carried on, had to be done under the protection of armed guards. So many provisions were destroyed that there was real want and a threat of starvation in the area. Elijah Clarke's troops had to live off the land, as they were completely without provision.

Bishop Stevens tells of other action here in November, 1781, (48):

"On the return of General Twiggs to Augusta, after dispersing the Indians and Tory bands at the Big Shoals, on the Oconee, which, for a few months, gave peace to that harassed district, he ordered Colonel Jackson [James Jackson, later governor of Georgia] to retreat to Burke County, for the purpose of recruiting his force, and then to proceed to Ebenezer."

It is apparent from these accounts that the names of three Revolutionary heroes, Clarke, Twiggs and Jackson, for whom Georgia counties have been names, have been associated with stirring events which took place during the Revolution in the Laurens Shoals reservoir area. At a time when the Bi-Centennial of the American Revolution is being planned, it is a good idea to examine where in our State some of these occurred and prepare to preserve any existing remains at the scenes and to mark the sites appropriately.

Perhaps this is a good place to point out that descendants of many of the people named in the Revolutionary accounts still live in Greene, Morgan, and Putnam Counties, where their ancestors were eligible to receive grants in payment for their Revolutionary War service. Among these are the Littles, the Cunninghams, the Harrises, the Clarkes, the Phillips family, the Smiths, the Thurmonds, the Fewes, the Dooleys, the Gunnells, and others.

When Louis Le Clerc Milfort passed through the Oconee area in 1776, the decision he made to go and live with the Indians was based on his experience with the people whom he encountered. In his Memoirs he describes them as gougers ("gaugeurs"), and calls this the country of the one-eyed men. He describes a frontier gouging fight. The women he admired greatly because of their fortitude and character. We should not be surprised at the description of brutality among the early settlers, since Governor Wright described many of them as villains, criminals, outlaws, refugee revolutionaries, and insurrectionists. Milfort says that they had adopted the fighting customs of the Indians in many cases, and fought naked with their bodies painted black. A slightly less unpleasant picture, but only relatively so, was painted of a later generation of these people by Augustus Baldwin Longstreet in his trail blazing book of American local color, The Georgia Scene.

### III. The Oconee War

After the close of the Revolution, in 1783, Georgia again endeavored to secure the lands along the Oconee by treaty. Creek and Cherokee chiefs were called to meet at the Big Shoals at the Cow Ford, and the Cherokee chiefs did so. They were conducted to Augusta and signed a treaty ceding land to the State. The Creek chiefs were less amenable. They had more extensive



lands, and were the largest tribe in the South, east of the Mississippi River. The Oconee lands were their "beloved hunting grounds," on which they took three thousand deerskins annually. The lands were necessary for the subsistence of the tribe and for the staple deerskins which were used to trade for all the goods which the Indians had grown to depend on. From the very founding of the State of Georgia, there had been considerable dispute as to who had the authority to cede lands to the Colony. The fact seems to be that the overwhelming majority of the towns and their chiefs had to assent to a cession, and this consensus was rarely attained. But it was also a fact that certain chiefs or groups of chiefs claimed for themselves the authority to make treaties and cede lands, and this they did. The ubiquitous custom of making presents to the Indians had the effect of acting as a bribe and of corrupting the sometimes simple and greedy chiefs. Georgia nominally extended to the Mississippi, but if the Creeks could not be pushed off the land west of the Ogeechee, the State could not in actuality take up its intended territory. In addition, Georgia had in 1781 promised to pay its Revolutionary soldiers with grants of these very lands, and settlers had already begun to move in and the State had built several forts on the Oconee for their protection. The Indians had agreed not to settle any people in towns in this territory and had also agreed to discontinue hunting on the northeast side of Oconee. Since most Creeks did not consider any of these treaties and agreements as binding, they were generally disregarded. There was no way of enforcing the agreements among the white settlers in this remote sector either. Georgia persistently regarded the Indian boundary as "Temporary." The 1777 land policy which provided for grants to operators of sawmills and grist mills said merely "vacant land", and the Oconee was plentifully supplied with that. The river and its tributaries offered abundant water power for these enterprises, and doubtless several had early been put into operation. Zachariah Phillips had a mill on the North Fork of the Ogeechee, and he may have early staked out a claim at the site later known as Phillips Mill Shoals at the confluence of the Oconee and Apalachee. Conditions were building up to a serious clash. On May 27, 1782, John Martin wrote General Pickens, a U.S. negotiator, that McIntosh and the Cowetas in conjunction with the Cherokees were expected to meet at the Big Shoals and fall on the Okonneys (Indian Letters, Pt. 1, p. 25). The Georgians continued to solicit the Creeks, and finally, five months after the Cherokee cession of 1783, fourteen Creek chiefs signed another Treaty of Augusta to cede the Creek lands. Alexander McGillivray, the skillful diplomat-chief of the Creeks, never conceded the legality of the 1783 treaty, which should have had two hundred signatures instead of fourteen. The counties of Franklin and Washington were created in the ceded lands, and the reservoir area was a part of the latter county on the east, except for a small tip of land on the Apalachee which was included in Franklin County. Joseph Phillips received 65,000 acres of land in Franklin County. Large numbers of settlers began to take up grants or just move into the newly opened territory. They recognized the value of the Oconee bottoms as cattle range and ignored the river as a barrier. The Indians continued their depredations, and the settlers continued their reprisals.

In 1781, Colonel Elijah Clarke was called upon to provide a scout on the east side of the Oconee from his and Colonel Dunn's Regiments. They were to be relieved from time to time. In 1784, Colonel Clarke and twelve men were delegated to accompany Mr. Gregg in marking the Creek boundary line



on account of the danger of Indian attack. In fact, the marking of the boundary was repeatedly delayed and was probably not completed for several years. The treaty of 1783 with its aftermath of resistance by the Creek Nation marked the beginning of twelve years of Indian troubles called the Oconee War, during which the east bank of the Oconee was increasingly fortified. The same period of Indian fighting in Kentucky and Tennessee, which has received the lion's share of attention in history books, is called the Cumberland War. Lake Wallace will completely obliterate the majority of the scenes of fighting in this characteristic but little known frontier battle field; and some considerable effort should be made to locate and salvage as many of these fort sites as possible. They should not be allowed to disappear without leaving a vestige.

The treaties of 1783 nearly doubled the size of Georgia. Mrs. Hays states repeatedly in Chapter twelve of Hero of Hornet's Nest that Elijah Clarke and the settlers of Upper Georgia were fighting and building forts on the Oconee. Caughey dates the start of the Oconee War with the Treaty of Galphinton in 1785 (49). He says that O'Neill began to furnish military stores to the Creeks at once, using some powder and ball that had not been distributed at a congress with the Indians two years before. Miro, however, foreseeing embarrassment to the Spanish if the United States learned, as they were bound to do, that Spain was furnishing arms and ammunition to the Indians, advised that O'Neill not send McGillivray any written promises. The issue of powder and ball was supposed to be "for hunting."

What were these frontier forts like? Constance Lindsey Skinner, in Pioneers of the Old Southwest describes them thus (50):

"The forts were built as centrally as possible in the scattered settlements. They consisted of cabins, block-houses, and stockades. A range of cabins often formed one side of a fort. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high with roofs sloping inward. The block-houses built at the angles of the fort projected two feet or so beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades, and were fitted with port-holes for the watchers and marksmen. The entrance to the fort was a large folding gate of thick slabs. It was always on the side nearest the spring. The whole structure of the fort was bullet-proof and was erected without an iron nail or spike. In the border wars these forts withstood all attacks. The savages, having proved that they could not storm them, generally laid siege and waited for thirst to compel a sortie."

Absalom Chappel was born in one of the forts erected at this time just outside the reservoir area, and describes it in this fashion (51):

"By their own voluntary labor the people of each neighborhood, when numerous enough, built what was dignified as a fort, a strong wooden stockade or block-house, entrenched, loop-holed, and surmounted with look-outs at the angles. Within this rude extemporised fortress ground enough was enclosed to allow room



for huts or tents for the surrounding families when they should take refuge therein - a thing which continually occurred; and, indeed, it was often the case, that the Fort became a permanent home for the women and children, while the men spent their days in scouring the country, and tilling with their slaves, lands within convenient reach; at night betaking themselves to the stronghold for the society and protection of their families, as well as for their own safety."

General Thomas Woodward, too, was born in one of these early stockade forts to the north of the reservoir area, and describes it simply as a log cabin with a stockade (52).

Now which of the frontier forts were the oldest, and where were they located? So far as I have been able to find in the brief time available for such extensive research, no names, sites, or dates exist for the Revolutionary forts. Perhaps archaeological investigation may shed some light on this, but we may never know exactly where they were or when they were built. Zachariah (see plats, Figs. 2 and 3) and Joseph Phillips received grants on the Oconee in 1784. Since a family historian (53) says that Joseph Phillips was a Minute Man; and since many records show a long association of both Joseph and Zachariah Phillips with Elijah and John Clarke; and since the Fort Phillips location at the confluence of the Oconee and Apalachee Rivers marked an important Indian trail crossing, and since records indicate the existence of several forts at various times which belonged to the Phillips family, at least one "Fort Phillips" may well date to Revolutionary times. An account in an Augusta newspaper (54) states that the forts were placed to overlook and protect fords and mill sites. Zachariah Phillips operated a mill on the Ogeechee and on the Oconee. A letter in the Georgia Department of Archives and History says (55) that Fort Phillips guarded the approaches to Greensboro, and while it states that the fort had then just been built, it may have superseded one that had already been built at the site, since Zachariah Phillips made a deposition in Greene County that in 1780 he had lost a fort destroyed by the Indians. This would have been at the time that the British and Indians took Augusta, but it may refer to the 1780 fort at the Ogeechee. He made a claim at the same time for compensation for one dwelling house and other houses; fifteen "hed" of hogs worth an average of twenty dollars each; two hundred fifty head of cattle worth on an average five dollars each (what a comment on the relative quality of the swine and cattle he was raising!); one hundred head of hogs killed and drove away "worth two hundred fifty dollars; nearly one hundred "barrils" of corn carried off and destroyed to the amount of five hundred dollars. John Armor, who as justice of the peace of Greene County, signed Zachariah Phillips' affidavit, also had a fort on Little River at the same time, and Andrew Armor had one just above the Cow Ford on the Oconee.

In 1785, Alexander McGillivray repudiated the action of the Creek chiefs who signed the treaty of 1783, and gave orders that the settlers, their houses, and possessions should be peacefully removed from the disputed territory along the Oconee (56). This was an unrealistic if diplomatic directive. The settlers had no intention of giving up the land, and they were openly backed by the State of Georgia. The Indians were equally determined to eliminate white people from their domain. A bloody clash was



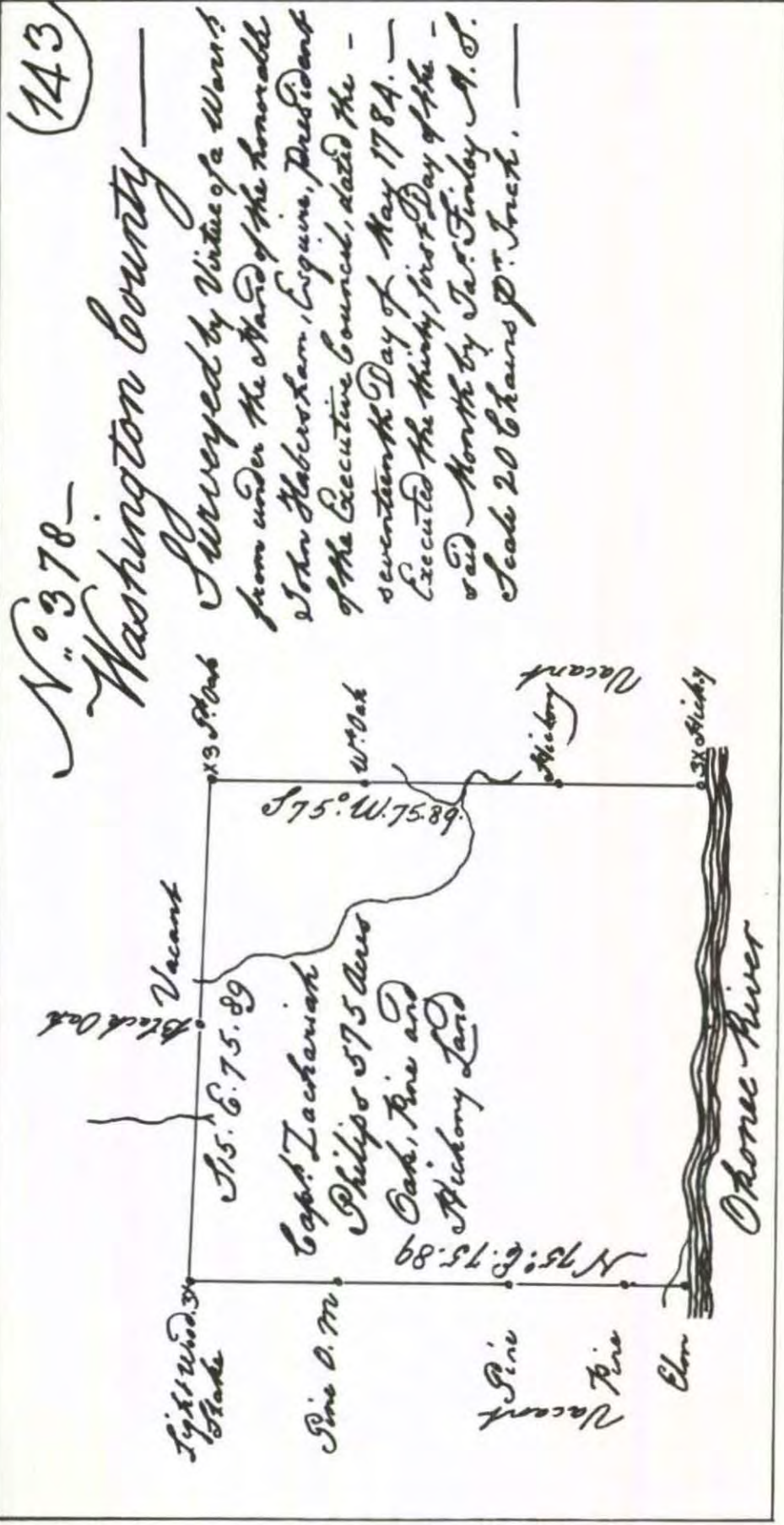
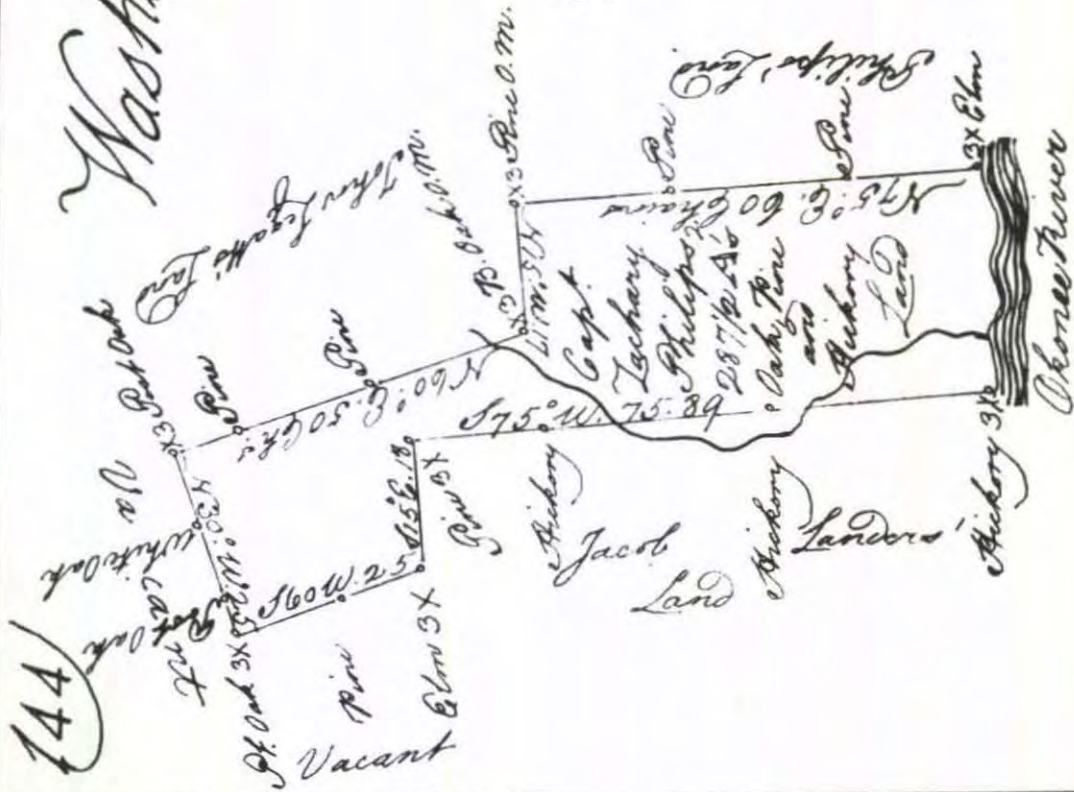


Fig. 2. Zachariah Phillips' grant on Oconee, near confluence with Apalachee, 1784. (Plat Book A, p. 143, Surveyor General Department - tracing of photocopy).



144



# Washington County

N<sup>o</sup> 381

Surveyed by Virtue of a Warrant from  
under the Hand of the honorable John —  
Alexanderham, Esquire, President of the Executive  
Council, dated the seventeenth Day of May  
1784. Executed the seventeenth Day of June  
in the said Year by J. & Finley A. S. —

District N<sup>o</sup> 5

Warrant N<sup>o</sup> 335

Scale 20 Chains to the Inch

Magnetic Variation 3 1/2 Deg. West —

Fig. 3. Zachery Phillips' grant on Oconee, near confluence with Apalachee, 1784. (Plat Book A, p. 144, Surveyor General Department - tracing of photocopy).







inevitable. McGillivray had issued papers which the Indians were to carry in their parties when they went to move off the Oconee settlers (57); this was equally unrealistic, since most Indians and many settlers were unable to read, and the papers could only give a color of authority to the actions, or perhaps might be expected to have some magical property. With the burning of the Knox settlement in 1785, the desultory fighting which had already been going on thereupon became intense. Col. Elijah Clarke was sent to recover stolen property. Bishop Stevens describes what happened thus (58):

"The alarm, however, drew to the frontier several companies of men, who put themselves under Colonel Clarke, and were by him so stationed as to protect the inhabitants and enable them to build forts for the security of themselves and families. By dividing the men into squads, and putting them on turns of duty of ten days each, Clarke made the burden less heavy upon the militia; and by sending out scouting parties, and keeping up the utmost vigilance, he was able to give such protection that little damage was done and much confidence was restored."

In other words, contrary to Milfort's assertion (59), the settlers did not leave the Oconee lands, but repaired the earlier forts and built new ones along the Oconee boundary, until they had become strong enough to repel Indian attack. Parker's Blockhouse at Parker's Shoals may date from this time, or, considering the Revolutionary references to action at the Shoals, it may possibly be among the earliest forts constructed along the Oconee; Isaac Stocks' fort is also one of the earliest.

Early in 1786, McGillivray wrote to O'Neill, the Spanish governor at Pensacola (60):

"The Americans are not at all disposed to Comply with our Just & peaceable remonstrances against their usurping and settling on our hunting grounds. . . .

"They have some Settlements & are Settling the oconee up to the head under such circumstances we cannot be quiet Spectators. We the chiefs of the Nation have come to a resolution in this last general meeting to take arms in our defence & repel those Invaders of our Lands, to drive them from their encroachments & fix them within their own proper limits."

He set April 23, 1786, as a date to set off against the Georgians, and stated, "We don't engage in general Hostilities with the whole American States. When we free our Hunting Grounds Fronting the Georgians we stop."

On May 16, 1786, a gentleman of Augusta wrote another in Charleston (61):

"Realizing that you would appreciate reliable information about the state of affairs between the Georgians and the Creek Indians, I relate to you the principal occurrences that I have been able to gather. On my arrival here the day before yesterday



I found the people in general and likewise the government in a state of such profound indifference concerning the Indians as to make me confident that nothing important would happen. I had a long talk with the governor, who was inclined to belittle the matter and showed (like all the others here) very little respect for the Indians. I knew then that two settlers on the Oconee River, one in Washington County and the other in Greene, had been killed, and that one of the bodies had been found with all the sure signs of war according to the cruel custom of the Indians. I knew that several of the old traders had been driven back and that Colonel Clarke had marched (although without orders) to protect the frontiers with 150 men. Nevertheless, the opinion prevailed that the Indians would not carry their excesses very far or cross the Oconee River in large force.

"A certain Toole, an old trader, had come from the Creek nation some three weeks ago in company with an Indian partial to us. Having been with the colonel, he told me that when he left the nation he had heard nothing of hostilities being contemplated, but that he was certain that the Spaniards were inciting the Indians to take up arms. He reported that they had named McGillivray lieutenant colonel in the service of Spain, had sent the Indians arms and ammunition, and had given them positive assurance of help. The said Toole set out yesterday to return to the nation, bearing a friendly talk, but from what can be learned his trip was stopped yesterday afternoon. No hope of conciliation remains.

"It is clear beyond peradventure of doubt that for a long time the Georgians have been provoking the Indians and that they have long desired a pretext for seizing the hatchet. Three weeks ago a trivial incident gave them their chance. Since the settlements have been extended up to and even beyond the Oconee River, many Indians remain among the whites and live with them on the most peaceful terms. One of these became enamored of a girl, daughter of a white man in whose house he was employed, and asked her for a wife. The man consented, on condition that he should receive one hundred deer skins, part of which the Creek gave him. Before this singular transaction was completed, a brother of the girl returned home, and not being of the same mind as his father, he soundly thrashed the Indian. Whereupon, all the Indians left the place immediately, and a little later a party of them returned and burned the man's house, which was on their land. There was no bloodshed until ten days ago, when the killings mentioned above took place on this side of the river. I learned later that the reason the Indians did not cross the river was because of the high water, but the present fall has made the crossing easy.

"Yesterday I dined with Governor Telfair, and in the afternoon a messenger from Clarke arrived with very bad news.



Clarke wrote that he had been directed to the Oconee where he found the Indians (accompanied by many whites) in such large force (about 300) that he was obliged to fall back and to send to Washington County for reinforcements, which set out for him two days ago. He added that three parties of Indians had crossed the river. . . ."

This letter calls for several comments. First, Greene County had just been formed. Greensboro was burned in this year. Then, since McGillivray was no warrior, his brother-in-law, Milfort, was his Tustenuggee or war chief, and may have been among the number of whites who were seen to accompany the Indians. The Spanish were inciting the Indians, but Milfort may have been a French agent. Tories and other renegades may have accounted for the other whites. Louise Frederick Hays says that Elijah Clarke placed men in blockhouses along the frontier in this year. We have already mentioned that Fort Phillips and Parker's Blockhouse probably had been built. To these must now be added Fort Fitzpatrick at the mouth of Town Creek at Fitzpatrick's Ford. On July sixth, 1786, David Gresham was the militia captain who signed a receipt for Joseph Carmichael, who lived near Watson Springs, for two three year old hogs weighing three hundred pounds for the use of Fitzpatrick's Station (62). Fig. 4, a plat of Fitzpatrick's grant for this property in 1786 accompanies this study (63). Plats for Zachariah Phillips dating from 1784 also accompany the study (Figs. 2 and 3).

In 1802, Charles Stewart testified that John Stewart, whose administrator and legatee he was, had, on May 8, 1786, been murdered near the "Big Shoals" on the "Oconee" River, and had lost six hundred twenty-two dollars worth of horses, tools, furniture, and wearing apparel. His is likely to have been one of the murders mentioned in the letter (64). Stewarts were North Carolina settlers who still live nearby. A Charles Stewart was Indian agent at an early date.

An early traveler, Samuel Edward Butler, visited the Oconee country in March of 1786 with William Foster and his son who may have been George W. Foster, later prominent in Greene County affairs. He stayed at Foster's "caban" close to the shoals, which he described. During a later period of the Oconee War there was a fort at Foster's (65).

On May seventeenth, 1786, the day after the letter written by the Augusta gentleman, James Beasley; Robert Day, Sr.; and Robert Day, Jr. of Washington County sent a letter to the governor of Georgia saying (66):

"Whereas a Number of our back inhabitants is under a great Disadvantage at this time by being Drove by the Indians from their Several Settlements and habitations and we have now a mind to Mak a Stand through the Assistance of Your honor the governor and Council in furnishing all your petitioners with ammunition to the amount of eight pounds of powder and sixteen pound of bu(?) (could this mean ball?) and flints for the want of which we shall be obliged to break but we hope your honours will grant our requests."



Greene County had so recently been formed out of part of Washington County that it is possible Beasley and the Days were uncertain where they lived. Several lists of the first settlers of Greene County contain James Beasley's name. Nearly twenty-five years later, he was living in Morgan County and so was his mother-in-law, "the widow Day" (67). Later, in Walton County in the 1820's, James Beasley was making claims for property losses at the lands of the Indians dating back to his residence near the Oconee. He liked to live on the Indian line where his Morgan County property was, and he was forced by border inspectors to move his "salt logs" off the Indian territory.

On July 11, 1786, Daniel McMurphy, the Georgia Indian agent, not very competent, I may add, who was called by the Indians "Yellow Hair", wrote to the Spanish governor O'Neill at Pensacola (68):

"The Mad Dog of the Tuckabatchees sent his Brother & 14 other Indians from his Town who were to be joined by all the other Indians but none of the Lower Towns would go with them..... They had orders to drive all White people before them over Ogeechee river & take all their property and burn their houses, rob two stores that had a great many Indians Goods one on the river Altamaha & the other on the Okonnie River also about one hundred Indians from the Hilibies and Calichies went down upon the upper Settlement & killed four men & one woman & brought of a Great Number of Horses."

It must be remembered that a Settlement, like an Indian town, was not one concentration of houses in a restricted space, but might stretch for miles with widely scattered houses.

On September 26, 1786, a gentleman of Augusta, Georgia, perhaps the same two as in the May letter, wrote to another at Charleston (69):

". . . Fifteen hundred Militiamen are chosen and should have started off the twenty-fourth of this month. The other militiamen of Georgia are divided into three parts (Upper, Middle, and Lower Districts) and have orders to be ready to set out at any time."

He added that the first detachment would be under the orders of General Twiggs, in command of the Oconee forts of the upper district. Alexander McGillivray reported that the Georgia forces dispersed after the release of two Creek chiefs who had been held in jail.

Reports from Zespedes, Governor of East Florida, which are now in the Spanish archives relate (70):

"Under date of August 1 it is reported from Augusta, Georgia that since the incident on the Oconee River between the Indians and the Georgians, which was as bad on one side as the other a chain of small forts has been constructed on that river. They are seventeen in number, each defended by



thirty men of the militia of Wilkes, Greene, Washington, Franklin, Richmond, and Burke Counties. . . .

"The people here clamor for war to force the Creeks to the other side of Flint River. They have already gotten arms and ammunition and they will ask larger quantities from Virginia. For this end the legislature is at present occupied in taking the appropriate measures."

Virginia sent five hundred muskets and five hundred swords.

Dr. T. B. Rice in his History of Greene County (71) says that immediately after the founding of the county in 1786, Jonas Fauche was placed in charge of military operations for the protection of the whites against the Indians. Fauche had been born in the canton of Neuchatel, Switzerland, and he arrived in New York in 1785, and soon after came to Greene County (72).

The treaty of Shoulderbone which was signed in November, 1786, was never enforced. The majority of the Creeks, and certainly Alexander McGillivray, considered that it was illegal. The Cumberland War was being fought in Kentucky and Tennessee at this time, too.

In May, 1786, Governor Telfair commended General Clarke on his conduct in the Oconee campaign, and General Clarke thanked him for his approbation and for the ammunition he had sent while at the same time he asked for more, in particular for swords and pistols from the arsenal at Savannah. He reported little mischief on the frontier except for the burning of a house in Greensboro, and the inroads of a party of twenty Indians (73).

In 1787, John Sevier of the State of Franklin offered the State of Georgia his assistance in fighting the Indians, and was made a Brigadier General in the Georgia militia. His friend, Major A. C. G. Elholm, came to Georgia and brought a letter to Colonel Elijah Clarke whom he had known during the Revolution when Elholm fought at the side of his countryman, Count Pulaski, in Georgia battles. Because of this service, he was entitled to grants of land in Georgia, and he received a place which he called Mount Elholm in Green County. Major Elholm became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Georgia militia, and was Elijah Clarke's adjutant before becoming the first Adjutant General of the State of Georgia.

In April, 1787, Captain George Barber wrote General Elijah Clarke,

" . . . The Block house ate the Bigg Sholes are Burnte which have accationed the inhabetance to finally fly to the forte. Horses taken as far as Jacks Creek on the Apelathie" (74).

This was Parker's Blockhouse most likely, and General Clarke's letter to Governor Matthews to relay the message says that the families who did not remove inland, but remained on the frontier had organized into companies and were building forts for their security, but lacked sufficient arms and ammunition which he requested to be sent (75). The Governor ordered Clarke



to place spies between the Oconee and the Apalachee. Considerable activity ensued, including the Battle of Jack's Creek, where Major John Clarke, the son of Elijah Clarke, distinguished himself and was subsequently made a general officer himself.

Georgia Indian Depredations lists the following property losses from January, 1787 to July, 1788:

Fort: John Armor 1 (on the Ogeechee); William Furlow 3; John Booth 1; Abm. Sanders 1; and John Lang 1.

William Furlow, his wife Margaret, and his two sons David and Charles lost horses at this time for which they sought reimbursement under the Indian treaties. These Furlows operated a ferry in 1808 just south of the forks of the Apalachee and Oconee Rivers (76).

Zachariah Phillips lost four houses burnt; John Lang, three; Humphrey Bearden, three; John Dunn, two; Micl. Waggoner, two; Abm. Sanders, four; Jesse Coulter, one; John Trice, two; John Booth, one; Joseph Phillips, three houses burned; William Fitzpatrick, one fort and three houses burned. Zachariah Phillips received \$2300 under the Treaty of Indian Springs; Issac Stocks, \$400; Archibald Gresham, \$500; and John Fielder, \$400. Fielder's was for a house and plated spurs. The Furlows made a claim for the loss of three horses, two mares, and one colt stolen by the Creek Indians in 1787 and valued at \$485. Zachariah Phillips was a witness to the truth of their claim. David and Charles Furlow were compensated for six horses, four houses, "fine furniture," flax, and other goods lost by their father William Furlow, deceased, in 1787. James Woods vouched for the validity of these losses, and said that their value was at least \$150. He said that the town of Greensboro was burned the same night together with a number of other houses in the settlement (77).

In 1787, the Constitution of the United States was framed, and with it was inaugurated an era of challenge to the Indian treaties made by the State of Georgia which intensified and embittered the Indian frontier clashes along the Oconee until, with the cession of 1802, the Creeks were finally removed from the banks of the Oconee.

In 1788, no Federal government action had yet been taken to deal with the Georgia-Creek treaty situation, however, and raids were taking place back and forth across the Oconee Temporary Boundary from time to time as usual. In 1825 Peter Fair made a deposition that Colonel Jonas Fauche had a settlement on "Long Bloof" on the Oconee River which was burnt and destroyed about the year 1788 by Creek Indians. The settlement was worth, he said, \$200 and a stolen horse \$450. Under the Treaty of Indian Springs, Fauche received \$130 for the house and \$200 for the horse (78). Perhaps there was such a discrepancy in the value of the two, because Fauche was forced to spend so much time on horseback as a captain of dragoons. He appears to have owed his commission in the militia to the fact that he had more education than the general run of frontiersmen, and so was better able to keep records and make reports. His ability was soon recognized by his superior officers, and he eventually succeeded A. C. G. Elholm as







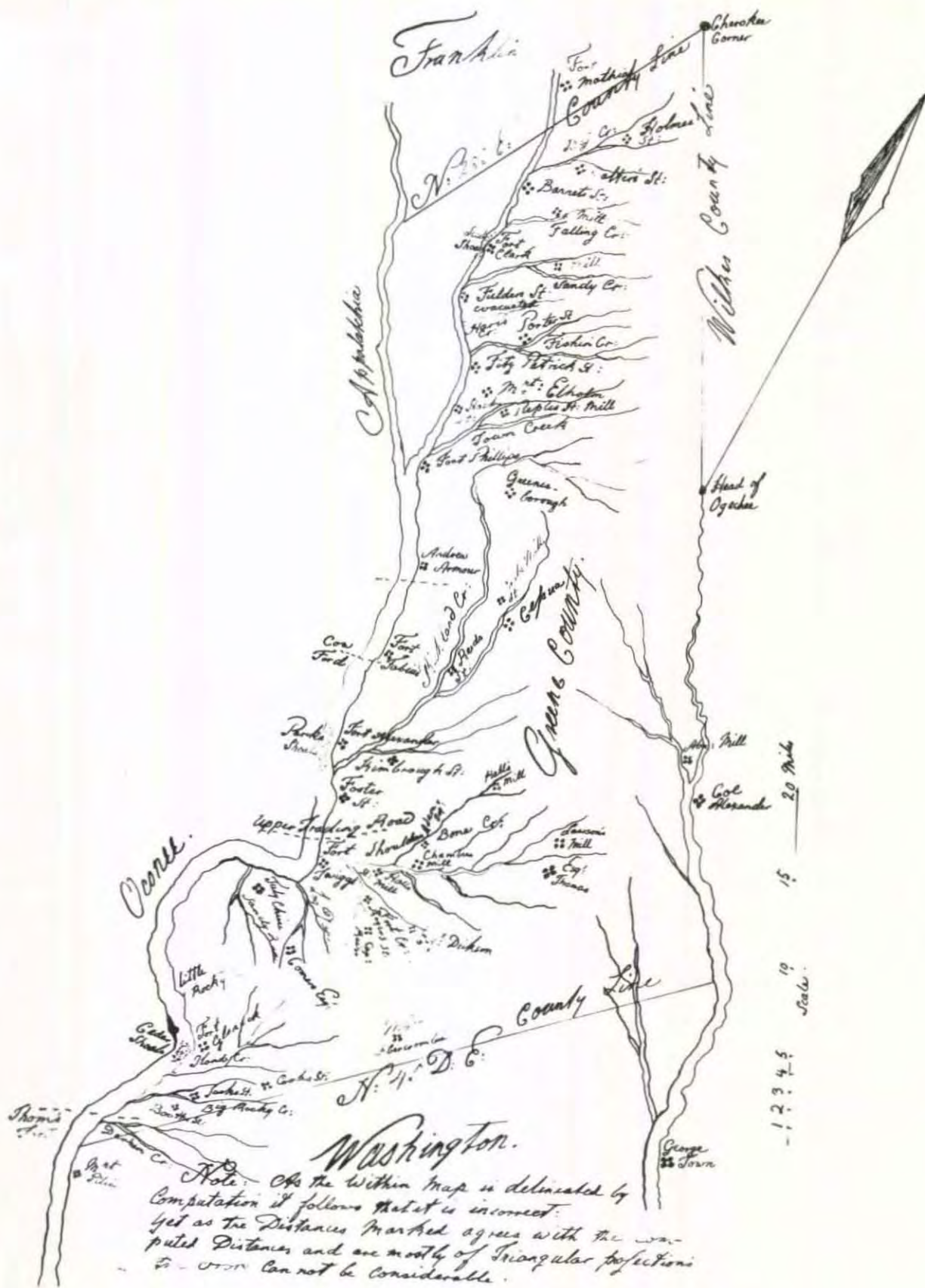


Fig. 6. The Elholm Map, made during military tour of inspection, Oconee frontier, 1793. (Surveyor General Department - tracing of photocopy).



Adjutant-General of the State of Georgia. Maps by both men accompany this study (Figs. 5 and 6).

In May, 1788, too, Rene Fitzpatrick lost a sorrel horse worth \$130 to Indians who crossed the Oconee. René, the uncle of William Fitzpatrick, lived near the present town of Union Point. He also lost a house at this time, for which he was not later compensated, because of the Treaty of New York (79). John McMichael made an affidavit that in August, 1788, in Greene County, not far from the Cow Ford on the Oconee River, Colonel William Walton, John and James Finney and others lost horses and followed the trail of the Indians seventy or eighty miles to a place near where present day Atlanta is located (80).

The Indians, too, complained of the depredations of the whites. Alexander McGillivray wrote to the Spanish governor Miro on September 20, 1788 (81):

"They [the American commissioners] assure that all hostilities against us will Cease in Georgia, but that is more than they can answer for as at the time that a truce of arms was operating with us those people kept up hostility in molesting our hunters in the woods, & now Since the truce was proclaimed by the Government of Georgia, a Coweta Indian brought me a written paper that he found on a tree more than half ways to the Nation, wherein was expressed that we are not to expect a Peace till they had a full Satisfaction of all their desires, with some promises to myself if I would agree to them. Thus we find that the Georgians will counteract the Intention of the Congress. I have sent the paper to the commissioners. It is signed by a James Alexander who killed the Cussitaws & brought on the war of last winter."

In a letter of the same date to Panton of the Florida trading firm of Panton and Leslie, at whose home he was, later, to die, McGillivray called the paper "a wretched, dirty, and scandalous scrawl!" "The chap that signs," he continued, "is Colonel Alexander, who murdered the Cussetas. He and Clarke sway Upper Georgia." He was probably referring to the Battle of Jack's Creek in the previous year, where Colonel Alexander fought with Colonel Elijah Clarke and his son John after a raid on Knox's fort and settlement and the Oconee forts to the south.

Many Georgians, including the governor, believed that only McGillivray kept the Indians on the warpath in Georgia, on account of his resentment at the seizure of the property and exiling of Lachlan McGillivray, his Loyalist trader father. It was believed that he might be bought off by promises of the restoration of his property, but this was a misapprehension.

All through 1789 murders, horse stealing, and house burning continued unabated in the settlements along the Oconee; ammunition was short, and the people must have spent a good deal of their time in the twelve forts which Elijah Clarke had ordered to be built along the Temporary Boundary.



in 1787. President Washington, wishing to pacify the Indians, appointed a commission of some of his most trusted advisers to meet with Alexander McGillivray and the Creek chiefs at the Rock Landing. General Lincoln, Cyrus Griffin, and Colonel David Humphreys studied the long series of previous treaties, and found them valid, and wished to make a treaty establishing the boundaries agreed upon at the Treaties of Augusta of 1783, Galphinton of 1785, and Shoulderbone of 1786. They expected McGillivray to agree to this, and were unprepared when he refused in a most contemptuous way to accede. They had, in their study, discovered many irregularities in Georgia's dealings with the Indians. As a result of these findings and the failure of the treaty talks, President Washington sent Marinus Willett as his confidential agent to the Creek country to invite the chiefs to New York, which was then the national capital, to draw up a Treaty of Peace and Friendship at a "Council Fire" to be held there. After a grand processional journey there, in part through upper Georgia, and much fêting of the Indians, on August 9, 1790, the Indians signed the prepared treaty, which was not entirely satisfactory either to the Indians or to the Georgians. Georgians had been accustomed to making their own treaties, and resented the takeover by the Federal government in this field provided by the new Constitution which had been ratified in 1789. Judge Walton had had to warn the citizens of Greene County not to jump the gun and cross over the Oconee to settle in 1789. They were shockingly disappointed to find, then, that the territory on the west bank of the Oconee, which the Revolutionary veterans had been promised as pay for their Georgia service, had not been ceded. The east bank was definitely affirmed to be the property of the State of Georgia, but the Indians were allowed to hunt up to the west bank, and, they said, according to the promise of Marinus Willett, on the northeast side as well. The Indians were displeased that they had not been able to regain the land in the forks of the Oconee and Apalachee Rivers; the Georgians were miffed that they had been ignored in the negotiations and that their lands had not been extended to the Ocmulgee, taking away the Oconee hunting lands entirely. They had long thought that these were not really necessary to the Indians since they had such a wide expanse beyond them, and the Georgians also felt that their future greatness was being compromised by constricting their territory. They also felt that as Southerners they were victims of discrimination by Northern political leaders. Thus began to develop the States' Rights controversy and the bitter resentment of Southerners toward their compatriots in the North.

Bishop Stevens says, concerning the Treaty of New York (82):

"It brought the Indians nearer to the white settlements on the Oconee; it gave them license to break other treaty stipulations; it lowered in their minds their idea of the power and rights of Georgia; it provoked the unjustifiable settlements and military occupation of the disputed territory by General Clarke; it excited hostilities and bloodshed along the frontier line; and was an occasion of continual annoyance to the citizens and government of the State."



The first annoyance to the people and government of the state was that a passport became necessary for any passage over the Oconee. The settlers could not cross in hot pursuit of Indians carrying off their personal possessions. Judge Stith found it necessary to remind the citizens of Greene County that to do so was against the Federal law, and might involve the United States in war, and so must be regarded very seriously. Among people to whom property meant status, and who felt unjustly deprived of their rightful possessions, and frustrated in recovering what had been forcibly seized from them, it is not surprising that feelings ran high and that violations were frequent. Following the pattern already set prior to the Revolution, indictments for violations were impossible to obtain. Killing Indians was self-defense, treaty or no treaty. Even the settlers, however, seem to have looked askance at Indian-haters like Benjamin Harrison, who fiendishly lay in wait at one ford on the Oconee and ambushed party after party of Indians, warlike or peaceful and unsuspecting, until he had killed at least seventeen at that one spot.

Secretary of War Knox had tried to get American trade authorized with the Creeks by the Treaty of New York, but McGillivray would only accede to an emergency trade in case an English war closed existing channels. This item was put in a secret article. It was provided that the question of trade could be brought up again in two years (83). At New York, McGillivray had been given to understand that the United States government would look with favor upon Creek resistance against the schemes of the land companies; and the Americans who encroached upon lands beyond the specified boundaries were considered interlopers who could be run off by the Indians with impunity. The boundaries were still in dispute, and even the highest officials in Georgia were involved in land speculation schemes which were to lead up to the notorious Yazoo Fraud. Greene County grand jurors complained that warrants were issued for more land than was available. In one county, single grants were made for more land than existed in the whole country.

By 1792, the French had stirred up the Creeks to attack the Cumberland settlements and renew hostilities on the Georgia frontier. In October, 1791, John Lindsey had had a mare stolen from him, he suspected by Indians, "near the Big Shoals upon the Oconee." In March, 1792, he had three head, two horses and one mare, "taken from off the North forke of the Oconee by Coosa Indians" (84).

On April 14, 1792, Colonel Henry Karr wrote to General Elijah Clarke (85) that Mr. James Yarborough and son had been killed by Indians upon Cedar Creek about two miles above the Big Shoals of the Oconee on April eleventh. There had been great confusion among the inhabitants of the frontier parts of the settlements ever since. Captain Alexander Reid had been his informant. Three Indians had been tracked some distance from the place. The victims had been tomahawked but not scalped. He requested orders. Major Richard Call, the first surveyor general of Georgia, replied on April twenty-ninth, that this was retaliation for the killing of an Indian on the frontier in 1791 for which no punishment had been imposed on the killer, and so was expected by the settlers, and the settlements did not at once break. On April thirtieth, 1792, a trader, David Shaw,



returning from the Creek Nation, met two Indians about twelve or fifteen miles from the Oconee; they had three head of horses, stolen, they said "a little above Phillipses" (86).

In May, seven companies of Greene County militia were called out including Fauche's Dragoons, John Fielders' and Armor's.

On June 5, Colonel Henry Karr wrote to Brigadier General Clarke from Greensboro (87):

"Settlements is Generally Brooke from Greene County up into Franklin, except those in Forts & Some Few are now a building. Collo. Phillips called out to pursue a party of Indians which took horses, shot at people. I have recommended 2 Fort [one copy says "1"] on the frontier of each company to be built there, one fort at Askey's mill [probably Askew's] one by Capt. Reid about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from that place [likely near Reid's Ferry] a building at Capt. Fidlers [Fielders] one near Carmikle's mill [in the neighborhood of Watson Springs] at Capt. Phillipses the neighbors is all collected."

Colonel Joseph Phillips and Captain Jonas Fauche pursued the band of Indians mentioned to the Rocky River where a skirmish ensued. The horsemen were to range up and down the river from Phillips' at the Forks to the Big Shoals.

On June 16, 1792, Colonel Karr wrote to General Elijah Clarke (88):

"A very Considerable part of your frontier settlements in this county [Greene] have broke up & moved off a number of others have collected in Company's and are building forts, The people complain much for ammunition & arms ----- Richd. Call Major of the 1st. United States regiment has Latelty paid a visit to the frontiers from Rock Landing as high as the big Shoals of Oconee and on his return from that place on the 9th Inst. at Greensborough he requested me to furnish him with a company of twenty five Horse men which request was Immediately Complied with and Capn. Fauche Received the Majr. orders which was to range up and down Oconee River from Phillips at the fork of Apalache to the big Shoals until further orders - he has been out constant since - - - -

"On the 11th. Inst. I received a request from Majr. Call to furnish a party of Militia to station at Capn. Zachariah Phillips' and recommend a fort to be built there - which request has also been complied with and the men now at work at the garrison - - - -"

In July, however, Major Fauche wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Elholm that he was having supply difficulties (89).



In July, 1792, there was a great drouth in the Oconee Region, and the corn crop was a failure. The United States had to furnish corn to the Indians, and it had to be brought in from outside the State of Georgia, as there was none to be had here. This increased the economic pressure on the Indians, since it made the deer even more important both as a food source and as a source for skins to be used to trade for necessities. With the various political pressures, including William Bowles, the Indians were thus really under tremendous pressures that made it impossible to cede the western shore of the Oconee. Also there was considerable competition between Indians and whites, who were both pushed into the area by the need to supplement their food from deer and to use it for pasture for cattle and hogs, since corn was so short (American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. IV).

To run the boundary, which still had not been done at this late date, it was necessary to have the co-operation of the Creek chiefs, and several would be expected to accompany the survey party. With the collusion of the Spanish, McGillivray was seeking successfully to avoid defining the boundary and was fomenting as much trouble as possible.

On November 28, 1792, he wrote to Panton in Florida (90):

"In the next place in order to Widen the breach I gave out in general orders that as the Georgians had put over a great Number of Cattle horses & c. into the So. fork of Oconee & erected hutts, that these Cattle should be all seized on & the hutts burnt which by this is in part accomplished & lastly I kept back every chief of these upper parts, & not one is gone [ to run the boundary ]."

The situation was worsening, and on January 15, 1793, Jonas Fauche wrote from Fort Matthews, above Barnett Shoals on the Oconee, to his fellow Greene Countian, A. C. G. Elholm, the Adjutant-General (91):

"Sir:

"I Take the Liberty to embrace this opportunity of offering to your attention a few remarks which have occurred to me, since my being into the service of the United States in conjunction and under the Command of Federal officers - The frontier inhabitants, in my humble opinion, do not reap those advantages which they at first expected from the patrolling militia Dragoons between the Federal Forts, and the reason is obvious - The restriction under which, the orders I myself received from Captain Roberts, of not crossing the line agreed upon in the Treaty of New York of 1790 between the United States and the Creek Indians on any pretence whatsoever, has prevented me several times of attempting to recover the property of inhabitants which I had very good prospect to effect, had I been permitted to follow trails which appeared immediately fresh - Give me leave to observe that I do not mean this remark as a reflexion upon my commanding officers



or any Continental one; but rather in justice to my countrymen as a citizen, who not being acquainted with military discipline thinks it entirely encumbant on me to defend and retake the property robbed from them on the territory where the thief flies for Shelter - Should it be possible to obtain from the Government the loan of about 35 Swords, it would be greatly to the advantage of the Service; and I pledge my honor that they shall be accounted for any time the Governor please to recall them - Wishing you a pleasant journey, I have the honor, etc."

Perhaps the journey to which Fauche referred was the tour of inspection of the Oconee frontier which Elholm made in 1793. While on this tour Elholm made a map (Fig. 6) and report on the forts. His map seems to have been preceded by another drawn by Jonas Fauche (Fig. 5) giving slightly different names for the forts. The twelve seem likely to have been those which Elijah Clarke ordered to be erected in 1787 and 1788. They also seem likely to have been placed at strategic locations probably already occupied by private forts of the kind previously described, and these were strengthened or replaced. Fort Phillips, especially, from the documentary evidence, bids fair to have been constructed before 1783. A deposition of Joseph Phillips in Greene County, Georgia, on October 8, 1802, and signed by William Fitzpatrick, J. I. C. states that in 1783 the Creek Indians stole two mares, one sorrel near five feet high brands not remembered, worth one hundred dollars, one bay mare and colt six or seven years old worth seventy dollars; in 1788, one black horse four feet eight or nine inches high worth sixty dollars; in 1793 two mares one a brown bay near five feet high two hind feet white a star in her forehead worth one hundred dollars; in 1787, all his buildings were destroyed, one dwelling house, kitchen, and several other buildings, and a quantity of household furnishings to the amount of four hundred collars. Isaac Stewart, Sylvanus Walker, and John White subscribed (92). These were all his Greene County neighbors. On May 10, 1783, Sergeant Samuel Newell of Captain Taylor's Company, Second Battallion, First Regiment, Greene County, was stationed at Fort Phillips (93). There is a receipt of May 16, 1786, signed by Joseph Phillips, Major, for five bushels of Indian meal for the use of the station at Fort Henry on the Oconee River. This may have been Henry Carr's fort or some other. On July 19 of the same year he gave a receipt for two hundred bushels of corn from Fredrick Lipham for the use of men in Greene County (94). On July 12, 1786, Captain Zachariah Phillips gave a receipt for "seventy-five wt. of flower for the use of Col. Henery Cars Rudgment on Duty I say Recd by me."

General John Twiggs, in command along this sector of the frontier, was also reporting on the situation in 1793. From Rebel Town he wrote to Governor Telfair on April eleventh (96), "I have Recommend the Building of Block houses for the dence of your frontiers - in Obedience to an order from the Commander in chief directed to the ajutant General for that purpose in the following places to wit. one at Carr's Bluff another at long Bluff one other at white Bluff another at the mouth of shoulder Bone in Greene County one at filders Between Greens Borough and fort Mathews." On May first he ordered that each station was to be garrisoned with one commissioned officer, two sergeants, and seventeen privates. They were to apply to the contractor for rations. The militia was declared to be in service.



In April a number of Greene County citizens petitioned for additional block houses. George W. Foster, justice of the peace, Captain Robert Melton, Captain John Armor, Lieutenant Shadrack Kimbrough, Ensign Thomas Smedley and thirteen other citizens of the county asked that a fort be guarded and supported at the Cow Ford on the Oconee River between Fort Phillips and Fort Twiggs, twelve miles each way (97). John Armor, Nathan Peeples, Captain John Fielder and Lieutenant S. Kimbrough sent General Twiggs another petition "that Fort Phillips lately built at a great expence, by order of the late Major Call, at the confluence of the Oconee and Appalachee Rivers in the State it is now left in, is in danger of being burnt by the Indians whilst the Country in back of it is now explored by the Enemy - Greensborough the place where publick records are now kept, and valuable publick & private buildings erected can be covered by that Fort only, and the party of Dragoons which may be ordered to reconnoitre out side of this much populated settlement - We therefore beg that the aforesaid Fort may be Garrisoned & the Light Dragoons Troop of this regiment furnished Arms, Ammunition, etc." (98). Others wanted a public fort at Davis Gresham's, but deferred to General Twiggs' decision. Two detachments of the militia troop of Dragoons under command of Jonas Fauche had then been called into United States service by the late Major Call (99).

From Augusta on May eighth, General Twiggs reported, "I have sent you by Mr. Hously for the use of your Ridgment one Hundred Pounds of Powder Two Hundred Pounds of Led and Twenty Swords for Capt. Fosh's Troop of Horse. . ."

On June 22, 1793, the Augusta Chronicle published a letter relating to the Oconee forts (100). It was addressed to Mr. Smith by the "Oconee Planter." It states in part:

"Had you seen our fine crops you might not have believed we had remained and tended our farms so well, whilst the savages like wolves were constantly laying wait to scalp us in our fields. But the government having caused public forts to be built in front of every mill and settlement, and ordered men to guard them, and to waylay the several fords and paths all along the rivers and frontier, has indeed helped and preserved us; and now you see a few plantations of a large number that would otherwise have been laid waste, can pay for the whole. For the strongest fort that has been built cost only fifteen pounds; and either of the others as forts Telfair, Irvine, Jackson, Glascock, Twiggs, Fabius, Alexander, Clark or Blackbourn have cost no more, and several of them a great deal less; and each of said forts can contain, I am informed, 200 armed men, and cover as many horses during fighting - those I have seen are well and strong built indeed. They cost the frontier settlers heavy and much work; but we had to build or else run away, and starve next year. Who would not be a Georgian! You see, and so the whole world may, that we stand our guard against two nations [Spain and the Creeks], on a frontier extending 300 miles, besides



the Shawnees. And what will they get by it? Why a few volunteers on poor horses, for we had no corn last year to fatten them with, would have destroyed all the hostile Indians could the horses have carried them there."

On July 2, Jonas Fauche reported to Elholm on his difficulties. He had just married Polly Daniel and nothing had gone well in his absence on his honeymoon (101):

"Until now the Contractors have made but little or no provision for the furnishing of the Troop of Dragoons in actual service under my Command. Part have been irregularly furnished by some agent of their own and part by some person of their own seeking, expecting the contractor would cover the advances of such persons, as they had wrote me they would - Now the contractors are coming to have their abstracts legalized -

"They have agreed to settle with some of aforementioned persons with their notes and promises only, and with others they cann't come to terms - Some of the Dragoons have furnished themselves who could not be supplied at all & some others have suffered and their horses for want of supplies - these applies for back rations of provisions & forage or an equivalent and the contractor was only given due bills - I shall not expostulate to you, Sir, on the maney disadvantages the service and discipline labour under by such irregularities on the part of the Contractor - I state facts, and your military knowledge and experience will lead you into the consequences - I have made my weekly returns to Lieutenant-Colonel Melton according to his orders to me when he called my troop in actual service & I have complained to him concerning the contractor; Should expect these my reports have or will come to His Excellency thro' the medium of the General Officers to whom Lieutenant Colonel Melton reports - but as it may take some time and that I am applyed to for the abstract I take the liberty to beg you will direct how I am to act to do justice to the Dragoons under my command, to the inhabitants who have furnished and to my country - Should I sing [sign] partial abstracts; those who can't agree with the contractor will remain unpaid; should I sing them full they are to the mercy of the contractor together with the dragoons who furnished themselves & will only receive due bills, which I think an imposition on the country; for thus the troops are irregularly supplied, the dragoon's being sent home to procure forage and provisions prevent discipline to be enforced on them and the horses are rendered as kept unfit for service by unnecessary fatigue - The contractor have now agreed with Mr. Archibald Devereux to supply the several detachments of dragoons at Fort Phillips, Fort Elholm and Fort Clarke which I am in great hopes will be done with more regularity & put me in better spirit - but Fort Fabius and Fort Twiggs, where two detachments of my troops are ordered still remains unprovided for and the dragoons supplied themselves from their homes - The



wish of those Dragoons and of such of the inhabitants who have furnished and cann't agree with the contractor is that all the vouchers be collected in the name of one of them and an abstract made and sent to Mr. Habersham to receive payment to be afterwards distributed according to the advance of each concern - but, sir, I wish to have your opinion on this affair and leave it with you wether it will be proper for me to make such a petition to His Excellency on which case you will be pleased to report on my letter; this will be for supplies up to the 30th of June after that time, the contractor will, I am in great hopes of the service and will enable me soon to have in the field a troop of volunteers will discipline and fit for any service required of them -

"I will be extremely thankful for your directions and for informing me wether my returns for our service done under Major Call and Gaither have yet been forwarded and wether any answer has come to His Excellency concerning them - Shall be glad to be informed at which period I am to make payrolls for the services now doing and who I am to direct them."

Other letters followed asking for swords, and then the swords were declared a hindrance when riding through the woods. Fauche also complained that, because the militia were not uniformly armed, they could not be taken through the manual of arms, or, indeed, any uniform military drill, and thus had to go into action poorly trained as well as poorly equipped. "The Militia Drill," a sketch which was written by an anonymous friend and published in The Georgia Scene by the noted Georgia humorist, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, of Greene County, echos the lament of Jonas Fauche in a tongue-in-cheek fashion.

By July 25, 1793, Fort Fabius had been completed (102). Joseph White and Littleberry Gresham had built it at a cost of fourteen pounds. Augustus C. G. Elholm describes it. It was situated "on the Cow Ford of the Oconee River, being fifty-two Feet square including one Block House eighteen feet square in the Lower Story - and twenty feet square in the upper story - also a strong log house on the opposite corner of said Fort, that serves as a Bastion, the stockade nine feet high, agreeable to Lt. Col. Melton's order affidavit of value follows - Signed Gilbert Cribbs John Swancey" et. al. In August, 1793, the dragoons were stationed there. On the Elholm map, this is the site of Archibald Gresham's private fort (Fig. 6). Fort Alexander was placed on the site of Parker's House. Kimbrough's was applied for in 1793 as well. Captain Melton and George W. Foster prayed that it might be furnished with ammunition and "Warlike Accoutrements" (103). Elholm had suggested that garrisons should be placed at Andrew Armor's, Archibald Gresham's, Parker's and Foster's in 1793. In October of that year Jonas Fauche reported to Elholm that he had been almost constantly on fatigue parties ever since the early part of August, and so had been unable to forward weekly returns. He had to arrange for the transport of prisoners to Augusta (104).



In an extract of still another letter from Fauche to Brigadier-General Jared Irwin he wrote (105):

"Fort Phillips and the Country for fifteen miles above and twenty below it are left quite uncovered; that fort has lost monies to the United States, and in the Situation it is left in the indians may easily burn it - I take the liberty to recommend that a Lieutenants command of the militia be garrisoned there, whilst a division of a Light-Dragoon Troop do patrol from that post up to Fort Fielder and an other division from the same down to the next garrison below it [Andrew Armor's or Fort Fabius]; without these patrols the Indians easily slip into the heart of the country without even being discovered by the garrison - The arms and ammunition are very much wanting, and altho' provisions comes scarce, such a party as I have mentioned might be provided for."

Colonel Elholm replied to the letter with orders to keep this plan up to prevent settlers doing more than providing small places of defense in their neighborhoods.

In October, 1793, Captain Robert Melton's detachment (this is what Fauche calls a "division") was stationed at Fort Fabius. It consisted of one captain, one sergeant, one corporal, one trumpeter, fifteen gentlemen-at-arms, a total of seventeen men present and fit for duty, a far cry from the two hundred foreseen by the Oconee Planter in June. These men had fifteen rifles, two fuses, thirteen swords, eight pistols, seventeen saddles and bridles, eight holsters, seventeen shot bags and seventeen powder horns. Two men were discharged during the month. The militia had trouble keeping men whose terms of enlistment ran out (105).

The year 1794 saw General Elijah Clarke and with him some of his local associates involved in the French intrigue set on foot by Genêt, the new French Republican minister, who had landed in Charleston in 1793 and had been introduced to the leading citizens of Georgia and South Carolina as a sort of social lion and democratic hero. Georgia had during its entire history been threatened by the Spanish in East and West Florida and their allies the Creek Indians. The Spanish had furnished the arms and ammunition for the current attacks along the Oconee, and had in 1794 invaded the Tallassee country in the south which had been swapped back and forth by treaty between the Georgians and the Indians for years until both felt it was rightfully theirs. Spain kept spies in the Indian country all along the Georgia frontier and probably in the settled parts of the state, too. Genêt proposed to raise an army to fight the Spanish, and came well supplied with blank commissions and money. The money was that which the United States had paid on its Revolutionary War debt to France. Because of the invaluable aid of France during the Revolution, and because of the recently successful French Revolution with which Americans were most sympathetic, Genêt received a most enthusiastic welcome. Many of the actions which he proposed France had practised in helping the United States achieve its independence. The Federal government had proved very reluctant to help the



people of Georgia during the extremely dangerous year 1793 against almost incessant Indian attacks, and the assistance provided was inadequate and short-lived. Most frontier families had to spend much of their time in forts that year, and finally the State had to take over whatever protection was provided. It was State forces which pursued the Indians beyond the Oconee, since the Federal troops could not legally cross the Temporary Boundary. Of course, the forces were all the same people, but the command was different. In 1796, the Greene County militia had still not been paid for their service in 1793, as the Grand Jury presentments show. The governor had pledged his salary to pay them, but evidently, it was not enough. It can be easily imagined that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the way affairs were going on the Georgia frontier. At the same time, Thomas Jefferson, Governor Moultrie of South Carolina, and many prominent Georgia officials were in sympathy with Genêt's cause; and a large banquet and parade were given in Augusta in honor of the Minister by the Georgia Legislature. Augustus C. G. Elholm was in charge of the program, and a fifteen gun salute was fired. The French needed some one to recruit upper Georgians for their scheme and convinced General Elijah Clarke to accept a commission as Major General with a salary of \$10,000 to organize the Georgia and South Carolina forces for them. A number of outstanding figures of the time, including George Rogers Clark, also entered the French service.

According to Murdock (1951 pp. 26-27), a letter was printed in the Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser for January 3, 1794 which gave the impression that the formation of military units was already well underway in Greene County by the middle of November 1793. He quotes the letter in part. "A spirit of recruiting prevails here to a great degree, for an expedition, under French authority against Augustine, West Florida and New Orleans. It is said Colonel Kerr of [Karr's Bluff on the Oconee] is to have a command of a legion, and Colonel Philips [Joseph Philips] of a battalion. Captains Oliver and Cook are to be captains in Colonel Philips' battalion. Several men in this part of the country have already been enlisted".

In February 1794, Elijah Clarke resigned his commission in the Georgia militia. He planned for his new army to mobilize on the Oconee, those from the upper district of Georgia to convene opposite Greensboro.

In February, Governor Matthews toured the frontier and wrote to the Indian agent, James Seagrave, about the situation he found there (107):

"Fort Fidius Feby. 3rd 1794

"Sir

"I arrived here on 31" ult. on my tour of the frontiers - The White Bird King of the Cussataws [who had been at New York with Alexander McGillivray, whose picture Turnbull had sketched there, and who was induced by Benjamin Hawkins to try farming; he is supposed to have lived at the confluence of Indian Creek and Little River near Rock Eagle, in what is now Putnam County] and Six of the Warriors of his Town had been here for some days, waiting my arrival: I found their business was to inform me of two of their men being killed on the waters of Little River, I have endeavoured to satisfy them as well of the matter as I was able. The King and his Warriors return Satisfied.



The talk I have had with them will be sent to you by Capt. Freeman [Constant Freeman, agent of the United States War Department].

"In my last letter I advised you of four Indians being taken prisoners at Phillips Fort, three of them have made their escape and returned to their nation the other with the Horses and property taken with them, I have given orders to be Liberated and to be conveyed Safe over the Appalachi.

"I will give orders not to molest or disturb any of the Indians that come in a peaceable manner to the frontiers; I wish them to have a pass from you or some of your Agents; it will give great pleasure to have some of the persons and property given up, that is in their Land, as I am persuaded it will have a happy tendency to reconcile the Citizens of this State to a peace with the Indians. You may rest assured of my best endeavour to give the Federal Government a fair Opportunity of trying their favorite Object of peace with the Creek Nation. You will much oblige me by informing whether the Cherokees are for peace or War."

The two Creeks who were murdered were the Dog King and one of his party. The Georgia Dragoons had been engaged in a skirmish during which two men had been killed, and later their bodies had been mutilated. The furious inhabitants with the militia crossed the Oconee and met a hunting party from which they received what they construed as a hostile move. They fired into the hunting party and struck the Dog King "in the belly." A larger engagement with the militia under Major David Adams then ensued in which the Indians were completely routed and some fled to the Federal fort, evidently Fidius, for refuge, much to Seagrave's discomfiture. Both the Indians and the Georgians were aroused. One third of the Georgia militia was called out and stationed in the frontier posts upon receipt of a report that the notorious Thomas Brown, Tory leader at Augusta during the Revolution, had gone into the Creek Nation with a large supply of trade goods for the Indians. He was believed to be a British agent bent on stirring up the Indians into a war with the United States to be fought mainly on the Georgia frontier (108).

Captain Zachariah Phillips and Joseph Phillips were paid by the government for conducting the captive Indian back to his Nation. They must have been paid for the risk that they took and the time the Indian had to be maintained in their fort, because they really did not have far to go to escort him back over the Apalachee.

On February thirteenth, 1794, Jonas Fauche wrote Governor Matthews from Greensboro (109) concerning the call-out of the militia:

"...There has been issued to Lieut. Colo. Melton from the State Arsenal 80 musquets, which are now scattered through the Country - Should it please your Excellency to order that the troop under my command shall be provided with them, until carabines can be procured, it will prove those many advantages to said Troop, that uniformity in arms & c will always give over a mixture of wheapons with which no kind even of manual exercise can be executed.



"When your Excellency may think expedient to order into service the 2d division of the Troop under my command, shall be glad to receive the arms and accoutrements to equip the same with Shedule of their costs to be deducted out of the pay of the Dragoons, purchasers.

"It has pleased Lieut. Colo. Melton to detail the division of the Troop under my command into four detachments at four different parts where there are no other troops - So that eight troopers, under a Corporal or a Serjeant all inexperienced in their duty are left to do garrison and horsemen's service, whilst in fact that number of best of troops could do neither for any long time at a fort where two gates, require two parts at least."

At the conclusion of Governor Matthews' tour of the frontier, on February 18, 1794, he wrote General John Clarke in Wilkes County (110):

"From the Tour of the frontier I have made, I am full convinced that frequent drafts of the Militia form but a feeble defense, in many instances the posts are left several days together unoccupied, and it rarely happens that the number of men ordered out are complete: to rimidy this, and to save the expence of so much countermarching I have to request you will endeavour to get each Company of Infantry in your Division to furnish two men for nine months, to be computed from the time of their being ordered into service; they will be commanded by Captains and Subalterns from the respective Brigades in Your Division drawn out by Seniority, provided they are the best qualified for actual Service: If the Companies voluntarily furnish the men it will save them from the repeated drafts they now are liable to, and shall exempt them from all duty except in times of actual Invasion or on Offensive Operations; The sums the Companies would have to contribute, in addition to the pay the men will receive whilst in Service, will be so trifling compared with the protection afforded the frontiers and the advantages they will derive by being relieved from repeated Drafts, that I flatter my self the Citizens will Chearfully acquiesce to the measures, but should that not be the case you must order a draft of two men from each Company who are to remain on duty three months from the time of their marching. The men from Division will be marched in equal detachments to the following places, to wit, the Hurricane Shoals on the Oconee, the flat Shoals on Middle River, the high Shoals on the Apalatchee, and Philip's Mill Shoals on said river, where they are to erect Block Houses with a sufficient pickete work to contain an emergency fifty Infantry and forty Dragoons.

"After these posts are established you will station at Ward's Mill on Tugaloe and Officer, a Serjeant, and Sixteen privates and the same number at each of the following places, Wafford's, the Hurricane Shoals, Philip's Shoals and at Fort Twiggs's; during the time the posts are erecting, the Troops of Horse will cover the frontier from Ward's to the High Shoals on the Apalatchee in the best possible manner.



"Brigadier General Clarke being particularly acquainted with the ground will point out the spot on which each of the foregoing Block Houses will be erected."

Elijah Clarke must have submitted his resignation soon after, for in March the following communication reached the governor from Greene County (111):

"To his Excellency George Matthews, esquire Captain General Governor & Commander in chief in and over the State of Georgia."

"Inclosed your Excellency will receive an affidavit made by six men on oath, the affidavit will show you the nature of the Business with three names of Persons which appeared as Leaders of that Riotous and unlawful assembly of Armed men to the Terror of the good Citizens of this County and we think against the peace, order, Dignity, and good Government of this State - A list of such men, as composed that armed body so far as comes to our knowledge, we have herein also inclosed unto your Excellency - And we do further inform you that we have reason to believe that number of the same are such as are supposed to have enrolled themselves into a Company of Armed Troops, raised without the authority of this or the United States that they are now (as it is said) beginning a rendezvous at Phillips Fort on the Oconee River or at the mouth of the Apalachee near thereunto & whose march from there we fear will be attended with Evil and Dangerous consequences of this state & it may be to the United States, and we pray your Excellency would transmit unto us some Instructions how we shall conduct ourselves at this Important and Critical period.

"We are with all due respect your Excellency's Obt. Humble Servts.

Tho. Houghton, J.P.  
Robt. McAlpin, " "  
G.W. Foster, " "  
John Armor, " "

"March 16th 1794"

They enclosed the deposition of Joel Meadow, Jonas Meadow, John Hughet, William Hughet, John Cartwright and Rubin Edwards in which they swore that Joseph Carson, Colonel William McKinsey, Joseph Phillips, with about forty men, all armed, "had riotously and tumultously appeared at the house of Barnes Holoway and took these deponents by violence and with force and threatened some with killing, some with whipping and such like in a blasphemous manner." After an hour, "they suffered them to depart without injury and Captain McKinsey solicited William Hughet to join him and be a good fellow with them." Voluntarily or by the use of such tactics, they recruited over a hundred men. General Clarke placed Captain James Bird in command at Fort Phillips. Among those included in the venture were Joseph White who built Fort Fabius the preceding year; Adam Carson who took a fiery part later in the Trans-Oconee Republic; and Benjamin Fitzpatrick, who settled the adjacent land in what was soon to become Morgan County. John Cartwright took up land on Sandy Run



south of Shoulderbone, and Peter Cartwright lived on Richland Creek. A later John Curtwright, who seems to be a son or nephew of these, later owned the Curtwright Manufacturing Company at the mouth of Richland Creek. General Clarke joined his troops on April eighteenth. A rumor was circulated that he was raising an army of twenty-five hundred men to march against the Indians. Georgians knew the real reason for the recruiting, but it was thought better if the Indians expected to be the objects of the action, which, of course, they would have been as the allies of the Spanish. General Clarke marched his troops three hundred miles south to join the French camp at Temple on the Florida line near St. Mary's. There they were mounted and presented handsome French swords with brass hilts.

When President Washington became alarmed at the possibility that the United States might be plunged into a war with Spain as a result of these activities, he called on the governors of Georgia and South Carolina to take steps to suppress the invasion and offered the services of Federal troops if necessary. South Carolina had already become disenchanted with the project, and its Legislature demanded that all citizens in the French service be prosecuted. Governor Matthews of Georgia issued a proclamation warning citizens not to join the outlaw troops. When Genêt was recalled at the request of Thomas Jefferson, acting on Washington's behalf, Elijah Clarke and his three hundred men were left stranded on the St. Mary's River. The new French minister, Fauchet, issued a proclamation terminating the venture. The expedition caused the Spanish to cease their incitement of Indian hostility, and the Indians were themselves intimidated enough to stop the massacres along the Florida line for a time. The episode, along with the Battle of Jack's Creek in 1787, combined to start the political career of General John Clarke, Elijah Clarke's son and military associate (who did not, however, take part in the Florida affair), which became one of the most powerful and colorful, if not always admirable, political machines in Georgia history.

While General Elijah Clarke and his followers were on the Florida border, the Indians took the opportunity to attack all along the northern frontier of Georgia. As a result of Governor Matthews' and General John Clarke's military inspection trip, military posts were established every eighteen miles, each garrisoned by twenty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers. At this time the Greene County Grand Jury presented a grievance that the inhabitants of the area in the Forks between the Apalachee and Oconee Rivers were unprotected by any fort, while they paid the highest taxes of any in the county. Soon afterward, Fort Republic appears in the records, and its location is given as the Apalachee River. Since the only other fort known on the Apalachee was at High Shoals, Fort Washington, we should expect to find Fort Republic about eighteen to twenty-five miles south of the High Shoals and an equal distance from the confluence with the Oconee on the east bank of the river. The Secretary of War of the United States refused to pay for the supplies for these forts.

General Elijah Clarke, with his three hundred idle troops on the Florida line, heard of the Indian troubles on the Oconee and held an open meeting with his men during which he offered them the choice of returning home or going with him to the aid of Georgia against the Indians. As an organized force and without authority, they could not settle on recognized Georgia land, but they could form a camp across the Oconee on land which Elijah Clarke had



acquired by treaty, but which had been set aside by the Treaty of New York. The Indians stood in considerable awe of Clarke, and he had reason to believe that his presence with an armed force across the Oconee would be enough to settle the border troubles. His men unanimously agreed to go with him up the Oconee, and he led them back to their accustomed scene of action, where he established a camp opposite Fort Fidius, where the Indians had given most trouble.

The explosive situation had caused Governor Matthews to write Secretary of War Henry Knox for assistance, and on May fourteenth, Knox replied (112):

"Sir:

"The President of the United States consents to your propositions relatively to the defensive protection for the frontiers of Georgia so far as to the establishment of a Blockhouse every twenty-five miles of the line exposed to danger and garrisoning the same with One Subaltern. One Serjeant One Corporal and fifteen privates there men to be of the Militia of Georgia and to be engaged until the first day of January next unless sooner discharged.

"It is to be understood that the hundred foot heretofore ordered are to be considered as part of the arrangement.

"But the President conceives that the hundred horse - also heretofore allowed will be all that will be necessary at present. I have also written to Mr. Habersham to furnish provisions to those Blockhouses as you will perceive in the enclosed.

"It is understood that each garrison will erect the blockhouses for their own security - Mr. Habersham will find the tools - the number and precise situation of the blockhouses you may establish in pursuance of this letter.

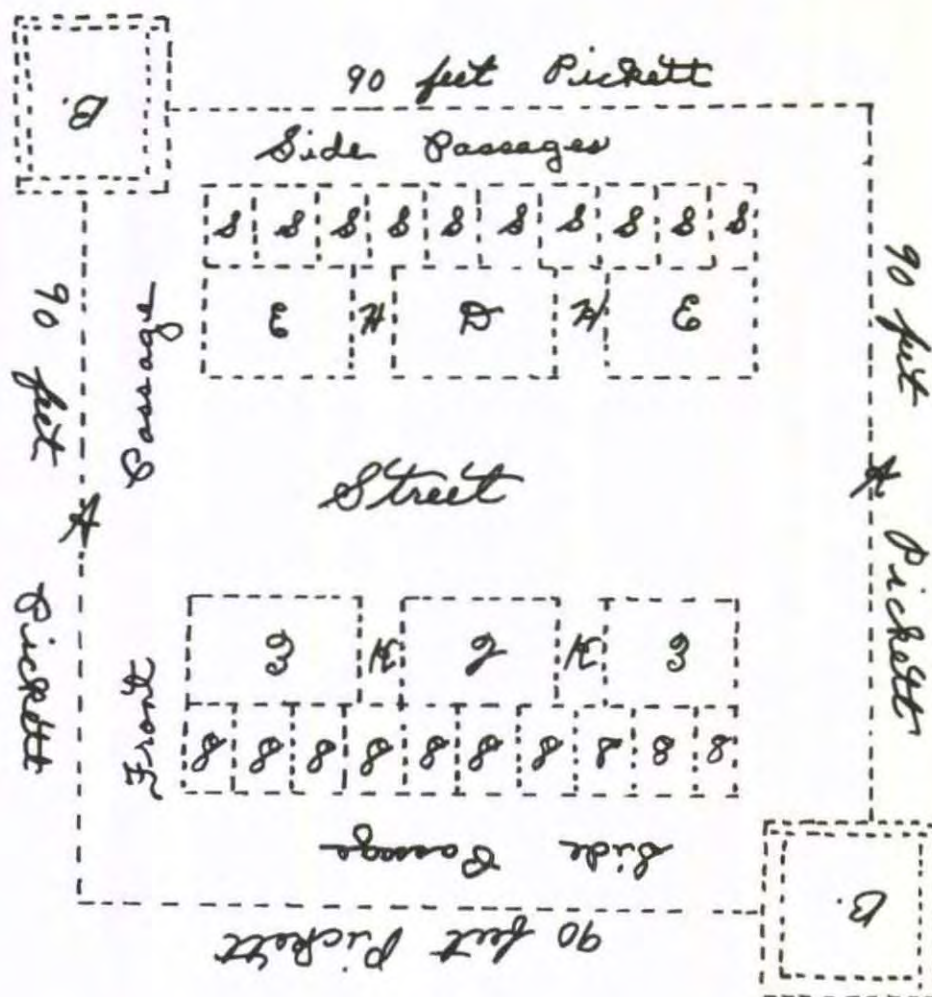
"The regulations which should be established for these small garrisons ought to provide for the regular inspection and muster of the men. Indeed it will be necessary that Continental officers be appointed for this purpose and I shall direct Mr. Freeman accordingly with instructions upon the subject.

"Plan of blockhouse follows." (It was enclosed and is appended to this study, Fig. 7).

By the sixth of June, at least one of these was in service, that at Phillips Mill Shoal, since charges were brought against the officer in command of the "Infantry" there that he was playing at Cards with the Soldiers, and riding out with the Waggoner on the horses of the Team then in Service - He confessed his Guilt and promised reformation " (113).

By June 11, Fort Republic also was in service, and James Campbell, who inspected it wrote from there (114), "The spies appointed to this district, have hitherto done their duty with the utmost vigilance and Care - Their





#### SPECIFICATIONS

B. B.	Blockhouses: 20 ft. x 20 ft. x 14 ft. high.
L L	Overjuts 23 ft. x 23 ft. x 7 ft. high.
Picketts	Blockhouse doors: 4 ft. wide.
A A	12 ft. above ground, 3 ft. under.
Street	Gates: 6 ft. wide.
Front passages	30 ft. wide.
Side passages	15 ft. wide.
C	10 ft. wide.
D	Commisaries store: 15 ft. x 20 ft.
E. E. E. E.	Officers' house: 15 ft. x 20 ft.
H. H. H. H.	Soldiers hutts: 15 ft. x 20 ft.
Horse stables	Chimney places: 5 ft. wide.
	7 ft. x 10 ft.

Fig. 7. Proposed fort plans and specifications enclosed in letter from Secretary of War Henry Knox to Governor Matthews of Georgia, 1794. (Military Affairs, Vol. 2, Part 1, 1793-1800, p. 166 - tracing of photocopy).



endeavours in that line Since my arrival here have really been highly Satisfactory."

Hugh McCall, Georgia's first historian, and aide to Brigadier General Clarke, certified that these were true statements concerning the conduct of officers and spies "from Phillips Mill Shoals on the Apalachee to Ward's Mill on Tugaloe" (115). McCall was not long after indicted for riot in Greensboro (116).

White says (117), "In May, 1794, Governor Matthews receiving information that some adventurers, supposed to be in the French interest, were making settlements on the southwest side of the Oconee River, ordered General Irwin to direct the settlers immediately to disperse, and was informed a few days afterwards, that they had obeyed the injunction." They must have just moved out of Irwin's sight, for General Clarke had a new plan, and in the next few days he was well on the way toward carrying it out. He decided to organize his men into a separate and independent Republic, outside the jurisdiction of Georgia and the United States. There was much precedent for such proceedings. His friend John Sevier had tried a similar project with his State of Franklin; the Robertson Settlement was comparable in what became Tennessee. Lieutenant-Colonel Elholm, his former adjutant, had been with Sevier, and had, indeed, been Sevier's emissary to Clarke in Georgia. The State of Georgia had had a firm policy for a quarter of a century of pushing its boundaries to the west as fast as the Indians could be displaced. Governor Matthews himself had had Fort Romulus established on the Ocmulgee only recently, and other nations had in the past established forts in Indian country in order to protect their trading posts and establish their national presence and power in inland North America. This was the method by which the Georgians had heretofore reached the Oconee, and this was the normal way they expected to expand their boundaries in the future. In consultation with Major Criswell and Colonels Gains and Griffin in Wilkes County, a Constitution for the new republic was drawn up, and General Clarke returned across Oconee. Joseph Phillips was appointed the general's chief aide and second in command (Murdock 1951, p. 58).

The following letter in the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta gives some interesting details concerning the Republic (118):

"Georgia, Greene County

"May ye 20th 1794

"...In the first place ten miles in width along the west side of the Apilachy and Ocony Rivers is to compose a line of fortifications at ten miles distance from each other one at the mouth of the Apilachy, one above and four below is to compose the first line...

"They have now actually begun and built a block house, at the mouth of the Apilachy, that being the first settlement...the chief conductors are known of hear...Major General Clarke of Wilkes County, and Joseph Phillips of this."



The letter describes the terms of settlement, and describes the settlers, who called themselves "adventurers", as "bad characters", "criminals", and "more dangerous than the Indians."

Also in May, the Spanish received a communication from one of their agents, the Indian trader, John Hambly, warning them of the Trans-Oconee settlements. "Two Indians paddling down the [Oconee] river reported seeing signs of a large settlement. There were several loaded wagons and a large herd of horses. The presence of several women indicated that the settlement was at least a semi-permanent one. According to the Indians, armed sentries were in evidence at all times. They identified Elijah Clarke as leader, although they did not claim to have seen him at that time" (Murdock, 1951, p. 51).

Bishop Stevens says (119), "Several garrisons, within communicating distances, were established, military stores were obtained, and the most determined resolutions taken to sustain the undertaking."

Coulter and Grice say (120) General Elijah Clarke in 1794, "seized the Indian lands west of the Oconee and....set up an independent state. He built forts and threw up entrenchments along the line of the Oconee and Appalachian rivers, built block houses, offered bounties to his soldiers...It was an organized government."

In a letter of May 17, 1794, General Clarke wrote from a place near Greensboro to Major David Adams, whose action had triggered the situation to begin with, to ask him to take command of one of his projected posts. In the letter he describes his men as gentlemen. Major Adams decided not to join him. The letter also gave the proposed locations for the posts across the Oconee at Fielder's Trail (opposite Fielder's station, in existence since 1787 at least and designated as a military post by General Twiggs in 1793), the Appalachian (opposite Fort Phillips), the Big-cow ford (near the still surviving Park Inn and across from Andrew Armor's fort), the mouth of Shoulderbone (opposite Fort Twiggs), the mouth of Little River (now under Lake Sinclair) and opposite Montpelier or as near as it was possible to make it convenient (121). The site opposite Fort Phillips would have been higher ground than that fort, harder to assault from the east bank, because of the steep sandy bluff approach, and would have posed a threat to the people in the other fort. Other sources say that one of the proposed sites was at the mouth of Sugar Creek, and one of the arms of this creek is called Clarke's Fork.

Governor Matthews about this time asked the Georgia Attorney General for an opinion as to the legality of the settlement across the Oconee, and received a lengthy opinion citing various laws, State and Federal, which the settlements violated and naming the penalties, including whipping, provided for each violation. The President decided to leave the affair up to Governor Matthews, because it would have been impractical to send troops, and he did not wish to become embroiled in the issue of States Rights under the circumstances. Governor Matthews sent a letter to Jared Irwin requesting him to look into the "late Major General Clarke's settlement." By Timothy Barnard, he sent a Talk to the Indians in which he admitted that General Clarke had settled across the Oconee, but he said that he understood that General Clarke intended to rent the lands from the Indians, and that if he intended to stay they could be sure that President Washington would put him



off unless the Indians chose to let him remain. General Irwin, who had fought at the side of and under General Clarke, showed his letter to Clarke, who ignored it.

The Trans-Oconee settlements served a double purpose: they protected the settlers from the Indians while standing between the land hungry Georgians and the rich Indian lands they coveted. Envious of Clarke's seizure, certain citizens petitioned the Legislature demanding the seizure of the Indian lands all the way to the Chattahoochee (122).

On July 19, 1794, Governor Matthews wrote Major General John Twiggs (123):

"Sir.

"You will please to order, immediately, into Service, one Capt., four Subalterns, five Serjeants, five Corporals and Seventy-five Privates; and have them Stationed at the following places. An officer one Serjeant one Corporal and fifteen privates at Berry-hill's Bluff on the Oconee, An officer, a Serjeant Corporal and fifteen Privates at the White Bluff on the said River near the mouth of the Buffalo. An officer a Serjeant, Corporal and fifteen Privates at Phillips's Mill on the Appalacha to relieve a party from Genl. Clarke's Brigade [John Clarke's].

"Shou'd there not be Block houses and Stockade pickets erected at their respective posts, you will order the Officer to have them erected.

"Major Habersham the Agent for supplying the Company has orders to furnish the working tools, and will provide the means of handling the Timbers.

"The Captain Commanding is to consider"...The letter breaks off here.

On July 23, 1794, he wrote General John Clarke from Augusta (124):

"Sir

"You will please to order Capt. Zimmerman to have the men from your Brigade, under his Command, at the high shoals of the Appalatcha, Phillups's Mill shoals, the flat shoals, and the Hurricain Shoals on the Oconee, mustered from the time they were ordered into Service, till the thirty-first of May, as part of the Infantry authorized by the President. And have the pay & Muster Rolls agreeably to those furnished by the Agent of the war department. The Capt. and the next Senior officer are authorized to muster them. I think it may not be a miss to add at the foot, a Dollar and Sixty Cents Per month, in lieu of Clothing.

"I have ordered Genl. Twiggs to relieve the men of your Brigade, that are at Phillups's Mill Shoals - you will order the men relieved to Compleat the other three Stations from your



Brigade, to a Serjeant, Corporal and fifteen privates; Shou'd any remain let them be ordered to compleat Warford's and Ward's in the same manner -- I wish you would recommend it to Captn. Zimmerman to engage the men to serve till the first of Jany, if not sooner discharged, as the instructions of the Secretary of War authorizes it."

At the insistance of Secretary Knox, calling on Matthews in the President's name, the governor was forced to take action to break up the "Republic." He issued a Proclamation calling on "all Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, and other officers - to be diligent in aiding and assisting in apprehending...Elijah Clarke and his adherents, in order that they may severally be brought to justice." General Clarke promptly surrendered himself and appeared before a court in Wilkes County, his home territory. Clarke was promptly discharged, as he must have expected, and his Republic became very popular. Many letters, most in favor of the Republic were sent to the Augusta Chronicle. Houses were built within Clarke's forts, and everything began to take on an air of permanence (125).

Then Alexander Hamilton, acting for the Secretary of War, ordered Governor Matthews to embody the Militia and remove by force any persons settled on Indian lands, and informed him that the Governor of South Carolina had been requested to send their State Militia to aid in putting down the undertaking. With this order to sustain him, Matthews wrote Colonel Gaither at Fort Fidius for a report on the strength and situation of the Clarke forces. Instructions were issued to furnish provisions, waggons, Quarter-master and Hospital stores (126). The one record of these last which, apparently, remains (127) is an abstract of "Provisions Issued to one Surgeon and four Spies ordered into Service by his Excellency the Governor from the second Brigade of the second Division of the Militia of Georgia at Fort Republick under the contract of Benajah Smith Esqr. [Elijah Clarke's son-in-law] for the month of July 1794

Amt rations - 186

Extra liquor - 188

I do hereby certify that I have compared the above abstract with the Provision Returns & Receipts in my possession and that there appears to have been issued to the above Surgeon & spies one hundred and eighty-four compleat Rations & one hundred and eighty-eight extra half gils Liquor given under my hand this 31st July 1794

Wm Melton Lt. Colo.

Green Cty"



At about the same time, Superior Court was in session in Augusta, and George Walton, Judge of the Western Circuit, was presiding. He was one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and had been Governor and Chief of Justice of Georgia. He was aware of the importance of the issues involved in the establishment of Clarke's Republic, and he made it the subject of a masterly charge to the Grand Jury. Governor Matthews made full use of the address to help resolve his difficulties, since it appealed to the more reasonable element among Georgia's citizens. He sent copies, along with Walker's ruling on the legality of the settlement and its effect on the rights of the State if the Federal government should step in, to General Twiggs for him to read to Elijah Clarke, and Twiggs was to order Clarke to move his men back within Georgia's legal boundaries. Secretary Knox placed Generals Morrison and Blackburn on alert. Governor Matthews sent copies of the Walton charge and the Walker opinions to Timothy Barnard to transmit to the Creeks. He wrote General John Clarke and revealed the orders to him and the purpose for them of removing Elijah Clarke's Settlements "on the south side of the Oconee," and added that "delicacy forbade" him ordering General John Clarke to command the men. The return of "Black Bess," the cannon given to Elijah Clarke in 1789 for the defence of Wilkes County, was requested, and artillery was ordered to be brought from Savannah and Augusta. He ordered Jonas Fauche to prevent provisions or parties of men from being delivered into the posts established by Clarke, and in case of arrests, Fauche was to turn the suspects over to the nearest magistrate for binding over pending their good behavior. Captain Fauche posted three groups of soldiers at the most used river crossings to prevent men and supplies from getting to Clarke. Word of these actions reached Clarke at Fort Advance on September 5, 1794. He then ordered his garrison not to surrender if summoned to do so, but to agree to be brought to court and tried by a jury of their fellow citizens. When General Twiggs appeared to read the papers, and when after long conference, Clarke and his men refused to budge voluntarily, Twiggs had to order their removal to the east bank of the river. General Clarke polled his followers and they decided to maintain their positions at the risk of their lives.

General Twiggs then asked Major Adams to visit General Clarke and plead for an end to the illegal settlement, but his life was threatened before he could reach General Clarke. A Georgia Senator and a Georgia Congressman also attempted to reason with General Clarke, equally without success. Six hundred men were then called into service to cut off supplies and reinforcements to the Trans-Oconee Republic or to take any other necessary action (128).

General John Clarke had not relieved his forces at Phillips Fort on September eleventh, no ammunition had been supplied to the men, and only nineteen rations were available for thirty men; in addition, Major Few's detachment had been sent forward and there was an artillery company. The Governor wrote General John Clarke, who was in command at Phillips (129), on September 12, 1794 (130):



"I have just received a letter from Brigr. Genl. Glascock Inclosing one from Colo. Sanders, From which it appears you have not given orders to the officers from your Brigade at Phillups' Mill shoals on the Appalatche respecting his being relieved. The letter from Colo. Sanders informs, me there is not any ammunition there. You will please to deliver the order of the Lieut. Wm. Johnston twenty pounds wt. of lead, and give orders to the officer relieved to dispose of the men agreeably to my orders to you of July 23rd."

When Elijah Clarke saw that the State and Federal governments were determined to eradicate the Trans-Oconee Republic at any costs, even to the shedding of blood, he was unwilling further to oppose the men whom he had formerly led in battle in the Revolution and the Indian fighting. He advised his subordinates in the settlements to give in while conditions were still in their favor. He wrote General Irwin offering to return to the east side of the river as soon as his supporters could round up their horses and cattle and collect their property if the soldiers would not molest them until this could be done. General Irwin issued the orders, but the people of Clarke's Republic were several times fired upon and hindered in their efforts to collect their stock and recross. General Clarke and twenty-one men left Fort Advance on September twenty-eight, and General Irwin gave orders for Fort Advance, Fort Defiance, Harper's Station, and other garrisoned places to be set on fire and completely demolished. On October second, it was reported officially that this had been done, but later in October Majors Daniell and De Jarnett, who, with Jonas Fauche, had gone to clear out Fort Defiance, reported (131):

"That all the Forts & Blockhouses were evacuated on the South west side of Oconee opposite Green County except the fort & c nearly opposite Phillips' & known by the name of Fort Defiance who were directed to evacuate after hearing the letter from the Secretary of War, So his Excellency read & explained the most Austensable Character there appears to be one Adam Carson who acknowledged himself as having command..."

Carson declared, in compliance with Elijah Clarke's first instructions, that he "would occupy Fort Defiance at the resque of his life and bid defiance to the laws of this and the United States." The majors, Captain Fauche and Thomas Houghton, who had accompanied them, withdrew since it was very important to avoid bloodshed. Instead, Adam Carson, Joseph Phillips, David and Archibald Gresham, William Kinbrough, Jr., Joseph White, and a number of others, about twenty-five in all, were to be prosecuted. Adam Carson was arrested, made bail, jumped bail, was caught and jailed, and broke out of jail, and an escape warrant was issued for him, but all the cases were finally dropped. Thus, it appears that Fort Defiance was not burned and destroyed as were the other forts. During the Creek War of 1813-1814, a Fort Defiance in Morgan County had a garrison of thirty men and two spies who were paid seventy-five cents a day. The names of the garrison are those of well-known pioneers in the Buckhead, Swords and Godfrey communities (132).



On October 19, 1794, Jonas Fauche was still reporting the aftermath of the Trans-Oconee incident in a letter from Greensboro to Governor Matthews (133):

"Sir: I have the honor of inclosing to your Excellency the affidavit of Davis Gresham Esqr. concerning horses stolen by the Indians: Since that time a Serjeant of the Troop under my command with the Cavalry guard at Fort Republic are returned from a Scout of observation - they found on the Appalachia where the Indians had crossed with said horses & at the same Spott where three Indians had come in and scattered on their way back to the Settlement - it appear by their maneuvers that there is a camp of hostile Indians some distance off, where these do resort - I shall endeavour to make some discovery; only by the time the detachments on the right and left of Fort Republic have formed a junction I fear the Indians will be returned home - I shall this day take the opinion of Lieut. Colo. Melton to advise what is best to be done - During the time of forming our junction with B. G. Irwin near Fort Fidius the Indians stole four heads of valuable horses from the lower part of Franklin County, but I have not been able to procure as yet the affidavits - Agreeable with your Excellency's order to me of the 31st of July last past, I had taken and carried before a magistrate of this county Adam Carson, then said to command the unauthorized post of Fort Defiance: he had given security: but since that time he was given up by his bail, putt in charge of the high Sheriff's deputy, and broke custody - The releasing of Miklehotton his Lieut. from fort Fidius, together with verbal reports here, concurs to make some believe that it is the intention of the Government to cease any prosecution against these people - there is an escape warrant against Adam Carson, & if taken, he will be bound to the federal court -

"Serjeant Standefer of the troop under my command reports that after his return from aforesaid Scout he presented himself before fort Republic, that he found the gates were shut up against him and his command by orders of Lieut. Johnston the commandant, & that he could not obtain admission without a forceable entrance.

"Lieut. Johnston has given to some for reason of his premeditated conduct, that the cavalry guard refused to do Garrison duty - the guarding backward and forward provisions & forage wagons, the occasional scouts & care of the horses. I thought were sufficient duties for eight dragoons; whilst 15 private militia men had One post to guard, there being but one gate at the fort - But Serjt. Standifer declared that when the number of militia were diminished in the interim



of the reliefs from Columbia he submitted himself to this increase of duty - He further says that at the time of their preparing to start & join B. G. Irwin, they were signified by some of the militia men, that if they went to fight General Clarke's men, they should never reenter that fort alive - this seems to be the true reason.

"Some of the dragoons under my command have at that time been guilty of disobedience of orders - I contented myself at that crisis, where all the spirits were in ferment & still continue in discharging of them & substituting them - but since I should think it is for the good of the Service that the Colo. of each Counties where there are posts, should be instructed to summon Courts-Martials to attend the trials of any delinquents at any posts within their regiments - the posts where there are Cavalry are too far distant for the officers of the Troop under my command to hold Courts Martials as often as cases might require.

"One of the commissaries who supplies the upper detachment had complained that he applied to Mr. Mahar merchant. on an order of mine, upon the provision of Your Excellency was pleased to make for supplying the Troop under my command - and that he was refused any kind of goods but clothes & such as did not suit the Back Country; I fear that Supplies will be generally Stopt - I have ordered Serjeant Standefer at Mr. Stocks [Issac Stocks Station in Figure 6, the Elholm Map] the nearest place of Fort Republick until your Excellency is pleased to make known your intentions."

Subsequently, Fauche was kept so busy attending courts martials that he was late in making his reports. In December, 1794, he was still concerned with situations resulting from the Trans-Oconee Republic crisis (134). Benajah Smith had failed to send supplies to Fort Republic, and it had had to be evacuated, and Archibald Gresham had written that after December eighteenth no more supplies were to be issued on his account.

With the removal of Elijah Clarke's unauthorized posts, the Indians immediately set up their depredations all over again. Cessna's daughter was killed and a Negro slave girl was killed and scalped. Horses were stolen at Davis Gresham's fort. The raids continued with little let-up until the signing of the Treaty of Coleraine in 1796. In March, 1795, Fauche reported to Governor Matthews that he had already reported for the forts on his right, which included those in the Lake Wallace area. The militia, he said had been mustered, infantry only, for the posts ordered to be garrisoned. He would muster the Dragoons every two months at their respective posts until otherwise directed. The post at White Bluff had been too sickly to serve until their post had been moved to a ridge. "For Some time past," he said, "the Indians have been hunting peaceably and undisturbed on their hunting-grounds adjacent to the Frontier Settlements, and a few days past a party of them applied for trade at Captain Phillips'." In July he wrote again that the Creek Indians continue peaceable and often times visit Capt. Zachariah Phillips at the mouth of the Apalachia and Oconee rivers. An Indian who had



just come from the nation had given them to understand that the Creeks and Chickasaws had fought a battle at a Chickasaw town and that the Creeks planned to send six thousand warriors against the Cumberland settlements (135). In 1796, the Greene County Grand Jury recommended the establishment of a ferry at Captain Zachariah Phillips fishing place, under Captain Phillips direction (136).

Some sort of incident took place at Fort Phillips in December, 1797, since in March, 1798, Benjamin Hawkins received the following letter from Colonel Joseph Phillips, "Zacaria" Phillips, and Charles Burk, their neighbor who was the friend of Francis Asbury, and near whose place, just outside the reservoir area was Burke's Chapel, one of the oldest Methodist churches in Georgia (137):

"Sir

"Colo Jo Phillips received and read to his neighbors the address of the Creek Commissioners sent to him and them of the 13th of February and it is very generally and immediately agreed that exertions should be made to correspond with the wishes of the Creek Commissioners - the declaration of the Commissioners of a wish to bury past transactions in oblivion and to Preserve a right understanding for the future a knowledge of the insult offered the comison on the 22d of December the character of Tuskegy tustaniga himself friendly in the Extreme to the People of the frontier and our being acquainted with the pressure of Dificultys attendant on Indian affairs determined all of us to exert ourselves to meet the wishes of the Creek Commissioners and wee are happy wee have suckseeded - the Person Injured - from a Philanthropick disposition have dropped the Prosecution - the magistrates taking under consideration the weighty consequence resulting from the Procedure have liberated the Indian Chief, and directed Colo Jo Phillips John McAllister and Ezekiel Parks to conduct him safe to his nation. In obedience to his order wee have received and conducted him to safety to this place [Fort Wilkinson] and now deliver him to you. In fulfilling the request made to us by Emauthla-Haujo [could he be Houmachas?] wee have incurred some Expense for Gaurd Sheriff and Gaolers fees the liberation and restoring of him to his nation, this as wee acted at the request of the Creek Commissioners we think we should be Paid by the Nation and deliver you our claim to cause Justice to bee done for our Personal Exertions and expenditures, wee make & are amply repaid by believing in this act wee have contributed much towards a friendly interchange of Good offices between us and our red and white brethern..."

I think the chief in question got drunk, created a disturbance, and was shut up in the jail at Lexington in Oglethorpe County.

In Volume IV, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, there are lists of the materials of war to be sent to the Oconee area at the time of the Trans-Oconee Republic, and estimates of the number of men under arms. Fourteen forts are given as the number "Federalized." Houmathla appears again as "Helehemathla."



It was not until the Creek cession of 1802 that the Oconee frontier really began to be pacified, and not until the Creek removal to the West that the danger of Indian raids was entirely removed. Morgan County records indicate that the forts were in use in 1816 and perhaps even later. Again Bishop Stevens sums up the situation best when he says (138). "No other State had so much to impede its advancement, depress its energies, or so much frontier trouble to absorb its growing resources and harass its increasing population."

For the purposes of this study, it is important to know exactly where the different forts stood as nearly as possible. The foregoing chronological account has given many precise statements as to the whereabouts of the forts. The two most important are, perhaps, Forts Phillips and Defiance. Plats have been found, as I have previously mentioned, for the most likely site for Fort Phillips (Figures 2 and 3). Captain Zachariah Phillips and Colonel Joseph Phillips had adjoining headright grants on the Oconee River near the confluence with the Apalachee. The grants were surveyed in 1784, when the area was part of Washington County. Their other grants in the area were not close enough to the site shown on the Elholm and Fauche maps (Figures 5 and 6) to be considered as alternate sites. Zachariah Phillips' grants have branches which empty into the Oconee, and these are located just north of the Georgia Railroad Bridge near the dead town of Carey's Station. The fort was probably located on the uppermost of the two branches, and the spring which fed the branch was probably the source of water for the fort. There is a fairly high, steep rock wall here, overgrown with mountain laurel, and the bank has been cut below the rock wall. This site would have been very close to the approximate location of the Upper Creek Trading Path which would have been one of the most important places to build a fort. Zachariah Phillips also had a mill, a ferry, and a fishing place here. One of the earliest roads to be mentioned in the available Greene County records is the road to Phillips Mill which appears to be approximately that which crosses the Georgia Railroad at Carey's Station today. The Fauche map (Figure 5) shows a road leading directly into the fort at Phillips. Springs rather than wells were the usual provisions for water at frontier forts, and the gates usually opened toward the spring. Cessna's daughter was killed going to the spring, and Nolichucky Jack Sevier rescued Bonnie Kate, his second wife, when she was surprised at the spring and nearly captured by Indians.

Fort Defiance was described as being at the confluence nearly opposite Fort Phillips, and so must have been on the Morgan County side of the Oconee on the fractions belonging to the late Joe Bell and Mr. Fred White. Both the Georgia Railroad bridge and I-20 traverse this rather large tract today. Settlers usually clustered near forts for their protection, and the presence of these two forts would have provided a nucleus for the old communities of Vernon in Morgan County and Carey's Station in Greene.

The Cow Ford, another major crossing of the river, was located at or near what has variously been called Park's Mill, Park's Ferry, and Parksbridge. The post office was called Parksbridge, and this is the name which appears on maps of the State in the 1850's. The old inn which belonged to Richard "Dickie" Park was already in existence when in 1808 the Morgan County Inferior Court licensed Park to operate a tavern. This may have been the site of another of Elijah Clarke's fortified Trans-Oconee posts in 1794. Certainly he planned to place one here. There were, in addition to the ferry-bridge, tavern, and fine grist mill, "mud mills" or brick works which were still in operation



until the 1920's. Another point in favor of placing a fort on this site would have been the beginning of the Cussataw Trail here. Andrew Armor's fort was probably near the east bank ferry terminal where two former Armor house sites are to be found, surrounded by very old types of cultivated garden flowers, and, in the woods and fields, volunteer indigo plants. Among the possible remains besides grist and sawmills and brick works which might appear at these sites are tan-troughs (there was one at Peoples') and indigo vats.

The next station down river was Archibald Gresham's fort which was reconstructed into a public fort in 1793 and rechristened Fort Fabius. This is in the big bend area of the river and is today overgrown by timber. According to the Curtwright Factory deeds, the tract formed part of their holdings in the 1845-1865 period, and it is part of the Reynolds Linger Longer property today. The Reynolds family has owned it for over fifty years. It is scheduled to be mostly under water when Wallace Dam is completed.

At the mouth of Richland Creek below the creek was Parker's Blockhouse, "where he fought the Indians, and his wife was killed," as Jonas Fauche wrote on his map in 1793 (Figure 5) Fauche lived nearby himself. This may have been one of the line of twelve forts built in 1787, since in the spring of 1788 Burwell Perry and Captain Richard Fretwell went out to Parker's Block House on the Oconee River near the mouth of Richland Creek, according to the depositions of Willis Perry and Richard Fretwell (139). Dr. Goff found a reference to a fishery at Parker's. There is a Parker's Shoals on the Elholm map (Figure 6) just at Fort Alexander. Dr. Rice speaks in his History of Greene County of Parker's Shoals at Methodist Island in the Oconee River. In 1793, William Melton wrote Lieut. Col. Elholm, the Adjutant General of Georgia (140) that "Mr. Moses Parker was to finish his Block House now in hand two stories high, enclose it with a stockade nineteen yards by fifteen feet eleven inches above ground and two feet in the ground with a sufficient gate." He was to erect a bastion in the opposite corner two stories high and fifteen feet in the clear, with the lower story ten feet high, the upper six overjetted eight inches. Moses Parker was to be paid ten pounds from the public funds, and the resultant public fort was to be called Fort Alexander. Samuel Alexander, a noted Georgia Indian fighter who lived not too far away to the east, David Adams, Elijah Clarke's friend, and John Kimbrough signed the report. In 1795, Moses Parker was listed on Lieutenant Edward Bradley's payroll for service at Fort Republic from June 10 to December 31, 1795, in the service of the United States (141). The Block House at the "Bigg Shoals" was reported by Captain Barber to have been burned in 1787, so it was rebuilt at least twice.

Kimbrough's Station or Stockade has been reliably located in the field survey and designated 9 GE 43. Plats dating from 1784 for the Kimbrough holdings were also available in the Surveyor General's office and accompany the study (Figures 8, 9, and 10). John, William, and Shadrack Kimbrough were the frontiersmen associated with the post. They appear frequently in pay rolls, muster rolls, and other public documents of the time.

Foster's Station was below Kimbrough's, and was recommended as the site for a public fort by Elholm, but it may never have been built, as no records on it have turned up. Captain Alexander Reid had a stockade near Reid's Ferry, and it is near here that the Cane Swamp Revolutionary Battle ground appears to have been.



North of Fort Phillips (Jonas Fauche says "to the right" using the Oconee as the front) was Isaac Stocks' fort. Dr. Rice says that it antedates the establishment of Greene County, but gives no source for his statement, nor does he give a more specific date. Time did not permit a search for the plat of this grant in the Surveyor General's office. It was the closest station on the Oconee to Fort Republic on the Apalachee as the 1794 reference shows. It is not shown on the Fauche map (Figure 5). It should have been close to where the Highway 278 bridge is today.

William Fitzpatrick's fort was located on a ford of the Oconee, according to the Greene County records, in designating a road by there. "Ford" and "fort" seem to be used almost interchangeably in the old records, and, as we have seen, the forts were built to "waylay" fords. Since William Fitzpatrick's grants were all on Town and Fishing Creek as well as the Oconee, they are all close together, but the only portion of the grant on the river itself lies below the mouth of Town Creek which was not on his property. This corresponds to the Elholm map, not the Fauche map (Figures 5 and 6). Fitzpatrick was one of the early officials of Greene County, where he is sometimes listed as William Fpatrick.

John Fielder's was the next post, and the last in the area to be inundated.

White's Historical Collections tells of an exciting fight there in June, 1787, so the fort may have been one of the twelve built in that year (142):

"On one occasion the Indians crossed the Oconee River, and came to the house of Mr. Fielder, a celebrated scout and hunter, who happened at this time to be absent. Thirteen of them came into his lot, and were about to carry off his horses, when Mrs. Fielder and her negro woman, the only persons upon the premises, determined if possible, to save the horses. As the negro woman was making her way to the dwelling she received a shot in the thigh and fell. Her mistress immediately dragged her into the house, and barred the door, whereupon the Indians attacked the house. Mrs. Fielder resolved at all hazards to defend herself; and there being four or five guns ready at hand, she fired upon the savages, the negro woman aiding her to load. To induce the foe to believe that there were many persons in the house, they made a great noise, shouting and calling upon each other to fire. After discharging nearly twenty-five rounds, the Indians abandoned the attack, from an impression, as it was afterwards ascertained, that the building was filled with armed men."

The Indian Letters at the Georgia Department of Archives and History record that a Negro woman was killed at "Fidlers" in 1797. John Fielder also made a deposition that Moses Herren was captain in command of Harris' fort in the neighborhood of Scull Shoals on the Oconee River in 1788 (143). Fielder's was just south of Scull Shoals and just above Harris Creek. The Fielders moved into Greene County as soon as it was opened to settlement, and, as we have seen, Fielder's name appears in a variety of public records over a long period of time prior to 1800. The Fielders, like the other professional frontiersmen, followed the Indian boundary to the west; he lived right on the Indian line in Morgan County for a while soon after that county was formed, and the family was also one of those which moved into Cherokee lands after 1836. For years John Fielder was making claims for the loss of several horses



and a pair of "plaited" spurs carried off by the Indians on the Oconee. Fielder's Trail, which seems to have started opposite his fort, and to have run between the Oconee and Apalachee, was picked by Elijah Clarke as the site for one of his Trans-Oconee forts in present-day Morgan County, but it is unknown whether this particular fort was ever built. The fords of the river made by this trail would explain in part the presence of the forts at these points.

We have seen that Zachariah Phillips had a fishery on the Oconee. Dr. Rice says that there was an important fishery at Parkers Shoals at Methodist Island near the mouth of Richland Creek. Before 1800, the Georgia Legislature found it necessary to regulate the fishing in the river, and a board of inspectors of the fisheries was appointed by the Greene County Inferior Court (144). Several of the members of the board were people who owned forts along this stretch, or who were known to reside in the vicinity. The law required mill races to be built, and prevented the blocking of the river by dams, in order that spawning fish might freely pass up the river. Joshua Browning, who served on the commission to keep the river clear operated a ferry near the present Highway 278 bridge over the Oconee. Thomas Carson was associated with Elijah Clarke's Trans-Oconee Republic, and there was a Fort Carson shown on the Eleazar Early map of 1818 near the Long Shoals of the Oconee. In Tenants of the Almighty, Arthur F. Raper described the Yazoo and Methodist Fisheries at the mouth of Richland Creek (145). Twenty-six families each took two weeks a year to work the traps and distribute the catch equally among the members. They all had equal responsibility to keep the dam and traps in good condition. Any family which failed in its responsibility was punishable by having fish withheld for the remainder of the season. There is a plat of the grant of what seems to be one of these islands at the Shoals in one of the early plat books in the Georgia Surveyor General's Department. The grantee's name was Natt, and the land is described as "good cane land." The fisheries were probably another point of contention with the Indians. Each was supposed to fish on his own proper side of the river, and there are accounts of parties of fishermen firing at each other.

In 1799, a famous frontier traveler and diarist, Bishop Francis Asbury, began to visit this area of the Oconee and write about it in his journal. His first sight of the Oconee was from Hudson's ford at the mouth of Trail Creek, and he rode seven miles out of his way to see it. Since the Hudsons lived at Phoenix, it must not have been far from there that he viewed the river in November, 1799. He was accompanied by Jesse Lee, another noted Methodist circuit rider, usually associated with New England, and it was Jesse Lee who attended the appointments over the Oconee (146). Jesse Lee visited the Forks of the Oconee and Apalachee at this time, preached, and formed a circuit for one preacher. This was known as the Apalachee Circuit and in the next ten years grew to be a thirty point circuit. In 1808 Lovic Pierce and Henry Russell served the circuit, and Henry Russell conducted in that year a notable revival in which fifteen hundred members, black and white, were added to the Methodist Church. Lovic Pierce later became a prominent Methodist Bishop; he lived at Greensboro. Since in 1799 records say that people were living mainly in forts, it is likely that the congregation which Jesse Lee preached to was in the fort at the forks. The present-day Fork Chapel United Methodist Church in Greshamville was the outgrowth of this visit of Jesse Lee, and the old site of the church and the old graveyard are south of U. S. Highway 278 between the Apalachee and Oconee Rivers. Bishop Asbury says at this time that



he was in a cold cabin, but with kind people. He described the soft soil and the people plowing in late November. From Greensboro, he wrote on December third, "It is serious work to be driving through the back settlements and having open meeting and dwelling houses in the winter season." At Burke's Chapel, which may be inside the reservoir area, Jesse Lee preached again and Asbury ordained "brother Watts a local deacon."

On December 16, 1799, he described the Augusta road, "We had to take the rain and mud upon the Augusta road; the wagons had been detained by high water; men and wagons were very heavily loaded with rum." In addition to the rum imported from the West Indies, at this time a large number of plantation owners had stills where they processed their own grain, as an examination of wills of the period will show; they were frequent bones of contention among family members; so much grain was turned into spirits all over the United States that by 1794 a Federal law had had to be passed to deal with the problem, as a serious shortage of food grains had resulted. The Oconee frontier had been too absorbed by its Indian war to get involved in the strife known as the "Whiskey Rebellion" elsewhere in the East, but one wonders if the 1793 shortage of food previously remarked on was accentuated by the use of grain for distilling as well as by the widespread Indian depredations. The difficulty of marketing grain led to its use in the manufacture of whiskey.

One of the appeals which the Methodists had was their emphasis on abstinence, since at this period and for a long while afterward, drunkenness was a characteristic of the population in this district. A. B. Longstreet has a sketch focussed on drunken characters in The Georgia Scene, and he later became a Methodist preacher.

The interesting collection of papers of the family of Dr. Lindsey Durham of Scull Shoals which are now in the Georgia Collection of the Library of the University of Georgia, in the city of Athens, Georgia, also shed some interesting sidelights on the use of alcoholic beverages in the Oconee valley between 1800 and 1850. Dr. Durham had his own still, and the recipe for concocting corn whisky is included in his book of recipes for herbal remedies and pharmaceutical preparations. There are also bills where he paid for wine and whisky in quantities from a single drink to the barrelful. An examination of the other recipes also shows the reliance which physicians of the day placed on the extensive use of alcohol in making the medicines they prescribed. Dr. Durham was trained in Philadelphia and had a wide reputation, but he used many herbal remedies which the recipe book attributes to the Indians. He also was a conjurer, and there is a collection of his conjuring spells in one of the manuscript books which has been preserved. These make use of sympathetic magic, "White magic", and Dog Latin formulas, as well as magic powders. A graduate student from the Pharmacy School at the University of Georgia has done research on these books this year, and a faculty member in the English Department who is much interested in pneumatology has seen the conjurer's book.

The J. B. Swords distillery was in operation on Blue Spring Plantation at Swords until after the turn of the twentieth century. With the passage of the Prohibition Act after World War I, the manufacture of illegal liquor supplanted its legal manufacture, and one of the most celebrated murder cases in Georgia history is connected with the illegal liquor traffic in this vicinity. Illicit stills are even now being operated in the area.



While this researcher was carrying on this research an eight-hundred gallon still operation was broken up in Greene County in the area under investigation, and twenty-five hundred gallons of corn whisky was confiscated. Sugar was being brought in by the truckload. Plastic containers have supplanted the glass half-gallon fruit jars formerly used. It is interesting to note that a large modern still is about ten times the size of the early nineteenth century stills, which averaged between thirty and eighty gallons capacity.

In another entry, late in 1799, Asbury describes the Augusta road again. "Before we could get ready to move, it began to rain powerfully. We came down the Augusta road, gouged up by wagons in a most dreadful manner, in consequence of which we were five hours in going twelve miles."

In 1800, Asbury was again on the Oconee, accompanied by yet another prominent Methodist leader of the day, Whatcoat, who preached at Burke's. In 1801, he was back and gave one of the most interesting descriptions available of what life was like in these posts. It also includes one of the earliest descriptions of the Indian mounds still to be seen in the Lake Wallace area.

"Thursday, November 19. We started, hungry and cold, crossing at Malone's Mill, a branch of Oconee....We have ridden about eighty miles this week of short and cold days. Why should a living man complain? - but to be three months together upon the frontiers, where, generally, you have but one room and fireplace, and half a dozen folks about you, strangers perhaps, and their family certainly (and they are not small in these plentiful new countries) making a crowd - and this is not all; for here you may meditate if you can, and here you must preach, read, write, pray, sing, talk, eat, drink, and sleep - or fly into the woods. Well! I have pains in my body, particularly my hip, which are very afflictive when I ride; but I cheer myself as well as I may with songs in the night - with Wesley's, Watt's, and Stennett's Sight of Canaan, in four hymns. In this country are seen evident traces of a great population which has some time existed before the present discoverers and settlers of America " (147).

In 1801, he commented humorously, "You have but one poor married preacher, he is afraid he will starve upon Oconee all year; he may change with one of the young men in Washington [Georgia] in 6 months," (148). By 1814, twenty-five hundred people attended camp meeting on the Apalachee circuit. In December, he preached on the Apalachee River and described the people as "somewhat like the preacher, sickly and slender.... The lands here are good; but the price paid for quiet possession has been great - sickness, deaths, and murders by the Indians," (149). In 1802, he had met General John Clarke at Hope Hull's in Athens, and commented that Clarke was then living on Indian lands, but that he and his men moderated their wild frontier ways somewhat around the preachers. In 1814, too, he went to Scott's, one of the forts in the southernmost section of the Lake Wallace area.

The Greene Countians expected that the Treaty of Coleraine would remove the Indians to the Ocmulgee, and they were disappointed that it did not. As in 1789, they had to be restrained from crossing the river ahead of time in 1795. Not all, indeed, could be restrained then, and tradition says that Benjamin Fitzpatrick moved into what is now Morgan County, not far from the



I-20 bridge across the river, in 1795. The Treaty of Coleraine was, however, enforced, where the Treaty of New York was not. Finally in 1800, a cession of a strip on the west bank was obtained in a new treaty, and Baldwin County was laid out to include parts of what is now Putnam and Morgan Counties, those parts with which this study is concerned. The Oconee had ceased to be a boundary, but already Georgians were anticipating a removal of the Creeks even farther to the west.

#### IV. THE FEDERAL PERIOD

Very soon after settlement was authorized on the west bank, navigation from the vicinity of Fort Phillips--Fort Defiance was being carried on all the way down the Oconee and the Altamaha to Darien and Savannah. The Reuben King Journal, 1800-1806, has an entry for July 24, 1801 (150), "I worked Some Skins ground some barck Kenada's Ocone boat came down here [Cedar Landing] from Savannah." King also mentions James Denham and Mr. "Holzendorph." Fields Kennedy was in 1802 made a justice of the peace for Greene County, at the time that the Indian lands across the Oconee were added to Greene County after the 1802 cession. Justices of the peace conducted the Georgia land courts, and presumably he would have been in charge of the distribution of the newly available lands to those eligible to draw in the lottery, the unique method Georgia chose for the distribution of its newly opened lands after 1800. In 1803, when Greensboro was incorporated by an Act of the Legislature, Henry Carlton, John Armour, and Fields Kennedy were appointed commissioners. In 1807, Morgan and Putnam Counties were carved out of Baldwin and Greene Counties. Fields Kennedy resigned as a justice of the peace in 1805. In January, 1808 (151), the first session of court in Morgan County was held in the house of Fields Kennedy at Vernon near Clough's Ferry. One of the first justices of the Inferior Court in Morgan County was Henry Carlton, who had been, with Kennedy, a Greensboro city commissioner. In 1809, Fields Kennedy sold to Henry Carlton two fractional land lots on the Oconee River. A check with some of the older citizens of the area placed Vernon just south of I-20 on an old road leading to the river which in the Morgan County records is called the Furlow Road. A visit to the site disclosed a very early frame house with handmade brick end chimneys, wood paneled walls, mantels of the Federal period style, and inside the frame walls, the walls of a log cabin made of unusually large hewn timbers. All around are old house sites. An old cemetery without inscriptions, with only field stone markers, is in the woods nearby. There may be another house of the same period still standing nearer the river, and the wreckage of a house of the 1850 period is located between the I-20 right of way and the Furlow Road. This is very close to the probable location of Fort Defiance, where houses were constructed. The Kennedy house may have been built as early as 1800, or it may even have been one of the buildings connected with Elijah Clarke's Trans-Oconee fort in 1794. Its historic significance warrants its preservation. It will not actually be in the inundated area, but will be very near the shore line of the prime pool. A Georgia Historical Commission marker would be appropriate there, as it is not far from a paved road. The Morgan County Landmarks, a group dedicated to the compiling and preservation of Morgan County History, are interested in preserving the house.

Several ferries operated in this area from the earliest period of Morgan County history: Clough's, Zachariah Phillips', Charles and David Furlow's, and Henry D. Stone's. One archaeological dig has been carried out on the



fraction just across I-20, and, in addition to seventeenth century Indian artifacts, a feature which may indicate the palisade of Fort Defiance was found. Other old house sites were situated in the other fraction. The grave of Revolutionary soldier, Benjamin Fitzpatrick, father of William Fitzpatrick, along with the evidences of his log cabin, which many persons living today can remember, are on almost adjoining land. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, it will be remembered, took part in Elijah Clarke's French venture against the Spanish in Florida. Henry Carlton may be buried in one of the field stone marked graves, as he died not very long after the purchase of the property. Since settlements tended to cluster around forts, and there is evidence that Fort Defiance was still garrisoned in 1814, Vernon may have been the settlement which grew up around the fort as Cracker's Neck appears to be for Fort Fabius.

Georgia Laws, 1808, record the following:

"An Act to incorporate a Company for the purpose of opening the Oconee river, and to grant a Lottery for that purpose.

"S. 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in general assembly met, That Peter Randolph, Peter Early, Zachariah Sims, James Turner, Thomas Terrell, Joseph Phillips, James Park, Thomas E. Scott, Benjamin Sanford, Robert Pope, Nathaniel M'Clurg, Ezekiel E. Park, Robert Royston, Thomas W. Grimes, Peter Robinson, Jeremiah Early, Arthur Simms, Oliver Porter, Samuel Harper, and James H. Nicholson and their associates, be and they are hereby appointed as body corporate by the name or style of the Oconee Navigation Company, by which name they shall sue and be sued, and do all other acts that properly belong to corporate bodies, as far as it respects the opening of the Oconee river from the town of Milledgeville to Barnett's shoals on the same river, upon such plan, and at such time as the said Company, or a majority of them may think fit and proper, to effectually put in the power of said company to carry the above into effect.

"S. 2 And be it further enacted, That they may establish a Lottery upon such plan or scheme as a majority may think fit and proper for the purpose of raising fifty thousand dollars, to be appropriated to the purposes aforesaid.

"S. 3. And be it further enacted, That as soon as the said river is opened, so as to admit boats of a moderate size, they may establish such rates of toll, not exceeding one half of the full toll allowed by this act, until such time as the work shall be completely finished.

"S. 4. And be it further enacted, That the full rates of toll shall be the same as are allowed by an act passed the fourteenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, entitled 'an act to incorporate a Company for the improvement of the Navigation of that part of the Savannah river between the town of Petersburg and Augusta'.



"S. 5. And be it further enacted, That all laws militating against this act, be, and the same are hereby repealed.

Benjamin Whitaker  
Speaker of the House of Representatives

Henry Mitchell  
President of the Senate

Executive Department, Georgia  
Assented to 22d December, 1808

Jared Irwin, Governor (152)"

Many of the names on the list of stockholders in the corporation will already be familiar from other references in this paper. Peter Early, of course, had a "manor house" just outside the reservoir area in Greene County. James Turner, to whom we shall have reference again, was the owner of Turnwold Plantation in Putnam County, just to the west of the reservoir area. The Terrell family was prominent in Morgan and Clarke Counties. The Popes are prominent in Wilkes County and were friends of Asbury. Nathaniel M'Clurg was from Greene County. Royston in Franklin County was named for the family of Robert Royston. Oliver Porter was the grandfather of the founder of the Bibb Manufacturing Co. James H. Nicholson was the person for whom Nicholson, Georgia, near Athens, was named.

Dr. R. B. Rice quotes the Minute Book of the corporation in its first entry on December 27, 1811, in Greensboro. By April of 1812, the capital stock was set at \$30,000, to be divided into shares and half shares. Each share was to be valued at twenty-five dollars. One third of the capital had by then already been subscribed. The directors declared that the proposed channel had been minutely examined by a competent person, who had reported that the project was practicable and the obstructions were less formidable than had been conjectured. The directors intended in May to descend the river themselves to look at the obstructions and determine how to remove them, with the expectation of commencing operations in the summer of 1813. Among the stockholders in 1812 (154) were James Denham of Darien and William B. Holzendorf. The Denham family operated at Denhamville not far from Turnwold Plantation, the country seat of J. A. Turner, in Putnam County, at a later date, a large shoe factory and tannery. Holzendorf was a prominent Georgia patriot during the Revolutionary War, who was on the proscription list and had his property confiscated by the Royal government for his activities in favor of independence. Zachariah Sims was the founder of the paper mill at Scull Shoals. Thomas Reid was the farther of Templeton Reid, the goldsmith, who ran the mint in Dahlonega and later in California. Reid's and Garner's Mill was near Reid's Ferry. By July thirty-first, 1817, the money from the first class of the Oconee Navigation Lottery had been raised, and was referred to a committee for allocation. The company subsequently failed. The State of Georgia took it over, and it, too, failed in the enterprise and abandoned the project. From the evidence on the ground, mules were used to pull boats around some of the shoals, since deep grooved paths are visible in several places. The people who were involved in this enterprise would provide material for a separate paper in themselves. After the failure of the navigation company in the 1820's,



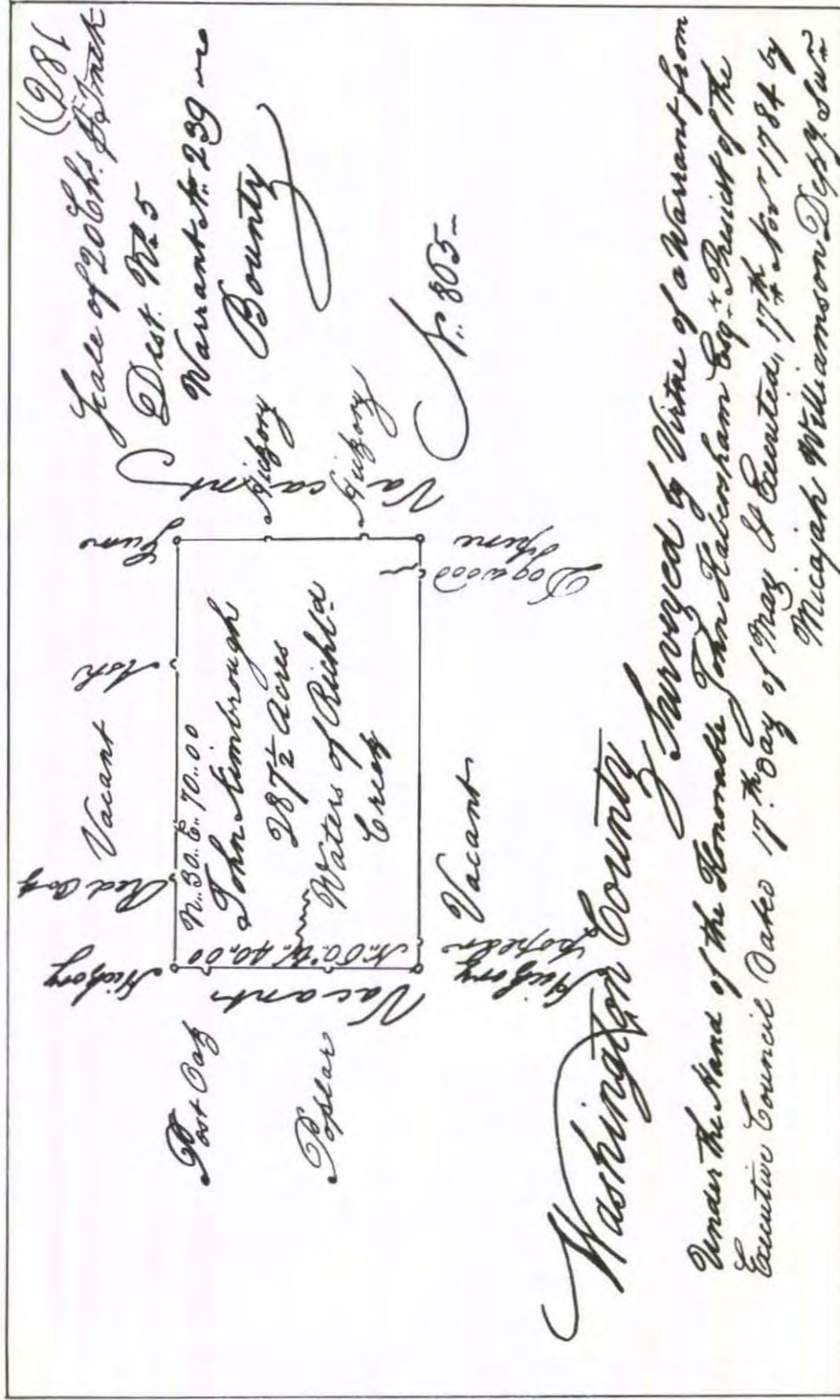


Fig. 8. John Kimbrough's grant on Richland Creek, 1784. (Plat Book A, p. 281, Surveyor General Department - tracing of photocopy).











toll bridges were built on the river, one at Park's Mill and one at Long Shoals among other places. Another attempt was later made at navigation of the river, but it, too, failed. More rapid means of transportation doomed it.

At the same time that the Oconee Navigation Company was being chartered, Joseph Phillips received permission from the Georgia Legislature to place a toll bridge on the Apalachee River close to where the present iron bridge behind the Swords community stands (155). Phillips' health was no longer good. In 1804, he had written to Ezekiel Park, his neighbor (156):

"After Eight weeks Sickness I have at last got able to Set up but Scarcely able to Wright. the only thing that induses me to try at present is to give you the information I last night received from Mr. James Durowzoux [an associate of Benjamin Hawkins] = Coweath Creek Nation by Express. in his letter he informes me that there has bin two white men Recantly murdered by the Indians between Flint River & the Nation. he Request that the Fruntiear people will not be Rash in Taking Satisfaction that they are indevring to find out the murders. & as soon as they can be apprehended they will be given up. he mentioned that it was thought to be the long Leu of the Simmenoley. but any man aquanted with Indian Affairs will at wonst conclude that its the friends of that Indian Killed by Patrick & those wounded by him the murder being committed on the path they travel.

"As this information is to be Relied on I thought perhaps it might be necessary to give you the Earliest information as if it was thought proper you might communicat the subjec to his Excellency the Governor, or the Leglislater, as there is one thing Certain that if there can be no method adopted to Restrane those ill Disposed people from murdering Indians when at pess there never will be any Safety on our Frounteers - there is at this time Several of our Greene County People out in the nation purchasing hoggs and I am feareful it is som of them that has feel a Victom in this case -"

As late as 1800, too, there were still occasional Spaniards who appeared in the area, probably up to no good, since Dr. Tho. Owen was paid fifteen dollars by the Greene County Inferior Court for treating a wounded Spaniard in that year (157).

Captain Zachariah Phillips moved to Jasper County when that area of the State was open for settlement, and died there in 1821. Colonel Joseph Phillips had time to build his bridge, but by 1809, the Morgan County tax records show that the taxes for the year were paid by his estate. There was a Joseph Phillips who bought some land adjoining the Morgan County end of the toll bridge property in 1814 for John Clarke and who soon after had moved to Mississippi Territory in what is now Alabama, but this was certainly a Joseph Phillips of another generation. With the passing of Joseph and Zachariah Phillips, an era in the history of the Oconee came to a close. The name of the fort clung to the bridge site as late as 1818 when the Eleazar Early map shows it on the Apalachee near the confluence, rather than upon the Oconee. The Phillips family appears to have long continued its frontiersman tradition, since a famous Western Scout of the Indian Wars of the 1870's was named Phillips.



## V. Cultural and Industrial Development

The new era which the passing of the frontier saw arrive was one of increasing cultural and industrial development. The first person to represent this cultural development was a Baptist minister, Reverend Adiel Sherwood who at intervals, beginning in the 1820's, published a Gazetteer of Georgia which has recently been re-published. His is the next reference in historic times to the Indian mounds along the Oconee, "In Greene, near the mouth of Harris's Creek, 10 miles above Greensboro on the east side of the Oconee are several mounds and forts. Near a fort an iron claw hammer was found in 1787, just after the country was settled, and well burnt brick were plowed up! On the forts were trees at least 200 years old" (158).

In the 1830's, Judge Augustus Baldwin Longstreet published his previously quoted book of sketches and short stories, The Georgia Scene. The people of the Oconee frontier had always been striking in their individuality, and such observers as Le Clerc Milfort had commented on them, if not always favorably. The frontier was a savage, brutal place, and the people who lived there were shaped by their environment. The constant pressures tended to form people of steel. The frontier had, as has been pointed out before, attracted non-conformists of the most uncompromising type. These people were the shapers of their environment as well as its products. As soon as a class of educated people with leisure for writing appeared, people who were keen observers, and alert to the fact that an era was passing away and needed recording, it was probably inevitable that some one would take these characters as their subject. With biting humor, Judge Longstreet did so. His book was immediately popular. "The Fox Hunt" is set at Linger Longer in the Cracker's Neck Country. Judge Longstreet, when he became a Methodist minister, was sorry for the unflattering picture he had presented of the people of the region, but his influence and reputation had already become widespread. His closest follower was William Tappan Thompson of the Southern Miscellany in Madison. His central character, Major Jones, was more sympathetically portrayed, and "Major Jones' Courtship" is still a little gem of an account of a Georgia country courtship, occasionally done on Georgia television as a Christmas program. Thompson was a pioneer Georgia journalist who founded the Savannah Morning News after leaving Madison, but the Major Jones stories are his most interesting productions. They were patterned on the real people he knew in Madison and its environs. The country is still full of delightful off-beat people today, the descendants, many of them, of the frontiersmen who built the area. One of the characteristics of the area is the deep roots struck by all these families. Although they furnished the stock for the settling of much of the rest of the State and many parts of the Southwest and Gulf States, the same families have continued to live in the houses built by their ancestors over one hundred sixty years ago for as long as seven or eight generations in Madison at least. In Georgia, A. B. Longstreet found later imitators in Bill Arp and Sut Lovingood's Yarns, but these tales were not based on Oconee River pioneers. Elsewhere Longstreet and his local color stories and his American humor found an even more famous successor in Samuel Longhorne Clemens, Mark Twain, in the next generation; and even later, and farther to the west, in Francis Brett Harte (159).

One of Longstreet's early associates, first in Greene and Morgan Counties, and later in the founding of Emory College at Oxford, Georgia, was Alexander Means. Young Means came to Georgia in 1823 from Statesville, North Carolina, and taught in the recently established academies in Madison and Greensboro.



He took the census in the Madison City District in 1823. He became fascinated with power, and, because of his friendship with Longstreet, was probably also acquainted with Longstreet's father who had very early installed a steam engine in a river boat which he operated on the Savannah River. Dr. Means later conducted extensive experiments with electricity including a workable electric light bulb in the 1840's, long before Edison perfected the use of electricity for the purpose. Dr. Means' reputation as a physicist was such that he became a consultant to Sir Michael Faraday, was presented to Queen Victoria, was a member of the British Royal Society and the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. He was twice president of Emory College, which became the present Emory University in Atlanta. He also served as a professor in the Medical College of Atlanta which he was most instrumental in re-establishing after the Civil War. This early Georgia medical training institution merged with Emory College after its move to Atlanta, to become the medical department of Emory University. Dr. Means simultaneously taught natural sciences at the Medical College of Atlanta, Emory College in Oxford, Georgia, and the Medical College of Georgia in Augusta while serving as President of Emory and an active Methodist preacher serving a charge! At the time of the Secession Convention in Milledgeville, he was one of the most active and influential opponents of secession, and made such a powerful address against it, that with Herschel Johnson, Linton Stephens, and Milton Candler, he almost succeeded in preventing Georgia from seceding.

Yet another prominent writer, inventor, and divine associated with the area in the early 1840's was Dr. Francis Robert Goulding who served the Presbyterian Churches in Greensboro, Madison, and Eatonton. While serving the Eatonton and Madison churches, he invented a workable mechanical sewing machine for the use of his wife, and had a few manufactured, but since he did not have it patented, Elias Howe, a short time afterward, got the credit for the invention. Dr. Goulding wrote best selling books for young people, one of which, The Young Marooners, was not long ago republished by the University of Georgia Press; and his account of a journey into the Cherokee country before 1840 was used by the Georgia Historical Commission in the restoration of the Vann House at Spring Place.

Dr. Goulding, too, carried on a correspondence with Sir Michael Faraday, and the subject of their mutual interest was the nature of light. Research into the extent of the acquaintance of these men - William Longstreet, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Alexander Means and Dr. Francis Robert Goulding - with their interest in light and power and their relationship to the burgeoning manufacturing and transportation industries of the area between 1830 and 1850 might be an interesting subject to pursue.

Among the very earliest indications of machine processing of locally produced raw materials can be found in the first volume of Morgan County Inferior court records. These minutes refer several times to Talbot's machine. Early cotton gins were called cotton machines, and the descendants of Matthew Talbot in Morgan County say that he operated such a machine and also a grist mill at the mouth of Hard Labor Creek on the Apalachee River at the uppermost limit of what is to comprise the reservoir on the Apalachee. There is also an Indian mound on the property in a swampy area of difficult accessibility. Mrs. Rebecca Latimer Felton, the first woman senator in the United States, boarded with the Talbot family while she was attending college in Madison before 1861, and tells about the mounds in her autobiography. The property is now supposed to belong to a Richardson family.



Late in the 1820's the leaders of the State of Georgia became concerned over the improvement of transportation in the State, and a conference to consider the problems presented and means of solving them was held in Eatonton in 1828. At that time the idea of a canal was seriously considered, but a little later a railroad was agreed upon as the best step to take. By 1836 the line, the third railroad to be built in the United States, reached the Oconee River and the first trestle bridge for it was built across the river in that year. It was burned in 1864 by Geary's Raiders, but the present bridge was constructed after the Civil War at the same location, and the village of Carey's Station grew up at the river's edge. The railroad was important in the growth of both Madison and Greensboro, and made Dr. Means' teaching feat possible in the 1840's. Its importance to the region did not decline until the automobile and paved roads provided greater mobility and convenience for passenger travel, and trucks became competitors in transporting freight. Tradition says that an impassible mud hole which blocked the vital arterial Augusta road for months was the precipitating cause for the decision to build the railroad.

With the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1794, the planting of cotton became more and more profitable, and cotton culture supplanted indigo and tobacco in the agriculture of the region, although tobacco seems to have been grown west of the Oconee at the time of the establishment of the Phillips toll bridge on the Apalachee, since a rate for rolling hogsheads was provided. A state coach route, the Seven Islands Road, one of the major highways funneling settlers westward, was the first road built in Morgan County in 1808, and it took its start at Park's Mill, from whence it may still be followed across the county. Kingston and Parksbridge owed their growth to this road. The use of Negro slave labor increased with the rise of cotton culture and cotton gins were built to prepare the cotton for market. At the time of the first settlement of Greene County, the state provided for only one slave for each ten people in the upper settlements of Georgia, but with the success of cotton growing, the slave population of Morgan, Greene, and Putnam counties grew until the black population outnumbered the white. It was only at the 1970 census that whites outnumbered blacks in Morgan County and have ever since.

The political importance of the Oconee valley area is accented by the fact that early in the nineteenth century, when the State capital was to be moved from Louisville, Blue Spring Plantation near Swords came within three votes of becoming the new capital of the State of Georgia instead of Milledgeville. It is significant to me that both were in the old Trans-Oconee Republic area, and this seems to me to be related to the strength of the John Clarke faction in Georgia politics. It is also a footnote on the former importance of the Oconee as a boundary and its centrality in state expansionist policy.

The abundant cotton supply stimulated the establishment of cotton mills in the region at a very early date. The oldest was Antioch Mills on Little River in Morgan County, outside the reservoir area, built by Samuel Gregg, the uncle of William Gregg of Graniteville Mills in South Carolina, one of the most important industrialists in the antebellum South. Another early cotton mill and a paper mill were at Scull Shoals, the property of Dr. Lindsey Durham and Zachariah Simms, respectively. At some time between 1820 and 1840 the firm of Curtwright and Howell began the manufacture of cotton at the Long Shoals on the Oconee River. In 1845, John Curtwright deeded land on the Oconee to the partnership. By 1851, the company was incorporated to engage in the



business of manufacturing cotton and wool, wool and cotton combined, flax, iron, grain into flour and meal and the cutting and sawing of lumber and the making and repairing of machinery and doing all for the profitable management of the said business (160). The stockholders subscribed \$500,000 in stock to be employed in the business. White's Statistics of Georgia gives the following account of the concern (161): "Long Shoals factory; capital, \$100,000. The company owns 500 acres of land, including all the water power on the Greene County side of the river. The main building is of bricks, with stone foundation and tin roof, 150 feet long, and three stories high. Connected with the factory is a building of brick having a store, school-room and place of worship." According to Adiel Sherwood and J. G. Johnson, this was one of the first thirteen factories in Georgia. By 1840, there were only nineteen (162). In White's Historical Collections of Georgia (163), Curtwright Manufacturing Company is illustrated, and a brief paragraph states: "This factory is situated at Long Shoals on the Oconee River. Cost of property, \$140,000; spindles and looms, 4000. The company owns an elegant stone bridge across the Oconee, with flouring and saw-mills and a large tract of land." The tract of land is part of the Reynolds Linger Longer property now. Mr. Alex King of Atlanta owns the remains of the old mill building, and during World War II sold off many of the old brick, which were used to build houses in Atlanta, but part of the factory building remains. The stockholders in the corporation were Artemas Gould; John Curtwright; William Ross, administrator for David Ross, deceased; John W. Adams; Henry Atwood; John Wingfield; M. Alfred Wingfield; John Cunningham and Son; Henry Merrell; John E. Jackson; Samuel Davis; George M. Camp; Seagrove W. Magill; David Howell; Cyrus J. Baldwin; Green Moore; Thomas Cunningham; Alfred Davis; George O. Dawson for the Estate of Joel Early; Jane Irene Howell. Henry Merrell was the agent of the company, and so the places known as Curtwright Factory and Merrell's were parts of the same organization. Merrells was on the Putnam county side of the river.

## VI. The Civil War

Georgia was the most important cotton manufacturing state in the South before 1860, and this was obviously a major manufacturing enterprise for the time. It used slave labor in part. In 1861, a militia company organized at the factory, and tried to get itself armed by the state to fight in the Confederate Army. It claimed to have forty or fifty stout young men, and Thomas White wrote the request. Since, however no record exists that it was ever activated, the presumption is that it was more important to the Southern cause for the men to continue their work in the factory. Some, indeed, did join a militia company whose muster roll for 1863 lists six spinners, two weavers, three carders, five factory workers, one manufacturer, one factory superintendent, one mechanic, and one book-keeper, but the factory where they worked is not named (164). Unfortunately, no history of the cotton textile industry in Georgia has ever been compiled, and little could be found in the time available on this important manufacturing plant. In 1864, according to the official accounts of the Georgia campaigns which were published in the Journal of the House of Representatives, Geary's Raiders burned several cotton factories across the Oconee from Park's Mill in Morgan County (165). Dr. Rice says that the superintendent told the Union soldiers that he was from the North and that the mill belonged to him. In consequence, he says, the mill was not destroyed. Miss Nora Pascal, 94 years old, of Buckhead, Georgia,



formerly of Putnam County, states that the factories were burned. Which is the accurate account I have been unable to ascertain. If the factory was not burned, why did it cease to operate? Other Georgia cotton factories continued to operate. Why not this one? A longer time to pursue research might produce additional information.

At the close of the Civil War, too, after the fall of the Confederacy, Park's Ferry and Inn became the scene of another interesting incident. General Geary's Raiders had burned the railroad bridge across the Oconee and the other bridges as well, but Park's Ferry was still in operation. A devoted slave, too, had saved the inn from burning when the grist mill was destroyed by Union soldiers. Jefferson Davis, President of the defeated Confederate States, was fleeing southwestward from pursuing Union forces. He was following the stage coach route known as the Seven Islands Road, or stage coach route number two in Georgia, toward New Orleans. Tradition says that he was still accompanied by several Confederate treasury wagons, although, after reading several accounts, I very much doubt it. At any rate, he is reputed to have arrived on the east bank of the Oconee at the ferry terminal, where he learned that his wife was awaiting him at Park's Inn on the other side. He dismissed the wagons, which were supposed to have buried their loads in the woods near the terminal. He then joined his wife at the inn where they stayed overnight. They confided their identity to the Park family. Next morning, they resumed their flight, and two days later were captured at Irwinville, Georgia. A man who is writing what is expected to be the definitive biography of Jefferson Davis has assured me that, while these events cannot otherwise be substantiated than by Judge Park's personal account (166), it is almost certain that President Davis crossed the Oconee here on account of the route he was following, the presence of the ferry at this point, and the destruction of the bridges elsewhere.

After the Civil War, the region on both banks of the Oconee shared in the low ebb of fortune that struck the entire South. Manufacturing took a long time to re-emerge on account of the shortage of capital. Cotton continued to be the principal crop until after World War II. Then, with the migration of farm workers to the city, the region reverted to the cattle industry which had attracted settlers to the Oconee basin in the first place. Today Morgan and Putnam Counties are the two largest dairying counties in Georgia. Beef cattle are widely raised, too. A large part of the area is in the Oconee National Forest for the protection of the watershed, and for the retention of wild life habitat. As in the time of the Indians, Greene and Morgan Counties are among the finest deer hunting sections in Georgia and attract hunters from far and wide. The population has decreased substantially in the past twenty-five years, but it is expected that the completion of I-20 and the Wallace Dam and Lake will reverse this trend.

The great number of Negro plantation workers was the inspiration in the period immediately preceding and following the Civil War for Joel Chandler Harris of Putnam County, who got his start as a writer at Turnwold Plantation not far outside the reservoir area. Again this was in the tradition of American humor and local color of which A. B. Longstreet was the fore-runner. Turner himself, and his family, had played an important part in the development of this part of the state, beginning with the Oconee Navigation Company.

Flooding has from time immemorial been a problem along the river and in 1896 a gauge was established at Carey's Station on the east bank of the Oconee



to measure the flow of the river. Mr. J. L. Carey was the gauge observer. The geological survey engineers stated that the irregularity in the rating table was caused by obstructions in the river, at the station, and by a mill-dam about five miles below. Park's Mill was shown on an accompanying map (167). Mr. Fred White began about the same time to keep his Oconee diary which he continues to do today past his eighty-fifth birthday.

## VII. Concluding Remarks

In this study, I have tried to give a general overview of the history of the area to be inundated by the Wallace Dam reservoir from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present. At the same time, I have tried to identify the most important historic sites to be lost by the flooding of the area; to locate these sites as precisely as the available data would allow; to give as accurate and detailed an account of the historic events which took place at the sites as I was able to reconstruct from the records of the times and the accounts of reputable historians or diarists; to indicate the most notable people connected with the events; and to relate the events with the overall history and cultural development of the region, the State and the United States. This is one of the richest and most important areas in all Georgia, historically. Several of the most important pre-historic Indian sites are to be found here, including a fine Hopewellian mound site which presents a unique opportunity for investigation. An outlaw trading post seems to have been located here; an outlaw historic Indian village; at least a dozen frontier forts, including at least two of Elijah Clarke's outlaw republic forts; one of the largest and most important ante-bellum factory sites in Georgia, as well as one of the earliest; five dead towns or settlements; the principal locale of a twelve year frontier war; two of the most traveled roads in the early history of the State; and the homes of some of the most colorful people to settle on this continent, people who have left their mark on the area, the State, and the nation in character, in politics, in literature. There are no Historical Commission markers here for any of the forts, for the Oakfuskee Path, or the Trans-Oconee Republic. All these places merit such a marker. The sites also deserve study, investigation and preservation. There is no history of cotton textile manufacturing in Georgia, and none is even planned, although there are studies of the industry in North and South Carolina, and all authorities agree that Georgia had the most important cotton textile industry in the South before 1860. With each passing year more records will disappear, making it more difficult to write an adequate history of the industry which is now undergoing a second eclipse. Mr. T. M. Forbes, retired executive secretary of the Georgia Cotton Textile Manufacturers Association, has assembled considerable material on Ante-bellum mills still in operation but not on extinct mills. The Asbury Trail in North Carolina is marked, and a Boy Scout badge is awarded for hiking it, but the Georgia trail has had no such notice. In short, we are dealing with an area which has been neglected by historians, and whose importance is waiting to be recognized by Georgians and Americans generally. Adequate markers to point out its considerable interest and other projects to spotlight its historic and recreational resources would attract tourists and provide a more diversified program in the development of the area for both educational and recreational purposes that would be useful locally and to the region and State. It is regrettable that for a project so large, so little time and money should have been available to do historical research.



The Georgia Department of Archives and History have many more resources which time did not permit even glancing at. Duke University and the University of Georgia have extensive collections which would have provided a wealth of other information had it been possible to consult them. I can only hope that the present study has provided the requisite information for a more adequate investigation to follow, and that it will present interesting projects for others to pursue.



NOTES

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3. Corkran, David H. *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783*, p. 50.
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7. *Colonial Records of Georgia, 1749*, Vol. VI, p. 357.
8. *The Colonial Records of South Carolina*. Documents relating to Indian Affairs, 1750-1754, pp. 11-13, 68, 320-321.
9. *Colonial Records of Georgia*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 574-575. No. 5.
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12. Corkran, David H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 258. His source is *Colonial Records of Georgia*, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1-a, pp. 171-173. Also, David H. Corkran, *op. Cit.*, p. 262. And *Colonial Records of Georgia*, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, p. 232.
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30. Hays, Louise Frederick. Op. cit., p. 27.
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50. Skinner, Constance Lindsey. Pioneers of the Old Southwest, p. 40.
51. Chappell, Absolom. Miscellanies of Georgia, p. 8.
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59. Milfort, Louis Le Clerc. Op. cit., pp. 83-85.
60. Caughey, John Walton. Op. cit., pp. 104-105.
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65. Georgia Historical Quarterly, Vol. LII, No. 2, June 1968. Collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Diary of Samuel Edward Butler, 1784-1786, p. 215. A later David Edward Butler was associated with Jesse Mercer and Mercer University at Penfield, and the Butler family was also prominent in Madison in Morgan County where the Fosters later resided.
66. Georgia Department of Archives and History. Indian Letters, 1782-1839, p. 4.
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## APPENDIX

Since the completion of this manuscript several pieces of relevant information have come to light as the result of my continued reading and research into the Oconee area. Although somewhat disconnected, this varied information is considered important and is therefore being included in this appendix in note form for the present.

Houmathla (Page 6)

With regard to the ubiquitous Indian headman, Houmathla, Angie Debo in The Road to Disappearance adds more information to his record.

Debo says that in May, 1836, General Thomas Jesup and Apothle Mico were attempting the removal of the Creeks to Oklahoma from Alabama. The hostile Creek faction which was opposing removal were led by Eneah Micco, Jim McHenry, the son of a Scotch father and an Inidan mother, and Eneah Emarthla, "a grand old man of eighty who had fought the United States in the Red Stick War and had lived for a time among the Seminoles." These leaders with their bands were all captured before the summer was over and moved to the west with 2495 people. Tustenugee Emarthla or Jim Boy remained behind with 776 warriors to assist Jesup in subduing the Seminoles who were also resisting removal. Emathla, Florida, a small town in the central part of the State, may thus retain the name of this Creek warrior. James McHenry, the Scotch trader, came to Oglethorpe County, Georgia, in 1805, and remained there until 1825. He was a partner with the senior Andrew Low. His diary shows him at the appropriate time for buying tobacco in Clarke, Morgan, and Putnam Counties, for several years after 1805. A part of each year was spent in Savannah. American State Papers also quotes a letter from the Indian agent James Seagrave saying that Halletomathle was a "warm friend" of Alexander McGillivray.

Debo also gives some enlightening information concerning the origin or meaning of the name:

"The usual title consisted of two parts: first was the name of his clan, his town, or another town; then came his official designation as Micco, Tustenugee, Emarthla, or Heneha, or the arbitrary distinction Harjo ('recklessly brave, usually translated as 'mad' or 'crazy'.")

She also explains something about these grades:

"The war officials sat in another part of the [town] square or chafaka [from the chiefs]. They were grouped according to their rank as little emarthlas, big emarthlas, and tustenugees. Promotion from a lower grade to a higher was the reward of individual achievement, and the degrees were conferred with savage ceremonials of rejoicing after



a successful military expedition. These warriors were sometimes called over to the chiefs' section to join in important councils, but their main duties were to act as enforcement officers in carrying out the sentences of the council against offenders, to arrange the formal ball games with rival towns, and to represent the tribe in war. Their leader was known as tustenuggee thlocco or "big warrior"; he was selected from the tustenuggees by the micco and the beloved men. He had the command of military expeditions and general executive direction of the warrior group. The warriors also had a speaker, whose duties corresponded to those of the chief's speaker.

"The common warriors sat apart from these leaders. In general they were young men who had taken part in military expeditions, but had not yet distinguished themselves by individual exploits. They did not participate in the government. Naturally the aspiring members of this group thirsted fiercely for military honors as the only road to advancement among their people.

"It was inevitable, therefore, that conflicting policies should develop between the warriors and the civil officers. In declaring war the decision lay with the chief and his council, but it was the tustenuggee thlocco who 'lifted the hatchet'. The two sets of officials were seldom ready for peace at the same time, and when the civil authorities attempted to negotiate and stop hostilities the tustenuggee thlocco and his eager followers often continued their raids. Their opposing functions were analogous to those of the Red and White Towns in the Confederacy. This two-fold division was also related in some obscure way to clan groupings."

The towns in this area were Red or War towns. Emathla's rank would suggest why the chiefs had so little apparent control over his raids. Adair translates "mattle" as the word used to indicate determination for war. The size of his town on the Oconee also indicates an extended family or sub-clan grouping. Another reference in the Georgia Colonial Records seems to indicate that after the second burning of his town on the Oconee, he may have built a new town in the north Georgia mountains, but that a white party seeking retribution for a frontier murder destroyed that town as well almost as soon as it was built.

#### Zachariah Phillips as a Wrightsborough patriot (Page 13)

The Georgia Revolutionary Records list him as a member of Captain Philip Delegal's company.

#### Benjamin Harrison, notorious Indian hater (Page 27)

The American State Papers show that the United States government required the State of Georgia to prosecute Harrison for this series of flagrant and brutal murders. A few years later, however, Harrison was free and had been elected to the Georgia Legislature, whose members accused him of having fraudulently obtained his seat.



Great Oconee Drouth of 1792 (Page 29)

Debo, in The Road to Disappearance reports that in the fall of 1792, goods, corn, and money to the amount of \$13,341.61 were sent by Knox for distribution to a "council" of about one thousand men, women, and children assembled on the St. Mary's.

"An ominous circumstance, almost unregarded at the time, was the fact that the Lower Creeks were seriously in need of the food and clothing they received here. There had been a severe drouth, but a more important cause of their distress was the constant turmoil that had interrupted their labors and no doubt the destruction of game was having its effect. It was a new experience for these prosperous Indians to receive relief from the white man, but from this time on it was apparent that the native economic system was disintegrating before the advancing frontier."

The goods were to be boated down the Oconee and Altamaha; it was safer by land, but cheaper by water.

The American State Papers for July, 1792, also contain numerous complaints against the frontier inhabitants. Charles Weatherford made a deposition against Col. Samuel Alexander of the Greene County militia. The "licentious, ungovernable spirit of the people on this frontier" was noted, and their "refractory conduct" was described as "notorious." Seagrove, the Indian agent, wrote President Washington that the "frontier banditti consider troops and servants of the U. S. nearly as great enemies as the Indians." He wrote Governor Telfair that "Samuel Alexander would not be an agreeable visitor to Indians at dinner since he had murdered so many of their friends and relatives in cold blood," and was "the principal cause of involving the country in a long, bloody, and expensive war with the Creeks." The Indian present from the United States, however, included scalping knives like butcher knives with bone handles.

McGillivray Delays Boundary Survey, 1792 (Page 29)

Colonel Alexander said at Rock Landing that the Upper Georgians, too, opposed running of the line.

Clarke's Fort on Sugar Creek (Page 42)

If this was, indeed, the site of one of Clarke's forts, it must have stood on the south bank of the mouth of Sugar Creek, since there was until a few years ago a bold spring in the bank of the creek at this point and the bank is much higher here, too. Sand bars in the river would have provided a fording place. The land now belongs to Mr. Phil Wallace.

Cow Ford - Parks Mill (Page 51)

James Adair's map of the Southeast published in 1775, but probably drawn in the late 1760's, shows the Indian town of Echiti at what appears to be this locale. No Georgia records show such a town there between 1765 and 1775, but the Indian site found there is an interesting coincidence.



Jesse Lee, Methodist Circuit Rider, 1799 (Page 53)

Jesse Lee's diary has been published for this date also, and gives an account of the preaching at the Forts, but the editor condensed this passage, and no more details are available.

Kennedy's Oconee Boat, 1801 (Page 56)

In the 1790's Fields Kennedy was the tax collector for Greene County. He also owned property in Columbia County. It is possible that his boat was similar to the boats described in Verner W. Crane's The Southern Frontier, and that it may have been used as a trading boat:

"Some part of the heavy expense of land carriage was saved by the use of the water-route.... Various small craft were employed: canoes and periagoes paddled by Indians or Negroes, which were also part of the regular equipment of the [Indian] traders with the coast tribes and special trading boats. About 1710, a large periago cost sixteen pounds in Carolina currency; a small canoe, two pounds. A periago paddled by seven or eight slaves could load 500 to 700 skins. In the middle of the eighteenth century the Charles Town merchants and upcountry storekeepers made use of considerably larger boats. Such was one described in the South Carolina Gazette of February 1, 1748: 'Stolen, or gone adrift from Mr. Elliott's Wharf last Tuesday night, an Indian-trading boat, 42 feet long and upwards of seven feet wide, with a cabin in her stern, and staples in her side, and a King bolt in her head. Whoever takes up said Boat, and delivers her to Macartan and Campbell in Charles Town shall have 20 L. currency.'

"Trading boats such as this drew three or four feet or water, and were equipped with oars, but not usually with sails. William Stephens in his journal often mentioned the trading-boats of Eveleigh and others which plied past Savannah. 'Five,' he said, 'were owned by the storekeepers at Augusta; they could carry nine or ten thousand weight of Deer-Skins each, making four or five Voyages at least in a year to Charles Town, ...and the value of each cargo is computed to be from 12 to 1500 L. Sterling'."

If Kennedy's boat drew as much as three or four feet of water, he would have had difficulty operating it over the shoals except at high water. Canoeing is still being carried on on the river; in 1971, Dean Emeritus William Tate and a group made a canoe trip from Athens all the way to Darien.

Henry Carleton's Property (Page 56)

On December 9, 1808, Henry Carleton sold the house to James Matthews for \$600. In 1815, James Matthews' will was probated and the instructions were that this property should be sold and the proceeds divided among his children, of whom Peggy Furlow was listed as one. Evidently Charles, David and Margaret Furlow bought the property, and the family of Charles Furlow remained owners of the property for over fifty years.



Margaret Furlow is buried on one of the unmarked field stone graves nearby. David Furlow lived on the Greene County side until 1836 when administrator's records show that he left the ferry to his wife for her lifetime. These records also indicate that this is the same ferry that had been licensed as Claugh's at Vernon at the Forks in Morgan County in 1808.

#### Kennedy House (Page 56)

It is expected that it will soon be listed on the National Register of Historic Sites.

#### Vernon (Page 57)

There are four possible sources for the name Vernon: (1) James Vernon, one of the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia; (2) Edward Vernon, a trustee of the fund for prison reform with which Oglethorpe was associated, and out of which grew the Georgia Colonization scheme; (3) Admiral Vernon, a British admiral operating in the Caribbean during the War of Jenkins Ear, who was considered a hero for freedom; or (4) Mount Vernon, Washington's home on the Potomac.

#### Dr. Owens' Race Track, 1800 (Page 59)

Before his death, Deed Book A, page 329 in Morgan County shows that he, Henry Carlton, John Fielder, Ezekiel Park, James Michelson, James Cunningham, and Elijah Wyatt bought plot No. 35, twenty-five acres, for \$200.00 for a race track. This was one of the oldest race tracks in Georgia, and tradition says lay between what is now Old Post Road and the present Academy Street in Madison. The race track also recalls A. B. Longstreet's horse race account in the Georgia Scene; and President Andrew Jackson's interest in horse racing, since during the War of 1812 Jackson passed through the Oconee area on the Seven Island Road on his way to New Orleans, and he came to Greensboro a number of times, because his uncle and Mrs. Jackson's parents lived there. He was a guest at the Skidmore house near Buckhead, just outside the reservoir area. The Skidmores were the parents of Mrs. Joseph Veal, the noted Georgia silversmith, who lived and worked in Madison.

#### Rebecca Latimer Felton (Page 61)

She was the great-granddaughter of Matthew Talbot. In her autobiography, Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth, she describes this working plantation and its associated enterprises.

"My maternal grandfather was Thomas Swift, a member of Georgia's very excellent families that settled in Morgan County after the Revolution. My grandfather was the eldest of four brothers, and married Lucy Talbot near the year 1810. His father was a planter and slave owner, and tradition has it that the Swifts and Talbots emigrated from Virginia after the Revolutionary War and obtained lands on Sandy Creek in Morgan County which their descendants owned for at least a hundred years.

The Morgan County records bear out the family tradition.

..."It was my Georgia grandmother, Mrs. Lucy Talbot Swift, around whom my early recollections cluster....I was often in her



home (which she inherited and was her father's early residence)....Grandfather had a plantation, a grain mill and sawmill..., dwelling..., garden..., dairy..., poultry house..., loom house..., big meat houses..., pig pen..., geese...

"My grandfather's home was a two-story frame dwelling also with a brick basement, largely above ground. In that brick basement there were three spacious rooms. The principal room was used for the family meals, with capacious fireplace and safes stationed around the walls. In these safes or cupboards there was storage for all sorts of domestic supplies. The middle room was the "loom room," the third was the kitchen, with wide hearth, cranes in the chimney for hanging pots and kettles. (I never saw a cook stove until I was grown.) These rooms had brick floors and were well ventilated. My grandmother had an easy chair in the dining room and the coffee and tea were made under her direction. She supervised the cooking in her kitchen and that cloth making previously described in detail went on exactly where she could overlook it."

Mrs. Felton also spoke of a "harness room." At the Talbot place now there is masonry on the banks of the Apalachee River, and the current is very fast through this narrowed channel.



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