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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER NATIONAL RECREATION AREA
and the
CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER CORRIDOR

BY

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INTRODUCTION

The Chattahoochee River begins in the North Georgia mountains near Brasstown Bald. It flows southeastward to form the boundary between White and Habersham Counties before turning southwest. Above Gainesville, Georgia the river spreads out to form Lake Lanier behind Buford Dam. Below the dam the Chattahoochee flows south and west to near Norcross, Georgia where it turns nearly west for several miles until near Roswell it again turns southwest and continues in that direction forming the boundary between Fulton and Cobb Counties. Flowing onward past Peachtree Creek and the City of Atlanta, the river enters West Point Lake and below West Point Dam becomes the border between Georgia and Alabama as it flows south past Columbus. Below Columbus a series of locks and dams controls the river making it navigable for the remainder of its length. Near the town of Chattahoochee on the Georgia-Florida border the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers merge to form the Apalachicola River and continues into the Gulf of Mexico.

This study is concerned with the 48 mile segment of the river between Buford Dam and Peachtree Creek. It was this segment of the river that beginning in the last years of the 1960's and during the 1970's became identified as a unique river environment worthy of preservation. Concern for this environment was crystalized by the first evidence of the rapid spread of urban development on the banks of the river in 1970. Beginning in that year, an awareness of the need to preserve began to grow. It culminated in the creation of Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area in 1978. This report attempts to provide an overview of the historical events that occurred along that portion of the river.

The report that follows is more topical than chronological. However, the sequence of topics attempts to maintain some chronological order. The author wishes to thank the many individuals who helped gather material for the report and shared their knowledge of the river, the land along its banks, and its history. To them belongs the credit for the information in the study. To the author belongs the blame for any mistakes that occur.

CHAPTER 1
THE INDIANS

The Chattahoochee River began in the land of the Cherokees in north Georgia and passed through the land of the Creeks in middle and south Georgia and Alabama. The section of the river that forms the present boundary between the counties of Gwinnett and Fulton on the east and Forsyth and Cobb on the west was occupied at various times by both tribes. However, the land belonged more to the Cherokees than the Creeks. The river served as a clear boundary with the Cherokees to the north and west and the Creeks to the south and east. The east and west boundary was less distinct being described both north and south of present day Atlanta.

Members of both tribes are described in generally similar terms by early observers. William Bartram, the famous naturalist, traveled through the southeast and visited with the tribes in the years 1773-1776. In Bartram's eyes, Cherokee and Creek men were tall, erect, moderately robust with well-shaped limbs, and formed a perfect human figure. Their features were regular with an open, dignified and placid countenance. Their complexion was reddish brown or copper colored. Their hair long, black and coarse. Their actions and manner spoke, to Bartram, of heroism, bravery, magnanimity, superiority, and independence. Cherokee women were tall, slender, erect, and had a cheerful countenance and moved with grace and dignity. Creek women were "remarkably short of stature", but well formed with regular features. Bartram emphasizes that the Creek women often did not reach five feet in height, while the men were "of gigantic stature, a full size larger than European; many of them above six feet, and few under that, or five feet, eight or ten inches." The Cherokee men were even taller. According to Bartram, the largest race of men he had ever seen.[1]

Caleb Swan writing in Volume 5 of Schoolcraft's Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the Indian Tribes of the United States described the Creek women of good height, but coarse, thick necked and ugly. The men were good sized, stout, athletic and handsome.[2] Allowing for differences of opinion because of perspective or preconceptions it appears that both tribes could be described as possessing impressive physical characteristics.

1. William Bartram, Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida (Savannah, 1973), p. 481-82. A facsimile of the 1792 London edition embellished with nine original plates, also seventeen additional illustrations and an introduction by Gordon DeWolf.

2. John R. Swanton, The Indians of the Southeastern United States, BAE Bulletin 137 (Washington, 1946), p. 222-23.

Even less consensus existed among those who commented on the moral standards and character of the two tribes. While the romantic Bartram saw the Creeks as proud, haughty, and arrogant, he also viewed them as brave and valiant in war, ambitious of conquest, but magnanimous and merciful to the vanquished. Morally they were just, honest, liberal, considerate, loving, frugal, temperate, persevering and as moral men stood in no need of European civilization. The Cherokees in Bartram's view were equally cheerful, humane, tenacious of liberty and the natural rights of man as well as being honest, just, and liberal.[3] James Adair, in his History of the American Indians published in 1775 and based presumably on his experiences during thirty years of trading with Southeastern tribes, uses a less flattering series of adjectives: ingenious, cunning, deceitful, faithful to their own, but privately dishonest and mischievous to Europeans. Adair also commented on the revengeful nature of the Indians of the Southeast.[4]

Regarding intelligence there were fewer specifics. Descriptions of the physical and moral character of the Creeks and Cherokees and their culture in the years before the American Revolution indicate that these tribes possessed above average intelligence. The accomplishments of the Cherokee in adapting to "civilized ways" in the first three decades of the nineteenth century support this belief.

The above observations on the Cherokees and Creeks of Georgia and the southeastern United States were written after approximately 75 years of increasing contact with European civilization.[5] Most of this early contact with the Creeks

3. Bartram, pp. 483 and 487-88.

4. Cited in Swanton, Indians of the Southeast, p. 231-32. Swanton in his study (pages 229-238) provides an excellent summary of the varying views of individuals who observed the Creeds, Cherokees and other tribes in the years before 1800.

5. The term European in this sense is primarily meant to mean English. Swanton in his monumental book on the Southeastern Indians notes that the Creeks definitely and the Cherokees possibly, had contact with the DeSoto Expedition (1539-42). Between then and 1670, the founding of Charleston, there were constant contacts with one of more of the three European powers--Spain, France, or England. This report will focus on the English contacts after 1680.

was with traders who came out of Charleston in the 1680's and began an active trade with them. In 1685, Dr. Thomas Woodward led a small trading party to the Creek villages on the lower Chattahoochee, near and below present Columbus, Georgia. The trade developed and proved so advantageous to the Indians and whites that the Creeks moved east to the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers to be closer to the English traders from Charleston. This close and friendly relationship ended in 1715 when the Yamasee War broke out, caused in part by the sharp practices of the traders and evidence of slave raids against the Indians of Georgia. The Creeks and other tribes moved west to the Chattahoochee or into Florida after 1715. It was some time before trade was resumed.[6] When it did resume it continued with few interruptions through the colonial period and into the first decades of American independence.

Trade with the Cherokees in South Carolina and Georgia began about 1700. This trade relationship was to be interrupted on several occasions by hostilities often prompted by the involvement of the Cherokees with either France or England in their intermittent wars. During the American Revolution the Cherokees sided with the English and as a result suffered from a series of attacks by the colonists. Hostilities lasted until 1794 when they were brought to an end by the Treaty of Tellico. By the last decade of the Eighteenth Century, Cherokee lands had been considerably reduced in size, but they still controlled a large area in western South and North Carolina, eastern Tennessee and in northwestern Georgia as far east as the Apalachee River. From the Treaty of Tellico until the removal of the tribe from the eastern United States in 1838 the Cherokees actively pursued the ways of white man.

Following the ways of the white man and changes in the culture of the Cherokees, began with the arrival of the first traders. These men brought manufactured goods (guns, knives, traps, metal utensils, etc.) to trade for furs. As a result, hunting efficiency increased and the reason for hunting changed from a source of food and clothing to gathering of pelts for trade. As a result game, especially deer, was rapidly reduced. The Indians moved west or southwest into new areas where game was prevalent. As the tribes vacated areas, white settlement moved in. In

6. The above is based on Swanton, Indians of the Southeast, p. 77-78 and Vernon Crane, The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732 (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1929, Reissued 1956), p. 133-34.

addition to new products, the traders brought new ideas that changed agricultural practices among the Cherokees. Horses were introduced about 1740 and hogs and cattle shortly thereafter. By the 1770's poultry and goats were also found in the villages of the Cherokees. The variety of crops had also increased to include not only the traditional corn, beans, and squash, but also potatoes, pumpkins, and melons.

Many of the changes brought about by the contact between traders and the Cherokees were a direct result of intermarriage. Of all the tribes in the southeast, the Cherokees intermarried with whites more than any other. The children of these marriages were more receptive to new ideas than the Cherokees. In the nineteenth century they would come to dominate tribal government. The changes in Cherokee culture and life resulting from contact with the Indian trader during the 1700's were unplanned and evolutionary in nature. In the years after the American Revolution and specifically after 1790 two new forces--the missionary and the government--began a planned concerted effort to "civilize" the Cherokee.[7]

Beginning in the 1790's, the United States government began supplying livestock and farm tools to the Cherokees and by the final years of the century, cotton and, to a lesser extent, wheat were being grown by the tribe. During the same period, use of the plow rather than the hoe to till the ground became common. The commitment that the government had toward this program is evidenced by the message that President Washington sent to the tribe in 1796. Washington urged the Indians to give up the subsistence life of hunting, gathering, and tilling of their fields to devote themselves to agriculture. To the cattle and hogs they were keeping he urged them to add sheep for clothing and food. The "beloved Cherokees" were to seek not only to grow food for themselves, but to sell to the whites. In addition to corn they should raise other cereal crops including wheat, "which makes the best of bread" as well as other grains. To aid in converting cotton and flax to cloth the President had ordered Silas Dinsmoor, agent for the Cherokees, to provide the looms and spinning wheels needed and to hire a woman to teach the use of them.

7. Douglas C. Wilms, Cherokee Indian Land Use in Georgia, 1800-1838, PhD. Dissertation University of Georgia, Athens, 1973, pp. 15-19. Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 360.

Dinsmoor was also to seek out farmers to teach the Cherokees the use of the plow and other implements. Washington closed his address with the promise that medals were to be prepared. These would be awarded to those "who are most industrious in raising cattle; in growing corn, wheat, cotton and flax; and in spinning and weaving."[8]

The goal of this government assistance was to create in the Cherokees a desire for an agrarian economy, as well as encourage private land ownership, raise the standards of living, encourage civilization, and permit the Cherokee to live on less land. In addition to the assistance set out above, the government also provided financial aid to missionary societies to establish schools to teach formal and vocational education.

And the missionaries came. In 1801 the Moravians began work in northwest Georgia near Spring Place, the home of James Vann. A more influential mission began at Brainerd, Tennessee, in 1817 by the American Board for Foreign Missions. The Board also established a school at Cornwall, Connecticut, where promising Indian students could receive more instruction. These and other mission schools in Georgia and North Carolina emphasized agriculture, trade, and domestic arts. The role of the missionary as an agent of change included not only schooling for the young, but also the encouragement of systematic and intensive agriculture. The mission stations in the Cherokee country of Georgia, Tennessee and the Carolinas were model farms occupied by whites who had no interest in acquiring Cherokee lands, had the best interest of the Indians as their goal, and lived in close contact with the Cherokees for extended periods of time. The missionaries educated the Cherokees in the fundamentals of reading, writing, agriculture, and industry.[9]

The Cherokees responded to this attention in a most positive manner. They learned the lessons the traders, the government, and the missionaries taught very

8. Cherokee Phoenix, March 20, 1828, as cited in Wilms, "Cherokee Indian Land Use", p. 24.

9. Wilms, "Cherokee Land Use", p. 28.

well. During the 1820's the tribe made great strides toward becoming a nation of farmers. Industry, though less developed, did exist. The farms of the Cherokees produced enough that the surplus could be sold to whites settling in areas to the east or utilized at the stands or inns that accommodated travelers moving west to settle Alabama and Mississippi after the defeat of the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend. By 1871, the Cherokees of Georgia were described as advancing rapidly toward civilization. They lived in comfortable houses in villages, cultivated large farms, raised herds of cattle and were learning many of the mechanical arts. The government was based on the national model with a two-house legislature. The population in 1827 was over 15,000 including 220 white men and women who had intermarried with the Cherokees plus 1,277 slaves.[10] This progress toward established farms, permanent improvements, and all the other aspects of civilization gave the Cherokees a look of permanence that was most disturbing to those proponents of removal including settlers then pushing against the boundaries of the Cherokee country.

While the Cherokees were embracing all the many elements that are described as civilization under the urging and assistance of the Federal Government, the people and government of Georgia viewed the Indians from a very different perspective. In 1802 the State of Georgia gave up all claims on her western lands--the present states of Alabama and Mississippi--for one and a quarter million dollars and a promise by the United States Government to extinquish Indian title to lands within the state as soon as it could be done peaceably and on reasonable terms. The tribes would be relocated west of the Mississippi.[11] Until the last half of the second decade neither the state government nor the populace of Georgia was concerned about the promise being kept. But when the states of Mississippi and Alabama were admitted to the Union in 1817 and 1819 respectively, there was increasing pressure from Georgia to remove the Indians, both Creek and Cherokee from the state.

10. Adiel Sherwood, Gazetteer of the State of Georgia, (Charleston, W. Riley, 1827), p. 41-42. Reprinted by University of Georgia Press, Athens in 1939.

11. E. Merton Coulter, A Short History of Georgia (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 204. Charles C. Royce, The Cherokee Nation of Indians, Fifth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, Government Print Office, 1887), 233.

The Creeks, losers in the War of 1812, were the first to be removed. The Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814, transferred the southern quarter of present day Georgia from Indian to white control. Georgia, however, viewed the land as "sterile and unprofitable territory" cut off from access by Creek Indians on the north and the Spanish on the south. In 1818, the United States negotiated another treaty with the Creeks that transferred 1½ million additional acres to Georgia. The boundary between the Creeks and Cherokees and the state of Georgia was approximately the Altamaha River on the south and the Ocmulgee and its headwaters on the east. Gerogia, however, was unsatisfied because the land between the Chattahoochee and the Ocmulgee still remained the possession of the Creeks and Cherokees.[12]

A year earlier a treaty had been concluded with the Cherokees that ceded an area from "the high shoals of the Appalachy River (sic) and running thence along the boundary line between the Creek and Cherokee Nations westwardly to the Chatahouchy River (sic)". This treaty reintroduced the question--what was the southern limit of the Cherokee territory east of the Chattahoochee? Prior discussions between the tribes, the British and, later, the United States Government produced a jumble of descriptions that located the southern boundary as either considerably south of present day Atlanta or considerably north of the city. In 1802 the boundary was established as the path that ran from the High Shoals of the Appalachee River to the Etowah River. This well known trading path was the Hightower Trail. The exact point where the Hightower Trail crossed the Chattahoochee was not stated. The Creeks in 1818 located their northern boundary near Suwanee Old Town, present day Suwanee in Gwinnett County, while the Cherokees in 1817 located the southern boundary of their territory as the town of Buzzard's Roost, near Buzzard's Roost Island, three miles below where present day Interstate 20 crosses.[13] It was not until 1830 that the question of the southern limit of Cherokee territory was finally established. This was done not to determine Cherokee lands east of the river, but rather to locate the southern limit of the Cherokee Country to the west of the river.[14]

12. A Short History of Georgia, p. 210.

13. Royce, Cherokee Nation of Indians, p. 268.

14. By 1821, all the land on the east side of the Chattahoochee had been granted to the State of Georgia. All lands held by the Cherokees and Creeks lay west of the river. The Chattahoochee's course within the bounds of the National Recreation Area is sinuous creating a problem of orientation. What at one point is the north side of the river at another is the west side. For sake of the reader the terms east and west will be used. In this context, Gwinnett and most of Fulton counties lie on the <u>east</u> side of the river, while Cobb and Forsyth are on the <u>west</u> bank.

For the Creeks, who had been steadily surrendering land since 1814, it was obvious that the next cession would remove them from Georgia and send them west of the Mississippi. The demand came two years later. The Creeks refused to cede anymore territory. Georgia, under Governor George Troup was outraged and demanded in bitter words and accusations that the United States remove the Indians from Georgia as promised in the Treaty of 1802. Though the treaty indicated this removal was to be peaceable, Troup cared little. Removal was the goal and by force if necessary. A treaty was concluded with the Lower Creeks in February, 1825, ceding the remainder of lands in Georgia. This was repudiated by the warlike Upper Creeks who killed William McIntosh, Chief of the Lower Creeks, for his part in the treaty. The new President of the United States, John Quincy Adams also repudiated the treaty as improperly negotiated. By May, 1825, Troup, threatening war against the United States, began to make preparations and whip up the seething discontent within the State in regard to the Indians. Adams, fearing civil war, negotiated a treaty with the Creeks that ceded all their lands in Georgia except a small strip south of present day LaGrange. Troup still was displeased since the Creeks continued to hold land in Georgia. In November, 1827, this strip was ceded. With these treaties the Creek presence in Georgia ended.[15] Now only the Cherokees remained.

Occupying the northwest corner of Georgia the Cherokees were not in the way of white settlement as much as the Creeks. There had been pressure beginning in 1820 to remove them. The ringing declaration in 1824 by the leaders of the tribe, "It is the fixed and unalterable determination of this nation never again to cede one foot more of land" clearly established the lines of conflict. When the Cherokee Nation, through their delegation in Washington, reiterated this position in a letter to the President of the United States, Georgia's rage boiled over. The Georgia Congressional delegation criticized the Federal Government for teaching the tribe the arts of civilization and imbuing in them the desire to hold property.[16]

15. Coulter, A Short History of Georgia, p. 211-215.

16. James Mooney, Myths of the Cherokees, 19th Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1897), 115.

Georgia's grievances, though not ignored by Washington, were not actively supported by either James Monroe or his successor, John Q. Adams. However, by 1828, it was obvious that the next president would be Andrew Jackson. Jackson had no love for Indians and especially Cherokees. In December, 1828, Georgia's legislature acted and, in the words of one historian, "forbade the Indians to play longer with their make-believe government." [17] A series of laws scheduled to take effect 18 months later were passed. Most Cherokee territory was annexed to Georgia. All laws passed by the Cherokee legislature were nullified and further meetings of the legislature prohibited. Any contracts between Indian and white were null and void unless witnessed by two whites. Indians could not testify against whites. During the eighteen months before the laws took effect, it was hoped the Indians would take the hint and leave. They did not.

In the Spring of 1829, a Cherokee delegation visited Washington to confer with the new President. They found him unsympathetic to their problems. The Cherokees then turned to the Federal judicial system for relief. Three major cases resulted. The first concerned the sentence of a Cherokee, George Tassel, to be executed for murder. Charging a writ of error, the case was presented before the Supreme Court who cited the State of Georgia to appear and show cause why such a writ should not be issued. The State replied by executing George Tassel.

The second case before the Court dealt with the claim that the tribe was a sovereign nation and not subject to the extension of Georgia law over their territory. The Supreme Court denied the motion ruling that the Cherokees "were not a foreign state in the sense of the constitution." The final case was decided in March 1832 in favor of the Cherokees.

One of the several laws passed by Georgia in 1828 required that all white men residing in Cherokee territory seek a permit from the State of Georgia to remain within Cherokee lands. Several of the missionaries declined to do so and were arrested. The arguments that the Cherokees held their land under treaty

17. The Cherokees in 1826 began publishing a newspaper based on the alphabet developed by Sequoyah the previous year. In possession of a written language, illiteracy was nearly eliminated. In 1827 the nation adopted a new Constitution based on the United States Constitution. To one traveler the advancement of the Cherokee in religion, morality, agriculture, and other matters was astonishing. In addition, they sent regular delegations to Washington which were received ceremoniously by the President and his cabinet. Finally all their accomplishments were widely publicized in the northeast and elsewhere. It was this growing autonomy that Georgia acted to destroy.

with the United States, that they had full rights to the land until these were extinguished by the United States with their consent, and that the laws of Georgia did not apply were upheld by the Supreme Court. However, Georgia refused to recognize the decision of the court and held the missionaries for nearly another year before finally releasing them. President Jackson, having no love for Chief Justice John Marshall did nothing leaving Marshall to enforce the decision he had made.[18]

In 1831 the State of Georgia ordered the survey of all the Cherokee lands within its boundaries in preparation for a land lottery to distribute it during 1832, Cherokee Georgia totaling more than 6,800 square miles was divided into four sections. These sections were divided into districts and these into either 160-acre land lots or 40-acre gold lots. The land along the Chattahoochee was divided into gold lots.[19] These were located in 1st District and 17th District of the 1st Section and 1st and 2nd District of the 2nd Section in present Cobb, Fulton and Forsyth Counties. The lottery was held at the end of 1832. Though there was a prohibition against forcing Cherokees occupying the land to leave, the law denying the right of an Indian to bring legal action against a white effectively eliminated any criminal charges. Individuals with Cherokee blood or residing in the territory were not eligible for the lottery.

Winners in the lottery now added their voices to others demanding removal of the Cherokees. During 1833 and 1834 pressure built. In the latter year Georgia allowed the winners in the lottery to move in and occupy their lands. The Cherokees had two years to get out. By 1834 the united front of the Cherokees had split. A minority of the tribal leaders now favored a treaty and removal to the west. This treaty was negotiated in 1835 and ratified by Congress in 1836.

18. The above is based on Royce, The Cherokees, p. 260-66; Coulter, Short History of Georgia, p. 218-21; Mooney, Myths of the Cherokees, p. 118-19, and Grace S. Woodward, The Cherokees (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 164-167.

19. The discovery of gold near Dahlonega in 1828 had added another reason for Georgia to covet the land of the Cherokees.

Under the treaty the Cherokees would be removed in 1838, peaceably if possible, by force if necessary. It was the responsibility of the United States to remove the Indians. The result has been aptly described as the "Trail of Tears" in which perhaps a quarter of the tribe perished. White claimants followed the troops into the area appropriating improvements and the land.[20]

As part of the process of removal a census of the Cherokees was taken in 1835 and in 1836, appraisals of the personal property held by each individual or family were made. The latter was the basis of compensating the Indians for losses they suffered. These two surveys revealed that residents along the Chattahoochee were either mixed bloods or whites who had married Cherokees. Some of the largest plantations within the Cherokee Nation were on the river.

The agricultural economy of the Chattahoochee in Forsyth and northern Fulton County was based on four factors: slavery, a population of mixed-bloods, large land holdings, and corn. The ownership of slaves among the Cherokees predates 1700. By the middle years of the century it was common for most wealthy Cherokees to have several slaves. During the first three decades of the 19th Century slave ownership in Cherokee country was very common.[21] The largest slave owner within the Cherokee Nation was George Waters who resided on the Chattahoochee in Gwinnett and Forsyth Counties near present day McClure Bridge. While other slave owners had 20 or 30 slaves, Waters in 1835 reported ownership of 100 slaves.[22] Within Forsyth County there were 231 slaves in 1835, of these 168 lived along the banks of the Chattahoochee and made up 82 percent of the population.[22]

The remainder of the population of Forsyth County as a whole and specifically along the river was made up of mixed bloods and whites who had married or were

20. Coulter, A Short History of Georgia, p. 221; Mooney, Myths of the Cherokees, p. 121-129; and Royce, Cherokee Indians, 278-291.

21. The Cherokee Census of 1824 showed 1,277 slaves among the Cherokees Wilms, "Cherokee Indian Land Use", p. 31. The torn Cherokee is used to describe any resident (full blood or mixed blood) in the Nation.

22. An excellent study of slavery and the Cherokees is R. Halliburton, Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians (Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1977). In Appendix B, Halliburton lists the names of Cherokees and number of slaves each owned in 1835.

working for either full blood Cherokees or mixed bloods. Within the county only 14% of the population were full bloods, while 27% were mixed bloods and 3% were whites. The remainder (56%) were slaves. Along the Chattahoochee proper, mixed bloods (15%) and whites formed 18% of the population.[23]

The racial make-up of Forsyth County contributed to the type of agricultural activities that dominated the county. Farms in the Cherokee country averaged 11 acres. The average farm in Floyd County was 16.4, in Cobb 14.8, in Union 6.2 and in Walker farms averaged 7 acres. However, the 38 farms owned by Cherokees in Forsyth County averaged 59 acres. The 14 residents along the Chattahoochee had 1,983 acres under cultivation, an average of 141.6 acres per farm. The ten mixed bloods and four whites married to Cherokees owned 229 outbuildings, 5 ferries, 2 mills, livestock lots and pens, and over a thousand fruit trees.[24]

The dominant crop produced on these farms was corn. The 1835-36 appraisal of Cherokee property showed that one-ninth of the corn raised in Cherokee Georgia was produced in Forsyth County. However, the farmers along the Chattahoochee and in Forsyth County sold very little of their corn (14.5%) in contrast to farmers in other stream valleys such as the Etowah and Cedar Creek where 33 to 38% of the corn was sold. Douglas Wilms in his study of Cherokee land use within Georgia from 1800 to 1838 believes much of this surplus corn was used to feed livestock being brought from more westerly locations. Both hogs and cattle were rested and fattened before being moved across the Chattahoochee for delivery to settlements in middle Georgia or South Carolina.[25]

In contrast to other locations in the Cherokee Nation, most inhabitants along the Chattahoochee neither moved west, nor fled to the mountains. One reason was

23. Ibid, 74-77. In contrast in Cobb County, 91% of the "Indians" were full bloods and there were no slaves or intermarried whites in the county.

24. Ibid, p. 153.

25. Ibid, p. 114. Wilms theory is supported by data from the 1835 Cherokee Census and the 1836 appraisals. George Waters had 18 corn cribs holding 7,000 bushels of corn and numerous lots--some designated as hog lots or cowpens. Other residents such as John Rogers and his several sons also owned two or more corn cribs each.

that, like most mixed bloods, they had adopted and adapted to the ways of the whites far more than full blood Cherokees. Another reason was that many of them possessed political power that reached to the Governor's office and the Office of the President. Thus John Rogers and his family, George Waters, and others were able to remain in their homes along the river.

John Rogers came to the Chattahoochee about 1802. He married one of the daughters of Thomas Cordery and Susannah Sonicooie, a Cherokee, who lived at Suwanee Old Town on the western boundary of present day Gwinnett County.[26] Rogers, born in 1774, had left his home in Burke County, Georgia, at age 17 and traveled about the southeast for a decade before settling on the Chattahoochee. He built a home on the river a mile below the mouth of Suwanee Creek in Gwinnett County. Located on a hill the house overlooked the river. Rogers served in the Creek War of 1812-14 along with six or seven hundred other Eastern Cherokees. Fighting on the side of the United States, the Cherokees were a major factor in the defeat of the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend in 1814.[27]

During the conflict, John Rogers served as a courier for General Jackson. On one occasion he undertook the dangerous mission of riding from Fort Stroud in Alabama, to Monticello, Georgia. Rogers was known to General Jackson, who in 1820 while on a mission for the government, stayed at the Rogers home on the Chattahoochee. John Rogers also became acquainted with George Gilmer, a future governor of Georgia, who was serving at Fort Standing Peachtree.[28]

Rogers returned to the Chattahoochee at the end of the war. John Rogers had a deep commitment to education. His five oldest sons attended Lawrenceville Academy while his three daughters were educated in schools operated by the Moravian Church. Rogers developed a plantation of several hundred acres. At the time of

26. Thomas and Susannah Cordery could be called the "founding parents" of settlements along the Chattahoochee. Four of their six daughters married white men and Robert Rogers, no known relation to John. It is through Robert Rogers that Will Rogers, American humorist, traces his roots to the Cherokees and Georgia. Don L. Shadburn, "Cherokee Statesmen: The John Rogers Family of the Chattahoochee," Chronicles of Oklahoma, 50 (Spring 1972), 13.

27. Shadburn, "Cherokee Statesmen: John Rogers Family," p. 15. Woodward, The Cherokees, p. 132.

28. Ibid, George Gilmer, Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and of the Author, (Americus, No Publisher, 1926), 291-92.

his death in 1851 he owned fifteen slaves and over 600 acres of land valued at $12,800. He cultivated the fertile bottom land along the river raising wheat and corn as well as hogs, cattle and sheep. He took an active part in the religious life of the area founding the Mount Zion Methodist Church which was attended by many of the Indian families living along the river.

Three members of the Rogers family played a major role in the history of the Cherokees during the 1820's and 1830's. In addition to John, his two sons William and Johnson Rogers, were involved with the Cherokee Nation and its conflict with the State of Georgia and the Federal Government. John Rogers, like other Cherokee leaders realized that the pressure was mounting for removal in the years after 1827-28. In 1831, Rogers decided to move his large two story log house across the river into Cherokee Territory. With the aid of neighbors he relocated it on the present location south of Rogers Bridge Road on Bell Road.[29] Presemably one of the reasons Rogers moved the house was the increasing hostility toward the Cherokees.

In March 1831, Rogers received a letter from Governor George Gilmer, prompted by his refusal to comply with the State law requiring all whites living within the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation to take an oath in order to continue their residence. Rogers felt that this infringed on his rights and refused. Gilmer's letter is most interesting and illustrates the feelings and philosophy of the State of Georgia and its people.[30] The Governor began by expressing regret that Rogers did not see fit to comply with the law and thus have avoided any embarrassment to himself or his family or danger of loss of property.

> I have always had great respect for your character, as an honest man and was chiefly induced to recommend to the legislature to permit white men to continue their residence among the Cherokees by my knowledge of yourself and family. ....I am exceedingly anxious that the present disturbed and unsettled state of our Indian population should be quieted as early as possible. My desire is that the State should act justly and humanely towards you and those with whom you are connected. ...However well fitted many of the whites, half-breeds, and their children may be

29. The house was restored in the years after 1978 and is presently in good condition. It remains in private ownership.

30. Shadburn, "Cherokee Statesmen," p. 15.

> for the support and preservation of an orderly and well-conducted Government, the Indians are not so, I am fully convinced that the happiness of every Indian will be advanced by the removal of the tribe beyond the limits of the State. ....I have incurred a great deal of ill-will from our own citizens by my determined opposition to the passage of laws which would have oppressed you. I claim the right, therefore, of being listened to as a friend, whose interest is to serve his country and all classes of its population faithfully. ....All hopes of resisting the Government of Georgia through Congress, the Supreme Court, or the President, are now at an end. ...I know how much your people have been deceived in the portection you have sought from the Supreme Court. You have thrown your money to the winds, for not the slightest respect will be paid by the authorities of the State to the orders of the Court. ...Many of the respectable white men and half-breeds who have families are desirous of remaining in the country, and of becoming citizens of the State, rather than to remove to Arkansas. I believe you are mistaken. However respectable, industrious, and intelligent your children may be, they never can associate upon an equality with our people. ...I believe you to be an excellent citizen. I have heard the most favorable accounts of your two oldest sons, for whom I have an affectionate rememberance. Yet, my advice to you, and to them, is to accompany the Cherokee people in their move. You can be more useful and consequently happier with them than with us.[31]

The letter continued in this vein offering to counsel Rogers' son William as to what course he should take. Gilmer concludes by stating that he will work to prevent injustice to the Cherokees, but is bound as governor to "defend the rights of the State."

John Rogers did not lose his property nor did he move to the lands west of the Mississippi. Rather he remained on the banks of the Chattahoochee in his "large, very fine, well finished dwelling house" with a "large, very fine kitchen and covered gangway" for the remainder of his life. When the appraisers from the U. S. Government visited John Rogers in October 1836, they noted that he had 52 apple, 43 peach and 1 cherry tree, some 266 acres of river bottom, upland, and woodlands, a thrashing machine, one stable, and a large number of outbuildings including cabins, smokehouses, poultry houses, corn cribs, hewed log houses, and sheds. Including compensation for the loss of use of 161 acres of land for three years, the total valuation was $11,406.50.[32] Rogers was paid this sum and

31. Gilmer, Sketches of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, 292-94.

32. A Valuation Listing of Cherokee Indian Improvements in Various Counties of Georgia in 1836. Microfilm copy of records in Record Group 75 National Archives, Records of Bureau of Indian Affairs. Microfilm Roll 28 in Drawer 81 of the Georgia State Archives Microfilm Collection. Cited hereafter as Valuation of Cherokee Indian Improvements, Microfilm Georgia State Archives.

used the money to buy back his lands that were distributed in the Land Lottery of 1832.[33] He resided on these lands until his death in 1851. He is buried in the Rogers Cemetery near his home.

His son William served as Clerk to the Cherokee Council. This position came to him because of his strong advocacy of Cherokee Rights. William Rogers, with the consent of Chief John Ross, retained the legal firm of Underwood and Harris to represent the Cherokees before the Supreme Court. When the Cherokees, land rich, but cash poor, were unable to pay the bill for services, Rogers was threatened with jail. In the early 1830's, Rogers cast his lot with Chief Ross and his stand against removal. However, as pressures mounted and the inevitability of loss of their lands became apparent, William Rogers joined the Treaty Party of Major Ridge.

William believed that it would be better to negotiate the terms of removal and seek in the process the best possible arrangement, rather than to resist removal and have less favorable terms forced upon them. In February, 1835, Rogers went to Washington to work out with the U. S. Senate the purchase price for Cherokee lands east of the Mississippi. He met with President Jackson's representative in October along with other Cherokee leaders to hear the proposed terms of the treaty and in December was one of twenty Cherokee leaders who signed acceptance of the term. Another signatory was Robert Rogers, Medical doctor and Methodist minister, the oldest son of John Rogers. In March 1836 the final Treaty was signed in Washington by William, Johnson, and Robert Rogers and approximately 17 others.[34]

This action by William Rogers placed his life in danger and in the years between 1836 and 1838 there were several attempts to kill him. Rogers wrote to Governor George Gilmer that the actions he had taken "in formation of the late treaty, has caused most of the Cherokees to regard me as one of their

33. This is the assumption of Don Shadburn of Cummings, Georgia, who has carefully researched the history of the Cherokees along the Chattahoochee and in Forsyth County. Shadburn has prepared a two-volume study on this topic.

34. Shadburn, "Cherokee Statesmen," p. 21-23. Don Shadburn, "Georgia Statesmen: The Distinguished Rogers Family," Georgia Magazine (June 1971), p. 14. Johnson Rogers was the third oldest child of John Rogers.

worst enemies."[35] Rogers remained in Georgia in the years after 1828. In 1839, he was one of three men sent to Washington to collect payments guaranteed the Eastern Cherokees. Upon completion of this activity William Rogers returned to his home on the Chattahoochee where he lived until his death in April, 1870.[36]

In 1838 Johnson Rogers went to Washington where he lived the remainder of his life. He served as legal representative of the tribe for the next thirty years. He is buried in the Congressional Cemetery in the District of Columbia. Robert also remained on his river land. He died in 1876 and presumably is buried in the family cemetery.

Of the other children of John and Sarah Rogers, two moved west with the Cherokees in 1838, five moved west in the years just before or after the Civil War, and the remaining two stayed in Georgia--one of them dying in the service of the Confederate States.

Downstream from the Rogers family was another prominent mixed blood. George M. Waters has been mentioned as the largest slave owner among the Cherokees. Unlike John Rogers, Waters was one-quarter Cherokee. His father Thomas Waters had married a half blood Cherokee named Sally about 1773. George M. Waters was born on August 12, 1777. Thomas Waters supported King George III and fought on the side of the Tories during the American Revolution. As the hostilities increased, Waters sent his family to live with his wife's uncle in the village of Etowah on the Etowah River deep in Cherokee Territory. Thomas Waters took an active part in the war, leading Cherokees and Creeks in attacks upon the "Rebel" settlements. At war's end, pursued by the victorious colonials, Waters traveled to east Florida. He continued on to St. Augustine, thence to the Bahamas, and ultimately to London where he remained the rest of his life.[37]

35. The depth of feeling against the Treaty Party resulted in the murder of Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot in 1839 after they had reached the Indian Territory. All three had been signatories to the Treaty of 1835.

36. His home, Oakland, still is standing and is owned by a descendent of William Rogers.

37. Thomas Charlton Hudson, "George Morgan Waters Family History" Typescript dated 1973 in the Family History Section of Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, p. 3-5.

How long George M. Waters remained among the Cherokees is not known. By 1794 Waters and his sister were living in Bryan County west of Savannah on Ogeechee River---Waters witnessed a deed for William Clark that year. On January 1, 1800, George Waters married Catherine Fyffe, William Clark's niece. William Clark had been a friend of Thomas Waters. A Tory, he had regained his lands after the war.

Waters prospered as a resident of Bryan County. He was described as a planter in several documents as early as 1802-03, served as County Clerk in 1802-03, and bought and sold land and slaves during the first decade of the century. Waters was a Commissioner of the Bryan County Academy in 1812. He served in the War of 1812 and attained the rank of Major. In 1819 George Waters was elected to State Legislature from Bryan County.[38]

George Waters, however, maintained his Cherokee affiliations. In 1799 he was issued a passport for travel to and from the Indian Nation. He was designated a member of the Committee of Thirteen on September 27, 1809, by the Cherokee National Council. The Committee was entrusted with management of the Cherokee Nation. In 1822 he became a Justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court. During the 1830's he worked to keep the peace between the two factions split by the question of removal. In this effort he represented Principal Chief John Ross. When removal did come in 1838, Waters, like Rogers, was able to remain on his lands. However, he had suffered considerable loss from whites who appropriated portions of his property.

Beginning about 1821, Waters began farming on land lots 335 and fractional lots 30 and 31 in the 1st District of the 1st Section in present day Fulton County. With the assistance of his overseer Martin Brannan he added more acreage so that by 1832 when the land was surveyed prior to distribution by lottery he held over 700 acres of land along and back from the river between Medlock Bridge and Abbotts Bridge. During this same period, 1821-1832, he resided for most of each year in Bryan County where he had a rice plantation.

38. Ibid, 35-39.

Even before the distribution of the Cherokee land in the lottery of 1832, Waters faced increasing problems with encroachments by whites who vandalized and harrassed him. This activity was the subject of several letters to Governor Wilson Lumpkin in 1832-33. These letters recount the problems he faced. In March 1832 he sent his son, Thomas J. Waters, who was on his way to the Chattahoochee from Bryan County to Milledgeville, the State Capital, with a letter detailing further the grievances he had outlined to Lumpkin in early February. He requested the Governor to compel all persons who were intruding on his property to desist and observed that "some of the intruders are men of the most lawless and abandoned characters." Ten days later, on March 12, 1832, Waters wrote to Governor Lumpkin again. He was protesting in the strongest terms the renting out of his property by an agent of the Governor to "lawless and abandoned whites (who neither respect the laws of God or Man)." Waters described this action as oppression of the blackest dye and reminded the Governor that he had promised equal justice done to the native, as well as to the white. In a postscript George Waters reported that "the intruders had burned seven or eight stacks of fodder and three or four pens of shucks."[39]

In January, 1833, Waters wrote again, this time from his plantation on the Chattahoochee. The situation had not improved. The "lawless intruders" were still present. To Waters they were "the most abandoned and profligate of the human race, they neither bespeak God, on oath, or the Laws." The primary reason for Waters' letter was to learn if the Governor's agent intended to rent out the land once again.[40] What Governor Lumpkin's reply was is not known, but Waters continued to suffer from incursions by whites.

39. George Waters to Wilson Lumpkin, Bryan County, 2nd March, 1832. George Waters to Wilson Lumpkin, Bryan County, 12th March, 1832. Both letters in Cherokee Indian Letters, Talks and Treaties, Typescript Copy of material prepared by WPA, 1939.

40. George M. Waters to Wilson Lumpkin, Chattahoochee, January 17, 1833, Ibid.

In 1835 the Cherokees census revealed that the George Waters household contained two males over 18 and one male under 18 and one female over 18.[41] There were 50 male and 50 female slaves. There were two farms with a total of 300 acres in cultivation. On this land he had raised 7,000 bushels of corn the previous year and had sold 1500 bushels for $800. In addition, Waters also owned a ferry boat. The following year his property along the river was appraised. The main house was described as a weatherboarded hewn log cabin. There were 59 outbuildings including 18 corn cribs, 9 cabins, 5 smokehouses, 12 stables, 1 barn, 2 wagon sheds, 7 negro cabins, 1 house, 1 shed, 1 kitchen, 1 shuck house and 1 mill house. Waters' half interest in the Warsaw Ferry was valued at $750. His land holdings totaled 464 acres and included 114 acres of woodland with a value of $327, 30 acres of upland worth $210, 250 acres of well improved river land valued at $3,500 and 70 acres of well improved uplands valued at $560. He also had 190 peach trees, four gardens, a mile of fence, 3,000 rails not put up, and 16 rods of ditching. The total value of his property was $7,366. Added to this were damages for dispossession or loss of property. This included 250 acres of riverland and 70 acres of upland whose use had been lost for four years. Total compensation for this was set at $6,700. Apparently Waters had lost half his interest in the Warsaw Ferry some four and one-third years earlier (about June 1832) and was compensated $329. The total compensation for his property and loss of use of property over the previous four or five years totaled $14,375.[42]

George Waters used a portion of this money to purchase a thousand acres in Gwinnett County and he retained a portion of his lands in Forsyth County. By 1840 he had shifted his center of operations from Bryan to Gwinnett County. What prompted this may have been a combination of events. His wife and son-in-law died in the years immediately after 1835, the price of rice dropped, and he may have sought a more healthful environment.[43]

41. Of these household members: 3 could read English, none could read Cherokee, 3 were quarter bloods, and there was 1 weaver and 1 spinner. Cherokee Census of 1835, Microfilm Collection Georgia State Archives.

42. Valuation of Cherokee Indian Improvements in Georgia, 1836. Microfilm Georgia State Archives.

43. Hudson, "George Morgan Waters", 42-43.

He did not break all his ties in Bryan County for in his will he indicated that several of his slaves were located in Bryan. George Waters died on June 4, 1852, and is buried in the cemetery adjacent to Fairview Presbyterian Church in Gwinnett County. In his Will he provided for the freeing of 40 of his slaves; an action that was not only challenged by his heirs but also challenged the prevailing attitudes of antebellum Georgia.

The third article of Waters' Will provided for the emancipation of 40 of his slaves, seven residing in Bryan County, and thirty-three in Gwinnett County. After naming the slaves to be freed, Waters continued to note that if it was incompatible with the humanity of the authorities of the State to free the slaves, he wished his executors to send them out of the state to such a place as they may select with all expenses to be paid out of the estate. All of this was to be done according to the laws of the State of Georgia.[44] The remainder of his slaves, about 60 individuals, were either specifically identified and given to family members, or were divided among his three children by families "so that the principles of humanity may be observed and the separation from each other be as free from pain as possible." His heirs were not overly pleased with the prospect of forty slaves being freed. They challenged the Will charging that it was Waters' intention to only free William, his body servant, and the future issue of the female slaves mentioned.

The case was heard first by the Superior Court of Gwinnett County during the September 1855 term. The three executors (Asahel Smith, William Rogers, and Thomas J. Waters) were challenged by the heirs including two of Goerge Waters' daughters, Williamina Cleland and Sarah Charlton. There wre fourteen separate challenges to the Will. These fell into three areas--first, that the laws of Georgia forbade emancipation except by act of the legislature, that the slaves could not be freed and remain in Georgia under state law, and under state law the third article of the Will is null and void; second, that slaves were not capable of making decisions for themselves or as trustees for other slaves and they are incapable of accepting freedom; third, that the Will does not provide the mechanism for the executors to act as trustees for the slaves who cannot act for themselves.

44. Copy of the Will of George M. Waters contained in Case A1681 Williamina Cleland et al Vs. T. J. Waters, Georgia Supreme Court, October, 1855. Georgia State Archives.

The jury found for the executors and stated that it was the intention of George M. Waters to manumit and set free all the slaves and the future issue of all the females named that had been born after the making of the Will in 1851. The jury indicated that they believed that it was Waters' intention that his executors should either seek an act of the Legislature for emancipation or, failing that, should remove the slaves from the state to any part of the world where they can be free and enjoy their freedom. Finally the jury stated that the terms of the Will were legal and not in conflict with the laws of Georgia.[45] The case was appealed to the Georgia Supreme Court who heard the appeal during their fall session of 1855. The lower court was upheld by the Supreme Court.

It now became the responsibility of the executors to either apply to the State Legislature for an act of emancipation or send the slaves out of the state. Manumission of slaves within the State of Georgia had been difficult for 25 years before George Waters' Will was prepared. By legislative act in 1818 individual manumission was outlawed and only through appeal to the legislature became increasingly hostile to manumission within the state. This hostility grew from growing opposition to the presence of free blacks. In an 1848 decision, Joseph Lumpkin, Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, stated that there was no justification for sanctioning domestic emancipation, but foreign emancipation was within declared state policy.[46] It was for these reasons that individuals such as George M. Waters carefully stated that his slaves were to be set free outside of the state, if freedom within the state was not granted by the legislature. Thomas Waters, William Rogers, and Asahel Smith made provisions to transport the 37 slaves who were willing to leave the state to Liberia. They were sent to Savannah and turned over to the American Colonization Society. Each slave was provided with a hundred dollars in gold and suitable clothing by the estate which also paid their transportation to Liberia.[47]

45. The decision of the jury was reproduced in James C. Flanigan, History of Gwinnett County Georgia, 1818-1943 (Hapeville, Tyler and Company, 1943), p. 165-66.

46. James M. Gifford, "Emily Tupman and the African Colonization Movement in Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly, 59 (Spring 1975), p. 12-13.

47. Liberia is located on the West Coast of Africa. Beginning in the 1820's the American Colonization Society worked toward the goal of providing an African home for free blacks. Between 1830 and 1860, some 15,000 blacks were transported to Liberia.

Tragically, thirty of the thirty-seven blacks died within a year of reaching Liberia and the remaining seven returned to the United States. From Philadelphia they made contact with Howell Cobb and Alexander H. Stephens who furnished them with the means to return to Georgia and servitude. Nothing further is known regarding their history in the years that followed.[48]

Thomas J. Waters continued to farm his father's plantation along the river in Gwinnett and Forsyth Counties for another 20 years. In the late 1870's, he sold the land and moved to Burlington, New Jersey, with his grown children.

Although the Rogers and Waters family by their size, prominence and extent of their land holdings dominated the story of the Cherokees or mixed bloods along the river, there were other residents. A careful study of population based on the Census of 1835 shows approximately 75 residents between Vickery or Big Creek and present day Buford Dam. Mention has already been made of Thomas Cordery who came to Suwanee Old Town about 1780 and later moved to Forsyth County. Parker Collins married Nancy Anne Cordery about 1808 and established Collins Ferry. Upon his death in 1833, his lands passed to his wife. In January 1835 Nancy Ann Collins was disposed of the ferry by James McGinnis. Today, McGinnis Ferry Road crosses the river where the Collins/McGinnis Ferry operated. Nancy Ann Collins remarried in 1835 to Martin Brannon, overseer for George M. Waters.[49] Charlotte Cordery married Henry Vickery in the early 1800's. Vickery died in 1834, but his widow was resident on the Chattahoochee near Orrs Ferry (where Georgia 20 now crosses the river) in 1836. Her property consisting of 92 acres of land and containing three cabins, a double stable, corn cribs, a smokehouse, and 29 fruit trees and compensation for Orrs Ferry, taken over by a white claimant, was valued at $2,752. Another piece of property on Vickery Creek was valued at $187 for a total of over $2,900.

When the Cherokees lost their lands in northwest Georgia to whites, they left behind not a wilderness to be conquered, but a well settled civilized area. Those living along the Chattahoochee more than others had developed the land

48. Flanigan, History of Gwinnett County, 1818-1943, p. 166-67.

49. Don L. Shadburn, Forsyth County's Historical Heritage (Cumming, Forsyth County Historical and Geneological Society, 1972), p. 1-2. Valuation of Cherokee Indian Improvements, Microfilm Collection Georgia State Archives.

leaving cultivated farmlands, hundreds of outbuildings, four ferries, and a developed system of roads linking Georgia to the west. Their mark remains on the land in place-names and in history.

CHAPTER II

ROADS AND TRAILS ON THE CHATTAHOOCHEE

The Chattahoochee River moving from Northeast to Southwest across Georgia was not a barrier to travel. The river was fordable at several places and during the 19th century many ferries operated between Standing Peachtree and Buford Dam on the north. They served a network of east-west roads developed in the years between 1800-1830 that connected the northwestern area of Georgia and the states of Alabama and Mississippi to eastern and central Georgia. In the two centuries preceding 1800, there was only one major travel route that crossed over the river within the study area--The Hightower Trail.

The Hightower Trail linked the Upper Creeks and Cherokees in northwest Georgia to the trade center of Augusta on the Savannah River. The trail split off from the Upper Creek Trading Path near the McDuffie Warren county line in eastern Georgia. It went northwest, crossed the Oconee and Apalachee Rivers just above their junction, continued past present day Madison and Social Circle to reach the Yellow River in Rockdale County. The trail continued down the east side of the Yellow River, crossed it near the Gwinnett corner on the Rockdale County line, and followed the present DeKalb-Gwinnett county line to where it crosses present day Buford Highway.[1]

From Buford Highway, the Hightower Trail followed the boundary between the 6th Land District in Gwinnett County and the 17th and 18th Districts in DeKalb and Fulton counties. The final two miles of the trail follows Roberts Road, passes under Georgia Highway 400 and goes down a modern street in the Huntcliff subdivision to reach the river in Landlot 370 of the 6th District of Gwinnett, now Fulton County, presently the site of the Huntcliff Stables.

1. When DeKalb County was created in 1822 from parts of Henry, Gwinnett, and Fayette counties, its northern boundary was defined as the Hightower Trail to the point where it crosses the road to Standing Peachtree. From there, the boundary ran on a straight line to the lower corner of Fractional Lot 344 in the Sixth District of Gwinnett County on the Chattahoochee. From there it went down the river to a point near Sandtown on the river. The lower corner of Fractional Lot 344 is 1.5 river miles below Holcomb Bridge and in the vicinity of the historic Nesbitt Ferry. The boundary has been modified and now strikes the river at Holcomb Bridge. Originally, DeKalb contained all of Fulton County east of the Chattahoochee.

The trail crossed the river at a shallow ford,[2] went downstream for about a mile, left the river to strike present day Willeo Road near its junction with Coleman Road. It follows the present alignment of Willeo, McPherson and Shallowford Roads for several miles. The Hightower Trail continued on to the Cartersville vicinity and Etowah Mounds, or the village of Etowah.[3] There it linked up with other trails that continued west into Northwest Georgia and Northeast Alabama.[4] The Hightower Trail was a trading path dating back to the first third of the 18th century. As the areas near the river became more settled in the years after 1815, the trail became a road that was used by settlers moving west to areas of Georgia ceded by the Cherokees or Creeks and by people traveling to Alabama and Mississippi after the close of the Creek War in 1814.

In 1824, Jacob R. Brooks began a ferry at Shallowford. An advertisement in the Southern Recorder published at Milledgeville on May 25 announced that, "travelers from the Carolinas to Alabama, coming by way of Augusta, Madison, Rockbridge, etc., will find this the nearest and best route."[5] Jacob R. Brooks served in the State Legislature from DeKalb County in 1826-27. In 1832, he moved to Cobb County and served as one of its first state senators. He also was Indian Agent for the county. Brooks later moved to Walker County where he lived out the remainder of his life. How long the ferry operated at Shallowford is not known, but it may have ceased operation by the end of the 1830's. Its demise came as a result of the development of a large number of other ferries above and below Shallowford. By the time of the Civil War, the ferry was no longer in existence, but troops did cross over the river at the shallow ford. Also by 1864, a bridge spanned the river at Roswell.

2. Another name for the trail, though less frequently used was the Shallowford Trail. This crossing point below Roswell was one of several shallow fords on the Chattahoochee River. Another was near Island Ford above Roswell. A third was on the river near Gainesville, now part of Lake Lanier.

3. The designation, Hightower, was the Anglo-Saxon corruption of Etowah.

4. The route of the trail within the area of this study--the two mile wide corridor encompassing the Chattahoochee River can be traced on the early land survey maps for the 6th district in Gwinnett and Fulton County and the 1st District, 2nd Section of the original Cherokee County, now including parts of Fulton and Cobb Counties. These date to 1821 and 1832 respectively. The original maps are in the Surveyor-Controls office in the Georgia Department of Archives and History.

5. Franklin Garrett, Atlanta and Environs (2 Vols. New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1954) 1, 43.

In the ten years after Jacob Brooks advertised the ferry at Shallowford, several other ferries were established. They used the river as the motive power to carry the boat and passengers across. Most ferries were long enough to accommodate a horse and wagon. A rope was stretched across the river with bow and stern lines attached to it. The lines were adjusted to allow the stern or bow to be set at an angle to the current. The pressure of the current against the boat moved it across the river. On the return trip the lines were reversed.[6]

The authority to establish ferries rested at various times with the state and county governments. No attempt will be made to document the beginning date of all the ferries that spanned the river.

By 1831, there were a dozen ferries on the Chattahoochee linking Georgia with the Cherokee Territory west of the river. Vanns (Winns) Ferry, now part of Lake Lanier, was the crossing point for the Federal Road. Below Buford Dam were the following ferries: Orr's Ferry was above the mouth of Dave's Creek. Gilbert's Ferry was north of Dick's Creek, and Collin's Ferry was just south of the same creek. Roger's Ferry, Water's Ferry, Gate's Ferry, Island Ford and Martin's Ferry were between present day Roger's Bridge Road and Vickery Creek. Next came Shallowford. Then halfway between Sope Creek and Rottenwood Creek was Power's Ferry. Montgomery's Ferry was just below Peachtree Creek. Below Montgomery's Ferry were Carroll's Ferry, Walter's Ferry - just above the mouth of Nickajack Creek - halfway between Buzzard Roost Island and Nickajack Creek - Howell's Ferry.[7]

As indicated in the first chapter, Orr's, Gilbert's, Roger's, and Water's Ferry were owned in part or whole by Cherokee Indians. William Orr and Charlotte Vickery operated the ferry located in Fractional Lot (FL) 61 in District 14 of the 1st Section. Gilbert's Ferry was located near the line dividing the 1st and 2nd land districts of the 1st section. It was here in FL 76 of the 1st District of the 1st Section that the old Lawrenceville Road crossed the river. William Rogers had a half interest in Gilbert's Ferry. Collin's Ferry in FL 62 of the same

6. Beverly M. DuBose, Jr., "Vinings", The Atlanta Historical Bulletin,(Spring 1971), 62.

7. John Bethune, "A map of that part of Georgia occuppied by the Cherokee Indians taken from an actual survey made during the present year 1831" (Milledgeville, July 8, 1831). Surveyor Generals Office, Georgia State Archives. Interestingly there is no ferry shown or identified as Brooks Ferry near Shallowford.

District and Section was owned by Parker Collins. John Rogers operated Roger's Ferry in Fractional Lot 49. George Waters operated a Ferry that touched the west bank of the river in FL 36 of 1st District of the 1st Section. Based on the information we have on these individuals, most or all of these river crossings may have been in operation prior to 1815-1820. These four crossing points served a series of roads that ultimately tied into the Alabama Road that can still be found under that name in Forsyth and Fulton Counties.[8]

Today, the sites of these ferries have been lost due to the daily fluctuation in the flow in the river from the discharge of waters from Buford Dam. Bridges span the river at several of the old ferry locations. Georgia Highway 20 crosses the river just above Orr's Ferry. McGinnis' Ferry Road crosses where Collin's Ferry and later Little's Ferry operated. Roger's Bridge and McClure Bridge are near the sites of the Roger's and Water's or Warsaw Ferry. A comparison of the early maps of these land districts and modern United States Geological Survey Maps indicates that many of the modern roads follow the historic alignment of the dirt wagon roads that reached the river at these crossing points.

Gate's Ferry, Island Ford, Martin's Ferry and Shallowford were the next four crossing points identified in the 1832 map of the Cherokee Nation. Gate's Ferry was located very near the present site of Holcomb Bridge. In 1834, Robert McAfee was authorized to erect a toll bridge on his land near the Gate's Ferry. The ferry was in existence as early as 1828 when it is mentioned as a boundary point in defining the boundary between the Cherokees and the State of Georgia.[9]

8. Survey Plat of District 1, Section 1 of Cherokee County, 1832. Letter to John Paige, Historian SE/SW Team, Denver Service Center, NPS, from Don Shadburn, Executive Chairman Forsyth County Historical Society, February 17, 1979.

9. Franklin Garrett in Atlanta and Environs, I, p. 27, notes that a Charles Gates, Senior, commissioned in Fayette County in 1822, was one of the judges of the Inferior Court in the newly created County of DeKalb in 1822. On August 10, 1831, Charles Gates, Jr. wrote to Governor Gilmer from Gates Ferry. That both were connected with the ferry operation is likely, but not definitely established at this time. The Gates to Gilmer letter is in Cherokee Indian Letters Talks and Treaties, II, 281 in Georgia State Archives.

Apparently the ferry and bridge existed in that location intermittently for the next 20 years. In 1847, the Georgia Legislature authorized William Jenkins of Gwinnett and Clark Howell of Forsyth to operate a ferry on the road from Cumming to Atlanta. This road was also known as the Old Alabama Trail according to Atlanta Historian Franklin Garrett.[10] In 1864, Union troops ranged as far north as McAfee Bridge which they secured after a skirmish with Confederate defenders. There was no mention of a ferry operation at that time.

Island Ford was a crossing place where the river was sufficiently shallow that wagons could cross. The area remains unchanged and today individuals often park their four-wheel-drive vehicles in the river during low water. As with other portions of the Chattahoochee between Buford Dam and Morgan Falls Dam the Island Ford area is subject to daily surges of water.

On May 4, 1829, Reuben Martin was given permission by the Inferior Court of DeKalb County to establish a ferry above Shallowford "at a place now known as Martin's Ferry." The ferry was located in Land Lot 366 of the 6th District of Gwinnett County. The Inferior Court also established rates or charges as follows:

> "for every road wagon loaded crossing - .62; empty - .50; cart or two horse wagon - .37; for a gig or one horse carriage of any description - .25; for a man and a single horse - .12. Footman or lead horse - .06¼; cattle - .04 a head; hogs and sheep - .02 a head, provided he goes bond on a good security in the sum of $1000 for the keeping of a good flat and the faithful performance of the duties of a ferryman."[11]

In 1843, Archibald Howell purchased Land Lot 366 at a sheriff's sale. The lot was described as "whereon Martin's Ferry is situated." Howell sold the ferry to Ezekiel Mason who in turn sold it to Thomas Grogan who sold it to W. L. Grogan.

10. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, I, 246. Garrett states that the Old Alabama Trail passed through Pinkneyville and what is now Norcross and Doraville and continued down the Peachtree Road to Atlanta. West of the river it ran through the southern portion of Milton County (now North Fulton County) and on toward Alabama. A tracing of Holcomb Bridge Road west of the Chattahoochee shows it passing northeast of Roswell where it becomes Crossville and then Woodstock Road. In Cobb County it is designated Alabama Road (State Highway 92).

11. Minutes of the Inferior Court, DeKalb County, p. 74-75 as cited in Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, I, 76.

Civil War maps identify the ferry as Grogan's Ferry. The 6th District is designated Grogan's District. Historically, Martin's Ferry Road began in Land Lot 494 on the north side of the river and ran north through lots 493, 492, and 491 into lot 462, where it followed the present alignment of Old Roswell Road. Ultimately Martin's Ferry Road joined the Alabama Road near the northwest corner of District 1, Section 2. South of the river, the road may have followed the alignment of present day Roberts Drive in Land Lots 366, 365 and 364.

The crossing at Shallowford was where the Hightower Trail crossed the river. However, it became the terminus of several roads from the new town of Decatur to the river. One of the earliest followed the present route of Clairmont, Chamblee-Dunwoody and Roberts Road north to the river. Because it was a ford, and thus free, it was a logical terminus for roads both east and west of the river.

Bethune's Map of the Cherokee Nation prepared in 1831 shows only two ferries between Shallowford and the junction of Peachtree Creek and the Chattahoochee.[12] However, the Survey Plat of the 17th District of the 2nd Section prepared in 1832 lists a third, Harrises Ferry. It was reached by a road that follows the present alignment of the Vinings and Paces Ferry Road in Cobb County. Harrises Ferry, though short lived, later became the well known ferry operated by Hardy Pace.

Power's Ferry was located in land lots 210 and 211 of the 17th District of DeKalb and later Fulton Counties. It touched the west side of the river in Land Lot 1057 of the 17th District of the 2nd Section. In existence in 1831, the ferry was established in 1835 by Act of the Legislature. James Power, a blacksmith by trade, had settled first on the DeKalb County side of the river. He developed a thriving business as a gunsmith repairing not only the guns of his neighbors but also those of the Cherokees. On May 16, 1832, Power assumed the jobs of Justice of the Inferior Court for DeKalb County and Justice of the Peace for the Buckhead Militia District. He resigned in 1833 when he moved across the river to Cobb County where he lived and continued to operate the ferry. Power owned a large plantation in the vicinity of Vinings. The ferry continued to operate until replaced by a bridge in the early 20th Century. Powers Ferry from Decatur followed the general alignment of the present Roxboro, Wieuca, and Powers Ferry Roads. West of the river the historic access to Powers Ferry follows the

12. See footnote 7.

existing road.[13]

Hardy Pace came to DeKalb County in the 1820's and settled on the north side of West Paces Ferry Road. The date of establishment of the ferry is not definitely known. It may have been in the early 1830's--perhaps Pace took over Harris' operation, but the land that was the landing point on the DeKalb County side was not acquired until 1843. In the late 1830's Pace had moved to Cobb County and founded the settlement of Vinings.[14] Vinings was to become a major Union staging area during the first half of July, 1864.

Standing Peachtree as a trading center and Indian Village in the last decades of the 18th century and as a short-lived military post in the years 1813-14 was the terminus for several trails and roads. The best known followed Peachtree, West Paces Ferry and Moores Mill Roads to the trading post/fort. As the areas both east and west of the river developed, the need for a ferry at or near Standing Peachtree was obvious. That it existed in 1831 is documented on Bethune's Map. In 1829, Standing Peachtree was noted in Sherwood's Gazetteer as being on the Chattahoochee, 12 miles east of Decatur.[15] On December 25, 1837, Governor George Gilmer agreed to an act of the General Assembly authorizing James M. Montgomery to establish a ferry across the Chattahoochee upon his own land in DeKalb and Cobb County "at a place called Standing Peachtree." The east landing of the ferry was in Land Lot 231, 17th District of DeKalb and now Fulton County and the west landing in Land Lot 1023 of 17th District of 2nd Section of Cherokee, now Cobb County. The main line of the Seaboard Railroad crosses the river at or near the old ferry landings.

13. Sarah B. G. Temple, The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County in Georgia (Atlanta, Walter W. Brown Publishers, 1935), 83 and 97, Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, I, 108-09, 333, and Stephen Mitchell, "The Old Ferries and Ferry Roads" Atlanta Historical Bulletin, 7 (June 1933), p. 38.

14. Garrett in Atlanta and Environs, I, 108. Stephen Mitchell in his article on "Old Ferries and Ferry Roads" in The Atlanta Historical Bulletin, 7, 38 indicates that the ferry probably was established after 1851. This author believes an earlier date is more feasible.

15. Adiel Sherwood, Gazetteer of the State of Georgia (Philadelphia, 1829), cited without page reference by Garrett in Atlanta and Environs, I, 18.

Montgomery's Ferry became one of many access points for entry into the territory vacated by the Cherokees in 1838. Montgomery died in 1842 and three years later the ferry was sold to Martin DeFoor.[16] At the time of the Civil War the ferry site was known as DeFoor's Ferry. It had been moved down river about 1000 feet to the present location of the bridge for State Highway 3. Martin DeFoor continued to operate the ferry until 1879. In July of that year, he and his wife were murdered. Evidence indicated that someone hid in the house and during the night killed both with an axe. The murder has never been solved.[17]

The number of ferry crossings between Shallowford and Standing Peachtree increased during the 1840's and 1850's, spurred on mainly by the development of Decatur and later Atlanta and Marietta as major population centers. In addition to those already mentioned there was Isom's (Ishams) or Heards Ferry near the mouth of Sope Creek in Land Lot 207 of the 17th District of DeKalb/Fulton County. Established after 1851, the ferry site was the locale of the first crossing of the river by Union troops in 1864. Johnston's Ferry up river from Isham's was established about the same time. It touched the east side of the river in Land Lots 169 or 170. William Johnston was proprietor. During the 80 or more years the ferries were the major means of crossing the Chattahoochee, many individuals other than those already mentioned left their names on the landscape along the river between Buford Dam and the gooseneck that marks where Peachtree Creek joins the river. These names include Terry, Hutchin, Little, Abbott, McClure, Jones, Nesbitt, and Jett.

With exception of a few bridges the ferries continued to be the major means for crossing the river until the first years of this century. After 1900, bridges were constructed at Paces and Powers Ferry. As early as 1892, S. W. Power had requested the Fulton County Commissioners to build a bridge near the Powers Ferry Site pointing out that no bridge existed between Iceville (Bolton) and Roswell, a distance of 16 miles. However, more than ten years were to pass before action was taken. Paces Ferry Bridge was erected by the Cotton States Bridge

16. Annie L. F. Kurtz, "Atlanta's First Ferry," The Atlanta Journal Magazine, March 1, 1936, p. 7. Franklin Garrett Disagrees stating that DeFoor took over the operation in 1853 (Atlanta and Environs, I, 96). A post 1850 date is also set by Stephen Mitchell, "Old Ferries and Ferry Roads", Atlanta Historical Bulletin, 7, 38. The post 1850 date should be viewed as the more accurate.

17. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, I, 959-60.

Company of Atlanta in 1903. Powers Ferry Bridge was completed by the Austin Brothers of the city about the same time and Johnson Ferry Bridge was constructed in 1906 by the Roanoke Bridge Company of Virginia.[18]

North of the Roswell Bridge there were additional bridges constructed during the same period. Medlock Bridge existed in 1908. Jones Bridge, Rogers Bridge, Settles Bridge, and McAfees or Gregory's Bridge were also built in the first two decades of the present century. In 1940, a map of Fulton County indicated thirteen bridges between Bolton Bridge (State Route 3) and Littles Ferry Bridge at the north edge of Fulton County where McGinnis Ferry Road crosses the river.[19] Up river from there were located Settles Bridge and the present State Route 20 Bridge.

There was another bridge across the Chattahoochee in the years before the Civil War. It carried the railroad which was to make Terminus/Marthasville/Atlanta into a major rail center. On December 26, 1836, the state legislature authorized a railroad from Rossville on the Tennessee line to the southeast bank of the Chattahoochee River. A year or two later the terminal point was extended to a point some eight miles east of the river. After considerable thought, the terminus was located near the present entrance to Underground Atlanta at Central Avenue and Wall Street. From the terminus of the state-financed Western and Atlantic Railroad, branch lines were to extend to Athens, Madison, Milledgeville--the State Capitol, Forsyth, and Columbus.

Although the railroad was to terminate in Land Lot 77 of the 14th District of DeKalb County, the initial survey of possible crossing points on the Chattahoochee took in a 70 mile stretch from Winns Ferry on the north to Campbelltown on the south.[20] Stephen H. Long, who as a Major in the United States Army had led several western expeditions, was given responsibility for laying out the route of the road and selecting a crossing point. By 1837 all but Pittman's Ferry, near Norcross, and Montgomery's Ferry had been rejected. Work actually

18. Ibid, II, 266-267.

19. Federal Writers Project, Atlanta: A City of the Modern South, American Guide Series (New York, Smith and Durrell, 1942), Map in pocket on back cover.

20. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, I, 148. Of the six potential crossing points, three--Collins Ferry, Pittman's Ferry (two miles above Medlock) Bridge and Montgomery Ferry--are within the area of this study.

began at Pittman's Ferry on July 4, 1837, but the route was abandoned because the topography presented too many problems. Montgomery's Ferry was thus selected.

Work began on the river railroad right of way, east of the river, in 1838. At the same time, other contracts were let for construction on the west side of the Chattahoochee. By October 30, 1838, some fifty miles of railroad was under construction. In December 1837, the Georgia Railroad originally chartered to link Augusta and Athens, Georgia with a branch to Greensboro, Georgia, was authorized to extend the Greensboro branch through Madison and Covington to link with the State sponsored W & A Railroad at the terminus east of the Chattahoochee. A year before, the Monroe Railroad building north from Macon was granted permission to extend its lines to the terminus of the state railroad. Thus by the end of 1838, the provision for three rail lines from the east, south and north, to meet at the future site of Atlanta, had been made.

Work on all three continued during the next four years. By Fall 1842, sufficient work had been done and rails were available to complete 33 miles of track by the end of the year. To citizens of the still small town at the terminus nothing else would do but to run a train to Marietta over a railroad that in the words of one pioneer, "didn't start nowhere or go nowhere". The bridge over the Chattahoochee had been completed by early 1841. One problem remained--since no railroad had yet reached Atlanta, where would the engine and cars come from. An engine was purchased from the Georgia Railroad and from the terminus of the line at Madison hauled overland on a wagon drawn by 16 mules to Marthasville. A passenger car and one freight car were hauled from Milledgeville to Atlanta. The train was assembled and on Christmas Eve the first train out of Atlanta made a slow run to Marietta and returned to Marthasville. Some of the passengers did not totally trust the bridge over the Chattahoochee and chose to walk across rather than trust their fate to riding over.[21]

Regular train service connecting Marthasville to the rest of the nation was still three years away. In 1845, the Georgia Railroad reached Marthasville and linked it with Augusta. It was another five years before the Western and Atlantic

21. Ibid, I, 192-93.

Railroad was completed to Chattanooga (Rossville). By May, 1850, the town was served by two railroads. Interestingly, the first railroad bridge, located where Old Dixie Highway 41 or present day Route 3 crosses the river, was moved downstream some 800 feet to eliminate a sharp curve and grade south of the river.[22] Len Railroad crosses the river at this location today. The original railroad bridge was first utilized as a wagon bridge. It was burned during the war and rebuilt to serve as a pedestrian and wagon bridge at this point.

The interurban streetcar line between Atlanta and Marietta began operations in July, 1905. The route began at Marietta and Walton Street and ran past Hills Park, Bolton, Smyrna, and Fair Oaks to the Court House Square in Marietta. The line crossed the river at Bolton at the original railroad bridge. The "cars" departed hourly from each terminal and became an immediate success. During the first 18 years of operation, the interurban was a profitable venture. By 1923, however, buses and jitneys were providing an alternate means of transportation to Marietta. Revenues and ridership declined until 1940. With the opening of the Bell Aircraft Plant in Marietta and the outbreak of World War II, the Atlanta Northern Line became a major factor in moving defense workers to and from Marietta. Ridership in 1942 was double that of one year earlier and between 1942 and 1944 doubled again. In 1945 nearly three million riders used the system. However, with the wars end and the availability of automobile tires and gas, the line again faced a decline. It ceased operation in January, 1947, and shifted over to buses.[23]

While the Chattahoochee never was a barrier to travel, it also never was a major transportation corridor. The main reason that the river above Peachtree Creek was little used was the section of rapids between the historic crossing at Shallowford and the area of Paces Ferry. Though navigable by small craft, utilization by larger boats was not feasible. This, however, has not discouraged periodic plans and proposals over the last century and a quarter. Barrington King, son of the founder of Roswell, organized the Warsaw Navigation Company in 1852

22. Ibid, p. 149.

23. Ibid, II, 479. Jean Martin, "Mule to MARTA, Volume II," The Atlanta Historical Society Bulletin, 20, (Winter 1976), 110-136.

to open the river from Standing Peachtree to Winn's Ferry in Hall County. In the wake of the Civil War, proposals to open the river to navigation ceased. However, in the Fall 1915, a Chamber of Commerce committee was appointed to study the possibility of developing the Chattahoochee and establishing Atlanta as a port city. A feasibility study was undertaken by the Corps of Engineers at the urging of Senator Hoke Smith. What happened to this idea is not known and there may have been other proposals in the 1920's. By the late 1930's, interest in the Chattahoochee as a means of transportation was again evident, spurred on by a comprehensive study of the Chattahoochee River Corridor by the Corps of Engineers in 1939, the river was opened from the Gulf of Mexico to Columbus near the fall line. Enthusiasm for the idea of Atlanta as an inland port increased. Headed by Mayor William Hartsfield the idea again was investigated. In 1945, F. R. Harris Engineering Corporation prepared a report based on the Corps' study. The possibility of opening the river to navigation as far as Atlanta through a series of dams and locks at West Point, Franklin, at Cedar Creek below Atlanta, and at a location above Vinings was described. The cost was estimated to be about 45 million. The report also addressed the need to assure an adequate water supply for the Atlanta area. The proposal included a series of dams to provide water and power. The Morgan Falls Dam would be increased by 70 feet, a dam above Roswell would have a full pool elevation of 990 feet. Nothing came of this proposal because of cost. The idea that someday Atlanta will be a seaport and the Chattahoochee a route to the Gulf remains. It is typified by the ship's anchor in front of the Atlanta Water Works presented by the Port of Apalachicola to the Port of Atlanta in 1958.[24]

24. Temple, The First Hundred Years, 150, City Builder Vol 1 (March 1916), 14-15 and Volume II (January 1917), 22; Frederick R. Harris Engineering Corporation, Preliminary Report on Comprehensive Development of the Chattahoochee River System (September 1945), 15-16; and Atlanta Journal-Constitution Magazine, November 18, 1979, p. 13.

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRY ALONG THE CHATTAHOOCHEE

Along the 43 miles between Buford Dam and the junction of Peachtree Creek and the river, the Chattahoochee descends 150 feet. Most of this occurs in the lower half, the 20 to 22 miles below Nesbitt's Ferry where the elevation drops from 863 feet to 748 feet. In comparison, the river loses less than 40 feet in altitude between Buford Dam and Nesbitt's Ferry.[1] Because of topography, the streams on the upper river are more placid while those on the lower half tend to rush and tumble down in a rapid race to join the main river. Most of the 19th century industrial sites occurred on the lower half of the river corridor. Many were located on the tributaries rather than on the river proper.

These industrial sites were for the most part small grist mills serving the surrounding area and only a few of these have survived to the present, even as ruins. Two major industrial complexes, however, have survived: The ruins of the Roswell Manufacturing Company on Vickery Creek and the Marietta Paper Manufacturing Company on Sope Creek.

One of the earliest and most impressive of the industrial developments along the river was the Roswell Manufacturing Company (Roswell Mills). In 1829, Roswell King of Darien, Georgia, was sent by the Bank of Darien to investigate opportunities to establish a branch bank in Auraria or Dahlonega - two towns in the center of the gold mining area. King, 65 years old at the time, crossed the Chattahoochee near Shallowford and turning up river was struck by the industrial potential in the area where Vickery or Big Creek joins the river. In 1829, the land was still part of the Cherokee Nation. King saw that there was an abundant supply of water for domestic use, but, more importantly, as a source of power for manufacturing. The plateau above the creek would accommodate a town and the narrow flood plain of the creek would be ideal for the needed dams

1. In Water Powers of Georgia: 2nd Report, Bulletin 16, Geological Society of Georgia, (Atlanta, Franklin Turner Company, 1908) the elevation of the water surface for the Chattahoochee is given for the river from Columbus to Nacoochee in North Georgia. The above data is based on this report.

and mill sites. Finally, the climate was far more healthy than the coastal area of Darien.[2]

Roswell King completed his trip and returned to Darien, but his interest in developing a factory and town on the banks of Vickery Creek did not wane. In the last half of the 1830's a dam and factory were built. On December 11, 1839, the Roswell Manufacturing Company was incorporated by the State Legislature.[3] Both the dam and one of the original mill buildings are still standing. In 1838, Roswell King, his son Barrington and his family, and a few others had settled in Roswell. The next year they were joined by other families and a community carefully planned and organized began to develop.[4]

2. William R. Mitchell, Jr., Historic Area Study Roswell, Georgia: A Plan to Preserve Roswell's Historic Character, prepared by Kidd and Associates Inc. for the State of Georgia Department of Industry and Trade (April 1973), p. 7. Cited hereafter as Mitchell, Historic Area Study, Roswell.

3. The date of construction of the dam to power the mills and the mills themselves is not definitely established. Various sources list 1835, 1837 and 1838 for the construction of the dam with the mill being built about the same time. It is definitely known that by date of incorporation the Roswell Mills were in operation.

4. The development of the town will be dealt with in the chapter on settlements along the river.

Between 1840 and 1844, and the death of Roswell King, several structures directly associated with the operation of the mills were constructed. The Roswell Stores, on the east side of the town square, were the center of commercial activity during the first decade of Roswell's existence. The initial unit was constructed of brick with axe hewn timbers and served as the commissary for the mill workers. Other stores were added as commercial demand increased. Some of the earliest apartment houses in the south were constructed near the mills. Known as "The Old Bricks", they housed workers at the mills, most likely supervisory employees. Mill workers also lived in single family deellings on Factory Hill. These structures were modified New England Salt Box houses with central chimneys. All these structures and others have survived until the present and reflect a sense of planning and design that has tied the historic area of Roswell together.[5]

The complex along the banks of Vickery Creek continued to grow in the years after 1844. Ivy Mills was constructed in the mid 1840's to produce woolen goods. In the late 1840's, Colonel John Dunwoody established a tannery. The leather produced was considered equal to any in the United States. By the late 1840's, the Roswell Factories were doing a thriving business and employed 150 people--the majority being white females. The work day was eleven hours in length and six days per week. In addition to the cotton and woolen mills there was a flour mill (Lebanon Mill) with a capacity of 300 barrels of flour per day. The cotton mill used five bales of cotton per day and produced 1100 yards of shirting, 1500 yards of osnaburg per day and 1,200 bundles of yarn each week. The goods were sold in Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama.[6]

By 1853, the business, capacity, and value of the mills had increased. The original factory, a three story brick structure with basement measuring 88X48 feet, was enlarged. Production was increased one-third and the mill began to produce 400 pounds of cotton rope per day. The new factory, built of brick on a rock

5. Mitchell, Historic Area Study, 37-44. National Register of Historic Places Inventory and Nomination Form for Roswell Historic District (May 1973), Clarece Martin and E. E. DeVane, Roswell: Historic Homes and Landmarks, (Roswell, Roswell Historical Society, 1974), no pagination. The book contains descriptions and sketches of specific structures.

6. Temple, The First Hundred Years, 115. Osnaburg was a heavy coarse cotton fabric used by the poorer classes for clothing.

foundation, measured 140X53 feet, was four stories high with an overshoot iron water wheel 20 feet in diameter. The new factory was capable of producing 2,500 pounds of yarn each day. In 1853, it employed 250 with an increase to 300 operatives anticipated by 1854-55.[7] The mills at Roswell were some of the most important in northwest Georgia. With the outbreak of the Civil War they would be a major supplier of cotton and woolen goods and in 1864 would be destroyed by Union Forces under General William Sherman.

In June 1865, Barrington King who had succeeded his father as President of Roswell Manufacturing Company returned to Roswell. Though his home had been spared destruction, the mills had been seriously damaged. King immediately set about the task of rebuilding. By November, half of the second story had been reconstructed. Barrington King did not live to see the work completed. He died from injuries received when kicked by a horse. He was succeeded by General Andrew J. Hansell who saw the work to completion by 1874. The mills returned to full operation the same year. From 1874 to 1929, the Roswell Manufacturing Company flourished. In 1882, another mill building was added, the present Southern Mills. During World War I, the Laurel Woolen Mills produced "Roswell Gray" woolens for the military as they had during the Civil War. The mills flourished during the 1920's, but in 1929 fire again, this time lightening-caused, destroyed the entire mill complex with the exception of the 1882 Southern Mills building. Because of the depression, the complex was never rebuilt. Southern Mills continued to operate until 1978 when it too closed its doors.[8]

A second major industrial complex within the river corridor developed on Sope Creek. Sope Creek joins the river half way between Johnston and Powers Ferry. Development along Sope Creek occurred ten years after the Roswell Mills began. Tradition states that the first industry along Sope Creek was a distillery operated

7. George White, Historical Collections of Georgia, originally published 1855, it was reprinted in 1969 (Geneological Publishing Company, Baltimore), p. 402.

8. Mitchell, Historic Area Study, 11-12. Temple, First Hundred Years, 132 and 406. Martin and DeVane, Roswell Historic Homes and Landmarks, description of Allenbrook (no pagination).

while Thomas Waterman, age 19, may have been related to General Phillips. James Bird was beginning a career in manufacture of paper that was to link him with the mills for several years.[12]

James Bird trained Jefferson H. Land, as an apprentice for seven years beginning in 1856. With the outbreak of the war in 1861, Land was sent to operate a paper mill at Columbus producing stationery and cartridge paper. The Marietta Paper Mills produced a large portion of the South's paper as well as much of the stock on which the Confederate currency and bonds were printed. All production ceased in July, 1864, as Union troops moved out from Kennesaw Mountain and Marietta toward the Chattahoochee. On July 5, the paper mills, machine shops, and flouring mills on Sope Creek were burned by cavalry under General Kenner Garrard. The extent of the mill complex on Sope Creek in 1864 is not presently known. General Garrard reports that he burned the paper mill<u>s</u> (emphasis added), but he also indicates the plural for the machine shops and flouring mills. What is known is that the Marietta Paper Mills were producing a variety of paper products including tissue paper, printing, writing and wrapping paper.[13]

In 1865-66, the original owners of the Marietta Paper Mills began to rebuild and reopen the Sope Creek operation. They were aided in this by J. H. Land. By about 1868, the mills were back in operation, however, a fire in 1870 and the nationwide depression of 1873 forced them to declare bankruptcy and the mills were sold on November 4, 1873, to James Brown of Cherokee County. The paper mills were reincorporated in 1874 as the Marietta Paper Manufacturing Company. The new company contained two of the former owners--Edmonston and General Phillips as well as the wartime governor of Georgia, Joseph E. Brown. At the same time a second company was organized to construct a cotton factory on Sope Creek adjacent to the paper mill.[14]

12. Additional biographical information on the eight can be found in Temple, <u>The First Hundred Years</u>, pages 56, 77, 153, and 641.

13. There have been two short studies produced on the Marietta Paper Mills. Both were used in preparing this report and secured from the files of the Archeological Survey of Cobb and Fulton Counties through the courtesy of Larry Meier. Ron Bristol, "History of the Marietta Paper Manufacturing Company" and Everett Bronski, Jr., "Sope Creek Manufacturing Complex, Cobb County, Georgia," Georgia Institute of Technology, March 10, 1978. Other sources used will be cited individually.

14. Temple, <u>The First Hundred Years</u>, p. 405.

by Schofield Edmonstron and a Mr. Bostwick. Located on the west bank of the creek just north of the present bridge, it produced an excellent peach brandy. Jefferson Howard Land, who was associated with the industrial development of Sope Creek for over 40 years, recalled that when he was a boy, he would take peaches from his father's farm a mile from the mills down to the distillery to be made into brandy.[9] Born in 1842, Land began work as an apprentice in the Sope Creek Paper Mills in 1856.

The first documented commercial venture on Sope Creek was the establishment of a flour mill by Edward Dunmead in 1853-54. The mill was three stories high and measured 40X50 feet. It possessed four run of stones and could turn out 125 barrels of excellent quality flour per day. The capital investment was $15,000.[10]

In the five years between the establishment of Dunmead's flour mill and 1859, a second much larger industrial complex was built on the banks of Sope Creek.[11] In December 1859, the General Assembly of the State incorporated the Marietta Paper Mills. By the date of incorporation, the paper mills were already operating. The eight men who were original stockholders and incorporators included several pioneer settlers of Cobb County - Isaac Sewell, Napoleon Greene, and John R. Winters, all of whom had arrived in Cobb County prior to 1835. William Phillips achieved sufficient fame before and during the Civil War that the mills were known as General Phillip's Mills. Andrew Edmonston was one of the two operators of the distillery on the creek. Moses B. Whitmore was a brother-in-law of Edmonston,

9. Aston Chapman, "Making Paper on Sope Creek," Atlanta Journal Magazine, (May 28, 1933), 10. Chapman was reporting the reminiscences of Mrs. J. H. Land.

10. White, G., Historical Collections of Georgia, 401.

11. There has been considerable confusion regarding the correct spelling of Sope (Soap) Creek. Many early maps show it as Soap Creek or Soaps Creek. However, most evidence points to the creek being named for Old Sope, A Cherokee Indian of ancient vintage who refused to move west in 1838 and lived out his life with his family near the creek that bears his name. In this paper, the stream will be identified as Sope Creek.

Saxon Anderson, one of the incorporators, was in charge of the Paper Mills, while Jefferson H. Land served as superintendent over the day to day operation. These two individuals were to operate the Marietta Paper Manufacturing Company for the next quarter-century. During this period, the company prospered and expanded.

Much of this success can be attributed to J. H. Land who from all accounts possessed extraordinary skills. In about 1870, Land began experimenting to find a method of removing turpentine from pine pulp, a necessary step if the pine pulp is to be used to produce white paper. This experimentation was prompted in part by the availability of field pines for production of paper. Prior to the development of a process to use wood pulp, all paper was manufactured from either rags or paper stock. Land was able to develop the method and machinery to accomplish it. He produced a good quality paper and on one occasion, The Marietta Journal was printed on paper that had been field pines growing on Sope Creek that morning.[15] The development of this process may have been the impetus for the construction of a wood pulp mill in 1886.

An interesting sidelight to the work of Land is that credit for developing the process to remove turpentine from pine wood pulp is generally given to Dr. Charles H. Herty who was born in Milledgeville, Georgia, in 1867. He graduated from University of Georgia in 1886 and secured advanced degrees from John Hopkins and several European universities in the years before 1900. Most of his career was spent in the south. He is given credit for several new ideas or processes including production of white paper from pines.[16]

In 1889, Jefferson Land also developed the machinery to produce paper twine. Saxon A. Anderson learned that only one factory, located in Holyoke, Massachusetts, was producing paper twine. Either Anderson and Land or Land by himself went to

15. Chapman, "Making Paper on Sope Creek", Atlanta Journal Magazine, May 28, 1933, and Marguerite Steedman, "Sope Creek Mill Made History", Atlanta Journal Sunday Magazine, March 12, 1939, p. 11. According to Mr. Land's wife, he never revealed the secret of how this was accomplished.

16. J. McKeen Cattell and J. Cattell, American Men of Science: A Biographical Directory, (New York, Science Press, 1938), p. 640.

the factory to purchase the needed machinery. However, the machines to produce the twine were patented and the company would neither sell them nor would they permit J. H. Land to visit the factory to see the process in operation. Land returned to Marietta and began experimenting with different methods to make a machine to produce paper string. It was not long before he was successful. In the words of Mrs. Land in 1939:

> I wish you could have seen the contraption for making paper twine that Jefferson got together. Literally out of nothing. You see, the pine paper had to be cut into narrow strips which were twisted uniformly while they were still wet. And if you think it's easy to make a machine that will do all that, why just try it!
>
> Jefferson couldn't find any tubing small enough for his purpose until he went to a drug store in Marietta, and bought the smallest glass tubing they had in the place. He got together some big tin cans in which the paper could be coiled. The strips passed up through the drug store glass tubing to a thing that finished twisting the paper.
>
> It sounds flimsy enough but it certainly did work.[17]

Despite such innovations, the Marietta Paper Manufacturing Company was hampered in its growth by its distance from the railroad. The finished paper products had to be hauled by mule to Marietta, a distance of seven miles. For this reason, Saxon Anderson purchased the Kennesaw Flouring Mills in 1894 and after completely renovating the mill began operations on March 1, 1895. A side benefit of this was that Anderson developed a water system to serve the mill which was extended to serve many of the residences and businesses of Marietta. Anderson sold the system to the city. Although the plan was to continue to operate both the Sope Creek and the Marietta Paper Mills, this did not occur. The development of electric engines reduced the need for water power to drive the machinery. Another major fire at the Sope Creek plant in 1902 was the final blow. The mills closed down in 1902 and were not reopened. The Marietta mill continued to operate until 1918.

The mill ruins at Sope Creek, in the years after 1930, became a popular picnic spot. The mill ruins, the pine covered hills sloping down to the fast running

17. Steedman, "Sope Creek Mill Made History", Atlanta Journal Magazine, March 12, 1939.

stream, covered bridge across the creek, and the rural surroundings, all contributed to this popularity. Today this popularity continues. Unfortunately the covered bridge, one of the few remaining in Georgia and the southeast, was burned on Halloween night, 1970. The bridge dated to the years after the Civil War and was constructed by hand-hewn timbers held together by wooden pegs. The roof was tin. The mill ruins have survived very well, but in recent years there has been an increase in deliberate destruction by vandals as the areas adjacent to Sope Creek have developed into residential communities.

Though Roswell and Sope Creek were major areas of industrial development, they were not the only locations where industry flourished along the river. As early as 1813, a Mr. John Woodall had a mill on the west side of the river either just above or just below the point that Peachtree Creek reached the river from the east.[18] James Montgomery, who was at Fort Standing Peachtree in 1813-14, reported that Woodall's Mill and crops were destroyed by the Creek Indians. Since he refers to having seen ruins, the mill may predate this period.

Though there is no indication what type of mill was operated by Mr. Woodall, it is likely that it was designed primarily to grind corn or possibly wheat. These small mills were generally located on a tributary stream. However, some were located on the river itself. A small dam would be built and the water conducted via a flume to a waterwheel which would provide power for the grinding of corn, or wheat, the operation of a saw mill, or to power other machinery. These mills served a very limited area and as roads improved and speed of transport increased, the local mills were replaced by larger, more centralized mills. This transition occurred in the years after 1910 with the increasing use of the internal combustion engine.

In the 19th century there were a large number of mills along the river. The evaluation and appraisal of Cherokee property in 1836 identified six mills on or

18. In 1829, James McC. Montogomery swore in an affidavit before S. Wales, Commissioner on the lands owned by the Creeks along the Chattahoochee, that John Woodall was permitted to erect a mill on the west side of the river, immediately above "the Peachtree". A second copy locates the mill as "below the Peachtree". E. Katherine Anderson, "James McC. Montgomery of Standing Peachtree", The Atlanta Historical Bulletin, No. 12 (December 1937), 17-18. Anderson cites both affidavits in her study.

near the Chattahoochee River that were owned by Cherokees.[19] Of these two mills located within the study area were William Rogers Grist and Saw Mill valued at $2,000 and Robert Rogers sawmill worth $500. A mill house (value $10) was located on the Waters Plantation.[20] As the land along and back from the river was settled in the 1820's and 1830's, other mills developed. By the time of the Civil War, the area was settled and a careful reading of the maps of the period show 4-5 mills along the river between Holcomb Bridge and Standing Peachtree. These included Moores Mill on Peachtree Creek, Paces Mill, a mile upriver from Paces Ferry, Winship's Mill on Rottenwood Creek, and Joy Mill between Grogan's Ferry and Roswell Bridge.

A report published toward the end of the century detailed the water power of creeks flowing into the Chattahoochee. Peachtree Creek at Houston Mill had a rate of flow of 1400 cubic feet per minute (cfm). Nancy Creek in Lot 96 of the 17th District, 4.7 miles from the river, had a flow of 2700 cubic feet per minute. Rottenwood Creek measured 720 cfm and Suwanee Creek, 700 cfm. Sope Creek had a flow of 3720 cfm.[21]

19. Wilms, "Cherokee Land Use", p. 135. The distribution of population along the river (Wilms, p. 171) is concentrated near Winns or Vanns Ferry and in Forsyth and North Fulton Counties. The mills would be in the same areas.

20. Ibid., 153. Valuation of Cherokee Property in Various Counties, Microfilm, Georgia State Archives. Interestingly, five of the eight ferries on the river which were owned by Cherokees are within the study area, but only two of six mills are in the same area.

21. R. T. Nesbitt, Georgia: Her Resources and Possibilities (Atlanta, Franklin Printing and Publishing, 1896), p. 138-40. A cubic foot of water is the volume of water required to fill a box measuring 1X1X1 foot or 7.48 gallons. It was not volume of water that was important, but the fall or drop of the water and the head of water. Fall was the action of water against the water wheel from the point where it reaches the wheel. Marietta Paper Mills had a fall of 22 feet that developed 75 HP. The head is the distance the water drops to the point where it strikes the wheel. The power for the mills of the Roswell Manufacturing Company in 1890's came from a head of 27 feet. Laurel Mills near the mouth of Vickery Creek had a 60 HP wheel driven by a head of 19 feet.

In the confines of this report, it would be difficult to discuss each of these local mills in detail. However, an article in the Marietta Journal of March 25, 1880, provides an insight into the function, production, and role of one such mill. Akers Mill was located on Rottenwood Creek downstream from Akers Mill Road. In 1880, Akers Mill had recently installed a "new" process of milling that increased from 39 to 43 pounds the amount of flour produced from a bushel of wheat as well as providing a finer grade of flour. The wheat was first cleaned and the husk removed, then was ground into "chop". The "chop" passed through bolting reels that separate the bran from the middlings. The middlings are then purified by having all impurities lighter than the farina blown away. Then it is reground and goes through another set of bolting reels and comes out as different grades of flour. The flour mill and a corn mill nearby were known as the Banner Mills.

The flour mill could produce 200 barrels (195 pounds per barrel) of flour every 24 hours. The corn mill could produce 1,500 bushels of corn meal in the same period. The power for the flour mill was a 36 inch turbine which was supplemented by an 80 horsepower engine used when there is a scarcity of water. The Akers also cut out and graded new roads to the mill. The mill provided employment for about 60 people. The proprietors farmed the nearby land and provided housing for the workers.[22] The mill ruins still stand on Rottenwood Creek.

The Chattahoochee, until the last 15 years of the 19th Century, was seen as essentially a natural force to be harnessed for industry and used for transportation. But beginning in 1885, it was seen as a source of something far more important - water for the growing city of Atlanta.

Until after the Civil War, Atlantans drew their water from either private or public wells. Beginning in 1866, a series of plans were put forward to secure a "constant and plentiful supply of water" for the city. A variety of proposals to do this were put forth in the next seven years. These included a canal or aqueduct from the Chattahoochee, use of either Peachtree or Utoy

22. "A Worthy Enterprise", Marietta Journal, March 25, 1880, p. 1.

Creek, or as was finally done, to establish a reservoir behind a 51 foot high dam on South River at the present site of Lakewood Park. In 1875, the South River facility was completed and on September 11, service began midst much jubilation with demonstrations of the water pressure now available for fighting of fires.[23]

Despite the enthusiasm of 1875, by 1880 it was obvious that the South River reservoir could not meet the needs of the city. For the next ten years, each Mayor urged action, but without success. Finally in 1890, a bond issue passed authorizing the issuance of $250,000 in bonds for the construction of a new waterworks. Again the city looked at alternatives including using a gravity supply from the "salubrious" mountain streams of north Georgia to be brought to the city by a 132 mile long canal. The idea of drinking the clear waters of the mountain streams had far more appeal than the idea of using the muddy waters of the Chattahoochee. But finally, despite some public doubts, the city turned to the river.[24]

The site for a pumping station was acquired at the junction of Peachtree Creek and the Chattahoochee. A route for the main water line was located from the pumping station to the proposed central reservoir at the highest point between the river and the city. This was aided by the involvement of Thomas Moore, a pioneer citizen, who had proposed using the Chattahoochee as a water supply as early as 1859. Moore secured a 60 foot right-of-way from the river to the reservoir and the city built a grand avenue its entire length. In December 1891, a second bond issue of half a million was authorized. Work began in April, 1892.[25]

It continued through 1893; by September the pumping station was in operation. From the river the water was transferred by a 48-inch main to the filtration plant and reservoir on Hemphill Avenue. The water was moved from the river to the filtration plant by three ten-million-gallon a day steam-driven engines. Over the years, larger engines were installed to accommodate increased demand. In 1926, a 60-inch main was added to the original 48-inch line to provide sufficient

23. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, I, 915-19.

24. Ibid, II, 260.

25. Ibid. Lafayette Jefferies, "Thomas Moore (1828-1914)". The Atlanta Historical Bulletin, Vol 14 (June 1969), 55-56. The grand avenue is present day Hemphill Avenue named for Mayor William A. Hemphill, who served from 1891-93.

water for a city that consumed more than 27 million gallons per day. Today, three intakes, the largest 78" in diameter, remove water from the river.

The fears of many that the muddy red waters of the river could not be made drinkable proved unfounded. The water was so pure that lime and other minerals were added to harden it and give a "taste" to the water. The mud of the river was described in 1929 as "pure, clean mud (no) purer or finer mud exists in the world than that washed down the Chattahoochee." The mud removed from the water was returned to the river.[26] In the 50 years since 1929, the water system has been modified and refined. Today more than a hundred million gallons of water per day are used by Fulton County and City of Atlanta and more than 90% of it comes from the Chattahoochee. DeKalb County uses another 50-55 million gallons each day.[27]

Less than ten years after the new pumping station began operation on the river, another development caused great concern to the Board of Water Commissioners of the City of Atlanta. It was the proposal to erect a 60-foot high dam at Bull Sluice below Roswell that would "practically bottle up the stream and cripple the Atlanta Water Works system."[28] The fears were unfounded. The dam and the resulting hydroelectric plant harnessed the river as a source of energy, encouraged industrial development, but did not reduce the water available for Atlanta's citizens.

26. "Atlanta's Water is Too Pure", Atlanta Journal Magazine, October 20, 1929, p. 11.

27. This description of the pumping station and waterworks was based on the following sources other than Franklin Garrett's masterful work. P. C. King, Jr., The Chattahoochee River, (Canton, Industrial Printing, 1977), p. 46-50; Atlanta Convention and Tourist Bureau, "Official Guide" (1926); Willard Neal, "Atlanta's Old Man River," The Atlanta Journal Magazine, (August 27, 1933), p. 4; Marguerite Steedman, "Atlanta Makes a Million a Year on Water," Atlanta Journal Magazine, (April 5, 1936), p. 7.

28. Undated newspaper clipping, probably October or November 1902, in the Forrest Adair Collection, Atlanta Historical Society.

In 1898, Jack J. Spaulding, Forrest Adair, and S. Morgan Smith organized the Atlanta Water and Electric Power Company to build a dam and hydroelectric plant at Bull Sluice on the Chattahoochee some 17 miles north of Atlanta. Spaulding, a lawyer, and Adair, a real estate agent, were from Atlanta. S. Morgan Smith, from York, Pennsylvania, had invented a water turbine that proved very popular with operators of grist mills in eastern Pennsylvania. Smith later developed a turbine that was adopted by many of the early hydroelectric projects. By September 1902, work on the massive masonry dam at Bull Sluice Shoals was underway.[29]

In October, the Atlanta Journal reported 250 men at work and a potential expenditure of 1.5 million dollars to complete the project.[30] Among the first items to be constructed were two coffer dams and four towers. The coffer dams were built of huge pine logs in the form of squares which were filled with rocks and dirt. The upstream side was then covered with two-inch thick wood planks. These are then set out into the stream and down stream to wall off a portion of the stream bed. Four towers supported two cables from which two cars each capable of carrying 20 tons of material moved across the river at a rate of 850 feet per minute.[31]

Work continued for nearly two years before the dam and powerhouse was complete and put into operation in the middle of 1904. The dam measured 900 feet in total length and was divided into two main sections - the west abutment and the spillway was over 700 feet while the powerhouse on the east side was 196 feet long. The powerhouse was 40 feet wide and nearly 29 feet high. The dam was firmly set on ledge rock, a very hard gneiss, for its entire length and width and was tied into the same hard rock for its entire height. When completed it was the largest hydroelectric plant in the southeast.

Concrete was mixed on the east side of the river and then transported in large buckets via overhead cableway to point of deposit. Much of the rock used both in the heart of the dam and for the upstream face was taken from quarries on each side of the river immediately above the dam and transported to the point

29. As the name indicates the dam was located in an area where the river dropped rapidly over rocky ledges. The name Morgan Falls honors S. Morgan Smith's mother.

30. Atlanta Journal, October 20, 1902.

31. Atlanta Constitution, Nov. 16, 1902. The general contractor was S. Morgan Smith Company of York, Pennsylvania.

of deposit by temporary railroads. The sand used for the mortar was nearly all taken from the bed of the river by a dredge located about 2,000 feet below the dam.[32]

The powerhouse rises above the tailrace and presents an attractive architectural appearance. The electrical and hydraulic equipment was furnished and installed by S. Morgan Smith Company. There were seven main turbines each directly coupled to a 1500 kilowatt Westinghouse generator. Each main turbine was built with two wheels operating on one shaft capable of developing 2,400 horsepower under a working head of 48 feet. The 48 inch turbines were also built and erected by S. Morgan Smith Company. In 1924, the generators were rewound for a frequency of 60 hertz and are still in use today.[33] That same year the original turbines were also replaced. The new capacity per generator was 2,400 kilowatts providing a total capacity of 16,800 kilowatts.[34]

Power from the Morgan Falls Plant was transmitted on overhead lines to a substation of the Georgia Railway and Electric Company. The electric poles were white chestnut not less than 25" in circumference at the top and 30 feet long. They were set at 120 foot intervals. The crossarms were heart of yellow pine. The transmission lines were copper.[35]

All the power initially generated by the Morgan Falls Plant was purchased by Georgia Railway and Electric Company that operated all the electric and street railway facilities in Atlanta. Created in 1902, after a long battle between two competing companies, the Georgia Railway and Electric Company existed

32. "The Atlanta Water and Electric Power Company's Plant at Morgan Falls," The Engineering Record, Vol. 49 (April 23, 1904), 504-05.

33. The generators are of historic importance as examples of the rotary-field salient-pole design that was dominant at the turn of the century but was superceded soon after. James E. Brittain, A Brief History of Engineering in Georgia and Guide to 76 Engineering Sites, (Atlanta, Georgia Institute of Technology, 1976), 16. Because of its 75 year history and the few changes that have been made to the generators or the dam itself, the Morgan Falls Dam and Powerhouse qualify for entry on the National Register as an engineering work.

34. "The Atlanta Water and Power Company Plant," Engineering Record, 49, (April 23, 1904), 505; King, Chattahoochee River, 56; and Brittain, Brief History of Engineering in Georgia, 16.

35. Engineering Record, 49 (April 23, 1904), 506-07.

for nine years. In 1911, it merged with several other power companies including Atlanta Water and Electric Power Company, owner of Morgan Falls, to form the Georgia Railway and Power Company. Henry M. Atkinson who headed Georgia Railway and Electric Company was Board Chairman. In 1927-28 a further consolidation took place and the present Georgia Power Company was formed. Atkinson continued as Chairman of the Board of the new corporation.[36]

The development of the Morgan Falls hydroelectric plant and other facilities such as the Tallulah Falls Power Plant, completed in 1913 and the third largest hydroelectric plant in the United States at that time, promised an abundance of electric power for Georgia. However, the promise was nearly canceled by the severe drought of 1925. Hydroelectric production dropped 60%. Power was rationed with industries cutting back on production and closing several days each week. Cotton gins operated only three days per week, while water pumping stations operated only at night. As a result, Georgia Power Company built Plant Atkinson 6,000 feet west of the pumping station on Peachtree Creek. Named for Henry M. Atkinson, the steam generating plant was designed to produce 60,000 kilowatts. Begun in 1929, the plant was put into service on October 17, 1930, by Mr. Atkinson. The largest such plant in Georgia, it was designed to be expanded as demand increased. In 1929, plans were already on the drawing board to increase output to 240,000 kilowatts. This was achieved in the early 1950's. Originally designed to burn coal, the boilers were modified before the plant was put in service to burn either coal or natural gas.[37]

The role of the Chattahoochee River as a source of power, a source of water for the metropolitan Atlanta area, and as an outlet for the treated sewage from the same area became increasingly important in the last three decades. The

36. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, II, 427-33.

37. King, The Chattahoochee, 140; Wade H. Wright, History of Georgia Power Company, 1855-1956, (Atlanta, Georgia Power Company, 1957), 247-48; and "Plant Atkinson" on Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) Inventory form prepared by James E. Brittain, August 29, 1975.

completion of Buford Dam and generation of hydroelectric power in the last half of 1957 further controlled the river. To assure sufficient water for the city of Atlanta and to aid in disposal of sewage it was necessary to regulate the flow of the Chattahoochee at Morgan Falls. This regulation was needed since power generation at Buford Dam and the subsequent release of water did not coincide with the hours when a large volume of water was needed at Clayton Sewage Treatment Plant below Peachtree Creek. The regulation of water flow at Morgan Falls also provided additional water reserves for the city of Atlanta and made the water supply both cleaner and cooler.[38]

Regulation was accomplished by raising the storage level of the reservoir behind the dam eight feet. This was done by installing sixteen steel taintor or spillway gates each 40 feet wide and eight feet high to increase the storage capacity by 1,045 million gallons. Each gate can be opened individually or several can be opened at once depending on the volume of water reaching Morgan Falls. As a result, a water flow of 23,190 gallons per second can be maintained for a period of 12 hours and 7,850 gallons or 1,045 cubic feet per second during the nighttime hours. In addition to the benefits cited for sewage treatment and water supply, the installation of the gates also increased power production at Morgan Falls by 13%.[39] The work on installation of the gates began in 1959 and was completed in June, 1960. The cost of $910,000 was shared equally by the city and Georgia Power.

The Chattahoochee River and its tributary streams provided power for a variety of industries from small grist mills to major complexes such as Roswell Manufacturing Company and the paper mills along Sope Creek. At Bull Sluice the river was harnessed to provide electric power for the street railways of Atlanta and to light the homes of its citizens. The river as a source of water became increasingly important during the present century as the city and the metropolitan area grew and demand increased. In the last quarter century, it has

38. Water released at Buford Dam reaches Peachtree Creek area in about 17 hours. Thus, water released during power generation between 8 and 10 a.m. does not arrive at the pumping station or Clayton Plant until 1 and 3 a.m. the next day when demand is low. By holding the water at Morgan Falls and releasing it in the morning between 6 a.m. and noon, it reaches the plants five hours later when need and demand are highest.

39. The above information was taken from a small booklet produced by the City of Atlanta and Georgia Power Company describing the Morgan Falls redevelopment project.

become increasingly necessary to balance the various uses of the river to assure that generation of electric power does not adversely affect the volume of water required for consumption by the Atlanta metropolitan area or for sewage treatment.

CHAPTER IV
THE CIVIL WAR ON THE CHATTAHOOCHEE

The War Between the States that began at Fort Sumter in April 1861 was soon divided into an Eastern and Western Theatre of operations. In the east, the two armies struggled, maneuvered, fought and fought again with the goal being to capture the enemy capital. The struggle was limited to northern Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and West Virginia - a small geographic area. In the Western Theatre the conflict moved across a much larger area. Here the Union goal was to divide the Confederacy while the Southern forces sought to thwart this effort. For two years in the west, the fortunes of war smiled on each side alternately and by Spring of 1863, the Union had gained control of most of Kentucky and Tennessee, but the Confederates still controlled the Mississippi River and the deep south of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and the Carolinas.

However, General U. S. Grant and the Army of the Tennessee, in a series of battles during 18 days in May 1863, that stretched over a 150 mile area, succeeded in encircling Vicksburg. After a siege of seven weeks, Vicksburg surrendered and the Mississippi flowed to the sea through Union Territory. The Confederate States were now divided - the southeast from the far southwest. The next step was to split the center of the southeast asunder.

This could be most easily done by capturing the railroads and railcenters over which supplies were moved. The first step toward this goal was the capture of Chattanooga. This would cut the rail link between Richmond, Virginia and that portion of Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee not occupied by Federal troops. The battle of Chickamauga in September resulted in the Union forces being penned up in Chattanooga. If the next step in the Union plan was to succeed, Federal forces must break through the Confederate lines. They did so in November, 1863, at the battle of Chattanooga. When the battle ended, the Union Army was in a position to advance on Atlanta. Atlanta, with railroads reaching it from the north, south, east and west, with manufacturing capabilities and a storehouse of supplies, was a prize to be siezed. The effort to do so would begin in the spring, 1864.

The campaign was under the direction of Major General William T. Sherman. General Grant had been summoned to Washington to command all the Union forces. Opposing him would be General Joseph E. Johnston. During the winter, both armies prepared for the spring of 1864. The Atlanta Campaign began in early May. Sherman had 100,000 men from three armies commanded by George Thomas (Army of the Cumberland), James McPherson (Army of the Tennessee) and John Schofield (Army of the Ohio). Johnston faced him with 60,000 under three Corps commanders - John B. Hood, William J. Hardee, and Bishop Leonidas Polk. What followed was described by Samuel Eliot Morrison as "professional war at its best."

Johnston, realizing that he could not afford to attack the numerically superior Union force adopted the strategy of defending fortified positions in the hope that Sherman would attack and sustain severe losses. It was an election year and if the campaign in Georgia continued all summer without resolution, war weariness might overwhelm the North and perhaps result in the defeat of Lincoln in November. The Rebel hope was to mire the Union down in Georgia, roll back the advance at an appropriate moment, cut Sherman's supply line--the Western and Atlantic Railroad--to Chattanooga and Nashville, and destroy his army. Sherman who had great respect for Johnston avoided frontal assaults on heavily fortified Rebel positions. He used his superiority in numbers to hold Confederate troops in their positions while moving to outflank them and force their retreat. A series of battles at Rocky Face Ridge, Resaca, and New Hope Church during May succeeded in forcing the Confederates out of their fortified positions and pushed them back 60 miles as the crow flies into Georgia. In early June, Johnston moved to his next fortified position, a line north of Marietta that ran from Bush Mountain on the east (right flank) to Pine Mountain in the center to Lost Mountain on his left. Sherman sent his three armies forward with McPherson attacking the right flank, Thomas pushing against the center and Schofield on the left. From June 10 to 16 there was heavy skirmishing. By June 19, Schofield's advance had forced the Rebels to retreat from Lost Mountain. Union artillery enfiladed the new Confederate line and could fire on the entire left wing. Johnston withdrew to Kennesaw Mountain.

Once again Sherman moved to outflank the Rebel position by extending his right flank. By June 21, Schofield had linked up with Thomas and the Federal right was south of Powder Springs Road and moving toward Kolb's Farm. Johnston shifted Hood's Corps from the right to the left of his line. Hood attacked on June 22 and in a series of sharp skirmishes lost a thousand men to the entrenched Union forces. Sherman now made an abrupt change in strategy - he decided to launch a frontal attack on the Confederates in their strong entrenchments on Kennesaw Mountain. McPherson on the Federal left would attack the southern end of Kennesaw Mountain, Thomas would attack at Cheatham's Hill and Schofield on the right would advance down Sandtown Road in a feint on June 26, that hopefully would draw Rebel forces from other portions of the line prior to the main attack scheduled for June 27.

The attacks of both McPherson's Army of the Tennessee and Thomas' Army of the Cumberland were repulsed with heavy casualties. Schofield meanwile enjoyed great success. By the evening of June 27, he held a position that placed the right wing of the Union line several miles closer to the Chattahoochee than the left wing of the Confederates. Schofield was now in position to destroy the Western and Atlantic Railroad thereby cutting the Rebel supply line and ending all hope of reinforcements reaching Johnston.[1]

Union casualties at Kennesaw were high - 3,000 killed - four times the Confederate loss but Sherman broke off the attack when it was obvious it would fail. He had the leverage to force Johnston out of the strong position at Kennesaw Mountain. The next natural barrier was the Chattahoochee River. As always, Johnston had strong fortifications already constructed.[2]

1. Both armies were obligated to protect the railroad. For both received men and material over the rails. It was the life support system that had to be protected.

2. The preceeding brief summary of the first eight weeks of the Atlanta Campaign is based on Richard M. McMurry, The Road Past Kennesaw: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864 (Washington, 1972), 7-27.

In fact, Johnston had two defensive lines between Kennesaw Mountain and the Chattahoochee River. The first crossed the railroad near Smyrna on a ridge running Northeast to Southwest and then turned and followed Nickajack Creek to the river. The second was closer to the Chattahoochee, covering about two miles on either side of the railroad bridge. Both lines stretched from Rottenwood to Nickajack Creek. The first were field fortifications supplementing the work engineers, and the other along the river and encircling Atlanta had been under construction since August, 1863.[3]

The field fortifications of both armies had reached a high degree of sophistication by 1864. A timber revetment or retaining wall about four feet high was constructed of logs. The earthwork in front of the revetment varied in thickness depending on whether the troops anticipated being subject to artillery fire--in which case the wall would be 10-12 feet at the base and 2-3 feet at the crest. Skids or poles rested at right angle to the earthwork and held up a headlog. Beneath the headlog, horizontal loop holes 3 inches wide enabled the defenders to fire on the enemy. A hundred yards in front of the earthwork, an entanglement or abatis was created of small trees and brush to slow down the attackers and if time permitted, sharpened stakes would be placed in or behind the abatis to further hinder charging infantry or calvalry.[4]

Within a week of the fall of Vicksburg, the Confederate War Department was ordering plans for the fortification of major cities such as Atlanta. Colonel L. P. Grant, Chief Engineer, Department of Georgia, indicated on July 22 that he was mapping the area and locating sites for earthworks including river crossings. By August 4, defensive works had been commenced at the Chattahoochee fords and ferries. Two weeks later, Colonel Grant reported them as nearly complete. The ring of fortifications around Atlanta took longer, but by December 1, a rough circle with a radius of 1.25 miles from the center of Atlanta was complete. Work continued on refinements until April 1864 when Grant submitted plans and sketches of the defenses and last minute changes were made

3. The formidable nature of these earthworks was a source of comment by the Union generals and engineers.

4. James Leo Aikman, "Kennesaw Sketches: A Collection of Descriptive Sketches and Anecdotes Sidelighting the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain," The Atlanta Historical Bulletin, 19 (1975), 51-52.

as late as July, 1864. The ring of defensive works was about 10 miles in circumference.[5]

General Johnston lost no time in preparing to withdraw from his position. By the night of the 28th, the sound of trains between the river and Marietta could be heard from Schofield's advanced position as the Confederates moved supplies and material of war east of the river. Sherman, however, did not move immediately but assembled supplies and rations sufficient to accomplish something decisive.[6]

The something decisive was to destroy the Confederate Army. He wished to force Johnston to attack George M. Thomas' Army of the Cumberland in their strong position in front of Kennesaw Mountain or to drop back to protect the railroad. The first would result in Thomas and McPherson defeating him while Schofield cut the railroad. The second would allow all three armies to maul him as he moved back toward the river. To this end Sherman ordered McPherson to move his army to the right and threaten Nickajack Creek and Turners Ferry. This movement began the night of July 2. Johnston's reaction was immediate--he retreated to the defensive line near Smyrna. The Union Troops, chiefly Thomas' Army of the Cumberland began pursuit of the retreating rebels and on the evening of the 3rd, caught up with them at Smyrna Campground.[7]

5. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, I, 567-68; Samuel Carter, III, The Siege of Atlanta, (New York, St. Martin Press, 1973), 72-73; Stephen Mitchell, "The L. P. Grant Papers and the Defenses of Atlanta," The Atlanta Historical Bulletin, 6, (February 1932), 32-34; and Letters Sent, Box 7 of L. P. Grant Papers in Atlanta Historical Society. Such present day landmarks as the Fox Theatre, Atlanta University, the southeast corner of Grant Park, and Techwood Homes marked the outer edge of the fortifications.

6. Jacob R. Cox, Atlanta, Volume 9 in Campaigns of the Civil War (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882), 132.

7. William T. Sherman, Memoirs of Gen. William T. Sherman, Written by himself, Fourth Edition Revised Corrected and complete (New York, Charles L. Webster and Co., 1891) II, 62-65; George E. Turner, Victory Rode the Rails: The Strategic Place of Railroads in the Civil War (Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1972), 330; and General W. T. Sherman's Report on Atlanta Campaign September 15, 1864, Official Records War of the Rebellion Being a Compilation of the Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, GPO, 1880-91), Vol. 38, Part 1, p. 69. Cited hereafter as ORs or Official Records.

On the fourth, the battle was joined about 11 a.m. as General O. O. Howard's Fourth Corps, part of the Army of the Cumberland, pushed hard against the main Confederate Line. Though the line did not break, the result was to immobilize the Confederates. Meanwhile, the Federal Right under McPherson had moved south and west to a point that it menaced Johnston and threatened to cut him off from Atlanta. Outflanked again, and told by General Hood that McPherson was beginning to turn his flank and was closer to the river than the Confederates, Johnston ordered withdrawal to the earthworks on the Chattahoochee. These well constructed works protected the railroad bridge below Peachtree Creek.

The empty Confederate lines were discovered at 4 a.m. on July 5th. The Union forces under Thomas took up pursuit; pursuit that was so rapid that Howard's Corps reached Paces Ferry on the heels of the retreating Confederates. As a result, the Confederates were not able to destroy the pontoon bridge across the river. They cut it loose from the west bank, but were driven off before they could cut it loose on the east side of the river. On July 7, the United States troops recaptured the bridge. The Union had a bridge across the river that would prove to be most useful several days later.[8] By evening on July 5, the Union forces stretched in an arc from Paces Ferry to the mouth of Nickajack Creek. Within that arc were the Confederate defensive works with one end near Nickajack Creek and the other just above the Railroad Bridge.[9]

The field fortifications abandoned by the Rebels were a source of amazement to the Federals.[10] Constructed only a few days earlier by militia and contrabands, the works at Smyrna consisted of earthworks for infantry connecting

8. Official Records, Vol. 38, Part 5, p. 86.

9. Sarah B. G. Temple, The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County in Georgia (Atlanta, Walter W. Brown Publishers, 1935), 327-28. Temple has an excellent treatment of the campaign in Cobb County from July 2-12 on pages 326-37. The source for much of the above narrative is based on the reports of Sherman, Thomas and Howard in Volume 38, Part I of the Official Records and Johnston's Official Report in Vol. 38, Part 3, p. 617-18. In 1874, Joseph E. Johnston published his Narrative of Military Operations Directed During the Late War Between the States, Joseph E. Johnston, General CSA (New York, D. Appleton and Company). Pages 344-46 cover events of July 2-5. The work will be cited hereafter as Johnston, Narrative of Military Operations.

10. The after battle reports of the Regimental, Division, and Corps Commanders of the Army of the Cumberland are filled with adjectives such as formidable, interminable, strong, etc. The overall impression being that frontal attack would have been costly. These reports are found in the Official Records Vol. 38, Parts 1 and 2.

salients in which the Confederates had placed field artillery in embrasure.[11] A second line of breastworks stood behind the field and were also described as formidable. In front of the defensive works was the usual abatis.

If the hastily prepared fortifications near Smyrna impressed the Union leaders, the well developed and carefully engineered defensive works along the river were doubly impressive. General Sherman described them as some of the strongest pieces of field fortification he had ever seen. Under construction for several weeks, if not months, the fortifications consisted of redoubts built of double walls of logs with the space between them filled with earth. The redoubts were connected by palisades of logs with firing steps provided for the infantry. Infantry also occupied the redoubts while the artillery was located in redans. Large redoubts at each end contained artillery and anchored the line. The southern one near the mouth of Nickajack Creek and the northern redoubt a mile upriver from the railway bridge. Artillery was arranged to catch attacking troops in a crossfire.[12] Sherman had earlier commented to General Halleck in a dispatch dated June 8, that if Johnston should select a line on the Chattahoochee, he would "study the case a little." The study took about two days. By July 7, Sherman's strategy was decided--he would outflank him so that the Union could threaten a longer stretch of river from Roswell to Sandtown--a distance of eighteen miles or more--than the Confederates could defend.

During July 2-5, Sherman had dispatched Cavalry Units up and down the river. Stoneman had gone south as far as Sweetwater Creek and Sandtown, while McCook had supported Thomas' Army in their movement against the Rebels along the road and railroad between Marietta and the river. Kerner Garrard's Division had held Schofield's position when the Army of Ohio was pulled back and held in reserve during the pursuit of July 3 and 4. With Union forces on the river at Paces

11. Embrasure is an opening for a gun in a wall or parapet. Shaped like a flat bottomed "U", it enables the field gun to be served without exposing the crew to rifle fire. Also the gun itself is not exposed to opposing artillery.

12. Temple, The First Hundred Years, 328-29; Report of Captain Orlando Poe, Chief Engineer, Union Forces under command of W. T. Sherman, ORs, Vol. 38, p. 1, 129-30; Sherman, Memoirs, II, 66-67.

Ferry and below the junction of Nickajack Creek and the Chattahoochee, Sherman sent McCook and General Kerner Garrard up river to scout out possible crossing points. McCook reconnoitered Powers Ferry above Paces Ferry and reported back on July 6th, that it was defended by artillery. Garrard, meanwile, had been sent to Roswell on July 5th to sieze the bridge across the river and destroy the factories there.

He was unsuccessful in the first, as either General Wheeler and his cavalry burned the bridge before he arrived or the Rebel detachment at Roswell burned it when they retreated across the river on General Garrard's approach. In any event, the bridge, some 642 feet long, divided into six spans resting on stone piers and standing some 14 feet above the river, was gone. Garrard reported that the ford was passable (about belly deep), but very rough. It was suitable for wagons, but he believed it would be better to reconstruct the bridge.[13]

Destruction, not reconstruction, was on his mind the evening of July 5th. The Sope Creek paper and flour mills had been destroyed and the machine shops burned. The bridge across Sope Creek had been destroyed, presumably by the Confederates. On the morning of July 6, Garrard moved into Roswell and destroyed the factories. The woolen factory with a capacity of 30,000 yards per month had been producing half that for the Rebels with the government providing men and material. The cotton factory with 216 looms had a capacity of over 191,000 yards of fabric, 51,000 pounds of thread and 4,000 pounds of cotton rope per month. There was a six-month supply of cotton on hand. Garrard saved the several thousand yards of cotton cloth and the rope and thread that had been produced during the previous days for use of the army. He burned all the factories including the woolen mill over which a French flag was flying. The superintendent of the cotton factory estimated the value of the machinery, finished products, etc. as over one million dollars.[14] Much of the employees' housing was also burned.

13. Brig. Gen. Kenner Garrard to Major General Sherman, July 9, 1864, Official Records, Vol. 38, Pt. 5, p. 100.

14. Garrard to Sherman July 5 and July 6, 1864. Official Records, Vol. 38, Part 5, page 60 and 68-69.

Sherman was highly pleased with the accomplishments of Garrard labeling his report most acceptable and conveying the gist of it to Major General Henry W. Halleck, Chief of Staff, in a letter of July 7. He commented to Garrard that if he should hang the owner of the woolen factory who had raised the French flag, he would approve the act beforehand. Sherman also told Garrard to make plans to move the 400 cotton mill operatives to Marietta and from there they would be sent to Indiana. Sherman viewed these 400 women as tainted with treason since they produced fabric for the Confederacy. This move was undertaken on July 9 or 10 for on the latter date the 400 female operatives were at Marietta. From there, they were moved to Nashville and then to Indiana where they were set loose to "earn a living where they won't do us any harm."[15]

This harsh action by General Sherman had its roots in part with his growing concern over his extremely vulnerable supply line that stretched back to Chattanooga and Nashville. He had dealt, and would deal, very harshly with guerillas and those citizens who gave aid or comfort to them. His action was criticized at the time in the Northern press and also indirectly by some of his staff officers such as Major General Thomas, who commented to Sherman that he could only order them transported to Nashville "where it seems hard to turn them adrift." Sherman replied that from Nashville they would be sent to Indiana. What happened to the women from Roswell and from Sweetwater once they reached Indiana has never been determined. Some doubtless returned to their homes after 1865, but a majority may never have seen their homes again.[16]

Both before and after the burning of the factories and employees' houses, as well as during preparations to transport the operatives to Marietta, Garrard was scouting up and down the river from Roswell reporting to Sherman on roads

15. Much of the official correspondence relating to the mill operatives from Roswell and the cotton mills on Sweetwater Creek can be found on pages 63-104 of Part V of Volume 38 of the Official Records. Hartwell Bynum in the Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 54 (1970) pages 169-82, has an excellent article on the expulsion of the Roswell women.

16. Bynum, "Sherman's Expulsion of the Roswell Women," Georgia Historical Quarterly, (1970), 180. In a harsh war the expulsion of the mill operatives is, to this author, one of the harshest, least defensible actions that Sherman undertook.

and locating and securing fords, ferries and bridges. He sent detachments up river as far as McAfee's Bridge near present day Holcomb Bridge. Garrard reported Island Ford was not served by any roads so was suitable only for foot soldiers. McAfee's Bridge was not burned by the Rebels and the Union drove off the detachment guarding it and secured the bridge. It was used later by small units who crossed over in mid-July during the major Federal movement across the river.

On the morning of July 7, Sherman was ready to undertake the next step in the campaign. On July 6, the railroad had been opened to Vinings--where Sherman had his headquarters, the telegraph line was in operation, and Union forces were ranging up and down the river from Paces Ferry to McAfee's Bridge and from Nickajack Creek to Sandtown. By the 7th, Sherman had decided that he would move across the river on his left. This decision was based on the need to protect the rail link back to Chattanooga. Had he attacked below the railroad bridge, it would have left the railroad vulnerable to Rebel attack. By crossing above Pace's Ferry, he could sweep down on Atlanta, imposing himself between Johnston and the railroad, and also he could direct his forces to move on Decatur and cut the last direct rail connection between Richmond, Virginia and Atlanta--ending the threat of reinforcements being sent to Johnston from the Eastern theatre.[17] The question was where to cross the river.

The planning for the crossing began on July 6 when Major General John Schofield was ordered by Sherman to prepare to cross the river somewhere between Sope Creek and the Shallow Ford near Roswell. Schofield reconnoitered the area about Sope Creek or Phillips Ferry on the 7th and planned to look at other potential sites the next day. However, he learned from Sherman that Wheeler's Cavalry had moved down river opposite the Federal right. Sherman had ordered McPherson to threaten to cross at Turner's Ferry and Sandtown in order to draw Confederate defenders. It worked. Sherman wished to cross as soon as possible. Schofield determined to cross at Sope Creek "By surprise if possible, or by force, if necessary." The crossing was to take place the next day.[18]

17. In a letter to Halleck on July 6, Sherman indicates that he may not even attack Atlanta, but rather make a circuit of the city, destroying all its railroads. Sherman to Halleck, July 6, ORs Vol. 38, Part 5, p. 66.

18. Report of General John Scholfield on the Atlanta Campaign, September 10, 1864, Official Records, Vol. 38, Pt 2, p. 515.

Early on the morning of July 8, the Third Division of the Army of the Ohio (23rd Corps) moved out toward Sope Creek from Smyrna campground where the army had been held in reserve since July 6. Moving by roads some distance from the river toward the Paper Mills, the Division did everything possible to assure the element of surprise.[19] The plan was to cross the river at two points. Some 50 men of the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Division under Col. Daniel Cameron would cross on a fish dam a half mile above the mouth of the creek. The remainder of the brigade would follow the advance guard and link up with men of the 12th Kentucky under command of Lt. Col. Laurence Rousseau who would cross the river in pontoon boats at the mouth of Sope Creek. Once a beachhead had been established, the remainder of the 3rd Division would cross by boat and expand the defensive perimeter. Meanwhile, a pontoon bridge would be placed across the river and additional troops brought across as quickly as possible.[20]

The key element in the plan was surprise. The terrain in the vicinity contributed to this. The 2nd Brigade was to remain under cover in the woods until the advance guard had crossed the fish dam and then cross as quickly as possible. Sope Creek runs for a considerable distance parallel to the river and then turns into the Chattahoochee suddenly. Between the river and the creek was a high ridge that shielded the creek from observation from the hills on the other side. Thus the Union Forces were able to assemble and load the boats out of sight of the Confederates on the other side. When all was ready, the boats could be launched and would not be seen until they were in the river proper headed for the east bank.[21]

The plan worked to perfection. Col. Daniel Cameron's 2nd Brigade scrambled across the fish dam and within a half hour the Brigade was on the south side of the river. They gained the ridge after an exchange of only a few shots with the Confederate Forces. At 4 p.m., thirty minutes after Cameron began his crossing Col. Rousseau and the 12th Kentucky crossed in the boats and soon linked up with

19. Report of Brig. Gen. Jacob D. Cox, Commander 3rd Division, 23rd Corps, July 15, 1864, ORs, Vol. 38, Part 2, p. 684.

20. Special Field Orders No. 46, Army of Ohio, July 7, 1864, Ibid, Pt. 5, p. 85.

21. Report of Brig. Gen. Cox, ORs, 38, Pt. 2, p. 684 and Cox, Atlanta, 138-39.

Cameron's brigade. A defensive line was immediately established and the remainder of the 3rd Brigade was quickly ferried across. By evening, one pontoon bridge was completed and all of Cox's Division crossed over and took up positions. By the morning of July 9, a second bridge was complete and more Federal troops poured across to expand the area under their control to stretch from a mile above Phillip's or Isham's Ferry to Powers Ferry. It extended a mile or more east of the river.[22]

With the natural defensive line of the river breeched and the Union Forces in control of both sides of the river at Powers and Isham's Ferries, General Johnston was faced with the need to withdraw from his defensive positions west of the river before he found himself cut off. This decision was confirmed by the news that Garrard's cavalry had crossed over at the Shallow Ford near Roswell the morning of July 9. Sometime between June 27 and July 2, Johnston had told Senator Benjamin Hill of Georgia that he believed he could hold Sherman north of the Chattahoochee for 54 to 60 days. Approximately ten days later the Confederates were forced to abandon their defensive perimeter and drop back to new positions along Peachtree Creek.[23]

The crossing at Roswell encountered more resistance than at Sope Creek. On the morning of July 9, Sherman ordered that an infantry division be sent to Roswell to relieve the cavalry that would make the initial crossing. He also set in motion plans to move McPherson's Army of the Tennessee from the right wing below Nickajack Creek to the left end of Union line at Roswell. McPherson was ordered to dispatch a Corps to Roswell to expand the beachhead. At 6 a.m., the crossing of the river began. A line of skirmishers from the 72nd and 17th Indiana Mounted Infantry crossed the river under covering fire from sharpshooters of the same units located on the bluffs behind the ford. The skirmishers advanced on a line some 300 yards in length and though subject to fire from the

22. Cox, Atlanta, 137-40. Reports of various commanders involved as cited in the Official Records as follows: General Schofield, Vol. 38, Part 2, 515-16; General Jacob D. Cox, 38, Pt. 2, 683-86; Col. Robert Byrd, Commander of 3rd Brig. 3rd Div., Ibid, 734-35; and Col. Daniel Cameron, Commander of 2nd Brig., 34d Div. 720-721.

23. Carter, Siege of Atlanta, 174.

Confederates on the opposite shore, were able to cross over the river. The Confederate defenders retreated and the remainder of the main column crossed over and established a defensive line on the ridge some 300 yards from the river. A second brigade crossed the river and strengthened the position until General Newton and the 2nd Division of the 4th Corps, Army of the Cumberland, arrived to relieve them at dusk. The river at some places was up to arms depth; the bottom was rough and the current swift, but the troops had no problem in crossing.[24] By evening the beachhead was secure.

The next morning, the 16th Army Corps under General Grenville Dodge was on the march toward Roswell. Arriving during the afternoon, the two Divisions of the Corps crossed the river and moved into position relieving General Newton. Under the direction of Major General Dodge, who was to achieve fame in the last half of the 1860's as Chief Engineer in charge of construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, two bridges were constructed across the river. A foot bridge some 700 feet in length was thrown across the river and then between noon on July 10 and evening on July 12, a good substantial double track trestle road bridge 710 feet in length was built on the existing stone piers. Sherman urged speed in this undertaking fearing that the Confederate might attempt to trap and destroy the Union Forces on the east bank before they could be reinforced. Dodge was told to "destroy all Georgia" to make the bridge strong. Though much of the usable material had been burned by Garrard, Dodge did not have to destroy all of Georgia, but using lumber from buildings in the vicinity completed the bridge. In the next week, the entire Army of Tennessee, totaling some 30,000 plus wagons and artillery would cross over on these two bridges.[25]

In face of the two Union crossings, Johnston issued orders on the evening of July 9 to withdraw across the river. The Army of Tennessee took up positions on the ridges two miles back and paralleling the river. The Confederates burned the railroad and wagon bridges below Peachtree Creek. Union forces now held all the west bank of the river and were rapidly securing the east bank from Paces Ferry to McAfee's Bridge. Both commanding generals pondered their next move.

24. Report of Col. A. O. Miller, 3rd Brigade, 2nd Cavalry Division, July 15, 1864, Official Records, Vol. 38, Pt. 2, 851.

25. Report of Major-General Grenville M. Dodge, November 25, 1864, ORs Vol. 38, Part 3, p. 383.

While they pondered, their armies rested and regained their strength after two months of steady campaigning. Both sides were suffering from a limited diet, though the problem was more severe in the Rebel ranks than in the Federal. Confederate troops were defending a populace with limited food resources. Packages from home helped to an extent, the basic diet was one of corn bread and pork. On occasion, fresh vegetables could be purchased but this source quickly disappeared as supply was exceeded by the demand. Union troops fared much better as they had greater variety in their diet including hard tack, salt pork, bacon, fresh beef, coffee, sugar, bread, Indian corn, potatoes and rice. In addition, there were dried or desicated vegetables and concentrated milk from the commissary. Neither of these was met with much favor by the U.S. troops who referred to them as desecrated vegetables and consecrated milk.[26] Scurvy was beginning to become a major problem in both armies by early July due to the lack of fresh vegetables. Fortunately, the blackberry crop was heavy that year and it provided relief, and availability of green corn and roasting ears eliminated the problem.[27]

During the five-day period from the 10th to 15th, the two armies fraternized. Southern tobacco was traded for Northern coffee. Newspapers were exchanged. Along the river, soldiers from both sides stripped and plunged into the river for bathing and swimming--the first opportunity in several weeks. In the evening, Regimental bands and singing groups would entertain themselves and their opponents.[28] This idyllic period was, however, not without its more serious activities. The Federals took advantage of the bathing to scout out likely fords or crossing places. A field order was issued July 11 by General Johnston warning against intercourse between the Confederate and Union picketts since "engineers of the enemy mingle with the bathers to sound out the river bottom.[29]

26. Aikman, "Kennesaw Sketches" Atlanta Historical Bulletin, (1975), 73.

27. Ibid, 75 and Report of Captain T. O'Conner, 33rd New Jersey Infantry Regiment, ORs Vol. 38, Pt. 2, p. 229-30.

28. Carter, Siege of Atlanta, 183-84.

29. General Field Order No. 3, HQ's Army of Tennessee, July 11, 1864, ORs 38, Part 5, p. 876.

Activity during the period was not totally devoted to relaxation. The pontoon bridge at Sope Creek was replaced by a trestle bridge. The pontoons were moved to either Powers or Paces Ferry. A single pontoon bridge was located at Powers Ferry and two bridges were placed at Paces. As each bridge was completed, more Union men and material were sent across the river to strengthen the positions. However, the majority of the Federal troops remained on the west bank. Finally, Sherman was ready to move and on July 16 and 17, Federal forces crossed the river. On July 20, the Battle of Peachtree Creek marked the beginning of the battle for Atlanta.

Major General Thomas and the Army of the Cumberland crossed over at Paces and Powers Ferry on the 16th and 17th. With the shift of McPherson to Roswell the Army of the Cumberland had become the right wing of the Union forces. Schofield and the Army of Ohio already across at Phillips Ferry formed the center. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee crossed over at Roswell and then swung in an arc that placed him astride the Georgia Railroad somewhere between Decatur and Stone Mountain. They destroyed the railroad and assured that no reinforcements or supplies would reach Johnston from Richmond. A quick study of a map of the Atlanta vicinity reveals that McPherson had 3 or 4 times the distance to travel that Thomas and Schofield did. During this gigantic game of crack the whip, an attack by Johnston could result in the Confederates splitting the Federal force. However, since Thomas's Army of the Cumberland totaled nearly 50,000 men and he had a reputation for military skill, courage, and persistence, Sherman felt confident Thomas could deal with the Rebels. By Sunday evening, July 17, Sherman's forces were across the river and, as usual, his lines enveloped and overlapped Johnston's defenses south of Peachtree Creek.

Johnston's plan was to attack the Federal force as they crossed Peachtree Creek. If the attack was successful, they would exploit it and push the Union back to the river where they could be cut up during attempts to recross the river. If the attack was not successful, the Federal advance would be stalled and when it began again and approached the City of Atlanta, the Confederates could attack the most exposed Union flank with all the troops available.

However, Johnston was not to have the opportunity to direct either of these alternatives. On the evening of July 17, he was relieved from command. John B. Hood was named to replace him. In the eyes of Jefferson Davis, Johnston had failed to halt the Union advance and had indicated a lack of confidence that he could defeat and repel the Union Forces.

Jefferson Davis had grown increasingly irritated with Johnston's campaign. He replaced him with a general who would stand and fight and attack rather than retreat. Sherman greeted the news with some pleasure. Several of his general officers had attended West Point with Hood and described him as bold to the point of rashness and courageous to the extreme. To Sherman, this meant fight - "this is just what we wanted, to fight in open ground, on anything like equal terms instead of being forced to run up against prepared intrenchments, but at the same time the enemy having Atlanta behind him could choose the time and place of attack and....mass a superior force on our weakest points."[30]

And Hood did fight. In the next six weeks, a series of battles took place on Peachtree Creek, July 20, the Battle of Atlanta, in which McPherson was killed on July 22, and the Battle of Ezra Church on July 28. Then during August, the siege and bombardment of Atlanta took place. On September 2, menaced by the threat that Sherman would cut the last railroad into Atlanta and isolate the town and his army, Hood withdrew to the south. The Union army entered the city on September 2, (1864).

In the six weeks after July 19, military activity along the Chattahoochee had nearly ceased with two exceptions. Sherman's dependence on the W&A Railroad for supplies and transportation of troops continued and to this end he sought to repair the railroad bridge across the river. The engineers charged with maintaining this lifeline had developed skills that enabled them to reconstruct damaged or destroyed track or rebuild bridges with incredible speed. Two days after the troops reached Vinings or Paces Ferry, the railroad was repaired to that point.

30. Sherman, Memoirs, II, 72.

With the Union push against Atlanta proper the engineers were given the order to bridge the Chattahoochee and extend the railroad to the rear of the Federal Army. The request presented the most formidable challenge of the entire campaign--to construct a railroad bridge 780 feet long and 90 feet high.[31] Col. W. W. Wright of the Construction Corps fortunately had one of the best military engineers in the service, E. C. Smeed, in his organization. Smeed and his experienced crews set to work immediately. Using timber cut in the nearby woods and building on the stone piers of the former railroad bridge, the new bridge was completed in 4½ days.[32] By August 5, trains were arriving in the rear of the Army of the Cumberland.

As the month of August wore on and three separate Union cavalry raids failed to cut the railroad into Atlanta from the south, Sherman realized that he must shift his army to the southwest of the city and move against the railroad and the Confederate entrenchments defending them. To this purpose, the Federals left their trenches and marched away to the west and south. One Corps, the 20th under Maj. General Henry Slocum, was dispatched to the Chattahoochee to guard the W&A Railroad. Slocum's men moved into the Confederate defensive works west of the river. The Confederate Army under Hood moved out to meet the newest Union threat. By September 1, Hood realized that Atlanta was lost and withdrew. The city was surrendered on September 2. Sherman proceeded during September to turn Atlanta into an armed camp and expelled all or most of the citizens.

In late September, Hood marched north with the intention to destroy the railroad and isolate the Union forces. Sherman, anticipating Hood's move had already strengthened the defenses along the W&A Railroad and had sent Thomas and the Army of the Cumberland to Chattanooga. During the first three weeks of October, Sherman pursued Hood north leaving the 20th Corps to hold and occupy Atlanta. On October 26, he broke off contact and left the defense of Tennessee

31. The role of the railroad construction corps in the Civil War has been treated in George Turner's book, Victory Rode the Rails: The Strategic Place of Railroads in the Civil War. Originally published in 1953 by Bobbs Merrill, it was reprinted in 1972 by Greenwood Press of Westport, Conn. in 1972.

32. Sherman stated that it took 6 days, while Herman Haupt in his reminiscences published in 1901 stated it took 4½. Haupt was the Chief Railway Engineer of the Civil War.

to George Thomas and his Army of the Cumberland. During October, all sick and wounded, as well as all unnecessary supplies were sent back to Chattanooga. Sherman retraced his way toward Atlanta destroying the railroad as he moved south. After crossing the Chattahoochee for the third time the Union forces burned the bridges so carefully built 3 - 4 months earlier. On November 15, the famous or infamous March to the Sea began.

Hood meanwhile led the Army of Tennessee to disaster at Franklin on November 30, and near Nashville, Tennessee on December 16-16. By January the remnants of his army were at Tupelo, Mississippi where he turned over command to Beauregard. Hood had done his best, but to the men in the ranks he never had commanded the love that Joe Johnston had. As they retreated from Nashville in late December, they put new words to the old song, The Yellow Rose of Texas:

"And now I'm going southward
For my heart is full of woe
I'm going back to Georgia
To find my 'Uncle Joe'.

You may sing about your dearest maid
And sing of Rosalie
But the gallant Hood of Texas
Played Hell in Tennessee".[33]

With the end of the war in 1865, residents along the river began to put their lives back together. Ferries and bridges that had been destroyed were rebuilt. Farms and mills that had suffered damage were put back into operation. The pattern of life returned to normal in the decade after 1865. Evidence of the Civil War along the Chattahoochee remained in the earthworks, both Union and Confederate, and in the other flotsam left behind by the two armies.

33. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, I, 644.

CHAPTER V
TOWNS AND SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE RIVER

Settlement along the Chattahoochee until the last two decades tended to be scattered rather than concentrated in villages, apartments or subdivisions. Small settlements developed near mills or ferries during the 19th Century but these never evolved into towns or villages. Identifiable towns within the study area can be counted on the fingers of one hand--Standing Peachtree, Vinings, Roswell and Suwanee Old Town. Of these only Roswell and Vinings remain today and the latter is more location than town. The other two have long since disappeared. Standing Peachtree, however, has left as a legacy a name that has become as well known as the City of Atlanta.

The first known reference to Standing Peachtree dates to May 27, 1782, when Governor John Martin of Georgia wrote to General Andrew Pickens reporting that he had heard that a large body of Cowetas (Creeks) were meeting at Standing Peachtree in preparation for an attack in concert with the Cherokees on the frontiers of Georgia.[1] The records of the Executive Council of Georgia for that same year refer to a payment to Mr. John Brandon for his secret services in determining the situation of the Indians at Standing Peachtree.[2]

With the close of the American Revolution, mention of Standing Peachtree disappeared. Located on both sides of the Chattahoochee and extending up Peachtree and Nancy Creeks, the village had been a trading center and point of entry into the lands of the Creeks and Cherokees west of the river since before 1750. As noted earlier in this study the lands on both sides of the river above and below the junction of Peachtree Creek were in dispute between first, the Creeks and Cherokees, and later, between the State of Georgia and the Cherokees. This dispute centered on the location of the boundary between the tribes. Attempts to resolve this boundary question during the 1820's often referred to Standing Peachtree, but provided no information on the size or extent of the village.

1. Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs: a Chronicle of its People and Events, I, pp. 10-11.

2. Ibid, p 11.

In early 1814, Lt. George Gilmer was sent to Standing Peachtree to establish a fort or outpost against the Creeks. He noted the presence of a "town" on both sides of the river, but offered no estimate as to size. Gilmer does at one point refer to eleven warriors as well as town people and noted that there were women and children in the village.[3]

Gilmer's mission was to establish an outpost to protect supply lines to General Andrew Jackson in his campaign against the Creek Indians and to defend the frontier against attacks by the Creeks. To this end he was dispatched to Standing Peachtree in 1814 arriving there on March 14. Gilmer's command consisted of 22 recruits armed with refuse drill muskets[4], a small quantity of powder and some unmolded lead. Gilmer was to build a fort, but he "had never seen a fort, and had no means of knowing how to obey the order, but what I could get from Duane's Tactics."[5] Since the fort was never tested, Gilmer's ability cannot be judged. Within two months, however, he had built two hewed log block houses, six dwelling houses, a framed storehouse and a bridge a half mile from the fort. Whether a palisade was constructed is not known, but Gilmer refers to preparing a ditch "for the palisades of the fort."[6] All this work went for naught for on March 27, Jackson defeated the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend in Alabama. In August, 1814, the Treaty of Fort Jackson was concluded.

In addition to Fort Standing Peachtree, Gilmer was charged with establishing a boat yard. The plan was to construct flatboats to carry supplies down to Fort Mitchell, near present day Columbus, Georgia. Fort Mitchell was headquarters for General John Floyd who was commanding Georgia troops against the Creek Indians in Alabama. Ten boats were to be built by James Mc Montgomery and his craftsmen.

3. Gilmer, Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and of the Author, 198-99. Written in 1855 Gilmer may have overestimated the number of people. It is possible that the settlements on each side of the river had more than 100 people apiece.

4. Refuse drill muskets are thos deemed not usable in active warfare, but suitable for drilling.

5. Gilmer, Sketches of Some of the First Settlers, p. 196.

6. E. Katherine Anderson, "James Mc Montgomery of Standing Peachtree", The Atlanta Historical Bulletin, No. 12, (December 1937, pp. 22-23, Gilmer, Sketches of Some of the First Settlers, p. 197.

However, only five boats were constructed before the proposal was canceled due in part to the difficulty of floating laden flatboats over the falls and shoals of the river above the fall line and also to the end of hostilities. The boatyard was located on the south side of Peachtree Creek while the fort stood north of the creek on the high knoll.[7]

By the end of the summer 1814, Gilmer and Montgomery, the small contingent of troops and boat builders, had left Standing Peachtree. What happened to the structures that made up the fort is not known. In 1821, when Henry County was surveyed prior to distribution through a land lottery, the plats for the area did not show any fortifications or structures. The Indian village on the east side of the river may have remained for a few more years, but with the ceding of all land east of the Chattahoochee to Georgia the residents would have left the area. Whether the settlement west of the river survived into the 1830's and the period of Cherokee removal is not known.

Standing Peachtree continued to serve as a reference point in the years after 1814. During the period it existed as a fort, a road was constructed to link it with Fort Daniel near Hog Mountain in present day Gwinnett County. This road runs along the ridge that extends from northeast to southwest, roughly parallel to the river. When the road reached modern day Buckhead it followed present day West Paces Ferry and Moores Mill Roads to the fort.[8] The alignment has changed very little. World famous Peachtree Road follows essentially the same route. The road to Standing Peachtree brought settlers into the area. On April 5, 1825, a post office was established. During its 17-year existence three different members of the Montgomery family served as Postmaster.

James Mc Montgomery returned to the vicinity of Standing Peachtree in 1821-22. He built a house on what is now Bolton Road in land lot 230 of the 17th District. In 1837, he was given permission to establish a ferry across the Chattahoochee at Standing Peachtree. Located below the junction of Peachtree Creek and the

7. Fort Committee, "The Fort at Standing Peachtree", Georgia Magazine, Vol 10, (December 1966-January 1967, p. 22. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs: Vol. 1, p. 14.

8. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs: Vol 1, p. 15.

Chattahoochee River, the ferry had its east landing in land lot 231 and the west landing in land lot 1023. The ferry operation continued until Montgomery's death in 1842. By 1850, it was in operation as DeFoors Ferry and continued to operate until after the Civil War.

Standing Peachtree was first an Indian settlement, then a short lived military installation, and finally a recognized geographic location and ferry site. Except for the aboriginal period the area was never a town in the normal definition of the term.

In the years after 1840 a small settlement, Bolton, developed on the Western and Atlantic Railroad. It was named for Charles L. Bolton, one of the first commissioners of the W & W Railroad. By 1880 Bolton, or Boltonville or Fulton boasted a population of 100 with two churches and a common school. There were several factories nearby utilizing Peachtree Creek and the Chattahoochee as a power source. Major products were furniture, bricks, flour, meal and wood.[9] Like its predecessor, Bolton, never developed into more than a rail stop and post office.

Hardy Pace, one of the earliest operators of a ferry across the Chattahoochee, began buying up land shortly after his arrival in the area in the 1820's. By the late 1830's he had accumulated some 10,000 acres stretching from Buckhead to Smyrna. In 1839, Pace moved his family across the river into Cobb County where he built a 17-room home. The settlement that developed nearby as a result of the construction of the railroad became known as Vinings in honor of one of the engineers. The town remained small. During the Civil War, it served as a supply depot for the Army of the Cumberland as it prepared to cross the river. In 1864, Hardy Pace died and was buried in the Pace Family Cemetery in Vinings. Known originally as Vinings Station, it was renamed Vinings in 1904. Vinings, like Bolton, remained more a crossroads and railroad station than a town. Today it is a locality fighting to retain its identity in the sprawling suburbs of Atlanta.[10]

9. Ibid, II, p. 13.

10. W. F. St. John, "Vinings History" - Journal Constitution Magazine, April 26, 1970, p. 31.

Another location struggling to survive and maintain an identity in developing metropolitan Atlanta is Roswell. Established by Roswell King as the town adjacent to the manufacturing complex along Vickery or Big Creek, Roswell was carefully planned. King first saw the area in 1829 and noted its ideal location for establishment of a manufacturing complex and town. After completing his business at Dahlonega and in the gold fields, King returned to Darien, Georgia. During the next seven or eight years he developed his plans for the town and factory. In 1837, King, his son Barrington and his family moved to the plateau above the creek and river where they built a substantial log cabin. The following year Roswell King offered homesites in his new town to friends on the coast. By 1838, a dam, mill race, and factory had been established on Vickery Creek.

The first settlers of Roswell were a very similar group. Presbyterian by faith, they lived along the coast of Georgia, and many, including Roswell King, had come from Connecticut or had their roots there. Among these early settlers were the Bulloch, Dunwoody, Pratt, Smith and Elliot families. On October 20, 1839, the Roswell Presbyterian Church was organized with fifteen Charter members, including Roswell King who was then 74 years old. By that date the first of the major houses in the community--Primrose Cottage--had been completed. Built by King for his widowed daughter, Mrs. Eliza King Hand, it still stands on Mimosa Boulevard.

Other houses followed in rapid succession. Bulloch Hall, Barrington Hall, Mimosa Hall, Great Oaks and the Roswell Presbyterian Church were all completed between 1840 and 1842. Bulloch Hall was built by James Bulloch from wood cut on his property--some 16 acres overlooking the valley of the Chattahoochee. Barrington Hall was built by Barrington King on a six acre plot near the town square. Dunwoody Hall was a wood frame structure with the same floor plan as Bulloch Hall next door. On the night of its housewarming, the structure burned to the ground. It was rebuilt in 1847 by the Dunwoodys using brick scored to resemble stone. Named Phoenix Hall for the mythical bird that arose out of the ashes its name was later changed to Mimosa because of the mimosa trees on the grounds. Great Oaks, the home of Rev. Nathaniel Pratt, the first minister of the Presbyterian Church, was located across from the church which Dr. Pratt served from 1840 until his death in 1879. The Presbyterian Church, completed in 1840, was not only the religious center of the community but also the geographic

center. The town was incorporated in 1854. It was described as an area of one mile in every direction from the Presbyterian Church in said village.[11]

The development of Roswell was not haphazard but rather reflected an early example of Town planning. The town was laid out with wide streets, a town square, had provision of two churches, and an academy. Whether the planning was done solely by Roswell and Barrington King or whether they were influenced by Willis Ball, a builder-architect from Connecticut, who designed Barrington Hall and assisted in the design of Bulloch and Mimosa (Dunwoody or Phoenix) Hall is not known. Whatever the contribution of each, the character of the town that exists today had been determined by 1844 when Roswell King died. It was, and is, a new England village dominated by Greek Revival architecture not only in the "great houses" and the Presbyterian Church, but also in some of the structures associated with the factory including the first element of the Roswell Stores, the salt box residences for the workers, and the "Old Bricks", an early apartment house used by the mill employees.[12]

At the same time that the homes of the Bullochs, Dunwoodys, and Kings were being built, homes for the mill employees, a company store or commissary, and the first mill building were completed. The "Old Bricks" are two units of apartments, one containing four and the other six apartments. Built about 1840, they housed mill employees. Other employees lived in individual houses of a modified New England Salt Box design on Factory Hill along present day Mill, Millview, Sloan and Vickery Streets. The employees as well as the mill owners utilized the commissary or store on the east side of the town square. Built of brick with axe hewn timbers the structure was added to as commercial activities in Roswell increased over the next 60 years. Finally there was the mill itself, the only structure remaining from the original Roswell Manufacturing Company incorporated in 1839. A two story brick building, it is now abandoned.[13]

During the remainder of the 1840's, other structures were built. These reflected or complimented the plan and style of the village. Allenbrook, built about 1845, was the office and residence of the manager of the Ivy Woolen Mills

11. William R. Mitchell, Jr., "Historic Area Study: A Plan to Preserve Roswell's Historical Character" (1973), p. 23, 29, 33, and 37; Martin and Devane, Roswell Historic Homes and Landmarks, no pagination; Martin, The History of Bulloch Hall and Roswell, GA (Roswell, Historic Roswell Inc., 1973), p. 10-17.

12. Mitchell, "Historic Area Study", p. 8-9.

13. Ibid., pp 37-38 and 43-44.

located near the mouth of Vickery Creek. The two story brick house has heart of pine floor boards 12 inches wide. Barrington King built Holly Hill for Robert A. Lewis, his cousin by marriage during the first half of the 1840's. Designed originally as a summer home it was of the raised cottage style popular on the coast. Charmed by the climate and the people the Lewises became permanent residents from 1845 until 1855 when they left Georgia because of the increasing tension of the sectional struggle.[14] Archibald Smith came to Roswell in 1838 not to invest in or operate the mills, but to farm. Between 1842-46, he built a simple yet elegant two story frame structure on the road to Alpharetta. Presently, all the original outbuildings including kitchen, barn, corn crib and servant's quarters are still standing. The property is still owned by the Smith Family.

Roswell during the first 20 to 25 years of its existence led a placid and productive existence. The manufacturing complex grew in size and diversity while the town developed into a community of about 4,000 inhabitants. Most of the mill employees were women with only a few men or blacks employed. With the outbreak of the Civil War, the woolen, cotton and flour mills along the creek converted over to production in support of the Confederacy. In July 1864, the war arrived in Roswell. The factories and many of the employees' residences were burned and most of the employees were sent to Marietta for transportation out of the state. The great houses were not destroyed and often not even severely damaged. The owners such as Barrington King refugeed to points well removed from the battle area such as Augusta, Fort Valley, Madison, Savannah or Greensboro. Dr. Pratt, minister of the Presbyterian Church, remained. The church was turned into a hospital as were Mimosa Hall and the Bricks. Barrington Hall and Great Oaks were used as headquarters for General Officers. As a staging area between July 12 and 17, Roswell was unwilling host to some 45,000 men, 6000 mules and 1000 wagons.[15] Before and after that week other troop units, wagons, and mules passed through staying for a day or less. During August, Roswell was the main supply base for one of the three federal armies besieging Atlanta. It suffered very little additional damage from Union activities in September, October and the first half of November.

14. Ibid, p. 29; and Martin and DeVane, Roswell Historic Homes, no page number.

15. Rev. Prate to Barrington S. King (1864) as cited by Martin, History of Bulloch Hall, p. 31.

In June 1865 Barrington King returned to Roswell and began work on repairing and restoring the manufacturing complex. Except for destruction of crops and loss of fences and other wooden material consumed by the troops for cooking fires or shelter damage to the residences was limited. The town soon recovered and entered into another period of tranquility. The mills remained the major employer in the town. In 1929, a destructive fire swept through most of the Roswell Manufacturing Company leaving only the Southern Mills Building constructed in 1882. Roswell's character began to change as the motor car made it more attractive as a satellite community of Atlanta. By the late 1960's, the clearly defined boundaries between the communities of Roswell, Sandy Springs, and Marietta began to blur. Roswell, however, continues to retain a different and unique identity based on the presence of a rich and viable historic heritage going back 140 years.

The last of the four towns along the Chattahoochee was already old when Roswell was new. Suwanee Old Town like Standing Peachtree was an Indian town oft referred to in the early documents. A trading center, it existed on both sides of the river and along the banks of Suwanee Creek. A branch of the Hightower Trail may have reached the town. In the last decades of the 18th Century it was the residence of Thomas Cordery and his Cherokee wife Susannah. Sometime between 1800 and 1830 it ceased to exist as its inhabitants moved west into the Cherokee Nation. There is no above ground evidence of the town today.

Until the middle of the 1960's, the Chattahoochee corridor from Peachtree Creek to Buford Dam was, with a few exceptions, still a rural area. Today the lower half from approximately Holcomb Bridge south has become urbanized and developed. Apartment and townhouses, residential communities, shopping complexes and office parks are more and more in evidence. For better or for worse, progress has caught up with the Chattahoochee River as it flows past the site of McAfee's Bridge, Martin's Ferry, Roswell and Shallowford, the ruins of the paper mills on Sope Creek, Hardy Paces Mill and Ferry and the site of Montgomery's Ferry. Above Holcomb Bridge Road the area is still primarily rural. Its land use has changed little since George Morgan Waters and John Rogers and his sons farmed the land 150 years ago. Georgia Highway 20 crosses the river on a bridge near where Orrs Ferry once carried travelers over the Chattahoochee.

The history of the river remains. It has flowed across the land from the time of the Cherokees to the Civil War to the development of industry and hydroelectric power. It continues to flow as the use of land along its banks evolves into what will be tomorrow's history.

APPENDIX A

Properties on or Elibible for Nomination to the National Register within the Chattahoochee River Corridor

As a part of the Historic Resource Study of the two-mile wide Chattahoochee Corridor, an evaluation of properties eligible for the National Register was to be prepared. Several locally or regionally significant properties have already been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. These include Roswell Historic District and Sope Creek Ruins Historic District. There are several other districts or structures that may be eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. In each case the property is not federal property and the nomination would be a joint federal/state project. These are set out below:

Rogers Historic District - The district would encompass structures and sites relating to the John Rogers Family. John Rogers and his sons played a prominent role in the history of the Cherokee Indians during the years 1810-1838 and in the local history of Forsyth County until after the Civil War. The historic district would include the John Rogers house constructed prior to 1830, the William Rogers house, Rogers Bridge, Rogers Bridge Road in Gwinnett and Fulton Counties, the site of the Rogers Ferry and the historic road leading to it on both sides of the river, Mt. Zion Church, Rogers Cemetery and other sites related to the Rogers family.

Suwanee Old Town Archeological District or Site - If sufficient archeological resources remain, this site, as one of the few Cherokee Towns along the river, would merit inclusion on the National Register. Determination of eligibility would be based on intensive archeological investigation.

Neely Farm Property - Presently owned by Howard Hoffman this property contains a variety of resources that may qualify for the National Register including the Nesbitt House that predates the Civil War, the farm complex including the main house, barns and tenant houses, and several archeological sites. A special cultural resource study of the Neely Farm property will be needed to more clearly define the historical and archeological significance of the property.

Expand Roswell Historic District - Expand the historic district nomination prepared in 1973 to include satellite areas such as the ruins of Ivy or Laurel Mill, Allenbrook, Lovers Leap, Rock Shelters, the Raised Cottage and a second cottage on Roswell Road. All these are located between the center of Roswell and the Chattahoochee. North of the town square along Alpharetta and Canton Street are other structures including the Smith House and outbuildings, Minton House, Methodist Church and Cemetery and Naylor Hall. All these structures are antebellum and are discussed in William Mitchell's "Historic Area Study of Roswell". Because all but Ivy Mill Ruins and Allenbrook are in private ownership this nomination should involve the State of Georgia, Historic Roswell Inc., and the National Park Service.

Morgan Falls Power Plant and Dam - At the time of its construction in 1902-03 this was one of the largest hydroelectric plants in Georgia. The original generating equipment is still in use. Exterior changes to the dam have been limited to the installation of taintor gates in 1959-60 that raised the storage capacity of the dam by eight feet. As an engineering work it merits nomination. This should be accomplished in cooperation with Georgia Power Company.

These five nominations reflect the best judgement of the writer of properties within the corridor that may qualify for the National Register. In each case the properties are privately owned and the National Park Service should work with the State of Georgia in preparing the nomination forms.

APPENDIX B

Additional Research Needed

Soon after beginning the Historical Resource Study it was obvious that to make the history of the Chattahoochee River understandable it would be necessary to understand the history of Georgia. For this reason the study became more general and less site specific. Because of time constraints research concentrated on printed primary and secondary sources rather than the raw data contained in county courthouses and local historical societies. Also interview with local historians were generally not undertaken.

Future research should concentrate on these sources. Much of the work with local historians can be accomplished by the staff of the Chattahoochee River NRA through the oral history program they are undertaking. Among the individuals who should be contacted are the following:

Mr. Don Shadburn, teacher at the Otwell Middle School in Cumming, who is very knowledgeable regarding the Cherokee settlements along the river in Forsyth County. Mr. Shadburn heads the Forsyth County Historical and Geneological Society. At present he is completing a two volume history of the Cherokees along the Chattahoochee.

Information on the John Rogers Family can be gathered from a variety of sources including Cheryl Bowlin who with her husband, has restored the John Rogers house. Ronald Rogers, Attorney in Atlanta lives in the William Rogers house. Gladys Bell has considerable knowledge regarding the history of Zion Methodist Church which was the home church of the Rogers Family. The Bowlin's live on Bell Road in Duluth, Georgia.

Virginia Cofield lives on McGinnis Ferry Road near Shake Rag in a Sears-Roebuck prefab house circa 1900-1910.

In Gwinnett County, Mr. Tom Johnson of Johnson Hardware in Norcross has considerable knowledge of the Norcross area. His son, Edwin Johnson, is a collector of Civil War memorabilia and also is interested in the local history of the area.

J. Heard Summerour, former postmaster at Duluth, is the unofficial County Historian for Gwinnett County. He resides at 3159 Highway 120 outside of Duluth.

Mrs. Howard Hoffman has a great interest in the history of the area. She lives on the Neely Farm near Norcross.

Mr. Hope at the Suwanee Post Office has information on the Settles Creek area.

The Gwinnett County Historical Society is becoming increasingly active. Mr. Summerour is involved in the society as is Anne Mae Lay (Phone: 449-1362). Mrs. Lay also has information about the pre-Civil War house (Nesbitt House) on the Hoffman or Neely Farm.

Written records on specific sites and structures can be found in the Cobb, Forsyth, Gwinnett, and Fulton County Courthouses. There is a good run on the Marietta Daily Journal in the Cobb County Public Library in Marietta. Because the degree of historical awareness in Roswell is so high its history has been well taken care of by individuals such as Emmett Rushin (Bus. Phone: 993-6498), Janet Russell, Vice Chairman of the Roswell Historic Preservation Commission, and Mrs. T. M. Ezzard, the City Historian. The History Room in the Presbyterian Church is an excellent place to begin.

While Cobb County does not possess a historical society, the Cobb Landmarks Society (Phone: 427-0751) may have information on sites along the Chattahoochee. In Fulton County the Atlanta Historical Society and Historian, Franklin Garrett, were most helpful during the preparation of the report.

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